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OPERATION HELP:

COUNTERACTING SEX TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN FROM RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

by

NADEZDA SHAPKINA

Under the Direction of Wendy Simonds

ABSTRACT

Human trafficking is one of the fastest growing criminal activities in today's world and a violation of human rights. Sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine was enabled by the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the incorporation of the new countries into the global economy. At the same time, this social problem generated a series of anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia, Ukraine, and internationally.

This research analyzes social responses to the risks of sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. The analysis is based on sixteen-month multi-sited field research in Russia and Ukraine. I collected data through participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis. The research provides insight into the supply and demand sides of sex-trafficking markets and describes how sex trafficking of women is integrated into the overall organization of the global sex trade. I use institutional ethnography to map out different anti-trafficking institutions (NGOs, governmental offices, international organizations) and examine social relations engendered by anti-trafficking mobilizations. My research analyzes institutional interventions aimed at minimizing the risks to sex trafficking victims. I explore how the institutional actors form transnational regulatory spaces to combat the problem of sex trafficking.

Finally, I analyze how female trafficking survivors negotiate their identities in response to the institutional power of anti-trafficking NGOs that assist them.

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INDEX WORDS: Sex Trafficking, Gender, Sexuality, Migration, Globalization,
NGOs, Institutional Ethnography, Russia, Ukraine

OPERATION HELP:

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by

NADEZDA SHAPKINA

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2008

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OPERATION HELP:

COUNTERACTING SEX TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN FROM RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Alisa Shapkina and Valery Shapkin.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Pornography, and Trafficking
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IREX	International Research and Exchange Board
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RACC	Russian Association of Crisis Centers for Women
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVAC	Transit Victims Assistance Center
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation analyzes campaigns against sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. Transnational sex trade migration of women from Russia and Ukraine is increasingly recognized as a social problem in the post-Soviet countries and around the world. According to US intelligence, the former state socialist countries supply the largest new source of women for the sex industry in the US (Richard 1999), many of whom are victims of trafficking (defined as involuntary migration and/or labor). In Germany, about 15,000 women from Eastern and Central Europe, and the Newly Independent States (NIS) work as prostitutes; they constitute between 60 to 80% of those involved in sex trade (Caldwell et al. 1997). The destinations of sex trade migration from Russia and the Ukraine include such diverse places as Turkey, Japan, Israel, Yugoslavia, and Macau (Caldwell et al. 1997).

Statistics shows that human trafficking and smuggling are increasing world-wide (World Migration 2003, IOM report). Although there are no precise statistics, some sources suggest that at least 700,000 to 2 million people are trafficked in the world annually (U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report 2001). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the majority of the people who find themselves in the conditions of involuntary servitude are women and children, and sexual exploitation is the most common abuse (UN Press Release SOC/CP/252).

National governments predictably and univocally define trafficking in people as an important national security problem. Supranational organizations like the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) define human trafficking as global, transnational phenomenon. International law defines trafficking as a major violation of human rights and a challenge to the authority and sovereignty of the state (The UN Protocol

2000). Human trafficking has become a source of huge profits for criminal trafficking networks that earn billions of dollars (Hughes 2000). People who have become objects of criminal activities of traffickers pay the price of physical, psychological, and economic costs.

Trafficking of people and forced migration in general assume new political and social significance in the post-Cold War era. Trafficking in persons has become a part of the complex global social transformation and a central focus of contemporary debates among political actors about state control, migration, and security. Sex trafficking of women from Russia and the Ukraine was enabled by the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the incorporation of the new countries into the global economy. At the same time, this migration process initiated a series of anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia, Ukraine, and internationally. Numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been established in Russia and Ukraine to address the problem of sex trafficking of women abroad. Various foundations, western governments, and international organizations sponsored the establishment of anti-trafficking organizations, networks, initiatives, and coalitions that now exist in all former state socialist countries. Some governmental officials in Ukraine and Russia also express their concern with the "return" of prostitution and the emergence of the "new" problem of trafficking of women.

In this dissertation, I analyze different factors contributing to the rise of out-migration from Russia and Ukraine and specifically look at risks that female migrants face. My goal is to examine the social responses to the risks of sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. How do different institutional actors (state, international organizations and NGOs) organize and coordinate their activities to combat this social problem and help people who are affected by it? How do their institutional practices affect the lives of women who survived sex trafficking experiences?

I show that the diverse social actors (local, national, and supranational) organize their activities to combat the problem of sex trafficking of women in a new way. Their efforts to counteract this important global social problem demonstrate the operation of *transnational regulation of social problems* – a cross-national system of institutional mechanisms, legislative provisions, practices, and technologies that aims at regulating a particular social problem. Nation-state continues to play an important role in performing the functions of regulation and governance. However, other social actors such as NGOs, international organizations, private foundations, and foreign states also take on the regulatory functions and affect local and national policies and practices. Focusing on the issue of sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine, I study how gender, sexual, and migration politics and their social regulation intersect and increasingly transcend national boundaries. Transnational regulation of anti-trafficking involves social relations on multiple levels – local, regional, national, international. In order to study the social relations within anti-trafficking mobilizations, I conduct mapping out of the main social actors involved and analyze the interactions among them.

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY: INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

The methodological approach for this study is institutional ethnography, with its goal to "explicate the actual social processes and practices organizing people's everyday experience" (Smith 1986:6). Reformulating this in relation to my research problem, institutional ethnography helps explore the social processes and practices impacting the lives of female survivors of trafficking in Russia and Ukraine. I study how institutional actors (NGOs, state institutions, international organizations, and others) and their practices affect women who have returned to Ukraine and Russia after being trafficked into the sex trade industry in foreign countries.

Institutional ethnography is part of a feminist methodological tradition which asserts that gender norms and roles impact the production of knowledge. Advancing the postmodernist critique of positivism, feminist methodology is specifically interested in theoretical connections between knowledge and human experience. Traditional sociological research overgeneralizes from the experiences of men, ignores gender as a fundamental dimension of social inequality, uses the male as a point of reference, and makes assumptions regarding traditional gender roles. Works of feminist methodologists (Collins 1990; DeVault 1999; Harding 1986; Smith 1987, 1999, 2005) suggest that ways of knowing are, to a large extent, determined by who the researcher is and by her social location. In contrast to the positivist principle of objectivity, feminist methodologists have put forward a different principle—the feminist standpoint. This allows feminist research to be action-oriented and to seek to advance feminist values (DeVault 1996). Feminist standpoint epistemology recognizes that the subjective experiences of women are different from males and takes into consideration intersecting identities of class, race, gender, sexuality, age, etc.

Formulating a standpoint is the first step in the institutional ethnography process, as Dorothy Smith (2005) explains:

> Institutional ethnography begins by locating a standpoint in an institutional order that provides the guiding perspective from which that order will be explored. It begins with some issues, concerns, or problems that are real for people and that are situated in their relationships to an institutional order. Their concerns are explicated by the researcher in talking with them and thus set the direction of inquiry. (Smith 2005:32)

My institutional ethnographic inquiry began by identifying the standpoint, upon initially entering the field in the summer of 2002. I came to Russia and Ukraine to intern with two anti-trafficking NGOs as a part of the Patrick Stewart Human Rights Scholarship Program, administered by Amnesty International – USA. During my two-month stint with *LaStrada-Ukraine* (Kyiv) and one-month internship with *Angel Coalition* (Moscow), I established contact with several victims of sex trafficking who were receiving social assistance through the two agencies. After communicating with the survivors and with representatives of the respective NGOs, I decided that I wanted to understand the social conditions creating physical, psychological, social, and economic risks for migrants from the post-Soviet region. I also set out to analyze the efforts to counteract the risks of migration and learn how helpful these efforts can be for migrants. Key research questions included: What social actors are involved in the anti-trafficking campaigns? How do these actors coordinate and negotiate their actions? What frames and strategies do the actors use in the anti-trafficking initiatives? What do the campaigns achieve? How do the anti-trafficking campaigns affect victims of trafficking?

After defining the research problem, I worked on elaborating a research strategy. Scholars have argued that ethnography as a method changes its focus and strategy in a contemporary world. Marcus (1995) conceptualizes a multi-sited ethnography to analyze processes related to globalization of economy and transnational social relations. Similarly, Gille

and O'Riain (2002) argue that in order to capture the transnational nature of "socioscapes"—flows and relations that span across national borders—one needs to rethink the nature of the "social" and research strategy:

> Globalization poses a challenge to existing social scientific methods of inquiry and units of analysis by destabilizing the embeddedness of social relations in particular communities and places […] The potential and uneven delinking of the spatial and the social under conditions of globalization upsets ethnography's claim to understand social relations by being there and thus demands that we rethink the character of global ethnography. (Gille and O'Riain 2002:271)

The research strategy of ethnography in a contemporary world should help sociologists demonstrate the connections and effects between different actors and sites. There are multiple social institutions that affect the lives of trafficked women, and my task is to create a map, or scheme, of how these institutions are organized. This is the main research strategy of institutional ethnography—to map out social relations:

> Like a map, it aims to be through and through indexical to the local sites of people's experience, making visible how we are connected into the extended social relations of ruling and economy and their intersections. (Smith 2005:29)

By focusing on the "extension" of social relations outside of the local context, institutional ethnography is well positioned to analyze translocal/transnational phenomena. Anti-trafficking campaigns and social assistance for victims in Russia and Ukraine are a part of global anti-trafficking mobilizations and are shaped by extra-local and transnational relations and discourses. For example, funds for social assistance to trafficking victims in Russia and Ukraine often come from extra-local sources such as the U.S. Department of State, Swedish government, International Organization for Migration (IOM), etc. The task of this dissertation is to collect information and map out the relations within the transnational social regulation of anti-trafficking.

After the preliminary data collection in 2002, I returned to Ukraine and Russia in September 2004 and stayed until August 2005. I maintained the two initial entry points—the NGOs, *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition*—as the main sites of observation. I first spent seven months in Russia (September 2004 – March 2005) and later moved to Ukraine, staying there between April 2005 and August 2005. I made my third and final trip into the field from May through June 2006 to follow-up on changes in anti-trafficking regulations and to observe several more sites in Ukraine.

Since both NGOs—*LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition*—have many regional partners that provide social assistance to trafficking victims, I felt it important to examine the relations within the national networks of non-governmental organizations of each country. In Ukraine, in addition to volunteering for *LaStrada-Ukraine* in Kyiv, I also made trips to Zhytomyr, Simferopol, Sevastopol, Mykolayiv, Odessa, Ternopil, Kherson, Lutsk, and Dnipropetrovsk. In Russia, I was based in Moscow and made visits to Nizhniy Novgorod, Kazan, Murmansk, Petrozavodsk, Saratov, Rostov, Novocherkassk, Yaroslavl, and St. Petersburg. I selected these cities based on availability of sheltering facilities for trafficking victims and programs of social reintegration, as well as their centrality in the anti-trafficking networks[1]. Often, I combined visits to the NGOs with attendance at anti-trafficking conferences organized by them.

I chose NGOs as the primary sites of ethnographic observation because of their central status in the effort against trafficking: they work with women, and they are connected to other NGOs, donors, governments, international organizations, academia, and mass media. I specifically selected *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition* because of their global connections, long history, and broad influence locally and internationally; further, both are connected with

[1] See Appendix A for a complete list of NGOs visited.

other NGOs that provide assistance to trafficking victims, in the form of shelter services or social reintegration. Establishing a presence at these respective organizations allowed me to gain access to female survivors of trafficking, who were receiving social assistance. In addition, both NGOs have small libraries of their published works, manuals, produced mass media publications, and videos; I utilized all of these in the data collection. Additionally, I followed the everyday activities at *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition* by attending their meetings, workshops, public campaigns, and conferences. The conferences were useful sites for data gathering because they typically included representatives from NGOs, international organizations, and government, as well as trafficking survivors. I was able to use these NGOs as entry points in my research and located other important interviewees (state representatives, journalists, professors, etc.) through their contacts. Also, through NGOs and their activities, I met many foreign representatives of the anti-trafficking community; this aspect of the research enabled me to incorporate translocal actors into my analysis and capture the transnational character of anti-trafficking regulations.

In addition, utilizing an institutional ethnographic approach allowed me to focus on the practices of the NGOs in relation to the women with whom they work. While volunteering for *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition*, I participated in providing assistance to victims; in the process, I worked and communicated with several female survivors of trafficking and was able to observe the repatriation and reintegration processes in action.

Anti-trafficking campaigns in Ukraine are highly meaningful because the most vocal and organized initiatives in all of the post-Soviet countries started there and are supported by the state. In contrast, anti-trafficking initiatives by Russian NGOs do not receive same state support. By viewing each country's efforts in the anti-trafficking mobilizations, and noting their

differences, one can begin to see the differences in governmental responses—a key objective of this dissertation.

The post-Soviet region is also an interesting area for research because it represents an opportunity to analyze how former state socialist countries have integrated into the global economy and have dealt with the transnational regulation of social problems. Further, studying the post-Soviet region helps illustrates how gender was one of the central axes of this social transformation. The transition to a market-based economy in the post-socialist region has had profound effects on shaping gender relations in the countries. The existing literature on gender relations in these countries points to a rupture with the preexisting "gender order" (Connell 1990), new modes of signifying gender and sex, and new gendered and sexual identities (Einhorn 1993; Bridger & Kay 1996; Verdery 1996; Gal & Kligman 2000; Gapova 2002; Watson 2000; Zhurzhenko 2001). This dissertation advances these studies of the gendered transformation by analyzing the gendering of social problems' regulation in Russia and Ukraine.

Investigating ruling relations

Institutional ethnography seeks to reconstruct ruling relations or social organization from the actualities of women's lives (Smith 1999). Dorothy Smith (1999) explains that the "ruling relations" are objectified social relations that exist independently from us. These are social facts, like money or markets:

> The ruling relations are text-mediated and text-based systems of "communication," "knowledge," "information," "regulation," "control," and the like. The functions of "knowledge, judgement, and will" that Marx saw as wrestled from the original "producer" and transferred to capital become built into a specialized complex of *objectified* forms of organization and relationship. Max Weber's (1978) account of bureaucracy is an early specification, and indeed it is a part of an examination of the historical differentiation of person and organization in the exercise of political power. But these developments are not confined to the

> state. Knowledge, judgement, and will are less and less properties of the individual subject and more and more of objectified organization. They are constituted as actual forms of concerting and concerted activities and *can be investigated as such.* (Smith 1999:77-78)

Further, institutional ethnography looks to describe the institutional power of organizations and processes. It pays particular attention to the analysis of the text-mediated nature of ruling relations. Texts, definitions, categories, and standards are the objects of institutional ethnographic investigation. Applying this goal to ethnography of anti-trafficking campaigns, I analyzed institutional power in several ways. First, I collected and analyzed documents that institutional participants of anti-trafficking campaigns have produced: anti-trafficking legislation, planning processes, procedures, and production of categories. Doing this helps analyze the text-mediated relations that connect actual female survivors of trafficking with institutions. Second, I focused on bureaucratized and routinized practices of the institutions (such as intake procedures or monitoring). This allowed me to observe how the real-life situations of the women-migrants are often treated as individual cases that need to be "managed." Third, by analyzing informational campaigns of the NGOs in the mass media, I was able to describe how different institutional actors (NGOs, state officials, journalists, academics) frame, for the general population, the problem of trafficking. This allowed me to map out different representations and images presented to the public. Fourth, I analyzed the strategies that are used to legitimize expert authority; this helped to discern how experts justify their claims of having institutional ruling authority. Lastly, I examined self-presentations of women-migrants as they spoke of changes in their lives. In this dissertation, I describe the workings of institutional power present in narratives of the women, with special attention paid to the interpretation of migrant women's experiences. I analyze how institutions (governments, NGOs, academia, mass media) produce gendered,

classed, and national identities through their ideological frameworks, and I summarize the institutional "explanations" of trafficking and the outcomes of its victims.

Institutional ethnography and theorizing

How can institutional ethnography that analyzes the "actualities" of individual people's lives help in understanding the macro-level phenomena? By focusing on institutional effects on people's lives, institutional ethnography can trace or reconstruct how social institutions operate.

> The connections of actual activities performed locally are coordinated translocally, contributing their organization to local practices. Carrying ethnography beyond the locally observable is made possible both by the approach to work organization through the work knowledges of participants and through innovative methods of incorporating the coordinating functions of text into ethnographic practice. Translocal forms of coordinating people's work are explored as they are to be found in the actual ways in which coordination is locally accomplished (Smith 2005:37-38)

In relation to my research project, I do not use the concept of "transnational regulation of social problems" as a starting point of investigation. Rather, various aspects of the transnational regulation of social problems emerge in interviews, observations at NGOs, and in different texts (laws, policies, etc.).

Data collection

In the course of my ethnographic investigation, I relied on different data collection techniques: participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis. As mentioned, there were several sites of observation. I worked as a volunteer in the offices of *LaStrada-Ukraine* in Kyiv and *Angel Coalition* in Moscow. As a volunteer, I was able to meet all members of the organizations, observe everyday activities and meetings, and contribute to the organizations'

work. After only a short time spent at the organizations, I developed positive relations with staff members, participated in discussions and conversations, and was assigned my own volunteer duties. In the office of *Angel Coalition*, I was responsible for Russian-English translation and the compilation of reports and proceedings from conferences organized by the organization. At *LaStrada-Ukraine*, I performed some translation and also explored grant-writing opportunities for the organization. However, my status at the organizations was different from a regular employee: I kept my own schedule and did my volunteer work when I had free time. Each organization was aware of my goal—to conduct dissertation research. Being a volunteer eased my entry into the field, and using participant observation allowed me to get a close look at the work of each NGO—their procedures, principles, motivations, and problems.

Through *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition*, I located regional NGOs (many of them partners of *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition*) that I visited throughout my year in the field. Observations at regional NGOs ranged from one day to several weeks (e.g., St. Petersburg) and normally included visits to the organization and its sheltering facility and interviews with the NGO staff members and female survivors of trafficking. The limitation of making only shorter visits to regional NGOs was that I could not obtain as in-depth of an understanding of each organization as I had of *LaStrada-Ukraine* and *Angel Coalition*. However, these trips were beneficial in that I was able to better understand the networking aspect of anti-trafficking organizations as well as regional differences in migration trends and social responses to migration.

In addition to NGO offices, participant observation was also conducted at anti-trafficking conferences and public meetings throughout Russia and Ukraine. For example, in Russia, I attended parliamentary hearings on the legal foundations preventing human trafficking. In

Ukraine, I participated in a meeting that discussed the national comprehensive anti-trafficking program. These conferences and meetings were useful sites for observation because they involved experts speaking about and negotiating on anti-trafficking policies and measures; they presented the "official" point of view.

At all of the NGOs observed, I talked to staff members about the opportunity to conduct interviews with their clients—female survivors of trafficking. Talking about living through trafficking and its associated violence is a traumatic experience; as such, it was important for me to control for power effects in the interviewing process because women could perceive me as an NGO worker and an interview as a mandatory requirement to receive assistance. In order to avoid influencing the women's consent to participate in interviews, NGO's employees approached survivors and asked if they would be willing to talk to a researcher. I instructed the employees to tell their clients that participation was strictly voluntary and that they could refuse to participate. I supplied the NGOs' employees with a short description of my research goals and questions as well as my contact information. In all, 17 women consented to participate in the study (10 in Ukraine and 7 in Russia). In addition, I recruited three women whom I met outside of the NGOs' facilities (one through a personal connection, one at a conference, and another through a TV program). I explained the goals of the research and then asked each woman to read and sign the consent forms, which were presented in Russian.

Recruitment of trafficking victims is a methodologically and ethically challenging process (Brennan 2005; Cwikel & Hoban 2005; Tyldum & Brunovskis 2005); this population is highly mobile, hidden, and connected to illegal activities. Samples obtained from the population are non-representative. Cwikel & Hoban (2005) recommend to "gain access to women in the most representative settings with a clear understanding of the limits and biases of the sample" (p.

311). However, despite recruiting female survivors of trafficking through non-governmental organizations, certain limitations remained with regard to the representation of the sample. During my field work, I could only access a segment of trafficked people—those who came into contact with the NGOs. Many others who return to their home countries after being trafficked do not seek help because they are afraid of traffickers and try to avoid stigma, especially in the case of women who have been trafficked into the sex trade. Additionally, some women who have received past assistance from NGOs are no longer in contact with them. Thus, my sample is limited to women who are or who used to be clients of anti-trafficking NGOs and who continue their contact with the respective organization. The benefit of having such a sample is that I was able to gain access to survivors of trafficking who were actively seeking out social assistance or who had accepted the help of an NGO after it was offered to them. In other words, my sample frame includes survivors of trafficking who were continuously engaged with anti-trafficking organizations. For the purposes of institutional ethnography, this is an acceptable sample frame. The limitation of this scenario is that I am unable assess the institutional effects on the lives of people who do not come in contact with the NGOs, even if they have experienced institutional effects, e.g., by being affected by anti-trafficking legislation. However, the benefit of having NGOs as recruitment sites was having access to clients who were receiving assistance and to be able to observe the social relations of such institutional assistance.

I conducted interviews with survivors in various settings. Typically, I asked respondents if they preferred to stay in the NGO office or to go out somewhere else. Approximately half of the interviews were conducted in NGO offices, in a private setting, with no others present. The remainder was conducted outside of the NGO setting—in a café or in a park. In all cases, I ensured that the setting was private enough so that confidentiality could be preserved. Some

interviews, due to their length, required several meetings, and it was more convenient to schedule meetings at other times than conduct one very long session.

The format of the interviews was semi-structured, and I had prepared a list of questions to follow[2]. I typically started by asking each woman how she came into contact with the NGO. This question brought us together by relating to a commonality—our connection to a particular NGO. Then, I had the women tell me about their experiences of traveling, being in a foreign country, coming back, and re-adjusting their lives at home. Lastly, I had them speak of their current living situation and their future plans. While ensuring that I asked everything I wanted to know, I also allowed respondents to choose the interview's direction. In some cases, the women began the interview by talking about their families, and, in others, they began by talking about their health. I feel that letting the women choose the direction was a productive strategy—it shows what issues and concerns were of most importance to the respondents.

Besides using participant observation, I also relied on interviews to collect data from institutional actors (state officials, NGO professionals, academics, and others). Through 41 interviews with institutional actors, I was provided information on history of anti-trafficking campaigns in both Ukraine and Russia[3]. Depending on which organization my respondents represented, I altered the interview scenarios. The interviews with institutional actors covered the organization's role in anti-trafficking activities, institutional "motives" in addressing this social problem, and forms of assistance to the trafficking victims. In addition, these discussions supplied information on how the institutional representatives define the problem of trafficking, as well as its causes and solutions.

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[2] See Appendix D for the list of questions.
[3] See Appendix D for the list of questions for institutional actors and Appendixes B and C for the lists of governmental officials and international organizations.

All interview questions were asked in Russian; however, not all respondents spoke Russian fluently, and several answered in Ukrainian. I understood most of what these individuals said because of the similarity of Russian and Ukrainian. In few instances when I could not understand, I asked for clarification. In all interviews, I made extensive usage of probing. Such questions as "why?" and "how is that?" helped the respondents think more deeply about the issues and their own views.

When analyzing interviews, I paid special attention to connections among different institutional actors, the institutional practices and categories applied in relation to their clients, and the institutional effects on women's lives and subjectivities. I also recognized that women who have undergone a "reintegration" process with the help of an anti-trafficking NGO often use institutional terminology. DeVault and McCoy (2006) warn that "people in an institutional setting describe their work using the language of an institution" (p. 37). This concerns not only NGO professionals but also trafficking survivors. Women often describe their experiences in terms of institutional definitions, standards, and categories—"institutional grammars"—and an important part of interview analysis is to understand how women craft their identities in response to the institutional power.

Another important source of data for analysis came in the form of various documents. To better understand how governments define the problem of sex trafficking, I analyzed legislative acts and national programs aimed at combating human trafficking and gendered violence. Documents obtained from NGOs (intake forms, recorded stories of migrant women, reintegration plans, contracts of admission to shelter, evaluations of NGOs' work, etc.) provided information about institutional practices and procedures. I also analyzed informational materials and manuals produced by NGOs for the purpose of educating the general public and specific audiences

(students, educators, etc.) about trafficking. Published research findings presented by NGO professionals and scholars were another valuable source of information. Finally, I analyzed public media accounts (newspaper and magazine articles, images, films, anti-trafficking video ads, radio jingles) to understand how journalists and other social actors present the problem of trafficking to the general public. I obtained media accounts through NGOs who monitor local mass media publications, relying on purposive sampling in the selection of accounts—they had to present the problem of trafficking or discuss trafficking victims. Analytical procedures used included identification of common discursive markers in the texts (themes, topics, frames, etc.); this helped me understand how social institutions exercise ideological power through institutional discourses.

Triangulation

Triangulation helps to minimize error in research observation. Berg (2001) suggests that by combining several perspectives, or "lines of sight," researchers can ensure a more complete picture of the field. In my research, I triangulated by using different methods of data collection—participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis. Another triangulation strategy used was to observe at different sites, which I accomplished by traveling to NGOs in various cities in Russia and Ukraine. Finally, I achieved triangulation through time comparison—making field observations at different times: 2002, 2004, 2005, and 2006.

Organization

Chapter 2, "Gendered Risks of Migration and Transnational Trafficking Chains" deals with the globalization of the sex-trade industry. It analyzes the supply and demand sides of sex-

trafficking markets and describes how sex trafficking of women is integrated into the overall organization of the global sex trade. I apply the "global commodity chains" approach to analyze the transnationalization of production and consumption in the global sex trade. Chapter 2 also shows how traffickers rely on different strategies of coercion and control of women to make ensure profits. Further, I describe the main factors that facilitated the entry of women from former Soviet countries into the global sex trade.

In Chapter 3, "Formation of Transnational Regulation: Mapping Social Actors in Anti-Trafficking Campaigns," I argue that globalization creates significant changes in the ways nation-states regulate social problems. I suggest that focusing on transnational regulatory regimes is an appropriate approach to analyzing campaigns against sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. I map out the anti-trafficking programs of different institutional actors—state offices, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations—to demonstrate how their collaboration creates transnational regulation of the social problem of sex trafficking of women. I pay special attention to the relations between Western and local, non-governmental activists and to the role of state in transnational regulation of sex trafficking.

In Chapter 4, "Risk Management," I analyze the institutional interventions aimed at minimizing the risks to sex trafficking victims. I look at prevention programs, prosecution practices, and protection of victims to describe how these institutional practices produce regulatory effects.

Chapter 5, "Risk Dramaturgy," focuses on symbolic means that anti-trafficking mobilizations employ to present the problem of sex trafficking of women as an important social issue. In this chapter, I analyze images and representations produced by anti-trafficking activists.

Chapter 6, "Ruling vs. Dialogical Relations: NGOs, Women, and Institutional Power," analyzes women's narratives of their rehabilitation experiences and discusses how the trafficked women negotiate their identities in response to the institutional power of the NGOs that help them. I focus on two modes of interaction between the NGOs and the victims—ruling and dialogical relations. I assess how these two modes of social relation affect women's identities.

I conclude the dissertation by summarizing main findings and outlining different factors that facilitate the transnational regulation of sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine.

CHAPTER 2

GENDERED RISKS OF MIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONAL TRAFFICKING CHAINS

Institutional actors in anti-trafficking campaigns often describe women's migration in terms of risks. They present women as a special risk group among migrants. What are the risks that women face and what social conditions create them? In this chapter, I explore the transnational organization of sex trafficking and describe different factors that contribute to the risks of sexual exploitation of migrant Russian and Ukrainian women in the global sex trade. First, I analyze supply and demand sides of sex trafficking markets. Then, I apply the "global commodity chain" approach (Gereffi 1994) to sex trafficking to describe the transnational organization of the social phenomenon. Throughout the chapter, I rely on stories of trafficking survivors as situated experiences. I extend these experiences to theoretical concepts to make sense of socioeconomic relations that engender the risks of sex trafficking.

Sex trafficking markets

The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime provides a definition of trafficking. Article 3 of its supplementing Protocol defines trafficking in persons as:

> (a) Trafficking in persons shall mean: the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, 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; (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the extended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used (cited in Haveman & Wijers 2001).

Sex trafficking is an organized criminal activity that increasingly takes place in the context of transnational migration. Supply and demand sides of sex trafficking markets are closely related

to push and pull factors of the transnational migration of women. Scholars of the sex trade have described how the feminization of affective labor is an essential characteristic of the sex industry (Enloe 2000; Guy 1991; Hershatter 1997; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Pettman 1996, 1997). Researchers who focus on the globalization of the sex trade identify global transfer of affective labor as a distinguishing feature (Altman 2001; Pettman 1998; Thorbek 2002). Production and consumption in the global sex trade take place in the context of global division of intimate, affective, and sexual labor. This division exists between such countries like Thailand and Ukraine that primarily supply women for the global sex trade and countries like the Netherlands, which is one of the main tourist destinations for sexual consumption. Sex tourism, sex trade migration, and sex trafficking are expressions of the global transfer of affective labor (Thorbek 2002; Wonders & Michalowski, 2001). How does gender inform the rise in the flow of bodies and fantasies across the globe? I intend to further connect political economy, theories of gender and sexualities, and stories of the trafficking survivors to describe the factors that facilitate the entry of women from the former Soviet countries into the global sex trafficking markets. I break this down into analyses of the socioeconomic forces of supply and demand.

Supply

In order to understand the supply side of the sex trafficking market, I analyze interviews with female trafficking survivors and describe various "push" factors that affected their decision to migrate. The incorporation of the post-Soviet countries into the global economy has had numerous gendered effects, one of which is the increasing feminization of migration. The opening of the borders after the collapse of the Soviet Union made travel abroad possible.

Women from the former Soviet countries represent the largest of the most recent wave of sex trade migration to Western Europe, North America, Asia, and the Middle East.

The experiences and circumstances of the trafficked women whom I interviewed vary significantly. However, all of the women made decisions to migrate in the context of economic, family, housing, and employment problems (except one woman who was abducted from her home town[4]). The respondents' age ranged from 18 to 36 years old. All of the women traveled abroad to find employment (except the case of abduction). Only one woman was officially married at the time of interview. One woman is reunited with her husband after divorce. Eight out of twenty interviewed women have children; one woman had a child who died. Six out of twenty have permanent employment; five women are going though vocational training; others are not employed. One woman has higher education degree; two have not finished their higher education; two have post-secondary vocational school certificates, ten women have high school diplomas, and five have not finished high school.

Often women explain their decisions to migrate in terms of economic hardship. Many have a need to support their children and parents. When employment opportunities are scarce in the region, migration often becomes a strategy to generate income. For example, Olena (25 years old) could not find a job in her home village in the south of Ukraine and decided to go to Israel to work as a maid.

> N: How did you decide to go abroad?
> O: I divorced my husband. There was not much support, and I needed money. My parents are old. I have a child. When I got divorced, we had only my mom's income, and this was not enough. I could not work because I needed to stay with my child. My husband left the village, and he was not even here [in the home village].
> N: What kind of work were you looking for abroad?

[4] I refer to this case of abduction further on when I discuss recruitment strategies.

> O: Cleaner, maid. I was looking for something that pays at least $200. $100 for me and $100 that I could send to my mother and my child. 500 hryvnas [about $100] would be enough for two of them.
> N: Did you have an opportunity to find a job here?
> O: I worked before. I worked at a fish-processing plant as a worker. Then, the plant was closed. Also, after graduating from school, I got certified to work in sales, but I could not find a job. There are not so many jobs in our village or around it.
> N: How do you support your family now, after you came back?
> O: My husband supports me again. After I returned [from Israel], and he came back, we started living together again. Now, we live together.
> N: Where does your husband work?
> O: He is a construction worker. He does plastering and other tasks. He is not employed officially, but arranges for unofficial occasional employment for himself. He earns enough to support us. (Interview with Olena)

Olena decided to migrate because of economic necessity. She specifically describes her anticipated employment in terms of minimal salary that she needs to generate to support herself and her relatives. The closure of Olena's former place of employment – the fish-processing plant – was a significant loss of opportunities for the whole village where other jobs are scarce. Not only the lack of employment opportunities in her home village led Olena to seek employment abroad, but also made her dependent on her husband for income. Olena's relations with her husband are complicated. She has divorced him, however, she is back to living with him upon her return from Israel.

> N: So, you decided to go abroad because you got divorced […].
> O: Yes, I decided to leave because he [the husband] kept coming back, and I thought that at some point I will give up, and we will start living together again. But I wanted to get separated for good.
> N: Why did you want to get separated?
> O: Because my husband has a conflict with my father. There are conflicts between me and my husband as well. And I knew that if I don't leave [to Israel], he will be back in 2-3 days, and we will be living together again. I thought that 4-5 months of my absence will make him leave somewhere for good.
> N: What is the conflict between your husband and father?
> O: We live with my parents, in a house. This is a problem. If we will continue living together [with the husband], we must have our own place. We have enough rooms in the house, but my husband has some problems with my father. He [husband] has good relations with my mother, but not with the father. Once, I take

> my husband's side, next time – I take my father's side. They can't agree on anything - where to store technical equipment, which TV program to watch, and so on. If we would have our own place, we would not have such conflicts. It is very expensive to buy here [in the home village] because this is a very beautiful place and there is high demand for housing. (Interview with Olena)

Another dimension of Olena's decision to migrate is the lack of affordable housing and the necessity to share house with her parents. The conflict between her husband and father is a source of distress for her. She feels torn between these two family members. A complex of institutional factors and interpersonal relations affected Olena's decision to migrate.

Domestic violence, divorce, and lack of social support were important factors in Alexandra's decision to travel to Poland to find a job. Alexandra is 32 years old. Her home city is located in the western part of Ukraine. She supports her 9-year-old daughter.

> I was married, but then I got divorced. He was an alcoholic, and he abused me. After I left him, I found a job, but the pay was not sufficient. I had to live with my parents. I was told [by parents], 'If you want to leave your husband, you have to find some work; we will not be helping you.' This is why I decided to go abroad. I realized that I cannot count on my parents. How will they understand me if they did not understand me before when they were convincing me to stay with him [her husband]? They [parents] told me, 'Stay with your husband; you will not be able to manage on your own.' So, I needed to find some place to live, and I needed to find a job. (Interview with Alexandra)

In the absence of social support from her family, Alexandra tried to assert her economic independence. Even though employment was available for Alexandra, compensation was not enough to support herself and her daughter.

Liza has found herself in a similar situation. She is 31 years old, divorced, and has two children. She lives in a city in the west of Ukraine. Even though Liza possesses cultural capital (two college degrees – in English and economics), she could not find suitable employment that would provide for her and her children.

> L: I am from here [home city]. I used to work in a school. I was a school teacher, a deputy principle. My salary was very small. I had children. I had a husband back

> then, but he did not support us. A friend of my husband offered me to work as a governess in Germany. She had a job related to arranging tourist visas. In Germany I was going to take care of children and teach them English.
> N: You taught English in school?
> L: Yes. But my salary as a teacher was $50, and I was offered €500 there [in Germany]. I agreed to go there for summer vacations; I could not stay longer than that. (Interview with Liza)

Through migration, Liza tried to raise extra money. She was not arranging a long-term foreign employment, but a short-term one, while she is on 3-month summer vacations at her permanent place of work, at school. Liza thought that she can use her knowledge of English and get paid much more than she received in Ukraine. Even though Liza has two university degrees, she was not able to convert her educational capital into desired financial compensation in her hometown in Ukraine. Liza decided to migrate to be able to spend part of the earned money for her children and save the rest for the future; she wanted economic security.

Nina decided to seek foreign employment because she was in a desperate need of money. Nina is 22 years old; she is the oldest child in her family. Nina's mother and step-father have been addicted to alcohol for a long time; Nina was the main caretaker for her younger sister and brother. When Nina and her siblings lived with their parents in a small town in the north of Russia, they had to move to one room in their apartment and put a lock in the door to stop their alcoholic parents from selling the children's belongings. The children earned money by picking mushrooms and berries, and selling them on the market. Despite this difficult family situation, Nina successfully graduated from a high school, and moved to a large nearby city. She started working as a saleswoman at a local market. Soon, she brought her sister to live with her in the city, and to attend a vocational school. Her brother was in a juvenile prison for stealing from a supermarket. Nina's salary was not enough to support her and her sister; she gradually accumulated a large debt that she needed to pay back. Nina decided to post a job seeking ad at

the market where she worked. A recruiter contacted her with an offer to travel to Israel and work as a maid in a prosperous house of immigrants from Russia. He promised to pay off Nina's debt and to cover all transportation, passport, and visa expenses. Nina's life situation indicates lack of economic and social capital. The offer of a well-paying job in Israel seemed not only like a solution to financial problems, but also a strategy for upward mobility.

Zoya is from a city in the west of Ukraine; she is 36 years old. She also made a decision to migrate under the pressure to pay off debt. Zoya spoke very angrily about Ukrainian state policies that force people to seek employment abroad.

> Z: State officials like to ask me, "why did you go abroad?" Of course, I did not go abroad because I had a good life here. I had a good job, but no pay. Between 1990 and 1998, even until 2000, our government often did not pay any salaries for months. We have accumulated a debt for rent payments. We could eat somehow, but we could not pay for the apartment. And in 2000 the state obliged us to pay the debt. We had several thousands [hryvnas] in debt. The condition was that if you don't pay in 2 months, they will evict your family. How many people were evicted! Why don't they [state officials] talk about this?
> N: Where were the people evicted to?
> Z: Nowhere. To the air. Of course, women started going on buses, trains, in suitcases, because they could not protect themselves socially here. There was an order from the city administration to evict in one day. They [bailiffs] were coming at noon or midnight, showing a court decision, and throwing people out and sealing the apartment. This is a fact, this is true. Traffickers used this situation – they would say, "We will pay your debts; the apartment stays in your possession, but you are going with me." What if people did not get paid for months? Where are they supposed to get the money to pay? They really had no other choice but to rely on traffickers. This is such genocide of the population! Germans were shooting people up front. Now, no one was shooting at you, but such conditions were created that you either have to go abroad or commit suicide. There were cases when people were trafficked in empty petroleum transportation trucks. Only slim women could fit into the opening of the truck. No one is interested in human life. Many times we [survivors] have to talk about this topic, "why did you go?" Yes, maybe I went to earn money abroad, but I did not know that I will be dressed up and put on some man's lap. I knew that I will clean something and wash; I did not know that I will be servicing men from dawn to sunset and all the money will be taken from me. (Interview with Zoya)

Zoya describes the effects of institutional restructuring in Ukraine and compares them to effects of genocide. In the 1990s, Ukraine and Russia underwent a rapid shift from a state-controlled economy to a market-oriented one. Governments have embraced neoliberal ideology that propagates minimal state interference into the economy in order to create a favorable economic environment for transnational capital and free trade. Incorporation into the global economy was accompanied by such processes as privatization of the former publicly owned enterprises, price and trade liberalization, and cuts in welfare spending. As the post-Soviet states were in the process of transferring the former government property to private owners, workers often did not received salaries for months. The result being that by the time the workers did receive their money, its purchasing power was much lower due to hyperinflation. At the same time, the price of rent, gas, and electricity increased as the states sought to deregulate prices and make them market-regulated. In addition, many state employees lost their jobs because the economic restructuring led to the closure of numerous enterprises as well as the decline of manufacturing and agricultural industries. This created a powerful "push" factor for people to seek other employment opportunities, some involving migration.

The gendered effects of such a transition to capitalism have been extensively documented by researchers: women, especially working women, are negatively affected by the structural adjustment programs, primarily in the area of public employment, state subsidies, and benefits (Beneria, Feldman 1992; Moghadam 1993). For example, Zhurzhenko (2004) describes how delays in child support payments in Ukraine lasted through the 1990s and continue until today:

> At the end of the 1990s, there was a growing debt with regard to social payments to families with children: in 1996, 20.1 million hryvnas; in 1999, 43.8 million. Until 1999, the calculation and payments of family allowances was a function of the enterprises and companies. Many of them were in difficult financial situations, under reorganization, or in liquidation, and they could no longer provide these social payments. Since 1999, when these functions were transferred to local

> offices for social protection, the situation has improved slightly. However, the local offices today still have serous problems with financing social payments – mainly because of the debts of many enterprises to the local budget (p. 40).

The delays in child support payments affect all families, but especially single mothers. For many women in the post-Soviet countries, the restructuring meant more responsibilities, lower incomes, inequality in the labor market, harsher working conditions, and diminished quality of public services (Bridger 1997; Corrin 1992; Einhorn 1993; Kiblitskaya 2000; Malysheva 2001).

Rimashevskaia (2002) describes the five most important problems that Russia faced during the socioeconomic *perestroika*: rapid reduction of living standards, poverty for the largest part of the population, extreme polarization of incomes, unemployment, and deterioration of the welfare system. Russia underwent several financial crises in 1992, 1995, and 1998, and each time people lost their savings due to enormous hyperinflation. The economic "shock therapy" of 1992 involved a series of state policies intended to bring about a market-oriented economy by liberalizing trade, releasing control of prices, eliminating state subsidies, and privatizing publicly-owned enterprises. These policies led to a situation when 80% of population could be qualified as "poor" in 1993 according to state statistical measures (Rimashevskaia 2002). Gerber (2004) describes how public institutions in Russia became dysfunctional in the 1990s: the Russian government did not pay wages to workers for months, and state employees who did not receive their salaries engaged in bribery and renting out state property as a way to survive.

A major result of the restructuring was a decline in state spending for social welfare, often a requirement for getting loans and credit from IMF. The Russian and Ukrainian governments thus ended or reduced many social programs and benefits for women. Families in this situation were left to survive on their own, with women being the primary care-takers. Kiblitskaya (2000) demonstrated how women in post-Soviet Russia became "female

breadwinners," responsible for sustaining the family when the state withdrew support for families; she characterized this relationship between women and the state as divorcing women from the state. Women became more vulnerable in labor relations as employers considered them "too expensive" labor because of subsidies as well as maternal and sick leaves are often tied to women.

Similar conditions existed in Ukraine in the 1990s: impoverishment and unemployment, the collapse of welfare, and the adoption of new survival strategies by families. Zhurzhenko (2001) describes the situation in Ukraine as the "transformational crisis of social reproduction" (P. 104). The state abandoned its provision of housing, guaranteed employment, and family assistance. This meant that families, especially women, took on the burden of reproductive work. The disappearance of state-subsidized support required Ukrainian families to adopt new survival strategies such as subsistence farming, a reliance on family and relatives (i.e., child care), the reduction of medical care spending (i.e., preventive medicine), and increased employment in informal sectors of economy (Zhurzhenko, 2001).

Job migration is another survival strategy that the Ukrainian state actively supports. This is a way for the state to generate revenues with the help of remittances sent by migrants. As a representative of the State Committee on the Affairs of Family and Youth said at a conference, "People are leaving in the search of work. They will continue to leave. We need to legislate this way of earning a living. The state does not have resources to protect all socially vulnerable groups" (Conference Presentation, June 2002). Job migration is not only a survival strategy, but also a way for the state to minimize its social spending.

Another factor affecting women's position in the former socialist countries is the advancement of "neotraditionalist" gender ideology (Gal & Kligman 2000; Verdery 1996;

Zhurzhenko 2001). The invocation of tradition is a common reaction to global shifts in many countries (e.g., the Afghan Taliban movement or the Moral Majority in the USA). In the case of post-Soviet countries, neotraditionalists define the tradition in the opposition to the communist past. They suggest that women's economic emancipation during the Soviet times is the root of contemporary family problems and advocate a "return" to "traditional" family and gender roles. The neotraditionalist ideology, with its preoccupation with the autonomy of the family, coincides with the neoliberal ideology that also emphasizes familial autonomy and minimization of the state influence (Zhurzhenko, 2001). Neotraditionalism is then a neoliberal family backed up by "tradition."

In the context of unemployment for both men and women, state officials often use the neotraditionalist argument about "women's natural function" to deny women equal employment opportunities. The gender ideology of neotraditionalism serves as a justification for the political and economic disempowerment of women. However, the ideological declarations and reality are in sharp contradiction. In both the Ukraine and Russia, regardless the intensive rhetorical invocation of neotraditionalism, the state leaves families to survive on their own. This only weakens the legitimacy of the state, which is in no position to afford the restoration of the traditional family (Zhurzhenko, 2004). There is a disjuncture between state intentions to "traditionalize" the nation by returning women to the family and the reality of female breadwinners. The advancement of neotraditionalism has its limits.

Another aspect of the supply side of the sex trafficking market is its reliance on gendered and sexualized bodies. "Resexualization" of life in post-Soviet countries has produced new images of femininity (Attwood, 1996, Lissyutkina, 1993). A beautiful appearance defines the image of the "New Woman," compared to the asexual and work-oriented "Soviet Woman." The

ideal woman freely expresses her sexual desire; she is tender, caring, and passionate. Voronina (1994) argues that the "New Woman" combines both "Madonna" and "Whore" imagery – she is both seductive and domestic. For example, overt sexualization of women's bodies manifests itself in the labor market - job advertisements in Russian newspapers emphasize requirements for women's appearance and age; job interviews have the hidden agenda of sexual favors, and sexual harassment at work is a frequent phenomenon (Bridger and Kay, 1996). The sociocultural constructions of gendered and sexualized bodies are related to the commodification of women's bodies in the sex trafficking market.

Women make decisions to travel abroad in the context of several combining factors. Economic hardship, lack of employment opportunities, difficulties in family relations, or necessity to provide for children or other family members are the most common factors. Women's economic insecurity stands out as the most significant factor that influenced migration decisions of all respondents in my sample. The economic insecurity ranges from emergency-like situations (as in the case of Zoya who could have lost her house, or Nina who had to repay borrowed money) to less urgent circumstances (such as the case of Liza who needed short-term employment to raise extra money). It is important to keep in mind the institutional restructuring that created conditions for the economic insecurity. By introducing economic reforms but failing to protect the well-being of the people and shield them from economic deprivation, the state contributed to the operation of sex trafficking markets.

Demand

As advertisements, the tourism industry, and mass media spread the culture of sexual consumerism across the world, the sex trade industry transnationalizes its economic practices.

The sex trade is concentrated in the global cities, tourist zones, bars, clubs, and around military bases where there are relatively large concentrations of capital. Men are the main consumers of the commodified sex. Pateman (1988) argues that masculine identity and power is often constructed through access to women's bodies. The sex trade is an institution that allows men to assert their manhood through the consumption of sexual services (ibid.; Sea-ling, 2000; Nguyen-vo, 1998). Agathangelou and Ling (2003) show how peacekeeping as an institution not only creates a hypermasculine identity for soldiers (which potentially clashes with a feminized peacekeeping identity) and often exists in a neocolonial context of "rescuing the Native", but also relies on sexual consumption of the trafficked victims to support this westernized masculinized identity.

Further, Wonders and Michalowski (2001) look at how sex tourism is an intrinsic part of consumer capitalism and analyze new forms of sexual consumption. They consider sexual consumption as production and consumption of simulacra: "tourists feel free to experience the identity of 'others' by sampling cultural products, experiences, bodies, and identities" (p. 552). Women's bodies become commodities consumed by sex tourist, representations of "other" cultures, and objects for experiencing new "virgin" territories. The construction of demand relies on certain racialized and ethnicized images of bodies and constructions of femininity (Pettman, 1998). Such images are gendered stereotypes and objectify groups of people as exotic fetishes (Thorbek 2002; Wonders & Michalowski 2001). Nagel (2000) shows how ethnicity and sexuality interact and how their boundaries create "ethnosexual frontiers." The global sex trade capitalizes on this exoticization and consumption of ethnosexual contacts. Ethnicities become new brands of sexual products. Japan and Switzerland have special visa programs that allow foreign nationals to travel to these countries as "entertainers." Although some visa recipients are

not related to the sex trade, most of the visas are issued to women who officially perform exotic dancing (striptease), and unofficially work as hostesses and sex workers. In this way, the governments of Japan and Switzerland meet the demand in ethnosexual contacts while maintaining strict immigration policies.

The demand side of the sex trafficking market constructs certain representations of the post-Soviet women; race, culture, and gender structure these representations. In terms of racialization, whiteness defines Slavic femininity. Naming sex trade workers from the former Soviet Union "Natashas" represents cultural 'othering.' In Scandinavian countries, women from the former Soviet Union are referred to as "eastern girls." Lastly, representations of women as feminine, seductive, and having traditional values (Madonna/Whore combination) demonstrate gendering and sexualization of women's bodies.

Transnational sex trafficking chains

Studies focusing on sex trafficking often emphasize the criminal organization of sex trafficking (Tyuryukanova & Erokhina 2002; Erokhina & Buryak 2003; Orlova 2004; Stoker 2002). I argue that the social context of this crime needs to be considered through the lens of globalization. The transnationalization of the sex trade is one of the processes in the global economy (Altman, 2001). I apply the "global commodity chains" approach to describe the transnationalization of production, consumption, and profit-making activities in sex trafficking markets.

Global commodity chains approach

The global commodity chain approach was first formulated by representatives of the world systems' theory and dependency theory. Hopkins and Wallerstein (1986) defined a commodity chain as "a network of labor and production processes whose end result is a finished commodity" (p.159). The model is useful for the analysis of transnationalization of commodity production, as well as for the transnational division of labor. The global commodity chain approach is an application of network analysis to the study of economic processes. It links together stages of production, distribution, and consumption of a product or service.

The structure of a commodity chain looks like a series of nodes connected in a network (Gereffi, Korzeniewicz & Korzeniewicz, 1994).

Figure 2.1. Commodity chain structure.

Inputs (raw materials, equipment, fuel, etc.) → Labor → Transportation → Distribution → Consumption

There are several advantages of using the global chains approach to analyze transnationalization of economic processes. Firstly, it avoids generalizations about the whole of the global economy by focusing on industries as units of analysis. Also, it allows incorporating connections between formal and informal sectors of the economy.

Although the "global chains" approach was primarily used in economics for the studies of globalization of manufacturing, it has also been successfully used in sociology and other disciplines. For example, Hochschild (2000) applies this approach to the analysis of the global transfer of reproductive labor. She suggests that global care chains are "a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid and unpaid work of caring" (p. 131). A large number of migrant women perform "caring work," or reproductive labor. Domestic services,

child and elderly care, restaurant service, the entertainment industry, and the sex trade have experienced large increases in the employment of migrant women. The migration of women to sites with higher standards of living reflects the international transfer of reproductive labor (Hochschild 2002; Tyuryukanova & Malysheva 2001; Parrenas 2001). A typical example of this global care chain is the employment of an immigrant woman as a domestic worker in a wealthy family, while another woman cares for the domestic worker's children or elders back home. Hochschild's research demonstrates the transnational political economy of outsourcing.

Global commodity chains and the global sex trade

Michael Clancy (2002) uses the "global commodity chain" model to analyze sex tourism in Cuba. He shows how Cuba's role in the global sex tourism industry became particularly prominent in the context of the government's attempts to revive the economy after its collapse in the 1990s. The government's promotion of tourism, necessity to service foreign debt, combined with low incomes of citizens and shortages of consumer goods positioned Cuba as one of the destination countries for global sex tourists: "The economic crisis and its effect on women were particularly acute in Cuba during the early 1990s, and this translated into women becoming willing to sell sexual services for dollars, ultimately making Cuba a bargain basement destination for sex tourists" (ibid., p. 80). The organization of global sex tourism chains in Cuba involves the branding and marketing of a tourist destination, transportation, provisions of housing and entertainment, and consumption of sexual services. Clancy argues that the sex trade in Cuba is relatively free from "brokers" – pimps and bar and brothel owners. Women come into contact with customers directly and are able to keep the payments (although these are hardly enough to support the women and their families). This differs from other types of sex tourist chains where

the sex trade is highly controlled by mediating agents. He concludes that various links within global sex tourism can be organized differently as they come under the influence of different global, national or local factors. In the case of Cuba, the determining factor is the state policy in relation to prostitution, which is prohibitionist towards the organized sex trade but turns a blind eye on individual women who earn a living in the sex trade.

Wonders and Michalowski (2001) do not specifically use the "global commodity chain" approach in their analysis of sex tourism, but their research presents a political-economic contribution into the study of the global sex trade. They analyze two key economic units – production and consumption – as they operate in global cities, central sites of globalization, such as Amsterdam and Havana.

Wonders and Michalowski (2001) studied sex trade organization in these cities by looking at four institutions: tourism industry, labor markets, sex industry, and legislation and policy. They found that the policy of legalized sex work in Amsterdam resulted in the development of a sex industry. Although the Netherlands does not rely on tourism revenues as much as other European countries, Amsterdam brings in large profits from sex tourists. The legalization of commodified sex enabled the establishment of brothels and other entertainment establishments, as well as labor rights regulation for women who work in the sex trade. However, as Wonder and Michalowski (2001) note, the focus has shifted from sex workers' rights to a provision of good business climate for the sex industry and its consumers:

> Despite the growth of organized business interests in the sex trade, the city's economic benefit from sex tourists, and the greater legitimacy accorded sex work, current policy does not appear to be strengthening the hand of sex workers… it seems that the focus of regulation is increasingly on improving the "merchandising" environment for the sex industry and for consumers, and reducing disruption to local citizens" (pp. 557-8).

Such organizations as the Men/Women and Prostitution Foundation and the Association of Operators of Relaxation Businesses strive to establish legitimacy for the organized sex trade industry. The sex trade market in Amsterdam is facing increasing division as immigrant women enter the industry, sex work being one of the few employment options available to them. Furthermore, illegal immigrants working in the underground sector of the sex trade creates a high degree of competition in the sex trade (and lowers prices for sexual services), thus splitting the market into several tiers with different degrees of legality. Therefore, even though sex trade is legalized in Amsterdam, the market consists of both legal and illegal segments. The legal market employs women with Dutch citizenship, while the illegal sector of the market provides employment for undocumented migrants. The illegal market lies outside of regulation and becomes a destination for the victims of sex trafficking.

In relation to the sex trade in Havana, Wonders and Michalowski (2001) come to similar conclusions as Clancy (2002). The Cuban state's reliance on tourism revenues, the privatization of some tourism-related venues (privately-owned restaurants, privately-rented apartments, licensing of private vehicles as cabs), and the introduction of hard currency stores facilitated the development of the country's sex tourism. However, the sex trade in Havana is not as organized of an industry as in Amsterdam. Although there are occasional third party involvements (landlords, cab drivers, etc.), women initiate most sex trade encounters on the streets and in clubs.

The conclusion that Wonders and Michalowski (2001) draw from their research is that sex tourism in the global economy is on the rise. There are global structural conditions that facilitate this growth of sex tourism –wealth and class polarization, the development of tourism, new forms of consumption, and the commodification of desire and bodies. Local and national

governments often use tourism and sex tourism as strategies for economic development, thereby further promoting the development of the sex trade.

Sex trafficking and global commodity chains

While sex tourism delivers customers to tour "exotic" destinations for consuming sexual services, sex trafficking is a differently-directed yet complementary process, with traffickers supplying women to the places of sexual consumption – tourist destinations, global cities, military bases, and other places with high concentrations of capital and purchasing power. There are three main components of the global chain analysis (Gereffi, 1994): input-output structure that traces the cycle of commodity circulation; territorial dispersion of the chain; and governance structure that describes power relations within a chain. Using these analytical components, I will outline the main characteristics and political-economic context in which global sex trafficking chains operate.

Input – output structure describes how criminal groups organize different tasks or functions within the chain. This component of commodity chain is also referred to as the *organization of sex trafficking chain*. It shows how traffickers use women's bodies and affective labor as commodities to create profit. It includes the following main stages: recruitment, transportation, and consumption. Different forms of control over the trafficked people enable their commodification and turns them into a source of profit. The final product in this input-output structure is the affective labor – work that produces affective experiences in people.

Figure 2.2. Organization of sex trafficking chain.

Recruitment → Transportation → Consumption

Recruitment is the first stage of initial contact between two agents, the recruiter and the recruited. The recruiter can be a physical person or an organization (employment agency, dancing show, etc.) that advertises or suggests well-paid employment, typically abroad. The most typical job offers are in domestic services, child and elder care, and the entertainment industry; common recruitment scenarios are through acquaintances. For example, a husband's friend recruited Liza to work for a German family as a governess. The recruiter worked in a tourist agency and had knowledge about tourist visa arrangement.

Vika, a 20-year old woman from Russia, was recruited by a representative of a dancing group:

> V: I was young. I took one year off from my studies in a university to earn some money. I was not receiving any scholarship. My friend said that she knew someone who can arrange for us to go abroad. She said that we would probably end up not going. But we decided to go and talk to that person. He offered us to go abroad and dance. We wanted to see other countries, to buy some clothes, jeans. I wanted to realize myself in a creative way – through dancing. He brought us to his place. His mom was the leader of a dance group. He showed us video tapes of their performances. We were preparing the program during two months; they bought costumes for us and arranged our passports.
> N: Did you have a contract?
> V: Yes, we signed a contract but we did not have a copy with us. I was 17, I did not know that I needed to have it. (Interview with Vika)

At the recruitment stage, a recruiter obtains the woman's consent to travel. The consent can be formalized, in the form of a work contract or marriage certificate, or it can include an informal agreement to find a place of employment.

Table 2.1. Selected recruitment scenarios.

Recruiter	**Promise**	**Initiated through:**	**Examples of situations**
Acquaintance	Work	Interaction	Victoria traveled to Serbia to visit her husband's sister who lived there. This sister invited her to go to a friend's house and left Victoria there with unknown people. These people told Victoria that her sister-in-law had sold her and she had to pay

			back the money that the traffickers had spent on her. They made her provide sexual services in a local club. Victoria was able to escape after a police raid in the club. (Victim intake form obtained from LaStrada-Ukraine, 2005)
Employment agency, including Au Pair	Work (legal or illegal)	Advertisement	Two sisters responded to a job ad in a local newspaper about waiting positions in France. The employment agency told them that they were qualified and the company would pay for all passport, visa, and transportation expenses. Their itinerary took them through Serbia where traffickers met them, then separated them, and sold one sister to a pimp in Albania and the other sister to a bar owner in Italy. One sister was able to escape and return to Ukraine; she initiated the search and repatriation of the other sister. (Victims intake form obtained from LaStrada-Ukraine, 2005).
Match-making websites	Travel, romance, marriage	Internet	A Ukrainian woman had met a Norwegian man online. After several months of communication, he invited her to visit him in Norway. Upon arrival, he locked her up in his apartment, raped her, and invited his friends to have sex with her. Eventually, she managed to call police; the man was arrested; the woman returned to Ukraine. (Victim intake form obtained from LaStrada-Ukraine, 2005).

Another means of recruitment is abduction. One case in my sample involves abduction of 18-year-old Natasha who was kidnapped from her home town in the south of Ukraine. At the time of kidnapping, she was 15 years old, and she had just graduated from a boarding school for orphans that she attended.

> N: How did you get to Chisinau?
> Natasha: Alex [trafficker] came to [Natasha's home town], the one who sold me, together with my female friend. He [...] They offered me [to go to Chisinau], and I said that I did not want [to go]. And then […] by manipulation […]. I was set in a car and they closed the door and we left. This was next to my house. My brother did not have time [to intervene] […].
> N: How did you know this female friend?
> Natasha: I studied in a boarding school, and this girl used to come there. I did not meet with her often. (Interview with Natasha)

Natasha's case is one of the few cases of kidnapping that anti-trafficking NGOs have reported. Most trafficked victims who have returned to Ukraine and received assistance through anti-trafficking NGOs decided to migrate abroad for work. However, abduction is also a recruitment strategy for supplying labor in the sex trafficking market. Natasha was a minor (at the time of abduction) and was an orphan who studied at a boarding school. The only relative she had was her younger brother who would probably not have prevented the abduction. Natasha had just graduated from boarding school and found herself in a transitional stage of her life – she had left school, but did not have any other occupation. The two factors – being an orphan and going through a transition – created additional risks for Natasha to be recruited. Researchers have described how traffickers often conduct recruitment at orphanages and boarding schools and how the risks of trafficking increase for people who transition from one occupation to another, e.g., from studying to working (Brunovskis &Tyldum 2004). The recruiters wanted to convince Natasha to travel with them. After she refused, however, they resorted to abduction.

The risks for women at this stage of trafficking include law violations related to obtaining illegal passports or visas. Traffickers often rely on corrupt state officials to obtain the travel documents. If border police detain the traveling women with fake documents, the women can face criminal charges.

Transportation is another stage in sex trafficking. Women may travel to destinations alone or accompanied by traffickers/recruiters. During transportation, women may cross borders legally or illegally. Liza traveled to Germany legally; she crossed the border with a tourist visa that a recruiter had arranged for her. Another former worker, Vika, left to Macedonia with a group of dancers who all had entertainment visas:

> We went there by car. It was free for us. Not exactly free, actually. He [the recruiter] kind of paid for us, and we needed to work and return the money. We

> went to Macedonia. We could enter Bulgaria without a visa, and get a Macedonian visa in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, we did not even go to the embassy – he [the recruiter] did everything for us. He had a certificate that we are circus artists. (Interview with Vika)

Illegal border crossing adds another level of risk for the women and creates their dependency on traffickers. Nina described her experience of illegal border crossing from Egypt to Israel as extremely dangerous:

> Risk was there, I understood this when we crossed the border. They [border police] could shoot [us], literally. The people with us [smugglers], they wore helmets, night vision goggles, and bullet-proof vests but we walked and crawled just like this. There, they could shoot. I understood this later and, of course, I was very scared. (Interview with Nina)

Upon arrival in the country of destination, traffickers sell women to bars, clubs, or brothel owners, or they become the women's pimps themselves. Natasha crossed the border illegally, accompanied by a smuggler, and was sold to a local pimp to work as a call girl:

> We went to Chisinau, crossed the border illegally, by foot. I wanted to scream, but Serezha who was walking me across the border said that he will kill me if I scream. When we arrived to Chisinau, Alex told me that if I tell anyone about how I arrived here and what I do, then my brother will be killed. We arrived. The pimp came and asked, "Will you be working?" I was silent, even though Alex told me what and how [I am supposed to do]. Lena [female friend, recruiter] nodded, and I said, "Yes, I will." He took me and we went home […] to the dispatcher apartment. We worked not as prostitutes, but as call girls. We did not stand in one spot; they were driving us around to different places. We lived in rented apartments, and were taken to work to hotels, saunas, houses. (Interview with Natasha)

Natasha's case demonstrates the extensive organization of the sex trafficking chains – the criminal group involved a recruiter (Lena), a trafficker (Alex), a smuggler (Serezha), a dispatcher, and a local pimp. Nina also discussed the transnational organization and coordination of the sex trafficking chains:

> They are very connected. Not only in one country […]. Everything begins even in Russia, because when a girl comes to Israel, her boss already knows everything. He knows how she looks. In Moscow, the owner of the transit apartment - he

> called himself Misha - he called to Israel, and said that he has such and such girls. Sometimes he would get an order, 'I need a blond girl, with such breasts, and of such height.' And they would send some girl. When we were transferred from hands to hands – from Moscow to Egypt, from Egypt to desert [the border area between Israel and Egypt], then to Tel-Aviv, they [pimps at a final destination] already knew who I am. They called my name, and I said that it's me. They already designated me to go to a certain place. So, it's not like they [traffickers] bring a group of girls and then find places for them. They know specifically who the owner is. (Interview with Nina)

The process of transporting women to a foreign country puts them in an extremely dependent position and makes them vulnerable to the control of traffickers – women typically do not speak local languages, their documents are taken away, and they are told that they have violated the law. Women face health and life risks, as well as risks of being without any financial resources.

Consumption within global sex trafficking chains takes places in the countries of destination. The main agents during this stage are the women, pimps, and clients who buy sex in places such as bars, clubs, brothels, hotels, apartments, and similar. Traffickers receive their profits during this stage from customers who pay for sexual services. Nina mentioned that there are numerous establishments for sexual consumption in Tel-Aviv where clients can purchase sexual services:

> I was shocked when we drove on the streets of Tel-Aviv. I was with Maimun [a boyfriend who rescued Nina from the brothel], and he was showing me around, 'Look, on the right – it's a brothel, on the left – another one.' They are literally within 5 meters from each other. You leave through one door, and you come in into another. There are some expensive, famous brothels, but mainly they are discrete apartments - 3-room, 5-room apartments. They [pimps] find a client, call him on the phone, and tell him the directions. There are people sitting there [dispatchers]. There are so many [of the brothels] […]. How many people work there! Girls work there illegally, like me, yes? Those who illegally crossed the border – they are cheap for the pimp. He buys her for $8,000 – the girl – and then she, like me, has to work and pay the money back during one year. (Interview with Nina)

Vika describes her experience of working as a “hostess” in a bar. She thought that she was going to work as a dancer in Macedonia. However, the local bar owner made her work as a “hostess” and provide sexual services to customers.

> V: When we came there [Macedonia], it appeared that we would not dance there, but we would be “hostesses” – we would drink with clients. We also danced from time to time. We did not dance what we prepared – we only danced our program 4 or 5 times during those 6 months that I was there. We were shocked – we prepared for dancing but they made us drink and sleep with men. And they are different men, you know, old and young. I was not even 18 back then.
> There were other girls; I knew some of them; I studied with them before. They said that it was okay there - at least they earned some money. During the first month, we did not get any money because they kept it. During the second month – we had a conflict with our Ukrainian manager – he left us, went to Ukraine. He sold us to some criminal local guy. Our Ukrainian manager was getting about €5 for every girl per day. He had several groups working there. So, basically, he brought us there and left, but he was getting money for us. This bandit [local boss] made us drink with clients – you have to drink one drink in 15 minutes. These are expensive drinks - clients pay about €13. The drink itself does not cost that much but the client is paying for the interaction with the girl – thinking that maybe there is a chance to get to know her better. They were not all bad men, some were nice. I even had few friends there. But if I spent more than 15 minutes drinking one glass, I could be beaten. In order to keep the profits high, you need to convince men to buy you as many drinks as possible. Ask them for champagne, etc. We were very disappointed. We did not dance, but we had to drink this alcohol. Everyone smokes there; you start smelling like tobacco. A bottle of champagne is $100 and I cannot always pour it out [sometimes she poured it out into the sink]. If a client sees this, he can be angry – he paid so much for the drink. And he will not buy it again for me. They deducted money for the drinks from our salary – 10%. So, we basically were paying for this with our own money. We earned some money, and after three months my friend and I decided that we wanted to go home. Our visas were about to expire. But we could not get our passports back, because we lived in a hotel, and our passports were kept at the reception. We could not get them back, even if we were to leave somewhere. This main bandit [the local boss] said not to give them to us. They [bandits] were rough men. They played cards there, and once, when someone lost in a card game and could not pay, the bandit shot him right there, in the club. Another time, he was in a bad mood, and he ordered all of us to dance; so we were dancing for two hours because we were so afraid of him.
> N: What could they do?
> V: They could beat us, it happened. In three months, we wanted to go home but he said that we can’t. He made me sleep with clients several times. It was hard to deal with the clients too, because we needed to hint at sex while drinking with

> them, but we did not want to have sex. There were situations with some Turks who arrived […] and they don't even understand how it is possible to pay just for a drink. They think that if they pay, they are going [to have sex] with me. We said that we cannot go with them now, but they can buy us a drink. And tomorrow we can have a dinner, and then we will go with them. So, basically, you go to have a dinner with him and then […] whatever your consciousness allows you to do. So, the next day, they bought us a dinner, and we could not refuse going with them. They took us to their hotel to have sex. (Interview with Vika)

"Hostesses" have to drink 150-200 glasses of juice or alcohol per week. If women do not drink the minimal requirement, then bar owners deduct money from their salaries and/or force women to provide sexual services. The work of a "hostess" entails serious health risks as many women develop alcohol addiction and other illnesses.

Nina mentioned that women trafficked from abroad are especially popular with the customers because they are a "fresh" commodity on the market. The trafficked women are called "tourists" because pimps often resell them to other establishments (interview with Nina).

Customers express their dissatisfaction when a woman lacks sexual experience. Natasha reported that clients in Moldova complained about her lack of experience to a pimp.

> Natasha: Clients were complaining about me - I did not know what to do [how to provide sexual services]. Of course - they basically whisked me out of the house. Clearly, I could not know what to do - I was a little girl.
> N: How old were you?
> Natasha: I was 16. Actually, 15. I was about to get my passport.
> N: And how old are you now?
> Natasha: 18.
> N: How long have you been there?
> Natasha: 3 months. (Interview with Natasha)

Traffickers use different means of making women provide sexual services to clients. The main agents involved in the control of women are the owners and employees of bars and clubs, guards, and pimps. Control is a central element in trafficking; it is a basis of exploitation in the sex trade.

Liza describes how traffickers deceived her regarding the nature of work (she was going to work as a governess), used physical force to make her provide sexual services to men, locked her up, and took away her passport.

> L: When I arrived to Berlin, she [trafficker] met me. We went to Dortmund. On my second day in Dortmund, she told me that I need to go to work, and her husband, with whom she lived, will take me there. And when I got to this family – I thought that I am going to a family […]. When we were approaching […]. I did not know anything there. We traveled for about an hour and a half. Then, there was an impressive fence and a big roof. When I got to the house, I thought about nice married employers I am going to have. Maybe, they will help me. Now, I understand that I was mistaken, but then I believed that. I thought that everything is okay. When I got into the house, I went upstairs, and they told me to change. I took a shower, made a coffee. The room was about 16 square meters. One window, bed, TV, closet, table, and nothing else. Then, they brought me a uniform. Everything began with this uniform. When they brought me a costume of a governess – this was not a costume of a governess. It included thigh boots, fishnet pantyhose, shorts, bra, and a kind of corset – red, made of leather. I said that I am not going to put this on. Then, they have beaten me up. I was locked up in the room for three days and could not leave it.
> N: Who has beaten you?
> L: The guards. There were two of them. Then they told me that […] when they brought me there, they gave money for me – to that man who brought me, my friend's husband [recruiter]. They said that I must work and return what they paid for me. Basically, I owed them money, and had to work for them until I can pay the money back. Maybe, for a year. If I do not return the money, then they will not give me my passport. They took my documents from the beginning. Then, when clients started coming […] they were different men. We worked in a bar downstairs. And when police would come, they would lock us up in a room in the basement, and no one could leave from there – that is for sure. When there was a situation […] when you […] how should I put this […] when you tell the client about this, and he feels compassionate about your situation, the client can talk to the guards […] They would hit our heels with sticks and put us in a cold shower to hide the bruises.
> N: Did they also beat you?
> L: Yes, they beat me severely when I could not provide sexual services. They did not know that I had vaginal bleeding for a month or month and a half. When there were clients […] and they are hourly. One hour is €100. Or €200, but for €200, you have to do something. I tried to talk, to watch TV in order not to have sex. Then, when they found out about my bleeding, they thought that I am dying, and they let me go. I was lucky. They bought me a ticket and put me on a plane to Kyiv. (Interview with Liza)

Zoya brings up how intimidation and threats of physical force make her feel.

> How was I supposed to leave [the establishment] when he is a huge man with a shaved head? I am scared even to look at him. When he threatened me, I was not thinking about my money, I was thinking about my survival. It is hard to understand for someone who has not experienced that. I start talking about it and I get goose bumps. (Interview with Zoya)

Olga is a 25-year-old woman from Russia who traveled to Turkey. She describes how the language barrier can serve as a control strategy in sex trafficking chains.

> First, I did not know the language. If I knew the language, I would run away sooner. I could not learn the language because they kept me alone for a long time. Because no one spoke Russian, I needed to learn the language - I did not have a choice. I could say a couple of phrases like "I want to eat," "I don't want this". I could support a short conversation. It is a difficult language. If you have a little of English, then you can get some Turkish words from the television because the films are dubbed. They [pimps] are not interested in you learning the language. The less you know, the easier it is for them to control and make you do everything. After I learnt some phrases, I was able to communicate with one young man who helped me to escape the place. (Interview with Olga)

Olga's traffickers also used isolation as a control strategy. Isolation of women by separating them, locking them up, or selling them to another bar or club breaks friendships and solidarities that women might develop while living in the establishments. In addition, the trafficked women have very little social support as they cannot call home often. Nina also said that isolation was the most difficult aspect of her experience of being trafficked into the sex trade. She and other women were not allowed to go outside. They could buy clothes and make-up right there, in the club. However, the prices of these goods were very high. The women were allowed to visit doctor's office once a month at their own expense.

Other forms of control include threats to the women's relatives (children, parents, siblings, and others) in Ukraine or Russia. Traffickers almost always appropriate women's documents and belongings to prevent them from running away. Traffickers make the women use drugs and alcohol until they develop an addiction. Two respondents reported that they were

made to take some medicine that they suspect were tranquilizers. Nina mentioned that she received a pill every evening during her first weeks in Israel. She said that the pills affected her perception ("everything looked foggy") and she had slower reaction than usually.

Control can also take more "subtle" forms – for example, women who migrated for "hostess" work discover that their salaries will be much lower than promised, while the bar owner advises them that if they want to earn more, they will have to provide sexual services for bar customers. Finally, traffickers also exercise economic control by refusing to give money to the women (claiming that the money will be stored for them) or by making the women indebted to traffickers.

Escaping the sex trafficking chains

Even though traffickers exercise multiple forms of control, women find ways to leave the exploitation. They may run away after spending some time in the establishment and exploring different ways of escape. For example, Olga ran away after she had learned some Turkish phrases and was able to communicate with a local boy who was sympathetic to her situation.

> N: And you got in contact with this boy?
> O: Yes, there was this boy, 16 years old. He asked me how old I am. I told him that I am 155 [155 - police phone number]. He had a serious look, and he said, 'Do you know that this is the police phone number?' I nodded. He said that he understood me, he is a gentleman, and he will help me. He told me not to be afraid, and he left me his phone number. He called the police, and they came with a raid. (Interview with Olga)

Natasha was able to run away after she saved some money. She also had a friend who was a source of social support.

> They [traffickers] thought that I will stay in Chisinau because I did not have any money and transportation. But when I left Chisinau, I had some money. There were normal clients who left me money. They gave me tips. I saved the money - $700. I had a friend, and we ran together. We did not want to work anymore. We

> called Katya [dispatcher] and said that we are not going to work, we want to go home. [Katya said:] 'Papa [pimp] will come, and he will talk to you.' And we knew that if he came, then he would beat us up. He used to beat us often. When I did not want to work, he would beat me. He would squeeze my fingers, and lock me in the basement. I told them that I did not want to work, that I am tired. He threw me on the floor and kicked me into my stomach with his foot. He was beating girls like he would beat men, throwing their heads against the wall. He shaved their heads; he sold them somewhere else, to Turkey. Angela and I got afraid, and we ran away. We called for a taxi, packed out belongings, and went to a hotel. We stayed the night there. Then, we went to the police; we thought they would help us somehow. They put us into a detention center. Then my aunt came [from Natasha's home town] to take me to Ukraine. Before I left, I spent some time in a deportation jail. It was like a real jail; one is not allowed to leave it.

Territorial dispersion of the chain is its spatial spread. Global sex trafficking chains typically include three main geographical locations: sending countries, transit countries, and countries of destination. For example, Russia is simultaneously a sending country (e.g., to Western Europe and the Middle East), a receiving country (from Ukraine, Central Asian countries), and a major transit country (for migrants traveling from Asia to Western Europe). Moscow is the main transit city through which migrants reach Western Europe and North America. It has numerous transit apartments where migrants live while awaiting their documents and departure[5]. Global cities are also important destinations (Wonders & Michalowski, 2001). Besides transnational sex trafficking, there are internal sex trafficking chains that typically connect provincial regions and the cities. In Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg are the global cities where the sex trade flourishes. In Ukraine, Kyiv and the Crimean Peninsula, tourist resort area, are the main destinations for sex trafficking victims.

Sex trafficking from the former Soviet region has multiple receiving countries. Stoker (2002) describes several main smuggling routes within Russia that traffickers use: the *Baltic route* goes through Lithuania and is used for transportation of migrants to Germany, Scandinavia

[5] From an interview with a representative of Saint Petersburg Crisis Center for Women; interview with Nina. Also, from an interview with a representative of IOM-Moscow.

and the USA; the *Georgian route* uses open border policies to transport migrants to Turkey, Greece, and the Mediterranean; the *Chinese-Siberian route* serves as a channel for Russian-migration to China as well as a route of Chinese migration to Western Europe through Moscow.

Why do certain countries become destinations for sex trafficking? I argue that aside from the fact that the main destinations include global cities, military zones, tourist resorts and other places with high purchasing power; another factor are the previously established migrant chains in the regions. For example, the most frequent destinations for sex trafficking from the former Soviet region are Israel, Germany, Turkey, and Russia. In the past, there were several waves of migration from the former Soviet republics to Israel as well as numerous ongoing business, family, and other connections between Israel and the former Soviet republics. Many recruiters and some traffickers are former Soviet citizens or persons who hold double citizenship. Gershuni (2004) writes that "…one key to the "Israel connection" may be found in the mass migration of Soviet citizens to Israel during the 1990s. This created a cultural milieu in which it was possible to "import" women from the former Soviet Union without their appearing out of place, sometimes in the guise of legal immigrants" (p.137). Similarly, Germany experienced a wave of the post-Soviet migration. Turkey (and to a lesser extent Greece) has had numerous connections to the former Soviet countries through trans-border shuttle trade[6] and through tourism industry. Moreover, Russia is a major destination and a travel node because of simplified migration regulations for citizens of the former Soviet republics, lack of linguistic barriers, and the existence of multiple connections with the former Soviet republics.

Finally, different national regulations affect distribution within the sex trade. Whether the sex trade takes legal or illegal forms is often determined by the policies of prohibition or

[6] On the formations of shuttle trade connections between Turkey and the former Soviet states see Yenal, Hatice Deniz (2000) *Weaving a Market: The Informal economy and Gender in a Transnational Trade Network Between Turkey and the Former Soviet Union*. PhD Dissertation.

legalization. For example, when Sweden criminalized the purchase of sexual services in 1999, consumption shifted to neighboring countries.

Governance structure describes power relations within the chain. Governance structure includes internal and external levels (Kaplinsky, Morris, 2000; Yeates, 2005). *Internal governance* concerns relations of authority exercised within the chain. In sex trafficking chains, these are relations of power between different agents. This includes control strategies that traffickers use to assert their power over trafficked women and sanctions that traffickers impose on women for violating the rules. Internal rules are most often informal (e.g., regarding regulation of going outside, curfew, provision of services to clients, etc.). However, some stages of sex trafficking chains can include codified rules, e.g. a contract between club owner and an entertainment worker. Since trafficking involves an abuse of trust of the trafficked, the internal governance within the chains is not legitimate and the trafficked women often resist it in multiple ways.

Gereffi (1994) distinguishes between vertical and horizontal organization of economic networks. One model of global commodity chains, producer-driven, is a vertically organized network where large corporations control the production and distribution process. Another model of global commodity chains, buyer-driven, is more decentralized and horizontally-organized. In global sex trafficking chains there are elements of both models. In the case of sex trafficking chains that involve organized crime, the internal governance structure approximates vertical organization. However, sex trafficking chains also demonstrate flexibility of production and distribution, similar to buyer-driven chains.

External governance concerns institutions that regulate the chain operation. This includes immigration legislation, sex trade regulation, and law enforcement institutions and procedures in

countries involved in the chain. Criminalization of the sex trade in some countries (e.g., Sweden) prevents distribution of sex trafficking activities in those countries. However, it might shift the consumption into neighboring countries. In countries where the sex trade is legalized (e.g., Netherlands, Germany) traffickers supply women for the unregulated segment of the sex trade market. This splits market into regulated and unregulated segments or what Wonders and Michalowski (2001) call a "two-tiered hierarchy of sex work," with women in the unregulated sector are exposed to multiple risks.

Another aspect of external governance is the regulation of migration. Although technology enables easy travel and communication between countries (and often helps the operations of trafficking chains), there are barriers for mobility of unskilled workers. Migration control prevents low-skilled workers from accessing better paying jobs in other countries. Smugglers and traffickers capitalize on this by promising well-paid jobs.

Finally, corruption and connections between traffickers and corrupted officials is another element of the governance structure. Traffickers' links to state officials is a form of social capital that enables them to run the trafficking chains and to avoid law enforcement.

Sex Trafficking and the Global Economy

Global sex trafficking chains operate mostly within the informal sector of economy. Castells and Portes (1989) define informal economy as "a process of income-generation characterized by one central feature: *it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated*" (p.12, emphasis in original). The difference between formal and informal economy comes from the presence or absence of regulation in the production processes and the distribution of commodities.

Why is the informal economy of sex trafficking so prevalent nowadays? From the point of view of political economy, informalization is a strategy of adjusting to global economic transformations. Post-Fordist economies introduced such innovations as flexible specialization and flexible forms of labor (Harvey, 1989). Key processes of this global restructuring included the deregulation of labor relations, the incorporation of cheaper foreign labor, and the weakening of the power of labor in industrialized countries. A result of the dominance of these post-Fordist economic forms is the re-organization of work, particularly the *casualization of labor*. Casualization of labor, according to Sassen (2000), is the de-regulation of previously formalized relations. Typically, this de-regulation negatively affects the status of labor and work conditions. The purpose of this process is to minimize the cost of labor by reducing the cost of reproduction of labor power.

Another process intrinsic to post-Fordism is socio-economic polarization and formation of "alternative circuits of survival" (Sassen 2003). These survival circuits are located within the informal sector of economy, in "regulatory fractures" or "regulatory voids" (ibid.). In this situation, there is growth of various intermediaries – employment agencies, smugglers, etc. – that offer their services in finding employment.

Decreasing opportunities for survival have also resulted in the increase of illegal strategies of profit-making. Criminal groups became a central actor in the alternative global circuits. Contemporary export of women for the sex trade became a transnational organization with high capital accumulation and market strategies to sell sexual services; it merged with tourism, transportation, entertainment, media, and the drug trade (Peterson & Runyan, 1999). The sex trade capitalizes on the provision of sexual services, develops through market segmentation, and diversifies its services for profit-making. Sexual services in brothels and

clubs, pornography, sex tourist love trips, internet sex, and phone sex are interrelated services involving real people in the production of fantasies. Organized crime capitalizes on the existence of the regulatory voids that give rise to the informalization of economy. It turns the informal ways of survival and casual work into the illegal, harmful, profit-making activity of trafficking. The transnational character of the global sex trafficking chains and differences in national legislation make it hard to find and prosecute traffickers. Thus, some structural conditions bring about the alternative strategies of survival and profit-making. Women's work becomes central to these strategies.

The transnationalization of production and consumption in the sex trade creates additional risks for women. Violence, risks to health and life, and loss of resources are some of the dangers of the sex trade. In addition, the risks are increased when coercion is involved. Traffickers and brothel owners use different strategies of coercion to maximize their profits and to minimize costs. The risks of the global sex trade are gendered and women disproportionately suffer from them.

CHAPTER 3

FORMATION OF TRANSNATIONAL REGULATION:

MAPPING SOCIAL ACTORS IN ANTI-TRAFFICKING CAMPAIGNS

Starting in 2000, anti-trafficking mobilizations in both Russia and Ukraine have brought together non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international organizations, different state departments (law enforcement, jurisprudence, social protection, and others), foreign embassies, state representatives of foreign countries, academia, and mass media. Their efforts to counteract human trafficking demonstrate the operation of *transnational regulation of social problems* – a cross-national system of institutional mechanisms, legislative provisions, practices, and technologies that aims at regulating a particular social problem. Governments continue to play an important role in performing the functions of regulation and governance. However, other social actors such as NGOs, international organizations, private foundations, and foreign states also take on the regulatory functions and affect local and national policies and practices. The actors are embedded in multiple national and international laws and institutions. In this chapter, I focus on the social actors that have initiated, organized, and participated in the efforts to combat sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. I describe the history of anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia and Ukraine and their institutional forms.

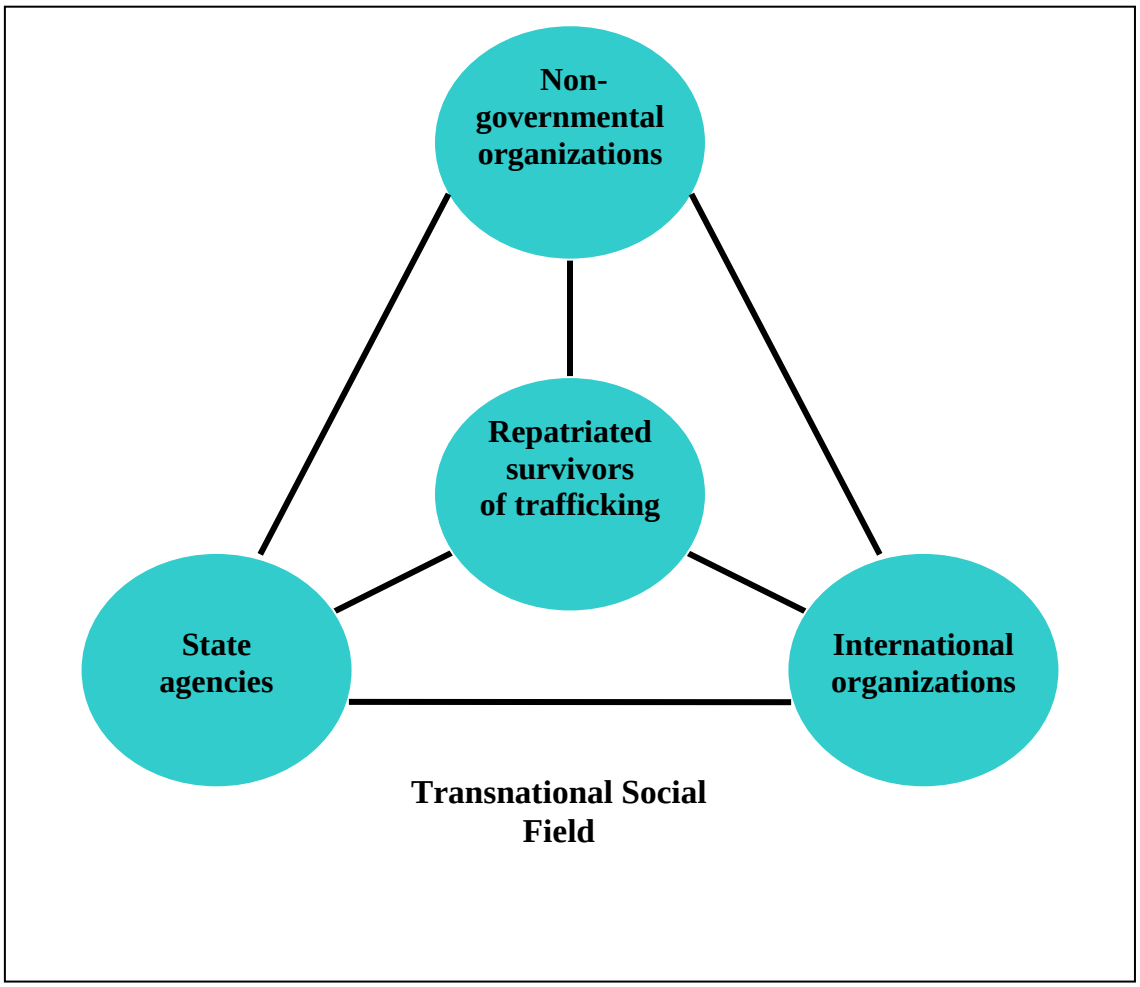
I argue that globalization creates significant changes in the ways nation-states regulate social problems. I suggest that focusing on transnational regulation is an appropriate approach to analyze campaigns against sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. I map out the anti-trafficking programs of different institutional actors – governmental departments, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations – to demonstrate how their collaboration creates transnational regulation of the social problem of sex trafficking of women. I

pay special attention to the role states play in transnational regulation of such problem as sex trafficking.

Transnational social fields

As I argued in the previous chapter, sex trafficking is a social problem that spans across national borders. It is not possible to counteract this transnational crime from a particular, singular national location – anti-trafficking requires the transnational coordination of actions. Social regulation of this problem exists within "transnational social fields" (Levitt and Schiller 2004), an approach that relies on a notion of society not bounded by its national borders. This approach helps to understand how people increasingly form social relations across different nation-states. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) made a substantial contribution to the development of the "field" approach. A social field includes social relations within a network of individuals and institutions. An important characteristic of social fields is that they structured by power relations. Levitt and Schiller (2004) define social field as "a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (P. 1009). Different local, national, and international institutions and laws affect people within the transnational social fields. In relation to the anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia and Ukraine, I analyze the transnational social field of anti-trafficking. What institutional actors participate in the transnational social field? What relations exist among the participants of the field? How does power structure these social relations?

Figure 3.1. Social Actors in Transnational Social Field of Anti-trafficking



Non-governmental organizations

Women's organizations in Russia and Ukraine initiated anti-trafficking campaigns in both countries. In the early 1990s, many NGOs had already had women's issues as a part of their political agenda – some of them helped victims of domestic violence, while others provided business skills trainings or job search assistance for women. Taking on the issue of trafficking in women has allowed them to participate in the global anti-trafficking campaigns and to raise

funds for their programs through grants from foreign governments, private foundations, and international organizations.

Ukraine

The history of anti-trafficking organizations in Ukraine began with the foundation of LaStrada-Ukraine, a local representative of an international network that supports women's rights. An international women's rights center located in Kyiv, LaStrada-Ukraine describes its goal as "to draw attention of the society and representatives of governmental institutions to the problem of trafficking in women as a human rights violation" (International Women's Rights Center "LaStrada-Ukraine" 2002).

LaStrada-Ukraine was established in March 1998 and funded by the *Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STV*), in the Netherlands. *STV* is an anti-trafficking network that has its organizations in several countries of Eastern and Southern Europe. *LaStrada-Poland* and *LaStrada-Czech Republic* opened in 1996; other non-governmental organizations in Ukraine (1997), Bulgaria (1998), Macedonia (1998), Moldova (1999), Bosnia & Herzegovina (1999), Belarus (2001) joined the program. The sponsorship for this network comes from governments of the Netherlands, the United States, Austria, Germany; embassies of these and other countries in eastern European countries; and such international organizations as the United Nations, International Labor Organization (ILO) and International Organization for Migration (IOM), as well as from other sources.

The main goal of the *LaStrada-International* network is the prevention of trafficking in women. *LaStrada-Ukraine* and other local organizations (many of them are partners of *LaStrada*) started large-scale anti-trafficking campaigns in the region - they publish manuals on

prevention of trafficking and informational brochures about their activities, run an anti-trafficking hotline, provide assistance to the victims of trafficking, work with mass media to inform the general public about trafficking problem and about their counter-trafficking work, participate in the prosecution of traffickers, and lobby for anti-trafficking legislation. *LaStrada-Ukraine* has a network of partners – regional NGOs – that organize similar activities in the regions. *LaStrada-Ukraine*, as well as their regional partners, are run by Ukrainian women.

Figure 3.2. Map of Ukraine[7].

During my field research, I visited several of the local organizations from different regions of Ukraine. All of the organizations I observed are partners of LaStrada-Ukraine and/or members of a network of public organizations sponsored by IOM. Most of them collaborate with

[7] Source: http://geography.about.com/library/cia/ncukraine.htm

LaStrada-Ukraine in running an anti-trafficking hotline. Simultaneously, they run a project of social assistance to trafficking victims administered and funded through IOM.

Women's Informative-Consulting Center in Zhytomyr is one such regional organization. Located in the central region of Ukraine, about 2 hours from Kyiv, it runs one of several shelters for trafficking victims. Women who become clients of the Center are usually from central and western parts of Ukraine. They live at the shelter, located in a two-level, old, but renovated building in a small town near Zhytomyr. The clients of the Center attend vocational training courses ("*kursy*"), school, or go to work. In addition, they have regular meetings with a psychologist. The women can stay at the shelter for 3 months, with a possible extension up to 6 months. The Center makes efforts to maintain relations with the women after they leave the shelter.

The Center has four main projects – prevention of trafficking, reintegration of trafficking victims, prevention of child neglect, and the development of civil society in Ukraine. The last project concerns civil education and political participation of Ukrainian citizens. For example, the Center has conducted a project, "Mobilization of Voters of Zhytomyr Region in the Second Round of 2004 Presidential Elections: For Honest and Clear Elections," with the financial support from the US Embassy in Ukraine, and was a strong supporter of the Orange Coalition during the 2004 elections[8]. Thus, the Center has two main functions – social support and raising political awareness.

Kherson's Regional Center, *Successful Woman* (*Uspishna Zhinka*), aims at creating necessary conditions for successful self-realization of women in different spheres – family, work,

[8] In 2004 Ukraine had presidential elections that divided the country between supporters of the Orange coalition (headed by Victor Yushenko and Yulia Tymoshenko) and supporters of the Blue coalition (headed by Victor Yanukovich). The Orange coalition contested the results of the elections and achieved a recounting of the votes and victory in the elections. These events became known as the Orange revolution.

business, and others. The Center, which has existed since 1999, is located in the southern region of Ukraine and provides services primarily to women who live in the Kherson region. Its main projects include preventing human trafficking and domestic violence; providing social assistance to the survivors of trafficking and violence; offering trainings in business skills for women; and civic education. During the time that I visited the Kherson center in May 2006, the Center was planning to open a shelter for trafficking victims. Although the Center employees did not have a separate building for a shelter, they did run a program of social assistance to trafficking victims which included vocational training, legal and psychological assistance, assistance with employment, and family counseling.

The public organization, *The Revival of the Nation* (*Vidrodzhennia Natsii*), has been open in Ternopil since 1998. The Ternopil region has the highest number of repatriated trafficking victims. This is largely a rural area, with fewer well-paying job prospects comparing to other regions. Because it is also located close to the Poland's border, many residents of the region travel to Poland frequently for work. People who became victims of trafficking have received assistance through the organization's shelter and social reintegration program. The shelter project was jointly funded by IOM and the international Catholic organization, Caritas. The employees of this organization invite their clients – the trafficking victims – to participate in the organization's life through the School of Volunteers.

Another NGO - *Faith. Hope. Love* (*Vera. Nadezhda. Lubov*) - started as a public health organization in Odessa in 1996. Originally, the movement worked on a project to prevent HIV/AIDS among the so-called "risk" groups which included drug users and sex workers. Later, the movement added an anti-trafficking project to their activities, and became a central organization in the provision of assistance to trafficking victims in the southern region of

Ukraine. Odessa is one of the largest cities in Ukraine, a major tourist destination, and a sea port. Labor migrants often travel for seasonal or permanent work from Odessa to Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus. In 2002, *Faith. Hope. Love* has opened a reintegration center for trafficking victims with financial support from IOM and a German organization "Jadwiga." The "*Asol*" center provides legal help in recovering documents, vocational training for trafficking victims, and medical, psychological, and social assistance. Women can stay in "*Asol*" for up to 6 months. In 2003, *Faith. Hope. Love* has opened a transit center for trafficking victims from other countries who are repatriated or deported to Odessa and need to travel to other homes. It provides a temporary refuge for women (mostly from Moldova, Russia, Belarus) who travel to their countries of citizenship. Lastly, in 2005, *Faith. Hope. Love* established a rehabilitation center ("*reintegratsionnyi kombinat*") that consists of several small businesses (e.g., hairdressing salon, sewing factory) where the clients of the NGO can find employment and a place to live.

Women's Informative-Coordinating Center in Dnipropetrovsk works to strengthen the women's status in Ukrainian society by preventing gender-based violence, creating conditions for the economic independence of women, and providing social support to women. The Dnipropetrovsk Center, founded in1996, is one of the oldest among Ukrainian women's NGOs. It runs several programs in anti-trafficking – an anti-trafficking hotline that provides information about both safe employment abroad and resources available for trafficking victims; social assistance for the victims; and vocational training.

The non-governmental women's charitable organization *Hope and the Future* (*Nadezhda i Budushee*) is an organization for women that has several projects on its agenda: development of women's leadership skills, prevention of gender-based violence, and social protection of women. In existence since 1997, the organization has an IOM-supported project of social

assistance to trafficking victims since 2000. It is located in Simferopol, in the heart of the Crimean Peninsula, the Black Sea resort. Many Crimean residents travel to find employment in Turkey.

Youth Center for Women's Initiatives (*Molodizhnii Tsentr Zhinochikh Initsiativ*) is located in the south of the Crimean Peninsula and was founded in 1997. Several of the organizers of the Center were former employees of a state-funded Youth Center. After they were left from the state-administered Youth Center, they organized their own non-governmental center and started to work on a project of HIV/AIDS prevention in Crimea. In 1999, they opened an anti-trafficking hotline. In 2001, the organization joined IOM-funded project on social assistance to trafficking victims.

Volyn Perspectives (*Volynski Perspektivy*) has operated in Lutsk since 2001. Lutsk is a capital of Volyn region in the western part of Ukraine, close to the border with the European Union. People, and especially women, often travel from the region to work in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Germany. With the financial assistance from IOM, *Volyn Perspectives* has renovated a separate building in Lutsk and opened a shelter for the trafficking victims. The clients of the shelter receive psychological support, assistance in job and housing search, and vocational training. Some of the women who lived in the shelter as clients later became employees of the organization.

All of the anti-trafficking NGOs that I observed in Ukraine have female leaders[9]. Most of the members of the NGOs identified their work as 'solving social problems,' and 'promoting gender equality.'

Russia

In Russia, the non-governmental organizations have been the most vocal actors in the prevention of human trafficking and protection of the victims. Among the NGOs in Russia, there are two country-wide networks that have been prominent in anti-trafficking campaigns. The *Russian Association of Crisis Centers* (RACC) is an active network of NGOs that works to prevent the trafficking of women. RACC started as a network of organizations committed to combating domestic violence. NGO members of the association (30 organizations in different regions of Russia) conduct informational campaigns about the problem of human trafficking. The NGOs also run phone hotlines where victims of violence can call and receive consultations and referral information. The association's anti-trafficking funding comes from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and from western European sources, particularly from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Another network, the *Angel Coalition*, was founded in 1999. The coalition consists of 61 NGOs that joined their efforts to counteract the problem of sex trafficking of women. The *Miramed Institute*, run by an American doctor, Juliette Engel, initiated the coalition. The Angel Coalition has a central office in Moscow that coordinates the activities of its members in the regions. Until 2007, the NGO members of the *Angel Coalition* ran nine shelters in different

[9] I have met only one NGO from Vinnitsa – "Men against Violence" – that focused on male victims of human trafficking. This organization did not assist any male trafficking victims (up until 2006) but worked to raise awareness about men becoming victims of trafficking.

regions in Russia and one *Trafficking Victims Assistance Center* (TVAC) in Moscow. The funding for the shelters and reintegration program came from the U.S. Department of State (project "Safe House") and IOM. The shelters existed in Saint Petersburg (one for women and another one for children), Petrozavodsk, Murmansk, Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Chelyabinsk, Irkutsk, and Yaroslavl. After IOM began administering the reintegration program (in 2007), the NGOs shifted their work to programs of prevention of trafficking. Even though the NGOs do not run sheltering facilities anymore, they continue to provide legal, psychological, and social assistance to trafficking survivors, while TVAC serves as a referral center for repatriated women who return to Moscow. A Swedish organization, *Kvinnoforum,* and Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) have sponsored the development of an anti-trafficking shelter network by providing trainings for staff members in the shelters and facilitating collaboration between state and non-state actors in Russia. All NGO members of the Angel Coalition (including the ones that run shelters) have prevention programs targeting the trafficking of women – they publish informational brochures, write articles for the local newspapers, create and distribute video clips and films about human trafficking, and conduct public lectures on this problem.

In my field research, I focused on the *Angel Coalition* and its NGO members since I could observe the actual practices of reintegration within the shelters. I visited regional NGO members of the coalition in Nizhniy Novgorod, Kazan, Petrozavodsk, Murmansk, Saint Petersburg, and Yaroslavl that run the sheltering facilities.

Figure 3.3. Map of Russia[10].

The *Children's Foundation* of Nizhniy Novgorod is a charitable organization that provides financial and social assistance to children. Located in the central region of Russia (5 hours from Moscow), this organization has a long history of helping the orphanages in the region. The NGO became involved in anti-trafficking campaigns because of its members' interest in the prevention of trafficking of youth, especially trafficking that originates in orphanages. Because traffickers often recruit young girls from orphanages and boarding schools, the employees of the NGO conduct informational campaigns in schools and orphanages. The organization has run a shelter for the trafficking victims from the central region of Russia since 2004.

[10] Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia07/russia_sm_2007.gif

The Public Innovation Center of Tatarstan, an organization that specializes in the economic empowerment of women, is located in Kazan. Tatarstan is an autonomous republic in the European part of Russia. This organization is one of the few NGOs in Russia that administers a program of micro lending for women. The NGO also organizes business skills and vocational trainings for women. The sheltering facility has existed in the center since 2003 and provided reintegration services to trafficking victims from Tatarstan and neighboring regions.

Karelian Center of Gender Studies, located in Petrozavodsk, the Republic of Karelia, focuses on informing the public about gender equality issues in the region. Since 2003, it has provided temporary shelter and reintegration assistance. The center has a long history of conducting research and informational campaigns on different social problems that concern women.

Murmansk Crisis Center for Women "Shelter" ("*Priyut*") is located in the northwestern part of Russia, close to the borders with Norway and Finland. The center is part of a larger organization, "*The Congress of Women of the Kola Peninsula*," that works to promote women's rights in the region. The center specializes in assisting women in the situations of violence (involving physical, sexual, domestic violence, and sex trafficking), and has had a sheltering facility since 2003.

Yaroslavl Center for Assistance to Family and Children broadly specializes in helping socially vulnerable families and has provided shelter for trafficking victims since 2004. One of the center's goals is to assist women in situations of violence.

There are two shelters for the trafficking victims in Saint Petersburg: *Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors* and *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women*. *The Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors* is a state-run organization, funded by the City Administration

of St. Petersburg. Similar to few other rehabilitation centers for children in St. Petersburg, it admits minors who are in need of social protection – orphans, children who find themselves in domestic violence situations, and homeless children. The center is the only organization in Saint Petersburg that provides specialized assistance to child victims of sexual violence. As a part of the *Angel Coalition* shelter network, the center has admitted child victims of sex trafficking since 2003.

Another partner of the Angel Coalition in St. Petersburg, *"The Institute of Non-Discriminatory Gender Relations Crisis Center for Women" ("St. Petersburg Crisis Center"*), runs a shelter for adult victims of trafficking. The organization has long history of feminist organizing, including anti-trafficking. The employees of the NGO conduct informational campaigns on different women's issues, run a hotline for victims of violence, and provide legal, social, and psychological assistance. The crisis center takes active part in lobbying anti-trafficking legislation in Russia.

There are several organizations that I visited that are not a part of the *Angel Coalition*. Moscow-located Center for Victims of Sexual Violence "*Sisters*" ("*Syostri*") is a member of RACC. Its employees conduct informational activities and specialized trainings in anti-trafficking policies for the state officials; run a crisis hotline; and provides services to the victims of sexual violence.

I also made a visit to Rostov, in the southern region of Russia. I met representatives from the two NGOs: "*Athena*" and "*Hope*." In Novocherkassk (2 hours from Rostov) I met with employees of NGO "*Aksinia*." In my home city – Saratov – I visited a local crisis center for women, a member of RACC. All of these organizations are very active in conducting informational campaigns about the sex trafficking of women. Moreover, "*Aksinia*," "*Athena*,"

and the *Saratov Crisis Center* have monitored several investigations and prosecutions of sex trafficking cases.

NGOs in the transnational anti-trafficking field

Scholars have documented the growth of women's non-governmental organizations in former Soviet countries (Hemment 2004; Johnson 2007; Kay 2004; Popkova 2004; Salmenniemi 2005; Sperling 1999; Sperling, Ferree, and Risman 2001). The NGO boom in the former state socialist societies reflects the opening of the political opportunity for civic expression; it is also a response to a profound social dislocation. The NGOs often initiated anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia and Ukraine. Most of the anti-trafficking NGOs are women's groups that work on diverse women's issues – public health, economic empowerment, children's well-being, domestic violence, etc. Some have long history of social activism (e.g., *St. Petersburg Crisis Center*), while others are organizations opened recently. Why and how did NGOs emerge as central actor in anti-trafficking campaigns?

The *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women* was one of the first organizations that started raising the issue of sex trafficking of women. A representative of the center recalls:

> In 1994, I was terrified to read about a case of a woman being locked up in an apartment in St. Petersburg. She was forced to serve tourists. When I read this, I thought that this is some kind of hoax, a stupid joke. It seemed impossible that people could be locked up and made to provide sexual services. In 1994, this was something unimaginable. It is now that it is everywhere. In 1996, I went to Berlin to take part in a conference on human rights. German colleagues told me such things about brothels –Russian women are beaten up there, they are tortured. They told me that they [the colleagues] go to the brothels and try to get the women out. This is when we started saying that people in Russia need to know about this. (Interview with a representative of *St. Petersburg Crisis Center*)

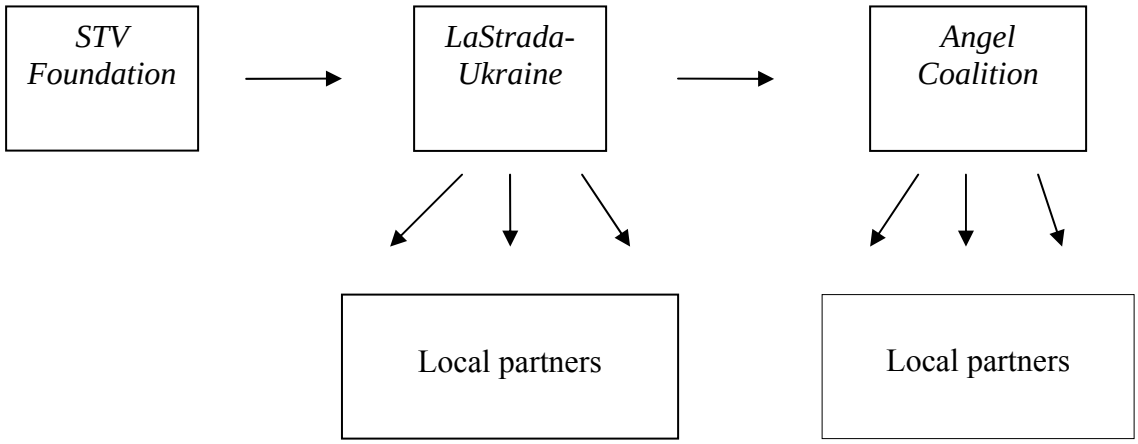
The *St. Petersburg Crisis Center* joined transnational anti-trafficking mobilizations in the context of international collaboration with German women's groups. In the late 1990s, the information about trafficking cases often came from foreign countries. The *STV Foundation* from the Netherlands has contacted local women's groups in Ukraine. In 1997, several activists of women's rights organized *LaStrada-Ukraine*. The organization used a model of similar to *LaStrada* centers in Poland and Czech Republic. The model included a central office in a capital city and a network of partners among regional NGOs. In this way, *LaStrada-Ukraine* organized its own Ukraine-wide network of anti-trafficking NGOs. At the initial stage of social construction of the problem of trafficking, the network included all organizations willing to spread the information about the issue.

In 1999, *LaStrada-Ukraine* conducted a workshop on anti-trafficking organizing in Kyiv for Russian NGOs. These Russian NGOs formed the Angel Coalition network in their country, with the main office in Moscow. Transfer of models, ideas, experience was an important factor in the spread of anti-trafficking networks. Figure 3.4 outlines the influences among the anti-trafficking groups.

The availability of funding for anti-trafficking activities in Russia and Ukraine is an important factor in the growth of anti-trafficking networks. Foreign states, international organizations, and different private and religious foundations sponsored anti-trafficking programs in the former Soviet region. For example, *Winrock International*, a private foundation, funded the Trafficking Prevention Project in Ukraine since 1998. The project's goal was to create the conditions for economic independence of women. The Foundation sponsored (with funds from the US International Development Agency – USAID) a network of centers "*Woman to Woman*" (*"Zhinka dlia Zhinki")*. The project, which ended in 2004, was aimed at improving

women's economic opportunities through vocational trainings, and the development of job seeking and entrepreneurial skills. Despite the project's end, the network "*Woman to Woman*" became the central institution to deliver IOM-administered program of social reintegration of the trafficking victims.

Figure 3.4. Transnational Network Linkages in Anti-trafficking Campaigns in Ukraine and Russia.



In Russia, the International Research & Exchange Board (IREX) has administered a USAID grant to conduct a series of informational campaigns in regional centers. The project funded anti-trafficking informational hotlines in local NGOs; public lectures; and the distribution of informational brochures on trafficking. The IREX project also allowed for networking among different NGOs.

Anti-trafficking networks have also united NGOs in the former Soviet countries. For example, UNIFEM has sponsored a network of collaboration between anti-trafficking actors in five post-Soviet countries – Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. The project included a research component that aimed at generating recent data on human trafficking in these

countries. Based on the research information, participating NGOs have created informational and training resources for the local communities.

The opportunity to receive grants appealed to many local NGOs as they struggled with the effects of economic restructuring in the regions. Many of the local NGOs' leaders established the organizations to solve social and economic problems, as well as to help other women in the community. NGOs were often survival mechanisms for women in provincial regions of Ukraine and Russia. A representative of a Ukrainian NGO *Volyn Perspectives* describes how she decided to establish the organization.

> Before I registered this NGO, I worked for a public organization, the Institute for European Integration. Back then, there was not much information about public organizations - what they are, how they work, and how they survive. I started collaborating with Volyn Resource Center in Rivno [a city in west part of Ukraine]. I met women who contacted me - they had many problems. And I did not know if there is any such women's organization or not […]. I found out that there is Western Ukraine Center "Woman's Perspective." I went there. Basically, I was going everywhere and learning. Then, I have had some home problems. I had a big fight at home, and I left [home]. On May 15th, it was five years since I left home with nothing. I stayed in a rented apartment for four years, and I needed something to survive on. My income was very small back then – 260 hryvnas. I had two children to support, rent to pay, and I decided to create my own organization to solve the problems of such women who left their homes, who are homeless, and who do not have a place in this life. I have registered the organization and then I came home and started thinking – what should I do now? I started to organize some courses […]. And then some foundation has contacted me […]. Winrock. They wanted to create their center "Woman for Woman," and they were searching for local partners. They did not choose our organization but created an organization in Rivno. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*).

The respondent describes how a local organization emerged out of personal experience with social problems and the need to generate resources to help women in similar circumstances. Often, the NGOs' representatives describe their involvement in anti-trafficking campaigns as a necessity to close a "niche" or "gap" in the state regulation of social problems.

> In the past, the law enforcement was involved in the prevention of crime. They don't do this anymore. That's why we do it. We decided that we want to do this. They are not really interested in what we do. (Interview with a representative of *Athena*)

In most of the NGO cases, foreign donors (state, private, or international institutions) fund local non-governmental groups. However, sometimes local NGOs receive financial support from local government. For example, *Volyn Perspectives* collaborated with the local Department of Family and Youth Affairs:

> Representatives of Rivno-based organization contacted me and said that they would like to present their organization, so that people in Lutsk know about such organization "Woman to Woman." I went to the office of the Department of Family and Youth Affairs. The head of the Department said, 'How long we are to be taught by others? When will we start creating our own organizations in Volyn?' I said, 'I don't mind to create it if you support me. Let's organize a round table and invite all women's organizations in Volyn region'. I created a list of who I should invite and called them. People perceived all this in a positive light. And, on March 13th, Rivno's center has arrived to present their center. And I conducted this round table well. I motivated people. Everyone spoke about their problems. We have voiced our concerns. We said that we don't have any coordinating center where a woman could go and receive help. During this meeting, we proposed creating a coordinating center. The Department of Family and Youth Affairs supported us, gave us money.
>
> After we thought how to create this [center], we came up with three steps. First step, I thought, was the most urgent. We organized a hotline of support. Basically, we followed the path of the centers "Woman to Woman," but independently from international organizations and with the help of the local government. Local governments typically support those who are working [actively] - those who work without salary, or for half the price. Of course, they can report that the center was established with their help. We have established the hot line. Our work went well; maybe God was helping us. Some people wait for years to establish a phone line, and after one year I was told that there is a phone number available if we are ready to pay for it. I paid my own money and gave a bribe because there was no way to connect a line by usual means; the phone company needed to do it some other way. We have established this hotline. This was in April, a month after the meeting.
>
> The next step was to open the information and coordination center. We needed to prepare staff members, personnel. We have signed a contract with the Department of Family and Youth Affairs that they will support our project and that they will pay salaries of a lawyer, a psychologist, and a social worker. We started to select personnel. This was so difficult. You know, only today I can say that we have good psychologists and good lawyers who know this problem

> [trafficking of women]. Later, I came to a conclusion that, in this sphere [social protection], help should be provided by women who have some experience of living through a crisis situation. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*)

The Department of Family and Youth Affairs in Lutsk had certain benefits in sponsoring this NGO. By partially sponsoring the establishment of the center, the Department could claim the center's activities and programs for reporting purposes as its own.

> Then, they needed to file a regular report, and they [the employees of the Department of Family and Youth Affairs] call me, 'Can we write in the report that you have published and distributed informational brochures during this workshop?' And I said, 'How you will write this? I did not publish them.' And they [said], 'What did you do then? Can we write that?' I told them that they cannot write anything. They can only write what I have conducted with their funds. I will report to other sponsors myself for what they funded. I am not supposed to provide them with this information. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*)

Even though the Department has provided salaries for specialists, other employees of the center worked there "without salary, or for half the price." Certain costs (phone lines) were paid by the employees' "own money." In a way, the Department transferred or "outsourced" some of its tasks to the NGO.

Another reason why NGOs become central actors in transnational campaigns against trafficking is their cost-effectiveness. The uncompensated expenses and unpaid labor make the anti-trafficking NGOs cost-effective for the state. Often, the NGOs provide services (consultations, referrals, etc,) even after the grant funding runs out. A representative of *Faith. Hope. Love* compares *Asol* shelter with a shelter in Germany:

> German shelter was in a big house; every woman had her own room and shower; there was a laundry room. We could not do a special center. We did not have the resources. So, we used whatever we have. I am a doctor. I gave necessary shots myself. The project is limited in finances. I used my car for the purposes of the center. When you go to a sea port to meet a victim, you help her to carry her bags. And the taxi is not reimbursed. We were searching for additional means, additional resources. (Interview with a representative of *Faith. Hope. Love*)

Limited financial means often make NGOs run several projects, and work on several issues simultaneously, adding new projects typically when grant funds become available. For example, *Volyn Perspectives* have had projects on prevention of domestic violence, anti-trafficking, and economic empowerment of women.

> When we registered our organization, we knew that we will work on many different issues. I have never worked on one thing [project] only. And, now, we have several well developed directions of our work. From the beginning, one wants to do everything, solve all problems. With time, some ideas are lost, and some directions become more developed. One direction is prevention of domestic violence. After we started to work with Winrock and met LaStrada-Ukraine representatives, we added prevention of human trafficking as our program. Winrock foundation also worked on prevention of domestic violence; they also worked to improve women's economic opportunities. We started our collaboration with Winrock through joined organization of business skills trainings for women. They [representatives of Winrock] were coming, conducting the trainings for free. The participants were unemployed women from rural regions. Almost 70% of Volyn region are covered by forests and there are not so many opportunities to earn money. There are some opportunities in towns, but, in rural areas, many are unemployed. People pick mushrooms and berries in a forest and sell them – this is how some survive. There are no other earning opportunities there. This is a seasonal work. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*)

One of the characteristics of the NGOs I observed in Ukraine and Russia is their "flexibility" to conduct multiple programs at the same time. NGOs' organizational survival depends on their ability to be flexible. Donors typically provide funds in the form of short-term grants. If the funding runs out, the NGOs often have to shift their focus in accordance with the donors' priorities. For example, a representative of the *Russian Association of Crisis Centers* expressed this concern in relation to diminished resources allocated to the programs against domestic violence in Russia. In order to generate financial support, leaders of many *RACC* partners began anti-trafficking projects that became a priority for international donors. This "flexibility" is a problem as many NGOs are not able to develop a long-term commitment to a particular issue.

Then, managing several programs simultaneously is a strategy to defend organizations against changes in funding priorities.

Scholars of NGO politics have pointed out that such dependency on donors' funds have significant shortcomings (Fisher 1997; Petras 1997; Richter 2002; Silliman 1999; Zaidi 1999). Reliance on donors' funds makes NGOs' focus on the donors' priorities, not on local community priorities. In relation to anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia, a representative of NGO *Athena* explains:

> There is a lot of in-migration from the former Soviet republics. Rostov is the third city in terms of in-migration, after Moscow and St. Petersburg. I think that there are many girls from Moldova and Ukraine who are victims of sex trafficking. They are all staying out there, working on the streets. But no one, not Americans, not the Swiss, give us money for assistance to victims of sex trafficking who are in this region. They are concerned about sex trafficking happening in their own countries. (Interview with a representative of *Athena*)

The dependency on donors' funds shapes unequal power relations within transnational anti-trafficking fields. The NGOs' funded programs address only issues that donors specify, at the expense of ignoring some local problems. The NGOs' accountability "gets shifted 'upwards,' rather where it ought to be: 'down below' at the grassroots" (Zaidi 1999: 265). This undermines NGOs' legitimacy at the local level.

Another effect of the reliance on donors' grants is competition and divisiveness among the NGOs. During my field work, I noticed that two women's networks in Russia – the *Angel Coalition* and *RACC* – are often in competition for anti-trafficking funding. This is consistent with other scholars' research findings that showed how reliance on foreign funding contributes to divisiveness in women's movement (Silliman 1999; Sperling 2000). Foreign donors practice the distribution of resources through evaluation of grant proposals; this often breeds competition among the NGOs and weakens their collaboration in anti-trafficking activities.

Anti-trafficking NGO networks maintain relations among their members through a variety of means. NGOs use mailing lists, websites, chat rooms, and conferences to develop relations among employees of different NGOs within the networks. Conferences serve as sites where members from different NGOs can meet, discuss professional issues, and establish relations with invited representatives of international organizations and state departments.

NGOs are important actors within the anti-trafficking campaigns. In terms of their institutional structure, they form networks which allow them to coordinate their activities across different locations. Networks facilitate the exchange of information between different actors. NGOs are also "flexible" institutions – they work on multiple projects simultaneously; they are cost effective; they are "controllable" through grant competition. Anti-trafficking NGOs in Russia and Ukraine collaborate with international organizations, engage the state, train state officials, lobby criminalization and prosecution of trafficking, and provide social assistance to trafficking victims.

International organizations and foreign actors

International organizations involved in the anti-trafficking campaigns in Ukraine and Russia fall into two groups: interstate organizations and international non-governmental organizations. Interstate organizations (e.g., IOM, ILO, UNIFEM, Interpol, etc.) are funded by the states; their mission is to assist the member states in achieving the states' goals. International non-governmental organizations (e.g., religious, business, humanitarian, human rights, etc.) receive funding from different sources (states, private foundations, members, etc.) and work to solve different social problems. Both types of international organizations operate in the form of networks. Foreign states have also participated in the anti-trafficking campaigns in Ukraine and

Russia. I will describe several key international organizations and foreign state actors involved in anti-trafficking campaigns in Ukraine and Russia.

Ukraine

Interstate organizations - IOM, ILO, and OSCE – provide financial, informational, and training assistance to the government of Ukraine to align its migration legislation and regulation with European policies and international human rights standards. For example, they provide assistance in implementing the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, supplementing the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, adopted by the United Nations in Palermo, Italy in 2000, and the ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor.

IOM coordinates a program of voluntary return of migrants to their home countries. The trafficking victims from Ukraine who found themselves abroad are eligible for IOM-funded return trip to home country. In addition, IOM has a mission in Ukraine located in Kyiv. In 2002, IOM-Ukraine has opened a rehabilitation center in Kyiv where trafficking victims from all regions of Ukraine can receive specialized medical treatment and psychological rehabilitation. The mission also funds a program of social reintegration of the trafficking victims that includes vocational trainings for the trafficking victims; and social, legal, psychological, and financial assistance. In order to implement the program of social reintegration, IOM used the network *Woman to Woman* that was originally launched by the *Winrock International* Foundation. Local *Woman to Woman* NGOs deliver reintegration assistance; some of them run sheltering facilities. The social assistance program and the rehabilitation center receive funding from the Swedish

International Development Agency (SIDA), the US Department of State (Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration), and the European Commission.

United Nations Development Program has sponsored different informational activities and conferences on the issue of gender equality. UNDP Office of Equal Opportunities assists in conducting gendered expertise of legislation and implementing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Caritas-Ukraine is another representative of an international organization. It is a part of Caritas International, a Catholic international organization. It has created an international program Catholic Organizations against Trafficking Network – *Coatnet* – that connects Catholic organizations in Ukraine, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Switzerland, and Germany. Caritas has also partially sponsored organization of shelter for trafficking victims in the Ternopil region for residents of the western part of Ukraine.

ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Pornography, and Trafficking) is an international organization with headquarters in Thailand that specializes in the prevention of child trafficking. *ECPAT* has a representative working in Ukraine and sponsors a project against child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children in the country. *LaStrada-Ukraine* representatives, in collaboration with employees of the Ministry of Education and Science, and the Ministry of Family, Children, and Youth Affairs, conduct informational campaigns in Ukraine about child trafficking and trainings for teachers and educational administrators.

Russia

OSCE, IOM, and ILO provide assistance to the Russian government in implementing the Palermo Protocol and the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Since its

inception in 1992, IOM mission works in Russia. In May 2007, it has opened the IOM Rehabilitation Center in Moscow where the victims of trafficking can receive medical and psychological assistance. The center receives financial support from the European Union, with co-financing from the US Department of State and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. IOM-Russia also realizes a program of social reintegration of the trafficking victims through contracts with four NGOs (*Fatima* in Kazan, *Oratorium* in Astrakhan, *The Far East* Center in Vladivostok, and *Angara* in Irkutsk). In addition, IOM mission in Russia has opened three Informational Centers in Moscow, Petrozavodsk, and Astrakhan (May 2007). IOM started these programs after I collected my field data. I use the IOM-Russia mission's project reports to analyze their activities.

ECPAT International collaborates primarily with two Russian representations – NGO *Stellit* in St. Petersburg and NGO *Syostri* in Moscow. In 2004, these NGOs have established the Russian Alliance against commercial sexual exploitation of children. The Alliance organizes informational campaigns in schools about trafficking and child prostitution and provides assistance to children in the sex trade. The *Terre des Hommes* International Federation has contributed to different informational campaigns about trafficking in children in Russia.

Transnational advocacy networks

Anti-trafficking NGOs and international organizations participate in the "transnational advocacy networks" (Keck and Sikkink 1998). TANs operate within transnational social fields; their distinctive institutional structure is a network; they act to advance certain ideas or values: "By building new links among actors in civil societies, states, and international organizations, they multiply the channels of access to the international system" (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 1).

Sperling, Ferree & Risman (2001) provide an example of transnational regulation by analyzing transnational advocacy networks (TANs) that bring together different women's groups working on women's issues. They show how TANs were able to create connections between women activists in Russia and other countries. TANs were instrumental in resource mobilization for women's movement in Russia; they also created a transfer of ideas and discourses that women's groups in Russia used. Sperling, Ferree & Risman (2001) argue that the transfer of the ideas was not a unidirectional process – from the West to the East – but it took a form of negotiation and discussion. Although the authors provide a detailed analysis of social relations between women's groups within the TANs, they do not pay enough attention to the relationship between TANs and the state.

TANs primarily act to change the policies of the state. How do anti-trafficking TANs change state practices of migration regulation? Through their collaborative activities, TANs produce "the boomerang pattern" which can happen when "domestic NGOs bypass their state and directly search out international allies to try to put pressure on their states from outside" (Keck and Sikkink 1998:12). The case of anti-trafficking TANs in Ukraine and Russia is not a clear "boomerang pattern" because, in most cases, the international and foreign state and non-state actors sought out the local NGO partners. However, once they established contacts with the local NGOs, the anti-trafficking TANs pursued their goal – pressuring the state to introduce policies regulating counteraction to human trafficking. Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue that there are four types of tactics that TANs use to put pressure on the state – informational, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics. Anti-trafficking mobilizations in Ukraine and Russia show elements of all four tactics.

The goal of the informational politics is to persuade state actors to introduce change by presenting convincing information. TAN actors have conducted numerous research projects and presented the results to the governments of Ukraine and Russia. Expert knowledge is a valuable strategy in informational politics. Anti-trafficking networks often rely on experts from international organizations, academics, and foreign politicians to get their point across to the state authorities. In addition, anti-trafficking TANs rely on testimonial information to persuade the states. Mass media and technology helps in the dissemination of information.

Symbolic politics concern interpretations of the problem that can create persuasive effects. For example, anti-trafficking TANs often rely on the imagery of national degradation and national loss when they describe the problem of human trafficking.

Leverage politics involve gaining support of more powerful actors and attracting them on TANs' side. Leverage can include economic or political pressure. In 2004, during the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, opposing political parties tried to attract local NGOs on their sides. This has also empowered the NGOs that promoted anti-trafficking agenda.

A classic example of leverage politics is the use of the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report. The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons issues an annual report containing minimal standards that all countries must implement in their national regulations regarding the trafficking in persons. The standards deal with national-level mechanisms to criminalize trafficking. The report groups all world countries into three tiers depending on satisfaction of the minimal requirements. Every year countries receive a new ranking – a place in the hierarchy. The report serves as a disciplining tool for all countries, except the US (which is not ranked). Countries that do not improve their ranking in the report

can face economic penalties, including termination of non-humanitarian and non-trade assistance.

Lastly, TANs relied on accountability politics when they held the states accountable to previously signed and ratified conventions. For example, the fact that Ukraine and Russia have ratified the Palermo Protocol helped TANs to force the governments to recognize their own obligations.

State institutions

Together with extra-local actors, local NGOs put pressure on the nation-states to create and implement necessary policies to counteract human trafficking. What did the TANs achieve in Ukraine and Russia?

Ukraine

The Ukrainian government was quite responsive to the demands of the NGOs, international organizations, and foreign states, to recognize human trafficking as a crime. As early as 1998, the government had introduced an amendment to the Criminal Code. Article 124-1 of the Code criminalized trafficking of human beings. In 2001, Ukrainian Parliament passed a new Criminal Code and the crime of trafficking was defined in article 149 (Lutsenko et al. 2005).

The Ukrainian state became a signatory to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2000, and signed its supplementing protocol (the Palermo Protocol) in 2001. In 2004, the Ukrainian Parliament ratified the Convention and the Protocol. The Protocol obliges participating countries to recognize human trafficking as a crime, to undertake preventive measures, and to provide assistance to the victims.

The Ukrainian government has created an Inter-Ministerial Coordination Group for Combating Trafficking in Persons. This coordination group is responsible to the Cabinet of Ministries and coordinates the adoption and implementation of the National Comprehensive Program for Combating Trafficking in Persons. The first such program was adopted for 2002-2005. The current national program is in effect until 2010. The program specifies responsibilities of different governmental structures in prevention of trafficking, prosecution of traffickers, and protection of the victims. The Ukrainian government has also approved Decree 987, "On Approval of the Model Regulation of Rehabilitation Centers for Victims of Trafficking in Persons," in June 2003. The decree provided a legal basis for the operation of reintegration centers for the trafficking victims, even though the government does not create the centers.

In 2000, the Ministry of Internal Affairs created a special Anti-trafficking Unit within the Department of Criminal Investigation. Regional Departments of Internal Affairs have also established anti-trafficking units. There are 27 such units in Ukraine. (Lutsenko et al. 2005). A separate department – the Department for Combating Organized Crime – investigates cases of trafficking that involve organized criminal groups.

The State Border Service performs identification of the trafficking victims among deported Ukrainians. In cases when a person wants to testify against traffickers, this person is referred to a local anti-trafficking unit.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs oversees the work of Ukrainian diplomatic and consular missions abroad. The embassies issue a certificate of return for the trafficking victims and cover costs of travel to Ukraine.

The Ministry of Family, Children, and Youth Affairs provides assistance to the victims of trafficking through its regional Youth Services Centers. More than 600 of such centers provide free psychological and legal assistance to residents of the communities.

In the process of interaction with the anti-trafficking TANs, the Ukrainian government has introduced special anti-trafficking legal provisions and delegated state institutional structures to counteract human trafficking.

Russia

In 2000, Russia signed the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplementing protocol – the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. In 2004, the Russian Parliament ratified the Convention. The process of establishing national provisions to combat human trafficking was quite slow in Russia (comparing to Ukraine) due to some reluctance on the part of the state to admit the existence of the problem. As a representative of a Russian NGO testifies:

> We need to create an anti-trafficking center, but this requires money. Our government does not give us money because they do not consider this as a priority. It is also hard to talk to businessmen, because they still consider woman as a thing, beautiful thing. There is no support for our activities from the state. The state looks as us like […]. "Look, we've got serious problems to deal with, and you are telling us about those girls. These are their problems." But the women are leaving, and, in the long run, it will become a problem. The same logic applies to other problems. "You have large family and many children? This was your own decision. No one is to blame." (Interview with a representative of NGO *Hope*)

Despite the reluctance to discuss the problem, the government made steps to amend the Criminal Code and to include two new articles 127.1 "Trafficking in Persons" and 127.2 "Use of Slave

Labor" and, therefore, have recognized human trafficking and slave labor as crimes. These articles entered into force on December 16, 2003.

An Inter-Agency Working Group exists under the Legislative Committee of the State Duma and includes the State Duma deputies, representatives of ministries and state departments, international, and non-governmental organizations. Members of the working group develop a draft Federal Law on counteraction of human trafficking. The draft law defines the responsibilities of different organizations, state departments and agencies in the anti-trafficking regulation. The draft law has not been passed yet.

Among existing state institutional structures, several Ministries and Departments address the issue of human trafficking. Within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there are three main departments that are related to prosecution of the trafficking-related crime. The Department of Criminal Police includes two sub-departments - Criminal Investigation and Organized Crime. The Chief Criminal Investigation Department has a special counter-trafficking unit operating on the federal level. On the regional level, local Departments of Internal Affairs create such counter-trafficking subunits. The Department of Combating Organized Crime and Terrorism investigates cases of organized trafficking rings. In April 2007, this department established a specialized Division on Countering Kidnapping and Human Trafficking that operates on federal level. The Department of Public Security includes a sub-department of Public Order which deals with such sex-related issues as prostitution and pornography. This department is often known as the "morality police." Finally, the Department of Economic Crimes deals with investigation of recruitment strategies through foreign employment organizations. The Ministry of Internal Affairs created new institutional structures only on the federal level. On the local level, investigation of trafficking cases is delegated to the existing departments.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs assists victims of human trafficking through its diplomatic missions – consulates and embassies. The Ministry issued a regulation that obligates the embassies to assist Russian citizens abroad in issuing documents in the cases when documents are lost or taken away by traffickers. The Embassies are also responsible for collecting statistical information about assistance requests filed by Russian citizens.

The Ministry of Health and Social Development is responsible for the system of assistance to socially vulnerable groups. Some regional Ministries created crisis centers for women or crisis departments for women on the basis of local centers of social service. In 2004, there were 25 such crisis centers for women, 1 – for men, and 157 crisis departments for women (Gordeeva, 2005).

The Commission on the Improvement of Women's Status operates under the Ministry of Health and Social Development and discusses general issues related to the position of women in society and the issues of trafficking in women in Russia. The Commission is an instrument of lobbying anti-trafficking legislation and a vehicle of discussing inter-agency efforts to combat violence against women. In the past, the Commission recommended setting up control mechanisms over foreign employment agencies, introducing statistical indicators measuring gender-based violence, and undertaking measures of control of the gendered content of mass media publications.

TANs' impact on the governments

How did the anti-trafficking TANs impact the policies of governments in Ukraine and Russia? IOM missions in both countries have collaborated with NGOs to lobby anti-trafficking legislation and state-supported programs. NGOs, foreign states, and international organizations have sponsored numerous trainings and exchanges of experience between foreign prosecutors

and law enforcement officers and their Ukrainian and Russian colleagues. For example, IOM-Ukraine has sponsored Ukrainian officials' participation in over 50 networking visits to 25 countries of destination (primarily in Europe) to facilitate international cooperation for the investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases. During such international meetings, state officials learn about the organization and practices of international institutions, as well as anti-trafficking legislations and institutional structures of other countries. A representative of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs thinks that:

> The high level meetings are very important. Personal contacts help in our work. There was a case when some officers have met with policemen from Turkey and the Interpol. Later, they collaborated and found a woman in Germany, because personal contacts helped them to find her more quickly. (Interview with a representative of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, Anti-trafficking Unit).

The NGOs and international organization organized translation, publication, and distribution of international legal documents and provisions (e.g., conventions, protocols, etc.). TANs' members invited anti-trafficking experts to evaluate national anti-trafficking provisions. IOM supplied material support (computers, faxes, software, etc.) and training support to the new anti-trafficking units once they were established as separate departments within the Ministry of the Internal Affairs in Ukraine and Russia.

Ukrainian vs. Russian governments

The most vocal and organized anti-trafficking initiatives in the post-Soviet countries started in Ukraine. The Ukrainian government supported the initiatives of NGOs and international organizations. In contrast, the Russian state initially was not responsive to the anti-trafficking mobilizations by TANs. In fact, many Russian NGOs' representatives in my interviews complained that NGOs and international organizations had to "persuade" the state

officials that the issue of trafficking in women represents a serious social problem. Typical responses from the state officials could include denial that human trafficking happens or blaming the migrants for going abroad. There are several reasons that I think contributed to this difference in scenarios of anti-trafficking mobilizations.

One of the reasons is the status of Ukraine as a country of out-migration. As cross-border trafficking intensified in late 1990s, especially in the west and southwest of Ukraine (Malinovskaya 2003), the state had to respond to the growing risks that migrants faced. The closeness to the European Union also meant more recruiters and traffickers smuggling people to the European Union. At the same time, the state did not disapprove the out-migration because it provided for many families' welfare. Both, families and the state, benefited from this transnational provision of social reproduction, as they relied on migrants' remittances.

In contrast, Russia is a country with large in-migration. The largest proportion of immigrants arrives to Russia from the former Soviet republics (Kirillova 2005; Population of Russia 2002). In fact, since 2002, the largest number of Ukrainian trafficking victims was repatriated from Russia (IOM-Ukraine Statistics 2005). During this influx of migrants, the priority of the Russian state was the control of in-migration and the resettlement of immigrants. Gradually, governmental officials started to pay attention to anti-trafficking TANs because representatives of some governmental departments realized that they can achieve some goals in the context of anti-trafficking campaigns. In 2003, President Putin said that profits from human trafficking are "financial foundation of international terrorism"[11]. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, especially the Department of Combating Organized Crime and Terrorism, started collaborating with TANs in lieu of detecting and investigating activities of the organized

[11] http://palm.newsru.com/russia/27oct2003/presiden5.html

criminal groups. The Department wanted to have access to the trafficking victims as witnesses in criminal cases, especially against organized crime. The Federal Migration Service was interested in collaboration with the anti-trafficking NGOs and IOM in detecting and managing illegal migration. The Ministry of Health and Social Development was concerned about potential trafficking of children through the channels of international adoption. However, as of now the Russian government does not have a complex anti-trafficking policy (compared to the Ukrainian government).

Another factor that can affect the impact of TANs on national governments' policies is the amount of funds available. According to resources mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald 1997), collective action can generate social change when resources are adequate. Russian TANs have consistently received more funds through the major donor, the US Department of State, between 2004 and 2007 (table 3.1). However, considering that Russia's population size is three times that of the Ukraine's, and that Russia's territory is significantly larger, this amount of funding could have been insufficient to generate a policy change.

Table 3.1. United States Government Funding Obligated in Fiscal Years 2003-2007 for Anti-Trafficking in Persons Projects[12].

Year	Ukraine	Russia
2003	$ 1,562,667	$ 894,662
2004	$ 2,003,850	$ 2,471,290
2005	$ 769,673	$ 1,827,615
2006	$ 1,019,647	$ 1,861,273
2007	$ 1,028,255	$ 1,417,200
Total 2003-07	$ 6,384,092	$ 8,472,040

[12] Data obtained from annual repots of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State, http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/rpt/

Another factor affecting the difference in the responses of Ukrainian and Russian governments to the anti-trafficking campaigns is the "political opportunity structure" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Tarrow 1994). Political opportunity refers to the probability of gaining access to political power, especially during times of political change. Ray and Korteweg (1999) assert that "autonomous organizations in a political field dominated by one political party are less effective than those in a more fragmented political field" (p. 64). According to political opportunity theory, anti-trafficking TANs can be more effective in the context of political struggle.

In Ukraine, the Orange Revolution of 2004 polarized Ukrainian society and created two major fractions: pro-western (Orange) coalition and pro-Russian coalition. The revolution created the political opportunity for anti-trafficking TANs to advance their cause. During years preceding the revolution, the political field in Ukraine consisted of two opposing sides. The Orange Coalition represented a pro-Western development; its electoral support was mostly from the western and central regions of Ukraine. The coalition's candidate was the leader of "Our Ukraine" party, Victor Yushenko. Eastern and southern regions of Ukraine mostly supported pro-Russian forces. Their candidate was the leader of "The Party of Regions," Victor Yanukovich. In this fragmented political field, women's NGOs and international organizations were important allies for both sides of the political struggle. Local NGOs were valuable for political elites because of their ties to local communities and ability to influence votes. International organizations were also important for politicians as they tried to gain support and endorsement from other governments. Some of my respondents talked about their growing access to power in the governmental structures. For example, the president of *LaStrada-Ukraine*,

Katerina Levchenko, was appointed the Advisor to the Minister of Internal Affairs on Human Rights and Gender Policy after the revolution.

In Russia, the party of the acting president - "The United Russia," dominated political field. Russian political elites expressed their concern about the western influence that NGOs and international organizations spread. President Putin called NGOs western "puppets"[13]. State authorities suspected NGOs to be promoters of revolutionary political change, similar to revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine. In January 2006, the President signed a law that enabled state officials to control NGOs' activities and finances. In this political climate, anti-trafficking TANs did not have much leverage to influence the state's policy.

Finally, Ukraine's orientation towards European integration was another factor that helped anti-trafficking TANs to negotiate with the state. For Ukraine, as a country that desires to join the European Union in the future, provisions of gender equality and outlawing of trafficking in women were necessary requirements to join the European community.

Transnational regulation of social problems

Ulrich Beck (1999, 2005) argues that the globalization of economy creates systemic risks for people and communities. Informalization of economic processes, casualization of labor, and growing social inequality contribute to the rise of the "risk society" (Beck 1999). In the previous chapter, I argued that the globalization of the sex trade markets facilitates the emergence of the global sex trafficking chains and creates multiple risks for trafficked women. The transnational problem of human trafficking affects multiple countries; it emerges in the context of global

[13] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4664974.stm

inequality. Spaces with higher standards of living become destinations, while sending countries or communities are poorer or economically less stable.

Lipschutz and Rowe (2005) argue that a new mode of transnational regulation develops in response to the proliferation of social costs imposed by globalization. The authors consider transnational regulatory systems as responses to the increased risks produced by globalization. These regulatory systems operate in regulatory gaps, "outside of the framework of existing interstate regimes and institutions" (Lipschutz & Rowe, 2005). Transnational regulatory systems include diverse social actors: states, international organizations, corporations, and activist groups. Their goals are to impose regulatory frameworks onto global self-regulating markets.

Transnational regulation transcends the existing state and inter-state regulatory mechanisms. It is a "some sort of transmission belt between "the people" – here represented by activists and nongovernmental organizations, whose representativeness is often challenged by states and business – and the apparently autonomous and uncontrolled international and transnational institutions, both governmental and corporate, of global capitalism" (Lipschutz & Rowe 2005:10). Transnational regulation tackles such social problems as human trafficking, environmental pollution, immigrants' labor exploitation and others.

The transnational regulation of social problems and risks is a response to the changing functions of the state in contemporary world. Trouillot (2001) argues that the state is not an apparatus; the state manifests itself in its functions and effects. Such functions include production of citizens, borders, collective identities, and governance (regulations, classifications, norms, etc.).

> If the state is indeed a set of practices and processes and their effects as much as a way to look at them, we need to track down these practices, processes, and effects whether or not they coalesce around the central sites of national governments. In the age of globalization, state practices, functions, and effects increasingly obtain

> in sites other than the national but never entirely bypass the national order. (Trouillot 2001:131).

Similarly, Levitt and Schiller (2004) argue that "what we see is a reformulation of the state as it assumes new functions, abdicates responsibilities for others, and redefines who its members are" (p. 1018-19). I argue that the anti-trafficking mobilizations in Ukraine and Russia reflect this realignment of state functions between multiple social actors – governmental structures, international organizations, and NGOs. There is a division of regulatory labor between governments (responsible for security) and NGOs (responsible for protection). In the following chapters, I analyze particular regulatory practices of institutional actors.

An important characteristic of transnational regulation is that it exists between the spaces of governmentality (Foucault, 1991) and the spaces of grassroots' activism. In other words, transnational regulatory regimes often mix motivations of different social actors. For example, in relation to transnational regulation of gender, sexuality, and migration, state actors are concerned with reproduction of gender relations, normalization of sexuality, and control of migration. Simultaneously, the goals of non-state actors might include social change in gender relations, new understandings of femininity, masculinity, and sexuality, and critique of the nation-state order. Thus, transnational regulation contains a potential for social change. However, the extent of the change should not be overestimated because powerful actors within the transnational regulation work to maintain the status quo.

In this chapter, I analyzed social relations between actors in anti-trafficking social field. Nation-state continues to play an important role in performing the functions of regulation and governance. However, other social actors such as NGOs, international organizations, private foundations, and foreign states also take on the regulatory functions and affect local and national

policies and practices. In the next chapter, I will consider specific regulatory practices aimed at minimizing the risks of migration.

CHAPTER 4

RISK MANAGEMENT

In this chapter, I analyze how anti-trafficking institutions manage the risks of sex trafficking of Ukrainian and Russian women. I am interested in the institutional definitions of risk and how these differ from or correspond to women's actual experiences. Trafficking victims often describe surviving sex trafficking in terms of harms: physical, emotional, economic, etc.; yet, institutional actors define risk in terms of social control—the probability of harmful events occurring. According to the institutional perspective, risks can be managed—assessed, prevented, minimized, or eliminated. Institutional actors can also assign responsibility for the perpetration of risks (Douglas 1992). Thus, how do the anti-trafficking institutions define the risks of trafficking and re-trafficking? What mechanisms and practices do they use to minimize these risks? How do these mechanisms and practices affect women who are "at risk"? How does gender difference inform the practices of risk management? Throughout this chapter, I look at several major dimensions of risk regulation performed by anti-trafficking institutions: prevention, repatriation, prosecution, and protection. Further, I pay special attention to the transnational context of risk management.

I argue that the strategies of risk management of anti-trafficking institutions reflect operations of disciplinary power—governmentality (Foucault 1991). Governmentality of anti-trafficking aims to regulate the "at-risk" population through risk discourses and risk management practices. The problem of sex trafficking becomes the object of specialized interventions (prevention, deportation, prosecution, and protection) because sexuality, gender, and migration are important aspects of population regulation. Governmentality produces specialized knowledge about certain groups of people or processes; it also creates social identities. Institutional

discourses of risk management rely on having a certain notion of human beings: each is a prudent subject—a subject who is careful and avoids unnecessary risks. In relation to the management of sex trafficking risks, the subject is also gendered—women have to be especially careful: they are "expected to behave in a way that minimizes risk (not going out alone, dressing modestly) and they are assumed to have the ability to calculate potential risks and to mitigate those risks accordingly" (Malloch 2004:121). For example, when Zoya describes how government officials keep asking her, "Why did you go abroad?", the questioning assumes that she was not supposed to go.

In light of this, how do anti-trafficking institutions realize the management of gendered risks and, in the process, produce gendered identities? Foucault (1977) describes three main disciplinary mechanisms central to the operation of governmentality. The observation mechanism describes hierarchical surveillance. For example, observation takes place during border crossing. Border policemen check people and their documents, and, during this process, migrants are constituted as national citizens (subjects). Other situations that can involve observation include police raids, detention, deportation, participation in a criminal investigation, and rehabilitation.

The normalization mechanism refers to a normalizing judgment, an evaluation according to a certain standard. In relation to female trafficking victims, normalization presents "proper" femininity as risk-avoiding and risk-free. A "proper" woman would not expose herself to risks. Such normalization of femininity does not take into consideration women's real-life circumstances; rather, it is based on expert knowledge produced by institutions.

The examination mechanism is a ritualized apparatus of documentation that combines elements of observation and normalization. For example, reintegration centers use both

surveillance and normalization. “Victim of trafficking” is not a person within the institutional framework but, rather, a category. Institutions (law enforcement, rehabilitation, etc.) use special “examination” procedures to identify and normalize victims of trafficking (e.g., by using intake forms, rehabilitation plans, etc.).

Prevention

Anti-trafficking NGOs and international organizations work to prevent human trafficking through both the distribution of information and through consultations via anti-trafficking hotlines. The informational programs usually include production of printed materials (brochures, leaflets, calendars with anti-trafficking information, etc.); production of audio, visual, and electronic materials (informational CDs, radio jingles, video clips, films); lectures; public presentations; etc. The goal of these informational campaigns is to disseminate knowledge about safe migration. Some brochures present information about legal ways to find employment abroad, while others only focus on the dangers of migration. Through lectures and presentations, anti-trafficking activists also deliver information about the problem of trafficking. A representative of the NGO *Volyn Perspectives* described how she tries to counter the stories about the “pleasures” of migration with stories about the “dangers” of migration.

> R: There are also cases when women go abroad, work, and come back with money. They look beautiful; they have nice clothes. So, when I conduct workshops and talk about the dangers of trafficking, people point out that there are such women. They give me an example of a woman who came back and bought an apartment for her son; and another bought a car. But they don’t know about that woman who has HIV, and they don’t know about the one who fell out of the window on the 9th floor. The government is not talking about it.
> N: Why?
> R: Because the more they [migrants] leave, the less the unemployment level is, and the less they [the government] have to care about the people. Fewer problems.
> (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*, Lutsk, Ukraine)

The stories of such "dangers" serve as warnings for people to take care of their safety and to avoid risks. Zoya, who now works as a volunteer in a one of the anti-trafficking NGOs, also participates in informational campaigns. She presented information from the point of view of a trafficking survivor:

> I inform people that women often do not tell what was happening with them there. I know one woman who says that she does not care that she had to sell sex because she brought money to her child. But she was lucky that she stayed healthy, that she did not contract a venereal disease, that she did not suffer violence. There are different cases. Why do we always hear those stories about people who came back with money and less about those who suffered and are in need of help? They did not earn anything. It is ok if she got herself into a harem, and she is fine with that, but what if this does not suit me? I was in a harem, I was abused, and I have received no money. Of course, I am upset. If Interpol helped me to come back, I am likely to come to ask for help here. (Interview with Zoya)

All of the informational materials refer potential migrants to anti-trafficking hotlines where they can get information about a particular country or a particular employment agency. Governmental agencies (The Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of Ukraine, and the Federal Migration Service in Russia) issue licenses to employment agencies who seek to employ people abroad. These agencies must have a contract with a foreign employer. NGOs' employees advise people who call the hotline to check the validity of the state-issued license (by calling the governmental offices):

> Two words about our hotline. In 2000, we started the hotline project within the network of LaStrada-Ukraine. According to this project, professionally trained consultants, trained in Kyiv by LaStrada, provide consultations regarding safe employment. Representatives of different embassies speak at those trainings [to provide information about legal employment in their countries]. We consult, we never discourage them [potential migrants]; but we warn about some issues that people need to consider when they plan to go abroad. They need to check the license of their employment agency—they can call employment services. Did they offer a contract? Check the working conditions. How is she [the migrant] going to come back? They [potential migrants] need to leave contact info, a recent photo, and take copies of passport with them. We give phone numbers of embassies, NGOs, the LaStrada number in Kyiv. (Interview with a representative of the *Youth Center for Women's Initiatives*, Sevastopol, Ukraine)

Sometimes, NGO staff members themselves call the phone number on a job ad to check what the ad offers. A representative of the NGO *Aksinia* described how she "played the role" of a potential job candidate:

> There was a job ad offering work in the Czech Republic. They just say it openly, that the job is going to be a "hostess." So, I called them and pretended that I was searching for a job. I wanted to know if the work would include sexual services. And I asked him [the agency representative] what "hostess" does. He said, "You are 30 years old and you don't know what 'hostess' does?" I wanted him to tell me… [laughs]. The ad reappears in the newspapers from time to time. (Interview with a representative of *Aksinia*, Rostov, Russia)

If an NGO's workers discover any "suspicious" employment agencies, they transmit this information to the licensing departments. However, the problem is that governmental officials can only control legitimate (officially registered) employment agencies, and most of the trafficking schemes occur through informal means of recruitment. Sometimes, there is also negligence on the part of the license-issuing departments:

> Our local Department of Migration, that issues licenses, does not monitor the job ads. When we check the ads, many of them don't have licenses or their licenses have expired. We think that in our region the main recruiting happens through personal connections, not through employment agencies. Girls often call us regarding some job ads and ask for consultation. (Interview with a representative of *Aksinia*, Rostov, Russia)

To make information accessible to people in different countries, NGOs and international organizations have worked to create national free hotlines and add foreign phone numbers to the hotline operation. For example, *LaStrada-Ukraine* runs a free national hotline and *Angel Coalition* in Russia (Moscow office) administers a free national hotline as well as hotline numbers in several countries: USA, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. By internationalizing the hotline operation, anti-trafficking NGOs try to reach Russian and Ukrainian citizens who have been trafficked abroad (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Statistics of Phone Calls on the *Angel Coalition* Hotline[14]

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007, until September	**Total**
Calls	92	2,274	4,038	2,412	**8,816**

International organizations also participate in sponsoring hotlines. The International Organization for Migration-Russia opened three Information and Consultation Centers with hotlines in Moscow, Petrozavodsk, and Astrakhan. During one year of operation (May 2007 – May 2008), the three centers have received more than 4,500 calls (Moscow center – 3,516, Petrozavodsk center – 248, Astrakhan center – 931)[15].

Foreign embassies and consulates are active participants in prevention programs, providing trainings and information to NGOs. For example, they inform hotline consultants about immigration laws and employment requirements for immigrants in their respective countries. The embassies and consulates also know about types of visas and immigration statuses, as well as various guest worker programs. Finally, they are able to supply information about the levels of unemployment immigration in their respective countries. The hotline consultants use this information when answering people's questions about the prospects of employment in a certain country.

During certain hours of hotline operation, NGOs invite representatives from local employment centers to provide consultations about working abroad. During my interview at the *LaStrada-Ukraine* office with a specialist from such an employment center, I learned that there are job vacancies available in Kyiv but that they are most often low-paying positions. According to the specialist, low salaries are the main reason why people inquire about foreign employment.

[14] Data obtained from http://www.angelcoalition.org/set-statistika.htm
[15] Information obtained from http://www.no2slavery.ru/files/statistic_report_apr08_eng_2%20.pdf

During the course of his work, the specialist informs people about legal ways to gain foreign employment—typically, labor exchange programs regulated by intergovernmental agreements. To pursue this, a potential labor migrant must have a contract with the employer—only then are his or her rights are protected by the intergovernmental agreement. However, the majority of people who call the hotline do not have the necessary qualifications for participation in such labor exchange programs because they lack the required education or language knowledge. In addition, many employers do not want to provide migrant workers with an official contract—they are only interested in undocumented migrants, who are "cheap" labor that comes with no fees and taxes (interview with a representative of the State Employment Center in Kyiv, Ukraine).

Many who call the hotline are seeking employment abroad at a certain salary level. In this case, employment specialists give advice on what potential migrants can do to ensure that their employment is safe (to check the license, to ask for a contract). However, in most cases, the consulting specialist does not offer any legal work vacancies abroad or well-compensated employment in Ukraine. Such hotline consultation suggests that people need to educate themselves, to find and verify information about foreign employment on their own. The title of an informational brochure distributed by an anti-trafficking NGO in Ukraine summarizes this approach as, "Be informed – become protected!" However, the employment centers often cannot offer jobs with competitive salaries to potential migrants.

A similar situation exists in Russia. According to a representative of the Murmansk Statistics Bureau, there were on average about 2,000 open vacancies in the city in 2004, but most of the positions offered salaries just above minimum wage. Some women's NGOs offer trainings

in job search skills as well as in organizing small businesses; however, these cannot accommodate all women in need of employment.

Trafficking prevention programs often present women as a special risk group. For example, employees of the NGO *Aksinia*, in Novocherkassk, have conducted a survey among female students at local universities and vocational schools regarding their interest in finding foreign employment (Research by NGO *Aksinia*, 2004). Seventy of the respondents were between 18 and 23 years of age. The NGO elected to study this sample because "girls of this age are especially vulnerable to the risk of being cheated by people who commit crimes of trade in people." The survey included questions about the women's interest in traveling abroad and for what purposes they would travel. Seventy percent of the respondents said that they would like to find a job abroad, and 50% of the women wanted to study in a foreign country. Marriage with a foreigner was an interest of 40% of respondents. The NGO workers interpreted the results as "high level of interest in travel abroad," and they recommended that women of this age group receive special attention from informational programs of anti-trafficking NGOs. Such surveys of women, conducted by many anti-trafficking NGOs, demonstrate the operation of the observation mechanism of governmentality. The survey acts as surveillance of a special "risk group" and positions women as "women at risk."

Even if representatives from the institutional actors recognize that the problem is social, all they can tell people is how to protect themselves. The limitation of anti-trafficking NGOs' and international organizations' prevention programs is related to their inability to affect structural causes of labor migration. Their main focus on public education and information as tools of prevention is insufficient, as it fails to take into consideration the socioeconomic context of the global economy that creates the flows of migrants. The prevention programs normalize

migrants as prudent subjects—actively responsible selves, people who must seek information about safe migration and make rational choices (O'Malley 1996). The prudent subjects rely on expert knowledge to make informed decisions and exercise self-surveillance. "Prudentialism" (O'Malley 1996) operates as an ideology by successfully "privatizing" the risks of migration. This ideology individualizes the responsibility for risk management while remaining inactive in relation to issues of social inequality. Even though the logic of prudentialism applies to all migrants, women are especially delegated with the responsibility to manage risks. Thus, gender difference often informs social constructions of prudent subjects.

Repatriation

Trafficking victims usually return to their home countries in several ways: they arrange their own return if they have means and documents; they rely on institutional actors for their return to Ukraine or Russia; or they are deported by authorities in the countries of destination. The institutions that assist trafficking victims abroad are embassies, consulates, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Typically, embassies assist in document recovery and supply trafficking victims with certificates of return. The IOM runs a program of voluntary return that covers travel costs back to the home country.

IOM-assisted return is voluntary. If a migrant does not want to go back and does not face deportation, then IOM does not arrange the return. A representative from the IOM-Russia told me in an interview that migrant women usually prefer to stay in such countries as Germany and Italy. However, many trafficking victims identified in the countries of the former Yugoslavia prefer to return to their home countries (interview with a representative of the IOM-Russia, 2002). The IOM also establishes contacts with NGOs and law enforcement agencies in other

countries. For example, in 2005, an IOM-Ukraine employee and several representatives of Ukrainian anti-trafficking NGOs visited Moscow to establish collaboration with Russian NGOs in lieu of returning Ukrainian victims of trafficking back home. Starting from 2004, Russia became one of the main countries of destination for Ukrainian migrants (together with Turkey).

Risk management mechanisms in different countries depend on migration laws and sex-trade regulation. In countries such as the Netherlands and Germany, who regulate the sex trade, authorities are concerned about risks for trafficking victims. For example, German NGOs' employees work in special cafes where women can come and ask for help without fear of being deported. In most EU countries, undocumented migrant women discovered in sex-trade establishments during police raids are referred to shelter facilities while authorities consider their immigration cases. Also, most EU countries offer special "trafficking visas" that allow women to stay in the country temporarily while testifying in a criminal investigation. Despite the relatively liberal approach to migration regulation in some European countries, governmental authorities often consider migrants to be risky individuals.

In countries where the sale of sex is illegal (e.g., the United Arab Emirates) or where authorities strictly enforce immigration laws with regard to foreign women discovered in sex-trade establishments (e.g., Turkey, Israel), police send migrant women to detention facilities. Olena described how she and her friend were arrested by Israeli police, transferred to a jail in Egypt, and deported to Ukraine:

> N: And then the police arrested you in a raid and sent you back to Egypt?
> O: Yes, they kept us in a deportation jail in Egypt. We spent about week and a half there. Then some foreign man came and asked us about border crossing. The conditions were ok, but we really wanted to get home. We thought we might even go by foot. We calculated that we should be able to do this in one month [laughs]. They [the jail employees] don't speak any foreign languages [in Egypt].
> N: How did you understand them?

O: I learned to understand a little bit. I was not alone, there were several of us. One was from Tajikistan, and she spoke Russian. Another one was from Turkmenistan. We asked them [the immigration authorities] when they would be deporting us home. They said in two to three days. But they kept us for a whole month. They moved us from one jail to another. These were not jails, but deportation centers. All those centers are not so good. Often, there was no water to shower.
N: Why did they move you?
O: They would get all the information from us all over again: finger printing, our story, everything. They did not offend or bother us, but they were unorganized. The cell was four square meters, very little air circulation; and some people were passing out. No fresh air whatsoever; no window; you could not see the street. It was always dark; there was only electric light there. Some were very upset; they kicked the door, asking to keep it open. In Israel, we spent about a week in a deportation jail, but there was air conditioning, television, normal conditions. In Egypt, we were close to claustrophobia. They brought us the same food every day—rice, pita bread, some chicken, and dates. I cannot see the date fruits anymore; I ate so many of them there. At the end, they took us to Cairo. We demanded to see a Ukrainian ambassador in Cairo. We saw that a Chinese consul was coming to meet with someone. There were two Africans—brother and sister. Their consul visited them. Our consul did not come. There were two of us from Ukraine. In Cairo, they put us in jail. It looked like a regular jail, women who were there were thieves.
N: How did you know?
O: One African girl told us. She worked before as an interpreter [of Russian]. When we went to take a shower, we could not leave our belongings in our cell because they would be stolen. We slept in our clothes. It was very hot, lots of huge flies. In the shower, there was only cold water. Huge room; we slept on the floor; they gave us some blankets. Some women sit there for five to six years. Men work in police; women sit in jail as thieves.
N: I wonder how you could communicate with all these people?
O: Through this African girl who spoke Russian. She spoke with an accent. She was not in our cell; we did not see her every day, unfortunately. She explained to us what was going on. Without her, we could understand, but only a little. We played cards with others, explained them the rules of the game. While we were sitting together, we learned to understand other inmates. We were very scared to be in the Cairo jail. There were thousands of people there, and I was afraid that no one would find us there. Our relatives would never be able to find us. I was crying at night that I would never see my child, that I would never get out of there. When we were in Israel, I called home, and I said that we were coming home. But we did not go home; we stayed in Egypt for a month. Once in Kyiv, I ran and bought a phone card and called my mom to tell her that I was in Ukraine. From Cairo, they transferred us somewhere else. Then, they took us to Sharm El Sheikh. We spent four or five days there. There, we were in a police department, not a jail. There was a wide bench in a corner; we slept there. There was also another girl from Uzbekistan. She came to Egypt through Russia. When they took us to the

> airport, we found out that there was no flight to Ukraine on that day. We started crying. We waited one day and then flew to Kyiv. We were so happy to get on the plane.
> N: Did someone meet you in Kyiv?
> O: Yes, our passports were with a flight attendant. The passport control officer checked our passports and computer records, wrote something, and we took a bus to Kyiv from Borispol [Kyiv airport]. We were so happy to get back. Such a terrible country. We were so dirty, our clothes were dirty. We took a taxi to get home as soon as possible. I woke my daughter when I came back. She had changed so much while I was abroad; she started saying words, she said "mom." I did not want to remember Egypt. I felt so claustrophobic in that jail. I did not know whom to ask for help. We tried to talk to an ambassador, but we were told that there was no ambassador in Cairo. I started panicking that we would never get out of there. We were crying, devastated. In Israel, people are normal. In Egypt, they don't communicate with you. (Interview with Olena)

Olena's narrative of her return to Ukraine shows that such practices as deportation and repatriation produce national identities and construct national borders. In this "national order of things" (Malkki 1995), Olena's human rights existed only in the framework of her national citizenship—that is why she demanded to see the ambassador. The narrative also demonstrates the violence of deportation. Olena describes how police capture and imprison migrants. Migrants become objects of the disciplinary mechanism of observation as they provide information (finger prints, story, and border crossing information) to law enforcement. Police raids are operations that often facilitate corruption (interviews with Nina, Vika), as police warn bar and sauna owners beforehand. Police raids are also practices intrinsic to the disciplinary mechanism of examination—they enforce immigration laws and documentation of national subjects.

Repatriation and deportation practices can also produce prudentialism. For example, Angela (23 years old, from Ukraine) described how immigration authorities encourage "responsible" subjects by making migrants pay for their own detention:

> A: A friend was helping me in a deportation center—they don't give food there.
> N: They don't feed people at all?
> A: You eat what you buy. You pay for your food. I also had to pay for being there, in the deportation jail—about $3 per day. I did not have any money. But

> they do give phones to make calls. They said that we will take you in a special place and you will stay there. There were other girls there, and their friends and boyfriends were helping them, bringing them food, clothes. I had only summer clothes. It was +18°C [64°F] then in Antalya. When I came to Ukraine, it was -10°C [14°F]. So, these girls shared their clothes with me.
> N: How did you travel back?
> A: I bought a ferry ticket for $100 and paid for housing in the deportation center. I was quite lucky that they deported us to Ukraine. They keep women until they have a group and then send everyone. If they would have a group of Moldavians, they might have sent me to Moldova. There were four of us from Ukraine; a friend of one girl brought money, and we could be sent to Ukraine. (Interview with Angela)

Deportation as a legal procedure is also part of the disciplinary mechanism of examination. It consists of a judge's decision to issue an order of expulsion for an offence. The judge also decides how long the deported person must remain outside the country.

Prosecution

Prosecution of traffickers helps manage the risks associated with operations of sex-trafficking chains. Criminal investigation of trafficking cases begins with the identification of victims. A "victim" is a category in institutional legal discourse. Practices of identification rely on the legal definition of a crime of trafficking. In 2001, the Ukrainian Parliament passed a new Criminal Code, with the crime of trafficking being defined in Article 149:

> Trafficking in person or other illicit transaction concerning the transfer of persons:
> 1. The sale or another paid transfer of a person, as well as any other illegal transaction with respect to a person, concerning the legal or illegal transfer of that person via the state border of Ukraine, with or without that person's consent, with the aim of further sale or paid transfer of that person to another person(s) for sexual exploitation, use in the pornography business, engagement in criminal activities, debt bondage, adoption for commercial purposes, use in armed conflict, or the exploitation of the labor of that person—are subject to imprisonment for the term of three to eight years.
> 2. The same acts, if committed against a minor, several persons, repeatedly, by a group of offenders at prior collusion, with abuse of official powers, of if committed by a person, upon whom a victim was materially or otherwise

> dependent—are liable to imprisonment from five to twelve years with or without confiscation of property.
> 3. Acts stipulated by paragraph one or two of this Article if committed by an organized group, or acts concerning the transfer of minors abroad or preventing their return to Ukraine, or with the aim of seizing tissue of a victim for transplantation or forced donor-ship, or if these acts resulted in grievous consequences—are liable to imprisonment from eight to fifteen years with confiscation of property. (Criminal Code of Ukraine, Article 149[16])

In 2006, the Ukrainian legislature amended the article to include internal trafficking—trafficking within the borders of Ukraine. In Russia, an article concerning trafficking was introduced into criminal law in 2003. Article 127.1 of the Criminal Code of Russia defines human trafficking as the:

> Purchase or sale of a person or other actions committed for the purpose of such person's exploitation in the form of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of such person. (Criminal Code of the Russian Federation[17])

This crime is punished with an imprisonment term of up to five years. Aggravated circumstances, such as the use of threat or force, transnationality of the crime, and others, increase the punishment to 3 to 10 years of imprisonment. Even longer terms of imprisonment are possible for other aggravated circumstances, such as organized crime or actions leading to the death of a person; these sentences range from 8 to 15 years.

Law enforcement officers and prosecutors refer to the legal discourse when they discuss the identification of victims. Legal discourse seeks to clearly define regulatory categories so as to eliminate ambiguity. In relation to sex trafficking, law enforcement officers and prosecutors rely on legal discourse to demarcate women who work in the sex trade and women who are exploited in the sex trade. A representative of the Counter-Trafficking Unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ukraine) explained:

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[16] http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=2341-14
[17] http://www.uk-rf.ru/

> Prostitution and trafficking are different things. The majority of […] I see […] policemen and international organizations, especially in such countries as France [...]. For them, trafficking and prostitution are the same. Our position is different. We are close to the position of the USA in a sense that prostitution is prostitution, and trafficking is trafficking. Trade in people produces victims—from the trade. A prostitute cannot be a victim because she is a person who […] let's say […] as a result of her activity […] voluntarily, is aware of the consequences, well aware […] earns money by this. These are two different things. Here, psychological relation is principally important. The same is when a woman goes to work abroad, she knows what she will be doing, classic sex, let's assume, and if she begins to offer classic sex, then there is satisfaction of her needs and expectations, then this is not human trafficking, but clearly prostitution. The difference is in the subjective relation of the person to the situation in which she has found herself. Let's suggest another situation. She is going to perform classic sex in such countries as Turkey and the Emirates, but, in reality, she […] there are some [previous] agreements, like freedom of movement, freedom of actions, and in all those agreements, however, she meets with 15 to 20 clients; and this is clearly the trade in people. In principle, this is about the subjective relation of the person to this question. This is why these are two principally different things. (Interview with a representative of the Counter-Trafficking Unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ukraine)

In the post-Soviet countries, identification of sex-trafficking victims becomes problematic in law enforcement practice due to the prohibitionist regulation of prostitution. In Ukraine and Russia, the sale of sexual services is prohibited and treated as a misdemeanor, punished with a fine. On one hand, the prohibitionist regulation of prostitution positions women who are "well aware" of the criminality of their commercial sexual activity as *villains*. On the other hand, exploitation, coercion, and control in the sex trade define women as *victims* of sex trafficking. The weakness in such definitions of prostitution and sex trafficking is that, in reality, women who work in the sex trade can be denied legal assistance when they find themselves in situations of violence and exploitation. Both prostitution and sex trafficking are delegated to the same institutional structure: the counter-trafficking units. These units investigate crimes related to public morality (prostitution and pimping), trafficking, and illegal adoption. Identification of trafficking victims depends on the interpretation of women's experiences by law enforcement

officers. Officers often consider all women in the sex trade as villains. In relation to exploited and abused sex workers, they display such attitudes as, "you are all prostitutes" and, "you deserve this [violence]"[18].

Some women who work in the sex trade use the definition of trafficking to claim that they are trafficking victims. This creates a debate regarding "true" vs. "false" victims. A Russian researcher explained:

> An officer faces several key challenges in identifying a trafficking victim. On the one side, there is the potential risk of a "false" trafficking victim, who is claiming to be a human trafficking victim to escape punishment for other offences, such as those noted above [infringement of immigration law, use of falsified documents, or prostitution]. However, on the other hand, true human trafficking victims are commonly inhibited from recognizing themselves as human trafficking victims for reasons such as fear, ignorance of the law, or poverty and willingness to continue working even in exploitative circumstances. Given these factors, an officer should make a presumption in favour of the individual claiming to be a human trafficking victim. (Tiurukanova 2006:89)

This problem of identification exists not only within law enforcement and prosecution; NGO workers have also described it:

> N: You mentioned that Anna is a real victim […].
> R: Some girls do not mind to sell their bodies. During court hearings, one girl did no show up because she left to work in a show ballet in Cyprus. She knew that there was a chance to earn money. Further on, she did not participate in the case.
> N: How do you know if a victim is "real?"
> R: For us, they are all victims. Article 149 says that cheating is a part of trafficking. They are almost always cheated; they are typically not told straight away that this is going to be sex work. They are victims because they were sold—whether they knew or not. Even if she knows that she will work as a prostitute, she does not know that she will serve 20 clients. They are always victims because they suffer. Anna is a real victim because she did not go work in a show ballet. She went to work in a store in Turkey. This was an obvious lie. It is hard to classify the victims into "real" and "not real." The other thing is that some go abroad again. (Interview with a representative of the *Youth Center for Women's Initiatives*, Sevastopol, Ukraine)

[18] Several interviewees from NGOs and from law enforcement agencies in Ukraine and Russia described this problem of attitudes among law enforcement.

This distinction between "real" and "false" victims demonstrates how identification of victims depends on interpretation. The NGO worker uses the legal definition of a sex-trafficking victim as a guide in the process of identification; however, she also distinguishes between "false" victims, who "do not mind to sell their bodies" and are "well aware" of what they are doing, and "real" victims, who have "obviously" been cheated. During identification, the legal definition of trafficking overlaps with social attitudes that define sex workers as rational actors who "voluntarily" engage in acts of sexual commodification and, therefore, are guilty of committing a misdemeanor. This assumes that the decision to engage in prostitution is then "personal," a "private" decision. This view wholly disregards the structural factors that condition women's participation in the sex trade, such as class, gender, race/ethnicity, and global inequality. This individualization of prostitution is related to moral evaluation—if she acts "voluntarily" and if prostitution is a sexual transgression, then she *is* a villain. The implicit division into good and bad women ("real" and "false" victims) normalizes "good" womanhood. In practice, this also often leaves women who work in the sex trade without legal or social protection, all the while in an environment with multiple risks. Decriminalizing prostitution would help provide a context in which sex-trade workers are not treated as villains.

Another problem with the prosecution of trafficking cases is the reliance on victim testimony. Often, women do not want to testify because they are scared of traffickers, are trying to avoid stigma, and/or do not want to remember and relive the circumstances of their trafficking. This creates a problem for law enforcement officials; without the women's testimonies, they cannot investigate and prosecute the cases of trafficking. Often, officials convince women to testify, or they rely on NGOs' workers to do the "convincing." Natasha

explained how she arrived at her decision to offer her testimony in a trafficking investigation case:

> After I ran away from Chisinau, I was hiding for a long time. Just when I came back, Lena [the recruiter] called, and then he [the trafficker] came. I was not at home; I was at the market with my aunt. My brother was at home and told him that I was not in [her home town]. I left to my grandmother's place and hid there. And then we started discussing this situation. Should I go to police? When he [the trafficker] came, he said that the police cannot do anything to him; they are all bought by him. "If you will write [testimony], it is going to be worse for you, you will go to jail," he said. He was threatening to kill me and my child. I was afraid, and I thought I should not go to police. Then, there were other girls who came back from Chisinau. They were in contact with Yuri Ivanovich [law enforcement officer], and one of them said that Natasha [the respondent] was there [Chisinau]. After that, Yuri Ivanovich from the counter-trafficking unit visited me, and he said that there is an opportunity to start an investigation, so that they wouldn't disturb me anymore, and also I could come here [reintegration center]. He said that some girls were disappearing just like me, "Don't you feel sorry for them?" I had a child back then, two months old. I went with him, and he questioned me. Then we came to this organization [reintegration center] for the first time. I stayed in a hotel, with my child. I got some money for travel. They [NGO employees] said that if I wanted, I could stay here, in the organization. (Interview with Natasha)

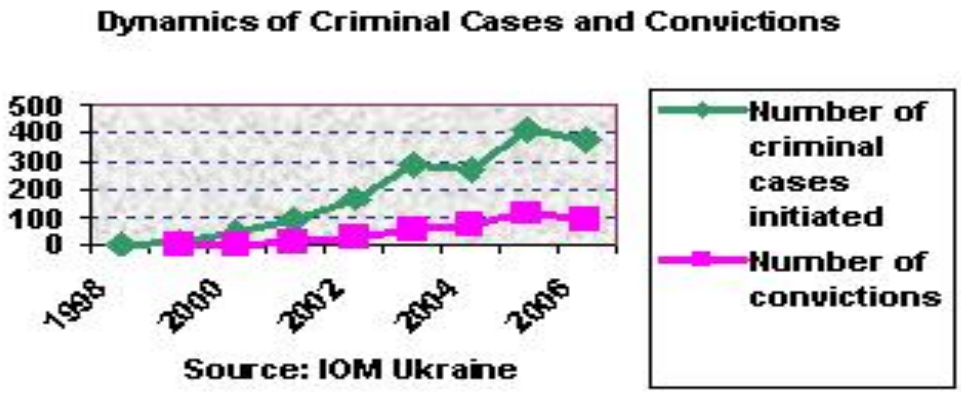
Witness testimonies are important source of information for law enforcement, but they often create additional risks for women:

> Many who don't have children, they want to testify. Women who have children and families—they don't want to. Many are from small towns, and they are afraid that their stories will be known. They think that everyone will know about them, everyone will judge them. "I think that everyone looks at me and knows what happened to me," [trafficking victims say]. Some testify—because they are angry about their situation and they don't want this to happen to anyone. Often, there is pressure from relatives of traffickers not to testify. We, as a public organization, we want to be present at court cases. Women feel much more confident if we are present. These are intimate matters, and lawyers use this to confuse women; they ask provocative questions. (Interview with a representative of *LaStrada-Ukraine*)

Although there are more and more victims who decide to become witnesses (interview with a lawyer from the NGO, *Hope and Future*), and there are an increasing number of open trafficking cases, few of them end in convictions. In Russia, from 2004 to 2005, there were only seven

verdicts in cases prosecuted under Article 127.1, "Trafficking of People" (Tiurukanova, 2006). Nine people received convictions, and two of those convicted were acquitted under this article but received conviction under a different one. The Ukrainian situation with regard to criminal prosecutions of trafficking is presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Dynamics of Criminal Cases and Convictions in Ukraine[19].



Convictions in trafficking cases are difficult because of the sensitive nature of the crimes. A representative from the Federal Counter-trafficking Unit in Ukraine said, "There are experienced defense lawyers who defend traffickers. They break down victims' testimonies, confuse them, and make them cry" (Interview with a representative from the Federal Counter-trafficking Unit, Ukraine). The defense lawyers usually try to portray women as "voluntary" participants in commercial sex, implying that the women were "well aware" of the nature of work when they traveled abroad. Prosecutors and NGOs' employees prepare women for court hearings by talking with them about all the details of their travel and by finding ways to minimize the pressure that they feel. The IOM provides funds for legal representation of the victims. A lawyer representing the *Youth Center for Women's Initiatives* (Sevastopol, Ukraine) said:

[19] http://www.iom.org.ua/index.php?page=catalog&id=11&pid=2

> If they [trafficking victims] participate in a case, I help. When there was the Syrian case, the defense lawyers of the trafficker were very aggressive. She [the trafficker] had a whole team of supporters (even though she was in custody) that behaved very aggressively. And I thought that this would reflect negatively on the girls' testimonies. They might get scared, refuse giving testimony, or not tell everything. So, I offered them to apply for this case to be considered in a closed hearing. I told them, "You can explain that you don't want to disclose intimate information publicly." And this application was approved, and everyone was asked to leave, including the supporters of the defendant. (Interview with a representative of the *Youth Center for Women's Initiatives*, Sevastopol, Ukraine)

Further, NGO representatives support women during all stages of the criminal investigation:

> We talk to them about the possibility of inviting not only a lawyer, but also a psychologist. For her confidence, so that she is not afraid. So many cases are not winning in the court because the victims do not know how to behave in court. Now we don't have such problems because we have two very experienced lawyers working with us. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*).

The availability of witness protection can minimize the risks associated with testifying. In Ukraine, witnesses in trafficking cases can receive witness protection under the 1994 law, "Provision of Protection for Persons Involved in Criminal Proceedings." In 2005, a new federal law entered into force in Russia: "The Governmental Protection of Victims, Witnesses, and Other Participants in Criminal Prosecution." In this law, Part 2 of Article 2 determines the mechanism for witness and/or victim protection. Although there are laws that state witness protection must be available for trafficking victims, many experts agree that the main problem with protection implementation is the lack of provisioning of sufficient funding for witness protection programs (Lutsenko et al 2006; Tiurukanova 2006).

Sometimes, law enforcement officers, in their operations against traffickers, rely on women. For example, Natasha participated in the collection of evidence in a trafficking case:

> Natasha: When he [the trafficker] arrived and started threatening me, he said that I had to supply him two other girls. I had to offer a couple of girls to go and work in Chisinau. I refused to do this. Yuri Ivanovich [law enforcement officer] organized that I called Sasha [the trafficker]; he [Yuri Ivanovich] gave me his phone. I told him [Sasha] that I had two girls for him. He bought this and came to

> meet me. I was so afraid. I was in a car, and I was shaking. After this was over, they [law enforcement officers] helped me to calm down, brought me to the port, and sent me home.
> N: Are you still a witness in the case?
> Natasha: No, I participated, and that is it. I went to court as a witness. We had a lawyer who explained everything to us; he is from Odessa, but paid by IOM. He said what to say. We have told our stories. Based on these stories, he told us what to tell, what to emphasize. Sasha got seven years of imprisonment. This article of the criminal law is not eligible for amnesty.
> During the court hearing he started saying that I had begged him to go abroad; I told him that he was lying. I told my story and lied nothing about it. And there were many girls who told similar stories. There were about 100 people trafficked from Ukraine.
> N: To Moldova?
> Natasha: To Moldova and Turkey. (Interview with Natasha)

According to all respondents from law enforcement, the biggest problem in prosecution of trafficking cases is the transnationality of the crime. This transnational character of sex trafficking chains makes it difficult for officers to collect enough evidence for a prosecution. As a representative of the counter-trafficking unit said in an interview:

> We arrest one person, but others run away. They move women to another spot. Their partners are abroad, and we have to access to them. Their financial base is there [abroad]. (Interview with a representative from the counter-trafficking unit, The Republic of Crimea, Ukraine).

To solve this problem, in 2006, the Ukrainian government amended Article 149 of the Criminal Code to include criminal responsibility for each part of the trafficking chain. Thus, recruitment, smuggling, sale, or exploitation can be prosecuted as separate crimes within the same chain. If there is not enough evidence to prosecute the whole criminal group, still, some of the group's participants can face prosecution:

> Before the court hearing, they were visiting my home, asking my brother to tell them where I was. They [the law enforcement officers] caught only the trafficker, not the whole organization. They were only able to prosecute the one who took us across the border. This is a criminal case against him, and he confessed. But he said that he does not know where the rest of the people [the trafficking group] are. He also said that he was forced to do this. At the court hearing, he tried to save himself and accused other members of the group. We [Natasha and other

> trafficked victims] said all the truth, how he manipulated us. He asked us such questions that we could not even answer those questions. We were embarrassed. (Interview with Natasha)

To coordinate evidence collection, law enforcement agencies collaborates with the IOM. The official international collaboration through Interpol takes a very long time: the request to supply information goes to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ukraine; then to Interpol; from there, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Turkey; the Ministry gives the order to prepare the document to a local law enforcement department; and, finally, the information comes all the way back. The whole cycle can take a month or two. Instead, law enforcement officers prefer to establish direct personal connections with their colleagues abroad. They establish such connections during law enforcement trainings and international conferences organized by international organizations and NGOs. The IOM also covers the costs of interpretation and translation in investigation process.

Law enforcement, as an institution, perceives human trafficking to be a permanent problem. Officers often feel pressure to show results of their work—numbers of detected, arrested, and prosecuted traffickers. The prosecution of criminals helps to minimize risks for the trafficked victims and for the society, and law enforcement institutions achieve this goal by relying on disciplinary mechanisms of power. First, trafficking victims' stories are transformed into testimonies (Foucault's term, "confession") and used for the purposes of a traffickers' prosecution. Second, law enforcement contributes to the production of feminine identity by implicitly distinguishing between villains (voluntary, rational prostitutes) and victims of circumstance. This normalization disregards the factors of social inequality that often lead women to engage in the sex trade.

Protection

Social protection of trafficking victims is primarily a responsibility of NGOs and international organizations. The main goal of social protection is to minimize the risk of re-trafficking. Often, trafficking victims encounter the same problems that they had before going abroad: lack of money, family issues, unemployment, etc. In addition, they often acquire new problems, specific to their trafficking, typically include health, psychological, and legal issues, as well as addictions, new family issues, and the like. Reintegration programs aim at assisting women in "re-establishing" their lives after their trafficking experiences.

Social protection begins with NGO or IOM representatives meeting trafficking victims in Ukraine or Russia. The women usually arrive by plane or train; Turkey sends deported victims of trafficking by ferry:

> N: You came back to Odessa from Antalya?
> L: Yes, all deported women on the ferry went to a special department [the Federal Security Service]. Nina Ivanovna approached me, and I immediately believed her. She asked if we found ourselves in a difficult situation, and if we wanted to return home. She knew that we were all deported. The whole ferry was full of deported persons. There were maybe four or five normal people, without deportation. She [Nina Ivanovna] knew everything already; she knew that no one goes to Antalya for vacations.
> N: Did she offer you some concrete help?
> L: Yes, we were wearing summer clothes only. We were deported in what we were wearing. We did not have any money. It was December, winter, and I had no idea how to get to [home city]. I just wanted to go home as soon as possible, because I had had enough adventures by then. She offered to call home, to arrange transportation. I saw that she spoke with police, and they were helping her. I just told her my story, and she took me with her. I was in Odessa for about six days. I started working with a psychologist. I thought that I would stay in Odessa, but I needed to go home. I had problems with my documents—my passport was taken away in Antalya. My domestic passport was taken by Turkish police; they did not understand why I had two passports [Ukrainian citizens have foreign and domestic passports]. They gave me back my foreign passport. I needed to obtain my domestic passport at home. (Interview with Lena)

In Ukrainian ports, identification of trafficking victims happens in special departments responsible for deportation. A representative of an NGO explains her role in the identification of trafficking victims among Ukrainian citizens deported from Ukraine:

> N: How did you know which women to talk to in the port?
> I: Police would tell us; they were the first to talk to them. First, security service. Then, the counter-trafficking unit. They ask the deported women, "Why deportation?" We were the last to talk with the women. They [law enforcement officers] asked, "How did you get there? What happened? Why deportation?" Based on the answers, they saw who could be potential victims. We wrote down their stories, and I did not immediately tell them that we could help them in many ways because they often tell different stories. Some sex workers ["false" victims] use this [availability of assistance]. (Interview with a representative from the NGO *Faith. Hope. Love*, Odessa)

In Russia, NGOs and international organizations identify victims. They meet them at the airports and offer help. Foreign NGOs and IOM missions send information about arriving trafficking victims. Nina discussed her return from Israel to Pulkovo airport in St. Petersburg:

> N: Who offered you help?
> Nina: When we were in a deportation jail and waiting for all documents to be confirmed, a social worker approached me, [name]; she was coming and helping, bringing some brushes and toiletries. Many girls did not have anything with them; she brought clothes. And she asked if anyone wanted to receive support, rehabilitation for one month; then we could tell her. I agreed because I had nothing to lose. And I agreed to stay here [St. Petersburg shelter] for one month.
> N: When you arrived, what help did you expect?
> Nina: When I was offered assistance there [in Israel], I did not understand what kind [of assistance], of course. I thought I would be questioned: what, how, where. I somehow thought that it would not be to my benefit. But, I still decided to stay, because there was no point for me to go home, and I thought that I would see the city at least. (Interview with Nina)

Governmental officials in Russia have slowly started to collaborate with the IOM in identification of trafficking victims. However, identification of victims in Russia can involve different institutional structures (from Ukraine) since Russia is a receiving and transit country.

The intake interview is the next step in the reintegration process after arrival, with psychologists or social workers typically conducting the interviews. At this point, safety is an important concern for the trafficking victims since many of them are afraid of traffickers:

> Women who return […] it is better not to ask questions immediately. First, just simple questions—are you tired? Do you want eat, sleep, take a shower? Only after one day, after they understand that they are safe, do we start asking questions. Even women who we took to the Caritas shelter, they looked scared—"where are you taking us?" They are afraid of everything after they have been abroad. Maybe they are afraid that they are being followed. The first thing to achieve is that the woman trusts you, rests; then you can talk to her. They usually tell what happened, how it happened. Initially, they say that they need this and that. But after they come back home, they also return to the same problems that they had before. (Interview with a psychologist from *LaStrada-Ukraine*)

There are multiple forms of help available for trafficking victims, through NGOs. NGOs deliver social reintegration services, and the IOM sponsors the reintegration programs:

> When girls arrive, a psychologist, social worker, and I [lawyer] work with them. They tell their stories; I try to sit somewhere close to be able to listen so that they don't have to repeat again. They are traumatized by constant repetition of their stories. We ask them if they want to go to Kyiv. They receive medical and psychological help there. I help them in a legal way. Sometimes they don't have documents, and I help them to recover their documents because they need them to apply for a job, etc. Some questions are related to housing, finding a job. We basically provide social accompaniment. We have had about 30 victims who have received all forms of help. Many did not have a job or profession, which was often the reason to go abroad. They were able to attend vocational training courses; they choose the courses themselves. Computer skills, secretary, hairdresser, manicurist, bartender. They find themselves the vocational training courses; we give them phone numbers and they find out themselves about this occupation: salary, availability of jobs, working conditions, etc. If they like it, they bring a bill to us. One of the girls received a driver's license and works as a driver. The IOM pays for this education. They [the IOM] don't pay for higher education. I don't think it would be correct to offer to the IOM such long-term obligations. (Interview with a representative of the *Youth Center for Women's Initiatives*, Sevastopol, Ukraine)

In Ukraine, the IOM Medical Rehabilitation Center is located in Kyiv. The center is part of a local hospital where trafficked women receive medical and psychological assistance. Between

2002 and 2007, the center provided services to 1,165 trafficking victims[20]. Victims from all regions of Ukraine travel to Kyiv to receive medical and psychological assistance (psychological assistance is also available in local NGOs). The rationale for having such an arrangement (vs. receiving medical services locally) is to preserve confidentiality. The trafficking victims often would not go to their local clinics because they might feel uncomfortable telling doctors their stories in the towns where they live. Trafficking victims usually stay in Kyiv for about two weeks but can stay longer if they need. The center acts primarily as a site for managing contagious health risks, especially sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Women go through many medical tests and, depending on the results, receive medial treatment. They also receive help for overcoming drug or alcohol addictions. Lena described her experiences in the IOM center:

> L: Yes, then I went to Kyiv, I spent a month and a half there. It was very nice there; very nice relations. They paid attention to how we communicated amongst ourselves, so that some girls did not trouble others. Then, they gave us sedatives.
> N: Which ones?
> L: At night, they always gave us sleeping medicine. During the day, I was taking some pills, I don't remember which ones. I talked to a neuropathologist, and he prescribed this medicine. I was taking it only while I was there.
> N: How did it make you feel?
> L: I became calm, relaxed. I did not feel anxious. I had a chance to exercise in a gym. We were sewing toys. I liked it a lot. We sewed lots of them. It was calming too, and we did this as a group, which was good for our communication.
> (Interview with Lena)

The only medical service the IOM center in Ukraine does not provide is abortion. I asked multiple representatives of the IOM regarding this policy, and they explained that women were to undergo abortions in clinics in their home towns. This reasoning is somewhat inconsistent with the IOM's focus on confidentiality for receiving medical services. If the IOM is concerned

[20] http://www.iom.org.ua/index.php?page=catalog&id=11
In 2006, the Medical Rehabilitation Center started delivering services to male victims of trafficking.

about breaches of confidentiality during medical procedures, then what is the logic behind saying such a breach cannot happen during an abortion at a local clinic?

> N: I know that the IOM center does not provide abortions. However, pregnancies can be a result of rape, and women might want to have an abortion. What do you think of this?
> R: They are not necessarily raped. Well […]. They are raped by guards or pimps sometimes. But, let's say, that these pregnancies are result of their work. Many who come back, they don't know who the father is, and this is a problem, but we never tell them what to do. Some women keep the children because they are afraid that after what they have been through, they might not have children again. Sometimes, women decide to keep the children in order not to be childless. And they don't do the abortion. (Interview with a representative from *Faith.Hope. Love*).

Considering that the majority of funding for the IOM mission in Ukraine comes from the U.S. Department of State, I hypothesize that the IOM does not provide abortions because of the "global gag rule" that President Bush reinstated in 2001[21]. This rule denies funding to foreign NGOs that deliver abortions as one of their services. However, I cannot provide any support for this hypothesis.

The IOM-Russia opened its rehabilitation center in 2007, and through May 2008, it has served 197 trafficking victims[22]. About 70% of these victims have been exploited in the sex trade. Similar to Ukraine's center, Russia's center also specializes in medical testing and treatment of victims. Also similar is that the Russian IOM Rehabilitation Center also does not list abortion as one of its services.

The IOM also funds reintegration program for trafficking victims. Within this program, women can stay in sheltering facilities run by local NGOs. If they do not want to stay in a shelter, victims are eligible for reintegration assistance while they live at home. The reintegration assistance package of services includes a small amount of financial assistance ($100), tuition for

[21] http://www.globalgagrule.org/
[22] http://www.no2slavery.ru/eng/our_help/

vocational training courses, assistance with housing costs (depending on each particular case), legal representation fees (if the victim decides to become a witness in a criminal case), and other forms of help provided based on needs. Trafficking victims who finish their vocational training are eligible to attend business skills trainings and apply for micro-loans to start their own small businesses.

NGO shelters take on different forms: in some places a shelter is a room in a hospital or sanatorium, while in others, it is a rented building. In the majority of cases, the shelter is a rented apartment that is used as a refuge. The shelters provide medical, psychological, legal, and social assistance to victims and their family members. Each NGO establishes its own criteria for admitting trafficking victims. Many require results of medical tests: blood, urine, HIV/AIDS, and STD tests, as well as a gynecological examination. Some NGOs' workers discuss each individual situation and decide whether they can help the victim:

> We discuss her [the victim's] story with other professionals. If she is a drug addict, I can guess what kind of problems she is going to have. If she was in prostitution for seven years, then it is doubtful that she will attend vocational trainings in embroidery. We are interested to know if she has a drug addiction. If yes, then we have to find good specialists to work with her. If she has experience in working in the sex trade, then I ask what vocational training courses she wants to attend. If she does not want to attend any courses, then she is likely to engage in prostitution. We discuss all this. (Interview with a representative of the *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women*)

The shelters often try to create a "home atmosphere." However, there are certain rules that trafficking victims must to observe. For example, they cannot disclose the location of the shelter, they cannot bring or drink alcohol in the shelter, and they cannot invite people there. In addition, all shelters have a curfew and time table:

> R: The main condition for girls is […] Their freedom is not limited, they can go out, and they can get a job. The main condition is [obeying] the rules of the shelter's order: to be back on time, not to disturb others, no drugs, no alcohol, help in cooking, in cleaning. Not to be rude, observe personal hygiene. These are

the rules. They have to attend the vocational courses that they have chosen. They have to receive their treatment. They work with psychologists. We created this according to the "family" principle—we don't have limiting, strict rules. But these are the rules that women have to observe while living together. They should not tell anyone the location, not give out the phone number, not bring visitors, not tell anyone where they are.
N: So, do they have to be back by a certain time?
R: We established that this should be 10:30 pm.
N: Is there any security at the shelter?
R: No, they are on their own. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

The shelters also utilize a time table to schedule activities throughout the day. The regulation of time acts as another form of disciplinary power. An example of a time table from a shelter in Lutsk is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Time Table for Shelter "Sofia"

Time period	**Activity**
7:30 am	Getting up; personal hygiene
8:00 am	Morning exercises
8:30 am	Breakfast
9:00 am	General meeting
9:00 am	Cleaning in the rooms
11:00 am	Spiritual lessons
12:00 pm	Personal time
2:00 pm	Lunch
3:00 pm	Personal time
5:00 pm	Psychological therapy (individual and group)
7:00 pm	Dinner
8:00 pm	TV time
9:30 pm	Conversations on spiritual topics
10:00 pm	Evening shower
10:30 pm	Night sleep

A variety of different specialists work in the shelters:

N: How many people work in Asol shelter?
R: In Asol, two psychologists, three social workers, one coordinator, and a driver. At the Hotline, three consulting specialists, one lawyer, and a coordinator.
N: Doctors?

> I: Medical assessment is done at a local clinic, through a contract with the clinic. All doctors, also a gynecologist, and a specialist in STDs. If hospitalization is not necessary, then they can get outpatient treatment there. If there is a need for hospitalization, then we send them to the Kyiv rehabilitation center or arrange it here. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Medical assistance is provided mostly through agreements with local medical institutions:

> Sometimes, we call an ambulance right to the port, when we meet the women. We then send them into a hospital. This is all paid for by the IOM. Quite often, women have inflammatory conditions. They often buy cheap seats on the ferry, the ones where they have to sit. So, they sit there for more than a day, in this chair. Often, it is bad weather or cold weather. So, their inflammations are becoming worse, and we have to call an ambulance. There were cases when women came back pregnant—they had problems, threats from traffickers, we also sent them to a hospital. There was a case of a woman with a gun wound, and the bullet was in her bone. The medical help that she received earlier was not good, and we hospitalized her immediately. She got into a car accident, [the same person who had the gun wound] had an open wound on her skull, and after seven days of intensive therapy, she was sent to a deportation jail, and on the same day she was sent to Odessa by ferry. They did not warn the doctor at the ferry. She was a citizen of Moldova, so we sent her to a medical center in Moldova. The most difficult cases are when women come back with significant psychological problems. We had five cases, three during this year. The Turkish authorities do not give any information on these women; they [victims] travel with other passengers. And then we learn from the passengers what kind of problems they [the victims] had. We call psychiatric help, and they are institutionalized. We buy them medicine, bring them food, clothes [to the psychiatric hospital]. Unfortunately, our hospitals are not capable of providing patients with everything necessary for treatment. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Psychological help consists of individual psychotherapy, group therapy, and family consultations. Legal assistance includes help in recovering or renewing documents, filing charges with the police, filing for disability pension, etc. Social assistance most often concerns issues of family reintegration, family support, employment, and housing.

> If a woman has a child, or parents who prevent normal reintegration, we provide help to all family members. Special attention is paid to children. One girl is leaving the shelter soon. She has a very difficult financial situation. The whole family is sick with tuberculosis. They were in Chernobyl when the accident happened. One child died in this family because of a brain tumor. Now, a sister is in the same situation. IOM organizes a summer vacation program for children of trafficking victims. This woman's sister and her daughter are going to a summer

> camp. So, this is a holistic approach—help is provided also for the family members, so that she [trafficking victim] does not have any breakdowns. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

The most difficult problem for NGOs in their work of reintegrating trafficking victims is related to helping victims find a job and a place to live. The NGOs' final goal is to help people be capable of surviving on their own. In a way, their goal in risk management through protection is to produce active subjects responsible for their own well-being:

> N: How do women solve their economic problems after they leave the shelter?
> R: This is one of the most difficult questions. Medical problems can be solved. Legal help is solvable too—there are organizations that provide free legal help. There is an opportunity to finish vocational training with IOM funding: language courses, secretary, hairdressing. But not always can they find a job, and not everyone can work; there are women who have children and women with sick children. One woman has a daughter with asthma. There are women who have received assistance through us and if they wanted to find a job, they found a job. Maybe they don't get a high salary, but at least it is at the level that they can provide for themselves. There are girls who study, and they are very successful. For example, professional dancers, who were cheated. They have strength, they are sure that they will be able to finish their studies and find employment. And there are women who are older—they are less sure of themselves, they do not have good health. Often, families are falling apart, when they find out what has happened to the women. When it comes to economic problems, then it is a difficult situation. Very few women solve these economic problems. We write a reintegration plan for them. We tell them that their reintegration help that they get for three months—$50—that this time is going to be over soon and that they need to find a job, that they need to provide for themselves, and not only themselves, but also their children. So, we say that the help is not limitless, that we cannot lead a person for their whole life. Usually, it is about half a year or a year. So, economic issues are very difficult. But if a woman wants, and if she is determined, she can secure a normal economic status, with our help. Especially, because there are centers *Woman to Woman* in the regions. They are able to admit women for free to attend entrepreneurial skills trainings and even give them small loans for business development. Last year, the IOM was buying equipment for women who wanted to work as hairdressers. And I know that several women are working successfully. (Interview with a representative of *LaStrada-Ukraine*)

Anti-trafficking NGOs pay special attention to women's attendance at vocational training courses, since the institutional goal of the NGOs is to help women master their own ways of

survival, without relying on others for help. For these purposes, the NGO *Faith. Hope. Love,* organized the first Ukrainian rehabilitation center where women can live while doing an internship and transitioning to full-time employment. A coordinator of the center explained:

> R: In this center, we provide housing. It is a good private house with three rooms, a big kitchen, and a living room. There are six girls in the house who undergo the internship. There are six places. Rent, utilities, phone, transportation to work and school, and food are covered. We tried to give them money, but this is not realistic, because they do not know how to spend money. That is why we buy them food, come up with a menu, and they take their turns in cooking. They live here independently. They spend six hours per day on their internship. Some girls also try to find some additional work, so that they can earn additional money. We encourage this, even try to create favorable conditions for that, because this is good for their reintegration.
> N: What professions can they choose?
> I: Sewing professional, hairdresser, and nail technician.
> N: How did you decide about these professions?
> I: The educational level of the women is low. They received education in small towns, rural regions. They might want to get more education but […] In the reintegration center, we have good sewing machines. And the girls sew for themselves. We buy them fabrics, and they are sewing. They often choose sewing, because you can earn decent money, and this profession does not require any educational requirements. The same is with being a hairdresser. This profession is in demand. Girls also want to be pretty, to create something. We have had an opportunity to create two shops based on the professions that they are choosing. They usually choose hairdresser, waitress, and sewing specialist. This was also determined by the fact that these professions are good for the girls, and even while studying in our center, they can be self-sufficient. At least partially they can support themselves. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Self-sufficiency of clients is an important priority for the NGOs; it signifies how the NGOs participate in production of prudent subjects – people "individually" responsible for their own survival. The choice of vocational training programs (sewing, hairdressing, embroidery, manicuring) for the women is interesting in that all of them require specific skills: patience, diligence, and discipline. In the shelters, women not only learn an occupation but have extensive practice in it. The vocational training contributes to the production of "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977). Such bodies and workers' identities are "in demand" in the global economy. Through

engaging in their vocational training, women construct their class identities; they position themselves in the relations of production. Risk management through vocational training normalizes women as working class subjects. Even though women "might want to get more education," such opportunities are not affordable. At the same time, the NGO makes a profit from the workshops' business operations.

One of the most recent opportunities offers trafficking victims a potential for economic advancement:

> If the girls have finished their internship, they have gotten good experience. IOM has a project, "Support and Development of Small Businesses." The girls can use this. One girl is preparing now to attend training. And there is another project funded by the German government, according to which, we will create conditions for the development of small businesses. They [recovering victims] will get sewing machines or equipment for the hairdresser occupation. After some time, they will have to return the money, but there is no interest on this credit. They can pay after several years. They also attend trainings on how to conduct their own business: planning, client relations, accounting, etc. For those who do not want to open their own business, we help them to find a job in Odessa; we can find them a job here. Or, they go to their permanent place of living, and they get a job there. We always monitor them; we always keep an eye on them. If there is a necessity, they come back. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Whether this program of micro credit and business training will help women to start their own businesses is still unknown. NGO representatives often speak about the limitations of their activities; within the structural constraints of the institutional form of an NGO, they cannot affect socioeconomic processes. The high level of re-trafficking (reported between 30% and 50% in different interviews) points to the continuous lack of economic opportunities for trafficking victims:

> The most important is that the women at risk do not become the victims of traffickers. Among risk groups […] they need such conditions that they don't go abroad. Normal housing, a job—what we had before *perestroika*. If they would have this, this problem would not exist. Women with children need to receive assistance, so that they can feed these children. There was one woman who said that her child, for seven days, ate only apples. She stole those apples at night. And

> she decided to become a prostitute. She went abroad, and she was sold. Another woman—her husband died, and her mother-in-law kicked her out of the house without any clothes on, without anything. So, the first is social protection—we need to build small apartments for families. We need to have communal apartments, for a small rent. Until we have a certain level of life, we will have this problem. But also, people should know that when they are abroad, they should be careful. There should be a program of self-preservation. (Interview with a representative from *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Thus, the institutions of social protection contribute to the management of trafficking risks. They provide assistance via the disciplinary mechanisms of observation (in shelters, rehabilitation centers) and normalization (by producing classed and gendered identities).

Depoliticizing the Transition

Many states and international organizations promote the important task of managing trafficking risks. However, the transnational regulation of anti-trafficking often fails to recognize the problem of trafficking as a global phenomenon situated within certain structural conditions. Depolitization, the individualization of social problems, is one of the major flaws of NGO-centered approach to remedying social problems. Zaidi (1999) warns about depolitization through the "micropolitics" of NGOs: "This particularly micro focus, ignoring linkages, causes and consequences, and an overall holistic view, puts NGOs at a severe disadvantage, and may also be one of the many reasons why NGOs have been failures" (p. 269). Sonia Alvarez (1999) observes that Latin American women's NGOs started to focus solely on "social pathologies" and treat unequal gender power relations and economic inequalities as "extreme situations": "Violence against women is thus seen as a pathological condition rather than as an expression of women's subordination" (p. 196).

These critiques are of utmost importance when it comes to the issues of prostitution and sex trafficking. It has been widely argued in the feminist literature that prostitution is a problem

produced within unequal gender and class relations of power—whether on the local or global level (Sassen 2000; Kempadoo & Doezema 1998; Corrin 2000; Stienstra 1996; Wing 2000.) Prosecution of criminals, protection of those who have experienced violence, and prevention in the form of raising awareness through educational and informational campaigns are very useful and important ways to deal with the problem; however, they alone will not eliminate sex trafficking.

How can we make sense of this depolitization? In order to understand the role of anti-trafficking NGOs, one needs to contextualize and historicize their emergence as institutions peculiar to the New Policy Agenda (often described as anti-statism). James Petras (1997), in analyzing Latin American NGOs, observes that "the NGOs foster the neoliberal idea of *private* responsibility for *social* problems" (p. 14, emphasis added). This vision of an individual as being completely detached from social, economic, and cultural conditions of his/her existence is deeply problematic. For one reason, as Petras (1997) argues, this individualizing discourse of neoliberalism "undermines the sense of the 'public': the idea that the government has an *obligation* to look after its citizens and provide them with life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the political responsibility of the state is essential for the well-being of citizens" (p. 14).

How can neoliberal governmentality be described? The neoliberal technologies of power (Barry, Osborne, & Rose 1996; Foucault 1977) include various "responsibilization" strategies. First, they advocate for market conditions: cost-effectiveness and privatization of state sectors; state agencies become enterprises operating through market logic. Second, they often operate through non-state actors: activation of community and family levels and state withdrawal of responsibility for social problems. Third, the strategies define an individual as the independent

self; individuals are responsible for managing risks: "help for self-help." Lastly, they focus on risky (extreme) situations—risk reduction deals with situations of vulnerability, not with broader contexts.

While the first two levels provide a general context for the operation of anti-trafficking NGOs, the last two help explain the emergence of anti-trafficking NGOs and their specific articulations of the problem of trafficking that they offer within the broad context of the New Policy Agenda. This context shapes the activities of anti-trafficking NGOs in important ways: they become professionalized, focus on situations of "vulnerability," and treat women-migrants as clients. Silliman (1999) uses the term, "corporatization of NGOs," to connect the "market-like" style of their operation and their inability to provide broader change:

> Consumed with the responsibility of providing services and preparing project proposals, plans, and evaluations to donor specifications, many women's NGOs have become less willing, or able, to advocate for the political, social, and cultural change, which was, in many cases, their original intention. (Silliman 1999:30)

Although anti-trafficking NGOs work on raising awareness, their educational campaigns are centered on informing women of the risky situations they should avoid (not about the empowerment of women as a group). By focusing on the individual as the independent self, we seem to forget that people "choose," but not under the conditions of their own choosing. Although the anti-trafficking NGOs are indispensable in assisting women who have been trafficked, their prioritization of practical goals over strategic ones is troublesome. The erosion of collective identity leaves women in post-Soviet countries vulnerable to the dangers of commodification.

CHAPTER 5

RISK DRAMATURGY

In this chapter, I discuss the symbolic politics of anti-trafficking campaigns in Russia and Ukraine. I use Ulrich Beck's (2005) concept of "risk dramaturgy" to describe representational strategies that anti-trafficking institutions employ to portray the problem of sex trafficking of women as a harmful social condition. Here, "dramatic" means presentation of a social problem as strikingly important. Risk dramaturgy helps to "construct" or "frame" the trafficking of women from Ukraine and Russia as a social problem.

Two sociological theories are helpful in analyzing risk dramaturgy– the constructionist approach to social problems and the framing theory of social movements. The constructionist approach to social problems (Loseke 1999; Spector & Kitsuse 1977) suggests focusing on how people define different conditions as social problems. From the constructionist point of view, anti-trafficking NGOs "construct" sex trafficking as problematic, harmful, and widespread. The NGOs present the issue of sex trafficking to different social audiences and define it as a solvable problem.

Framing theory is one type of social movements theory; framing includes "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1996:6). Anti-trafficking campaigners use different "framing" strategies to highlight the injustice of a social problem and to generate support among social audiences.

What representational strategies do the anti-trafficking mobilizations use? What images and representations do they create and circulate? I focus on three representational strategies:

mobilization of shame, use of victims' testimonies, and dramatization. Throughout this chapter, I look at the risk dramaturgy of anti-trafficking as it takes place in a transnational social field.

Mobilization of shame

Anti-trafficking campaigns in Ukraine and Russia often narrate female out-migration and sex trafficking of women in terms of a national crisis. These narratives of national crisis criticize the increasing flows of in/out-migration in general and female out-migration in particular. They define the problem of transnational migration as a problem of open borders. The notion of "loss" characterizes narratives of out-migration from Russia and Ukraine: loss of people, bodies, mothers, and national identity. Anti-trafficking activists often describe the problem of sex trafficking of women as a "new" problem, signifying a departure from the "traditional" way of life. A trafficking victim becomes a symbol of national degradation as well as cultural and moral loss.

Keck and Sikkink (1998) describe "mobilization of shame" as a strategy used by transnational advocacy networks (TANs) to influence national governments by "shaming" their policies or inaction in front of an international audience. Anti-trafficking TANs use the power of shaming to attract the attention of governments, international organizations, and wider social audiences to the plight of trafficked women.

The "shaming" happens in different settings. Often, representatives of anti-trafficking NGOs and international organizations attend public events and conferences where they present information on the extent of the problem. Other avenues for the mobilization of shame include participation in radio and TV programs as well as publication and distribution of informational materials.

Statistical information is a useful tool in demonstrating the seriousness of the issue. An informational list distributed at the "Labor Migration and Trafficking of People in Ukraine" conference presents statistical data to give the impression that everyone in Ukraine can be affected by human trafficking:

> Three fourth of Ukrainian population know someone who worked abroad. Every fifth respondent either worked abroad himself or has a relative with such experience. Every third person, with more or less degree of probability, would agree to work abroad. One third of respondents have been abroad at least once. Every fifth respondent thinks that he or she can become a victim of trafficking. (Labor Migration and Trafficking of People in Ukraine, conference program, June 16th, 2005)

The informational list does not report important sample parameters; there is no information about researchers and the time period when the data was collected. The value of such distributed information is to create a sense of urgency of the problem. The informational list directs its appeal not only to the government, but also to every Ukrainian patriot.

Anti-trafficking campaigners use symbolic capital to "construct" the social problem of the trafficking of women. They often engage popular artists and famous figures in public presentations of the problem. For example, anti-trafficking prevention programs in Ukraine included Ukrainian singers Ruslana (winner of Eurovision contest in 2004) and Svyatoslav Vakarchuk (group *Okean Elzy*). IOM-Russia involved the famous Russian pop singer Valeria into a prevention campaign in 2007. Ukraine also seeks to further "construct" human trafficking as an important social problem by establishing an annual award ceremony for anti-trafficking efforts.

Mobilization of shame happens in the transnational context as well. Foreign public figures also "frame" sex trafficking of women from Ukraine and Russia as a problem. For example, Canadian journalist Victor Malarek published his book "The Natashas: Inside the New

Global Sex Trade" in 2003. This journalistic investigation of the global sex trade analyzes the sex trafficking of Eastern European women. The book quickly became an international bestseller; it was also translated into Ukrainian and published in Ukraine in 2005. The Center for Ukrainian Reform Education invited Victor Malarek to present his book in Ukraine in June 2005.

Moral shaming is directed at society as a whole: "Ukrainian society, which was always characterized by its caring relation to women and children, is facing a negative phenomenon of global proportions – human trafficking" (Dovzhenko 2001). The anti-trafficking campaigns especially emphasize the dangers of trafficking of women and children: "When we talk about the problem of human trafficking, first of all, we need to remember and understand that trafficking of women and children from Russia is another way to deplete the country's resources" (Abubikerova 2005). Why does moral shaming appeal to a nationalist sentiment? Why is it specifically focused on women and children?

Female out-migration challenges the foundation of the nation-state – the social institution of family, responsible for various levels of reproduction. Researchers have shown how gender is central to national identity (Gapova 2002; Kasic 2002; Mayer 2000; Menon 2002). National narratives often define the central role of women for biological, social, and cultural reproduction (Yuval-Davis 1998). Women are often objects of pro-natal or anti-natal policies of the nation-state; they are often represented as mother figures. For example, anti-abortion discourse often refers to the death of the nation. However, women are also potential traitors to the nation, either contributing to national death or giving birth to outsiders. In addition, women are also symbols of the purity and virtue of the nation (Chatterjee, 1989; Mayer, 2000). They signify the distinctiveness of the nation and are responsible for the reproduction and preservation of national values.

Mobilization of shame employed by anti-trafficking activists presents the sex trafficking of women as a crisis of biological and social reproduction for the nation. Institutional actors often discuss the problem of sex trafficking in the context of depopulation as both Ukraine and Russia have negative population growth. A representative of a Russian NGO told me in an informal conversation that she believes that sex trafficking is responsible for depleting the "gene pool" of the Russian nation. A related factor in the depletion of the "gene pool" is the arrival of large number of immigrants.

Journalists and NGOs' activists argue that the collapse of families and communities is due to out-migration; it represents a crisis of social reproduction. A local newspaper in Lutsk, Ukraine, published an article with the following title: "Working Abroad is Like Dying at War – Thousands of Ukrainians Dying"[23]. Another newspaper in Ternopil, Ukraine, writes "A Half of the Village Is Going to Italy"[24]. Although it is true that the western regions of Ukraine experience large flows of out-migration (Lutsenko et al. 2005), it is the migration of women that represents the biggest threat to the communities. Widely disseminated information at anti-trafficking conferences refers to villages in the west of Ukraine where all women have left to work abroad. A representative of a Ukrainian NGO announced during a workshop that in her home region in the west of Ukraine there are villages where men have to dance with each other during public holidays because of the absence of women. Lutsenko et al. (2005) call this female exodus "a silent revolt" of women against gender inequality in the rural areas (p.40). Another article in Ternopil newspaper refers to children who miss their mothers. Migrant mothers are considered responsible for the lack of social norms and poor educational achievements of their

[23]Sinkevich, Olexandr. 2003. "Working Abroad is Like Dying at War – Thousands of Ukrainians Dying." (*Na Zarabitkakh, Iak na Viyni, Ginyut' Tisiachi Ukraintsiv*). *Family and Home*. (*Sim'ia i Dim)*. 16(330), April 17th.
[24] Grodets'ka, Vira. 2000. ""A Half of the Village Is Going to Italy." (*Do Italii Zbiraetsia Ikhati Pivsela*). *Region* (*Krai*). 1(1):2-3 November 21st.

children. Many articles in Russian and Ukrainian newspapers express concerns for the future generation.

Parrenas (2002) describes a similar social pattern in the Philippines – female out-migration is often referred to as "Philippine divorce;" it is described as disruptive for the family and the nation. Parrenas shows how Filipina female workers responded to a "care deficit" in developed countries and migrated to the North. However, in the Philippines, the out-migration also created a "crisis of care" that was framed as a national problem – female migrants are vilified for not taking "proper" care of their children and husbands.

Women's bodies are seen as territorial markers of the nation (Mostov 1995; Spivak 1993). Particularly, there is a peculiar relationship between the female body, national territory/land, and national identity. Mostov (1995), analyzing Eastern European nationalisms, concludes that they were inventions of the continuity between the past and the present, connected to mythology and the idea of sacred places and national soil. This ancestral soil, "earth mixed with the bones of previous warriors," becomes represented as the feminine homeland. The feminine soil was defined as the essence of national purity, its spirituality. In Eastern European wars, rape represented both – the rape of a woman and the invasion into foreign territory. Mostov (1995) observes that "rape at once pollutes and occupies the territory of the nation, transgresses its boundaries, defeats its protectors" (p. 521). Women's bodies represent the boundaries between groups and symbolize the national space. Defense of women's bodies safeguards national boundaries.

Massey (1994) analyzes the symbolic dimension of global flows and shows how femininity is associated with the local and the home – a symbol of national belonging. The association between the femininity and the local is related to the modern division of public and

private spheres. In modernity, "Woman stands as a metaphor for Nature…, for what has been lost (left behind), and that place called home is frequently personified by, and partakes of the same characteristics as those assigned to, Woman/Mother/lover" (Massey, 1994, 10). Global changes that bring about the re-negotiation of public/private divide undermine the patriarchal desire to fix women in space and identity.

Mobilization of shame by anti-trafficking campaigners connects female out-migration and the inability of the nation to maintain its symbolic borders. Females and their bodies transgressing national boundaries are portrayed as polluted, risky, and contaminated. Abroad is a place of corruption, and "our" women are especially vulnerable to danger. For example, an article in a Ternopil newspaper talks about "a girl who came after working abroad and gave birth to a black child." The article continues, "The whole village was talking about this, and her family was shocked"[25]. The article constructs national boundaries through racial differences. Another newspaper from Novecherkassk refers to the predominance of the "suitcase mood" among "our" women[26]. The offered solution is spatial "rooting" of women as reproducers and the "spiritual core" of the nation, in the face of increasing out-migration.

The rise of the "serving classes" illustrates how "the global economy, traditionally interpreted as public space, can overtly be demonstrated, for example in the case of migrant service workforces, as *privatized"* (Youngs, 2000, 51). Thus, on the one hand, the global economy capitalizes on the inferior roles of women constructed through the private/public divide. On the other hand, women transgress the private and public division. Pettman (1996)

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[25] Zbarazkii, Il'ko. N.d. "A Girl Came Back from Earning Money Abroad and Gave Birth to a Black Child" (*Divchina Priikhala iz Zarobitkiv i Narodila Negreniatko*). *New Ternopil Newspaper*. (*Nova Ternopilska Gazeta*). I obtained the article from collection of local newspaper articles compiled by employees of the *Revival of the Nation*. Full reference information is not available.

[26] Valentinova, L. 2004. "Trap for Trusting People." (Lovushka Dlia Doverchivykh). *Newspaper KVU*. (*Gazeta KVU*). 46: November 11-18th.

argues that this is evident in the international political economy of sex. In the global sex trade, the public and private spheres blur, and women appear "out of place" (Pettman, 1996, 191). Pettman considers several spheres where women are "on the move" – domestic service, the mail-order bride industry, sex tourism, and militarized prostitution.

Women are represented as symbols of the nation especially when nationalisms are in crisis. Bhabha (1990) argues that discoveries of national crisis mark significant breaches/failures in the performativity of the nation. The symbolism of the woman-nation and the concerns for the plight of "our" women serve to mobilize the nation. Enloe (2000) notices that in moments of nationalism in crisis, men defend the "womenandchildren" of the nation. Similarly, anti-trafficking campaigns "frame" the problem of sex trafficking of women from Ukraine and Russia as national crises. They use mobilization of shame strategies and "construct" sex trafficking as national humiliation.

Testimonies

Testimonies offered by trafficking survivors are another strategy that contributes to risk dramaturgy. Respondents in my research reported great interest among journalists in covering the stories of trafficking survivors. Usually, journalists contact anti-trafficking NGOs to request an interview with a trafficking survivor or invite the victim to participate in a radio or TV program. Sometimes, journalists offer financial compensation for such participation, though the amount tends to be small. NGOs transfer the journalists' requests to their clients, and some of them agree to give interviews. In some cases, NGOs reported sending their employees to pose as trafficking victims; this happens when no survivor agrees to participate in interviewing.

Testimonies have high representational value in risk dramaturgy because of their claim to represent authentic personal experience. The authentic voices of the trafficking victims often serve to justify certain values or support political goals. Beverley (2004) states that written testimonies that they often speak about "the need for a general social change in which the stability of the reader's world must be brought into question" (p. 41). Similarly, the testimonies of trafficking victims can provide information and produce emotional impact to generate social change.

I observed Nina's testimony during the production of a TV program in Moscow. At the TV station, Nina was a guest on a talk show on the legalization of prostitution. She received an invitation to participate in the program and provided her story of being in the sex trade. The premise of the show emerged in response to different proposals to change regulation of prostitution. The proposals came from the public health lobby whose representatives were concerned about spread of HIV/AIDS and other STDs; from representatives of adult entertainment industry who argued for more lax regulation of commercial sexuality, and from certain politicians who were interested in raising their political ratings by stirring up controversy. The supporters of legalization presented their arguments in functionalist terms: prostitution is functional for society because it provides an outlet for men's natural sex drive; it allows migrant men in Moscow to have access to sexual services; it is functional because there is always demand for sexual services. A famous Russian music producer Barry Alibassov referred to unspecified research that shows that lack of regular sex among men increases the probability of prostate cancer by 60%.

Opponents of legalization included a deputy of Moscow City Duma (local Parliament), a representative of the Swedish Embassy, and a Russian film director. The film director and

Moscow City deputy argued that prostitution is dysfunctional for the society because it damages relations between men and women; it is responsible for the breakdown of the family; and it corrupts the young generation. A representative from the Swedish Embassy explained the position of the Swedish government on prostitution as violence against women and talked about how Sweden criminalizes the purchase of sexual services.

One of the supporters of legalization, a female journalist, presented her undercover investigation which was conducted on the streets of Yekaterinburg, Russia. She posed as a prostitute and observed street prostitution for 24 hours. The journalist argued that women who work in the sex trade voluntarily choose this way of earning living; none of her respondents expressed intentions to leave prostitution; none of them engaged in prostitution because of extreme poverty. The journalist's presentation attracted the attention of the Russian audience because it provided a perspective of someone who had conducted an undercover investigation and claimed to present a realistic account of the reality of the sex trade.

Nina's presentation debunked the journalist's claims. She countered the journalist's picture of the sex trade with her own personal experiences. She argued that the journalist based her findings solely on observation, and not on personal knowledge of the sex trade. In contrast, Nina talked about the effects of sex trafficking experiences on her life. She did not support either side of the debate on legalization of prostitution. However, her story, and its claim to represent authentic personal experience, provided powerful support for those who oppose the legalization of prostitution. Her presentation also raised awareness about the problem of sex trafficking of women from Russia.

> N: I have met you when you participated in a TV program. Why did you decide to be on television?
> Nina: I want other girls to know about all those tricks that can happen when they are going to work abroad. Because when you are going [abroad], you are

> promised one thing, but basically nothing will be true in reality. I tell this with pleasure because I saw once a newspaper article about one journalist conducting an undercover investigation. She says she went through all this [sex trafficking] – these are all lies. The reality is completely different. I saw so much lying that does not correspond to […]. For example, what she [the journalist] said about bringing a phone. There is no way to bring in a phone because you are almost undressed by them [traffickers] to see that you don't have anything with you. Then, she said that they [the journalist and smugglers] were crossing a desert using camels. There are no camels. In the desert, you almost crawl so that no one sees you. There are many examples. When I was reading this, I was so disturbed. I have read the reactions to this article and many said that this is rubbish, this is all made up. I tell my story when I am asked because my knowledge is truthful. I can answer questions and collaborate. I would do this, and even with pleasure, I think.
> N: Why?
> Nina: Because I also want this all to stop, because I know, because I was there. I went though all this.
> N: Did you ever before speak about your experiences of going to Israel?
> Nina: Yes, I spoke about this before; it was here, in the crisis center, in the neighboring room, in fact. That television was from another country; I could not even tell which country. They came with their cameras, and they shot it here. The questions were about the causes of trafficking and how to prevent this […]. I agreed because I knew that no one will see me on TV in Russia. But in other cases, I did not want to do this – not so much because of security, but because I did not want to be recognized. There are some people who know about my experiences, but others – don't. And I don't want them to know. (Interview with Nina)

The challenge for Nina and other trafficking survivors who provide testimonies is to present their stories without being recognized. Sometimes, journalists violate the confidentiality principle and expose their interviewees. This creates additional risks for the trafficking survivors.

> Nina: And when I decided to go to Moscow [to participate in the TV program], I did not realize where I was going. I knew that it is going to be an unusual interview, but I did not know that it is going to be in a studio full of people. Not such public interview that took place in front of many people. The journalists promised me a lot of things: that they will apply make-up so that I am not recognizable; they will change my voice; they will hide my face, etc. But I did not have all that when I sat there, in front of the audience. Ok, I managed to be in front of the audience, but they showed me across the whole Russia […]. Everyone recognized me, my friends. I was shocked [...].
> N: Did they [friends] tell you something?
> Nina: My friend called me. When I returned from Moscow, I started working and I was busy for a long time, because I did not work while I was in Moscow. And I did not have any money left on my cell phone account, and the number was

> blocked. This was for a week or a week and a half. Then he [friend] called when I deposited some money on the phone account and said, "What did you do, my dear, in Moscow, at that program?" My other classmate had called him, and said to switch to the First Channel to see who is there. When I heard this, I did not know what to do – to laugh or cry. I told him that this was a joke – I just played a role; this was a way to earn money. Basically, I lied to him. I did not want to tell him – these are my classmates with whom I spend time when I am in [home city]. I think my sister and brother guess something. Actually, I think that they know everything but they have never said anything about this and they didn't ask.
> N: Would you like to talk to them about this?
> Nina: Not at all.
> N: How do you feel about talking like this [publicly]?
> Nina: It depends. In Moscow, on television, it was very hard. I said everything quickly. I looked emotionally calm, but inside I was shaking. My knees were shaking when I was there. My voice trembled. I was crying.
> N: I felt that your voice trembled slightly but I don't think anyone else noticed.
> Nina: Oh, good. [The host of the talk show] was looking straight at me, maybe he saw. It was very hard to speak in Moscow. But, in general, I talked quite easily with other journalists. Maybe I was telling this so many times (laughs) that I got used to this. This [public interviews] started in Israel, then in Russia.
> N: Was it difficult to speak like this at the beginning?
> Nina: Yes. Mostly, because no one really listens, no one understands. Their business is to record how you got in there [to Israel], and that's it. There was one woman there who was writing, and I did not even know what she is writing. I cannot read Hebrew fluently. There were such moments when a girl says one thing, but they [journalists] write completely different. They write how it suits them. (Interview with Nina)

Anti-trafficking NGOs raise awareness among journalists about issues related to trafficking testimonies. They provide trainings that cover issues related to asking sensitive questions and confidentiality. Recently, NGOs started introducing signed contracts with the mass media that regulate journalistic responsibilities.

International and foreign actors also rely on testimonies of trafficking victims. For example, a representative of *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women* recalled how testimonies of Russian trafficking victims provided support for the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000.

> In 2000, we have accepted our first girl. And we went to the USA with this girl, to participate in a hearing session in the Congress. I told everything about this problem. This

> was when the Trafficking Victims Protection Act was discussed there. This was Brownback, Wellstone Act. The stories of the girls were recorded and this was used for lobbying the legislation, for funding this act. We traveled there two times. (Interview with a representative of *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women*).

International organizations include trafficking victims' testimonies into their public events.

> I: From 10th to 13th of August, I am going to the UN General Assembly because I will accompany one of our girls who was selected to attend an international exhibition devoted to the Day of Youth.
> N: Is there a session there?
> I: Yes, trafficking and migration.
> N: What is she expected to do there?
> I: They [journalists] were here [in Ukraine]; they photographed her; she told her story; and we will represent our organization there. (Interview with a representative of *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Thus, anti-trafficking actors and the mass media include trafficking victims' testimonies into their efforts to "construct" the social problem of trafficking. The testimonies have high symbolic value because they represent authentic experiences. This makes them powerful tools to frame sex trafficking of women as an important social problem.

Dramatization

Anti-trafficking activists often use dramatization to create different cultural products (films, documentaries, video clips, and theatrical plays). Activists typically distribute cultural products through mass media or in special settings (e.g., schools, universities, etc.). One of the first such products was a documentary entitled "Bought and Sold" and produced by the Global Survival Network in 1997. It presented an undercover investigation of trafficking recruitment strategies in Russia. Other anti-trafficking organizations (local and international) also produced films and documentaries. In relation to dramatization, I would like to focus on the tragic genre and its political uses by anti-trafficking activists. I use the 2002 movie "Lilya 4-ever" which was

produced by Swedish director Lucas Moodysson. The film tells the story of a teenage girl from a former Soviet country who finds herself in a situation of extreme sexual exploitation after being trafficked to Sweden.

In his book "*Modern Tragedy*," Raymond Williams applies a dialectical approach to the genre of tragedy. He argues that in order to analyze tragedies, we need "to see these works and ideas in their immediate contexts, as well as in their historical continuity, and to examine their place and function in relation to other works and ideas, and to the variety of actual experience" (Williams 1966:16). In this book, he radically historicizes the genre of tragedy. Instead of assuming a structuralist approach to tragedy, he shows that every historical form of tragedy (ancient Greek, medieval, neo-classical, etc.) was inseparable from the system of social relations of those time periods. Thus, Williams suggests looking for the structure of tragedy in a specific period of time and not for a universal meaning of tragedy.

In relation to the idea of tragedy in modernity, Williams suggests that tragic form articulates the contradictions inherent to modernity – what he calls "social disorders": "We must ask whether tragedy, in our own time, is a response to social disorder… The disorder will appear in very many forms, and to articulate these will be very complex and difficult" (Williams 1966:63). Social thinking and tragic thinking developed separately and this is the problem that Williams tries to resolve in his book. Past theories of tragedy were primarily concerned with the development of a universal structure of tragedy. Williams warns that "having separated earlier tragic systems from their actual societies, we can achieve a similar separation in our own time, and can take it for granted that modern tragedy can be discussed without reference to the deep social crisis, of war and revolution, through which we have all been living" (Williams 1966: 62). Contrary to this separation, he suggests a socio-cultural approach to tragedy and politicization of

the tragedy genre. Williams argues that modern tragedy highlights the tragic in actual human experience, in the lives of ordinary people. Tragedy as a genre has the capability of connecting the individual experience of suffering with the social structures that condition this suffering. The real tragedy is a tragedy that can be avoided. In order to politicize tragedy, it is important to perceive tragedy as social crisis and to recognize social crisis as tragedy.

"Lilya 4-ever" is a true tragedy in the sense that it incorporates codes of social conditions that create the risks of migration. Main codes include social inequality, mobility, and broken body. Director Lucas Moodysson shows the life of a female teenager abandoned by her mother in a bleak de-industrialized provincial town in the former Soviet republic. Lilya travels to Sweden in search of a better life, but finds herself sold by a trafficker into prostitution. At the end of the film, she takes her life. Moodysson based his film on the life of Dangoule Rasalaite, a 16-year-old Lithuanian who came to Sweden to work and was forced into prostitution. Dangoule committed suicide in January 2000 by jumping from a highway overpass in Malmo, Sweden.

Representations of social inequality focus on the spaces and surroundings in which Lilya finds herself. Her home (the film was shot in Paldiski, near Tallinn, Estonia) is a former military industrial town with a single plant that closed after the end of the Cold War. Lilya's mother, who previously worked at the plant, became a mail order bride and migrated to the USA, leaving Lilya alone. The town looks bleak and abandoned; grey, unattractive houses line the streets. Lilya constantly asks her friend Volodya, "What is there to do?" The home town symbolizes the wreck of a country and of a social system. Lilya is very excited to leave for the United States with her mother until she finds out that her mother has decided to leave Lilya behind. Lilya's aunt appropriates the apartment where Lilya lived with her mother and forces Lilya in to another communal apartment that lacks electricity and heat. When Lilya runs out of money, her friend,

Natasha, suggests they work as prostitutes in a neighboring city. At first hesitant, Lilya eventually goes to a night club with a sign that reads "Ladies free!" next to the entrance. After she earned some money by sleeping with a man, she buys food in a local store and a gift for Volodya – a basketball. The next time she goes to work as a prostitute – she is raped and beaten by her client.

Lilya's dream of travelling to the West represents the cultural code of *mobility*. Abroad, in her opinion, is a land of prosperity and dignified human relations. She tries to draw her connections with the West by telling Volodya that she was born on the same day as Britney Spears. Her ticket to the West is Andrei, a young handsome man who dates Lilya, takes her to McDonalds and a computer game club, and offers her the chance to leave with him for Sweden. She enthusiastically agrees, though she does not know that Andrei has sold her to a Swedish pimp. Her journey to Sweden (duty free shop, nutritious lunch on the plane, foreign language) signifies her final arrival to the Promised Land. She has a new name, which symbolizes her new life: Katerina Meneva. After her arrival, things turn bad as a man takes Lilya to an apartment where he beats and rapes her. Her life in Sweden turns out to be tragically similar to her life in her home country. She wanted more than just to leave her home; she wanted to escape from her situation. Lilya's mobility is coded as running from the despair of her situation. The movie starts and ends with a close-up on bruised and crying Lilya running on the streets of a Swedish city. When she can no longer run, she jumps from a highway overpass.

The *broken body* is a key theme in the film. It symbolizes effects that certain aspects of globalization have on human experience. Spivak (1993) argues that the agency of the broken body is specifically located in its vulnerability; it is a non-intentional, non-resistant subaltern agency. Moodysson is using the capacity of the tragic genre to inflict a direct shock onto the

audience. Raymond Williams described the quality of this tragedy in the work of Brecht: "The perversion of values, by a false system, can go so deep that only a new and bitter hardness seems relevant… a hurt so deep that it requires new hurting, a sense of outrage that demands that people be outraged" (Williams, 1966, 192). Moodysson realizes this "shock strategy" by showing Lilya repeatedly being raped. By showing the rapes from Lilya's perspective, Moodysson creates an intense sense of revulsion and outrage that is a key characteristic of tragedy. In an interview, Moodysson says: "My intention was for the audience to just sit there and feel like they were being run over by a train, and that they cannot really defend themselves. I don't want people just to be sad and depressed. Most people get angry. That's really the reaction I wanted"[27]. Through the shock strategy, audiences are meant to develop a projective identification with Lilya and an angry reaction toward social conditions that lead Lilya to suicide.

In the post-Soviet countries, "Lilya 4-ever" became a frequent reference point in anti-trafficking campaigns. Anti-trafficking NGOs extensively showed the film as part of their educational campaigns. In Moldova, the International Organization for Migration has shown it to nearly 60,000 people[28]. NGOs and international organizations use the film for the purposes of prevention of undocumented ("unsafe") migration. By focusing on structural inequalities, "Lilya 4-ever" presents the complexity of sex trafficking as a social problem. Arthurs (2006) argues that "it is in drama that a more complex range of perspectives on the trafficking of women, within an analysis of the broader political and economic context, has been most fully realized" (p.137). The tragedy genre helps to attract attention to nascent social problems and to mobilize social actors to solve them. In this sense, it has a pedagogical and political impact on audiences.

[27] http://film.guardian.co.uk/interview/interviewpages/0,6737,935532,00.html#article_continue
[28] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lilja_4-ever

Women's groups use tragedy as a genre to attract public attention and to stir public discussion regarding issues of gender and class inequality.

"Frame resonance" (Keck, Sikkink 1998) describes the influence of symbolic politics on public understandings of the problem. The risk dramaturgy of anti-trafficking activists helped to "construct" sex trafficking of women from Ukraine and Russia as an important social problem. The anti-trafficking campaigns attracted the attention of powerful institutional actors (national and foreign governments, international organizations) to the issue. Mobilization of shame contributed to the framing of the sex trafficking of women in terms of a national crisis. The use of testimonies added the representational value of survivors' authentic voices to the "construction" of the problem. Finally, uses of dramatization, particularly the genre of tragedy, helped to frame sex trafficking as a problem of social inequality.

CHAPTER 6

RULING RELATIONS VS. DIALOGICAL RELATIONS: NGOS, WOMEN, AND INSTITUTIONAL POWER

In this chapter, I describe the nature of relations between anti-trafficking professionals and trafficking victims who receive assistance through reintegration programs administered by the IOM and local NGOs. First, I analyze "ruling relations" (Smith 1999, 2005) within the anti-trafficking campaigns, paying specific attention to their textually mediated nature. Second, I identify certain spaces within the hierarchal structure of NGOs as institutions, where dialogical relations can take place and clients can participate in the NGOs' activities. Lastly, I analyze how trafficking victims craft individual identities using dialogue containing institutional definitions.

Ruling relations

Anti-trafficking institutions produce "ruling relations" (Smith 1999, 2005)—objectified relations of power. Dorothy Smith (1999) explains:

> By the "ruling relations," I mean that internally coordinated complex of administrative, managerial, professional, and discursive organization that regulates, organizes, governs, and otherwise controls our societies. (p. 49)

Employees of anti-trafficking shelters and rehabilitation centers, and their clients, participate in a complex web of ruling relations. The anti-trafficking expertise produces discourse: written and spoken definitions, explanations, and solutions regarding trafficking and trafficking victims; these solutions are based on information and input from specialists and groups of experts and have the effect of controlling those who "lack" the specialized knowledge. The discourse of protection positions trafficking victims as a group in need of change (reintegration), according to

institutionally defined criteria of progress (the state of integration). At the same time, anti-trafficking professionals exercise power through their own positioning as "helping" experts.

Institutionalization of anti-trafficking initiatives involves the creation of institutional spaces where the regulation of the social problem occurs. For example, shelters for trafficking victims serve as spaces of temporary refuge and reintegration. The goal of reintegration within anti-trafficking expertise is to sufficiently restore conditions for women to allow them to fulfill their "proper" roles as mothers, daughters, and workers. Reintegration of trafficking victims often assumes that the women "lacked" something (e.g., lack of skills, resources, knowledge, psychological qualities, "normal" relations within the family, etc.) and that this deficit prevented them from initially succeeding in socially appropriate roles and prompted them into sex industry. Sociopsychological reintegration is, thus, defined in terms of certain psychological deficiencies. Therefore, according to the powers that be within the rehabilitation expertise, women who become clients in the rehabilitation process lack rationality (they are emotional), lack self-confidence, are not able to make responsible decisions, etc. In order to develop these missing skills and qualities, to "normalize" them, the rehabilitation expertise offers trainings to the women:

> N: What is the most difficult aspect of your work?
> R: The most difficult cases are orphans, children from boarding schools, and women who have addictions. Orphans are not adapted to normal life. They don't know how to spend money in a rational way, how to live on a budget for some time. They don't know how to be economical; they don't know how hard it is to earn money. They don't even know how to choose clothing. These are elementary skills and knowledge that a child learns in the family—they don't have it because they are used to receiving everything ready. (Interview with a representative of the NGO, *Faith. Hope. Love*, Odessa, Ukraine)

Another representative of *Faith. Hope. Love* describes a similar lack of rationality:

> There was one case. A representative of a German NGO called us and asked to meet a victim. She [the victim] was threatened [by the trafficker], so she was

> wearing a wig. Identification happened in Germany. She was making too many complaints. "Why is the toilet paper grey?" In the hotel where she stayed in Germany, it was white with flower prints. She came with money. In our shelter, she ate what everyone ate. There was no caviar or something like that. In Germany, they receive 200 EUR. They use the money to buy food and personal things. In Germany, she lived in the shelter and received money. Here, we figured out that this does not work. You give her money—$50—to every woman once a month. She goes and buys herself a facial cream for the whole sum of money. Irrational use of money. She buys a piece of meat and a bottle of martini, and she has to eat something until the end of the month. She starts asking from other people. And then she is without money. (Interview with a representative of *Faith. Hope. Love*).

Reintegration institutions, on the contrary, rely on rational principles. Professionals use the objective language of reintegration; they define physical and psychological conditions of women in scientific terms. For example, the client assessment/outcome matrix includes five categories for evaluation of a client: in crisis, vulnerable, stable, safe, thriving (Social Work 2001:102). Such concepts as "reintegration progress" and "degree of normalization" help to measure the conditions of the trafficking victims in relation to their "new lives." At a meeting of a working group that coordinates all counter-trafficking activities in Ukraine, a representative of the IOM-Ukraine argued for more professionalization in the work of NGOs and adoption of result-oriented approaches. Relying on rational principles gives the shelters' employees professional status.

Bureaucratization is another aspect of NGO-provided assistance. NGOs use standard documentary forms and often rely on routinized procedures and practices. For example, organizational definitions predefine the needs of the women: meeting at the airport; accommodating in a shelter; transportation; consultation/information; financial support; vocational training; housing; medical, psychological, and legal assistance (Social Work 2001:142). However, financial assistance for gaining a higher education diploma is not a

component of the reintegration process[29]. NGO professionals interpret women's stories with reference to a certain established pattern of need assessments and evaluations; however, this simplifies women's stories and prevents their full complexity from being represented. Another process essential to bureaucratization is labeling. The IOM uses the label, "VoT," which stands for "victim of trafficking"[30]. NGOs work with "victims;" thus, having status of a "trafficking victim" allows access to resources, so the women must adjust to this categorization to be eligible for assistance.

Another discursive strategy used by anti-trafficking experts is the infantilization of women; NGO professionals often refer to the women's young age, calling them "girls." Infantilization, naiveté, and lacking—are the institutional concepts which describe the construction of an underdeveloped victim. Thus, the victimization of clients is an important strategy for the operation of the anti-trafficking NGOs as institutions; they are only funded to support "worthy" or "deserving" populations. Rescuing innocent victims of trafficking is easily presented as an "honorable" thing to do. In this way, Russian and Ukrainian anti-trafficking NGOs market themselves to Western donors as professionalized organizations able to deal with "problematic" populations; professionalized and specialized provision of assistance is often a condition for receiving Western grants.

How does legitimization of expert knowledge take place in anti-trafficking institutions? NGO professionals often receive invitations to participate in public events, TV programs, and interviews, where they give advice to the public on the social problem of trafficking. Official position titles and educational qualifications often emphasize their expert status: certified

[29] The IOM has paid for university classes for a few trafficking victims. However, this assistance has been short term (one or two semesters) and only available for those who were enrolled in higher education institutions prior to their trafficking case.
[30] http://www.iom.org.ua/index.php?page=catalog&id=11&pid=3

psychologist, professionally trained social worker, president of an NGO, etc. Anti-trafficking experts legitimize their status by referring to their collaboration with international organizations and their participation in international seminars. The West serves as a reference point in expert legitimatization. An illustration of this is the adoption of Western terms: the concept "trafficking" became a new term—"трэффик" (traffik) in the Russian and Ukrainian languages, which do not have such a word. Further, NGO professionals learn the language of grant writing—English (Silliman 1999; Sperling 1999)—and anti-trafficking activists quote international documents (the Trafficking Protocol and UN conventions) to support their claims.

Another legitimization strategy is the production of published work in collaboration with academic institutions. The merging of these institutions and their discourses is especially visible in texts on social work and sociology. For example, *Social Work in Prevention of Trafficking in Human Beings and Protection of the Victims* (2001) is a manual for social work and sociology students, written by representatives of NGOs in collaboration with the academia. Academic scholars analyze data supplied by NGOs; NGO representatives support their views with reference to scientific authority. Thus, professionalization helps NGO employees to gain expert status; it obscures the relations of power between professionals and trafficking victims.

Social motherhood

Even though anti-trafficking activists often must demonstrate professionalism and rely on bureaucratized procedures (as required by grant donors), they often exhibit maternalistic relations towards their clients. Analyzing relations between mistresses and maids in the Philippines, Arnado (2003) writes that "maternalism is a system of power relations wherein the maid is under the mistress' protective custody, control, and authority" (p. 154). Similarly,

maternalism of anti-trafficking activists involves motherly authority and care. Professionalization and social motherhood can often coexist. Using early 1990s social reforms in Germany as his model, Sachbe (1993) argues that "though the concept of 'social motherhood' was based on a strong criticism of bureaucracy and specialization, the concept of feminist social work could not completely do without it" (p. 148). Thus, social motherhood and professionalization of NGOs coexist in complex ways.

Maternalism seeks to discipline and educate the child; it asserts the responsibility of an adult and the love of mother.

> N: Irina Gennadievna is the director of the center, right?
> Sonia: Irina Gennadievna is our mama. She relates to us with love. She can say her opinion from time to time, but she likes us. (Interview with Sonia)

Sonia recognizes Irina Gennadievna's maternal authority, even mentioning occasional disagreements. The fact that Sonia and other clients of shelters refer to NGO workers by their full names (first name and patronymic) signifies a respectful relation:

> N: You said that you did not trust the shelter at the beginning…
> Natasha: Yes, at first, I did not trust. When I came here for the second time, there were four girls. I was the fifth. There was a policeman here who took care of our security. Initially, I felt kind of terrified. But later on, I became friends with everyone; they liked me. Now, I am friends with many; many people like me. Olga Igorevna for example. She is our director, director of Asol.
> N: So, you have good relations with Olga Igorevna, right?
> Natasha: Yes, I like her like a mom. She always worries about us, so that nothing happens to us. She looks after us like after her own children. And the same is true about Irina Evgenievna. Irina Evgenievna and Olga Igorevna give us more time than to their own children. They provide for us everything we need. If we need clothes, they ask IOM. We have everything here; they buy everything for us. I like this organization. I did not think that there were such organizations that help so well. (Interview with Natasha)

Here, Natasha emphasizes that all her needs are satisfied by the shelter personnel. NGO workers, like family members, pay a great deal of attention to the recipients of help in the shelter:

> The people at the shelter are very friendly. Many girls have noticed their kind attention. In Kyiv and in Ternopil, we have gotten a lot of attention—many have said that they don't get as much attention from their relatives. (Interview with Lena)

Considering that many trafficking victims have problems in family relations, shelter becomes an important source of social support. NGO workers also often talk about clients as if they were their daughters.

> Vika is a very good girl. She is one of our first victims. She was working as a "hostess." When she returned, she gave birth to a child. She finished a vocational school. IOM paid for her education. She is now a director of a local cultural center. She shows initiative. We are going to create a new organization for the younger generation [within the NGO], and we are going to include her as well. She is our very active child. She studied in a vocational school. We went to her graduation. I maintain a relationship with her. I called her yesterday. I don't call her often but sometimes she needs me. She has lots of ideas. She was in a hospital with her children where she saw kids with HIV. She said, "I will adopt them." She has two [children] of her own! "Let's help them because the children suffer," [Vika said]. I said, "Ok, let's buy some paint and paper, let's go there, and teach them, and play with them." She wants to help the whole world. (Interview with a representative of the NGO, *Hope and Future*, Sevastopol, Ukraine)

A representative of *Volyn Perspectives*, in Lutsk, Ukraine, describes how this NGO's employees take care of its trafficking victims:

> When the adaptation period is over, we start to create a plan of solving this crisis situation. The victim herself, psychologist, and me. There was some time when I tried to keep strangers away from the girls so that they would open up. I knew how to talk to them, how to establish contact with them, and they started to talk to me. We developed such a plan. Plan for life. Without any pressure. The victim herself should come to her own decision whether she wants to study, or wants to become a businesswoman, or how she sees her future. We had one victim who wanted very much to give birth to a child. She wanted to have a child a lot. She came back from Turkey, and she was sick with tuberculosis. We treated her. She even had a surgery; her left lung was removed. She went through rehabilitation here. She did not have any contagious illnesses. She started dating a man. When I was at a workshop in Kherson, they [the NGO employees] called me and said that our [name] is pregnant. Two months after her surgery—it was very difficult. They [the staff members] were all shocked, "What should we do?" I said, "Just wait until I am back, and don't tell her what to do—abortion or whatever; don't tell her that she will lose her shelter place; leave her alone. Create a calm atmosphere for her, so that she knows that you love her." She is an orphan. Almost all of her

> relatives have died. It is only her and her sister. They were taken abroad together; their nickname was "sisters." They participated in a criminal case where traffickers received seven and four years. She came to us with a small plastic bag, with a couple of lingerie items, and this is it. Our girls related well to her, brought her fruits. They took her to a gynecologist. They talked to her, asked her if she understood how difficult it was going to be. But she said that she wanted to have this baby. I called her, told her that she could give birth, and could stay at the shelter while there was an opportunity. And after one week, she miscarried. My girls went with her to a hospital. She spent a few days there; she was crying; she had depression. A kitten saved her—she found herself a cat. She had some feelings, some tenderness. Many of our victims who come to the shelter bring some small animals—this is normal. Then, when they leave, they take the animals with them. And when I came back from Kherson, she was normal; she continued her relations with that man, and they got married, and she gave birth to a child eventually. She is very happy. And her sister, [name], also got married and lives 20 kilometers from here. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*)

Maternalist NGO workers ensure that they discipline their "daughters:" clients who violate shelter rules are asked to leave:

> We try to provide the maximum home-like environment. It is not hospital-like. It is a house that we rent; it is like a family home. There is a garden; they [shelter inhabitants] can sit out there. We never lock it. There are rules. One woman did not follow the rules, and we had to ask her to leave because it was about alcohol. In Western Europe, such shelters often turn into brothels. Because women, when they work in such rhythm, they cannot be without men anymore. Many cannot live without men. We provided them with everything. She said that she got used to this [lifestyle], "I am used to alcohol, to men." One case when there were problems. (Interview with a representative of *Faith. Hope. Love*)

A representative of another NGO explains how she combines sensitive attention and discipline in her relations with trafficking women:

> We immediately start to reintegrate them [the trafficking victims]. There is an adaptation period when she relaxes; here, the psychologist and lawyer work with her. Our girls [NGO employees] are very skillful, very tolerant; no one invades into another person's soul. Everything is done in such a way that the person sees this open-soul relation, and opens up herself. There were, of course, different cases. Those who were here longer, they are very smart; they can play our feelings. We act sometimes very delicately, but sometimes, quite strictly. Sometimes you have to be very strict, because if they are spoiled, they will beg you all the time that they don't have money to live on. Strict delicacy. One cannot pressure them; one cannot put conditions [on them]. We have to listen to them and make our own conclusions. But, one cannot pressure them, put forward some

> ultimatums. They immediately become very stubborn. They understand everything—they have suffered, they must be protected. It's difficult to work with them. But, we must work with them. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*)

NGO workers also practice maternalism by involving their clients in different work activities in the shelter: cleaning, cooking, sewing, etc. By doing this, NGO workers hope to teach responsibility:

> They sometimes don't understand that this is an agrarian region. Many employees work here as volunteers; they are not paid. We all need to work. Girls have to work, clean. When there is an activity, they develop motivation to do something. They are learning responsibility as well. When it smells in the kitchen, one needs to tell them, delicately, "Girls, who put the milk here? It will turn sour. You need to put it into the fridge." They also feel support. They don't want to leave the shelter. (Interview with a representative of *Volyn Perspectives*)

Further, younger NGO employees develop sisterly relationships with their clients. Natasha describes her relationship with a social worker, Ksenia:

> N: When you came to the shelter, you developed good relations with others. What helped you to establish good relations?
> Natasha: The psychologist worked with me. When we started to interact with her, when we came into a room, she started telling me about everything in detail. Yuri Ivanovich did not tell me everything. She told me everything about available help. I was worried at the beginning; I thought that I would not be able to adjust here. She [the psychologist] worked with me, and then I started interacting with a social worker, Ksenia, because she is young. Now I am best friends with her. She helps me; she goes for a walk with me. Here, in Odessa, I do not know anyone, and I can get myself in trouble. I go for a walk with her. I know one good guy, well-mannered, polite. Ksenia is like my sister. (Interview with Natasha)

However, not all relationships within shelters are family-like. Natasha also speaks of her conflict with Nina Ivanovna:

> Natasha: I feel that she [Nina Ivanovna] wants to get rid of me, that she wants me to leave the organization.
> N: Why?
> Natasha: Because she is the boss. She prohibits me from interacting with Ksenia. Ksenia is my friend, but she does not allow me to communicate with her.
> N: Why?

> Natasha: Nina Ivanovna was responsible for bringing us necessary food, but she did not bring all the goods. And I mentioned to Ksenia what she [Nina Ivanovna] brought to us—a small jar of coffee, for example, not a big one. Ksenia told this to Irina Evgenievna. Since then, Nina Ivanovna started disliking me; she was mad.
> N: So, she basically kept the food for herself…
> Natasha: She kept the money. This is why she disliked me. I even quarreled with her once. She told me to pack my bags and leave, but it is only Irina Evgenievna who can make this decision. They [the NGO employees] need to ask Irina Evgenievna for permission. I started to pack my things, and then Irina Evgenievna called in 15 minutes and told me to ignore this [Nina Ivanovna's order to leave] and to continue living in the shelter. She [Nina Ivanovna] thinks that everything has to be how she wants it; because she has many powerful connections. She wants to have everything under control, but she cannot, because of how she relates to people. She cannot gain support of the collective; she always does something wrong. (Interview with Natasha)

Another comment by Natasha demonstrates that some residents of anti-trafficking shelters actively contest unfair treatment and conditions:

> N: Why did you get transferred from the rehabilitation center back to Asol?
> Natasha: I asked to be transferred. But this issue was solved—even if I live in Asol, I can still work in the rehabilitation center. Why I do not like Nina Ivanovna is that we had to ask her to buy us cigarettes. Our salary was once a month. We just got hired; we didn't have our salary yet, and we had to ask her for money for cigarettes. Another time, we called her and told her that we had run out of bread, but she forgot about us. I did not like that. Olga Igorevna never forgets about us. She always calls and asks if we have enough of everything. Nina Ivanovna did not think about us. She thought about her personal life. I know that she talks about me a lot, discusses me with others. I am proud of this. Once, she started talking about me, and I walked in and said, "Nina Ivanovna, don't you have personal problems so that you don't have to talk about mine?"
> N: What was she saying?
> Natasha: That I am difficult, that I don't understand her. I told her she needs to try to understand me too.
> N: How are your relations with other staff members?
> Natasha: Everyone likes me. (Interview with Natasha)

Overall, maternalistic relationships develop in the context of dependency. In the case of anti-trafficking NGOs, trafficking victims depend on NGO professionals for social assistance. The clients accept this maternalistic relationship because they feel the attention and support that they

often miss from their parental families. NGO employees often treat their clients as children—they demonstrate motherly love for them, but also motherly discipline.

The reorganization of gender relations in post-Soviet countries provides the context for the advancement of maternalism as civic activity. Salmenniemi (2005) argues, in relation to post-Soviet Russia, that political agency is different for men and women. While men dominate institutional politics, women claim responsibility for the civic sphere. Thus, maternalism is a way for women to gain access to the public sphere: "By drawing on family/home analogies and praising female altruism, women strive to take over the civic sphere and make it their legitimate area of activity" (Salmenniemi 2005:746). When NGO activists act as social mothers, they participate in the public sphere in the feminized roles of social-care providers.

Dialogical relations

Even though anti-trafficking NGOs demonstrate a hierarchical organization of ruling relations, there are certain aspects of their work that allow space for dialogical relations which take into consideration a client's perspectives, priorities, and needs. These dialogical relations concern trafficking victims being included and active participants in the workings of NGOs. For example, the *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women* defines its principle of interaction with clients as "Equal to Equal":

> This means "come and participate." We ask them [the trafficking victims], "Would you read this prevention brochure? What would you add? How should we organize preventive work? What should we write?" They [the trafficking victims] watch different films; they participate in different programs and interviews. We do not have many girls who have participated in film production, maybe four or five. We take them to different conferences. They like to participate and to listen. (Interview with a representative of the *St. Petersburg Crisis Center for Women*)

The workers at this center invite women to take courses intended for volunteers, and many of the women who have been referred to center by police, in relation to trafficking investigations, have become volunteers. A similar dialogical approach is used at the Ternopol NGO, *Revival of the Nation*, where workers have created a program called "School of Volunteers," through which trafficking survivors can participate in the NGO's activities.

Dialogical relations also concern the manner in which interaction takes place. A psychologist from *LaStrada-Ukraine* argues that NGO specialists must practice active listening in order to understand their clients:

> N: What helps to establish trust?
> T: I try to ask questions about her current state—her health, her psychological state, but not about her trafficking situation. I try not to dig into this. With someone, you should be silent. With younger ones, just keep [hold] hands, sit closer. With women who have children, I talk about their children—this is important to them. I ask if their children wait for them; did she have an opportunity to write or call them. Be attentive and watch her reactions. If she does not like the question, it is visible in non-verbal reactions as well; I don't pressure her to answer questions. If she does not want to answer, she does not have to. (Interview with a representative of *LaStrada-Ukraine*)

An additional aspect of dialogical relations is when trafficking victims become employees of the organizations themselves. After undergoing the reintegration program, some NGOs offer women the chance to join the organization as a staff member.

Dialogical self

How do women negotiate their identities in response to institutional definitions? One way to view this process is through the concept of dialogism (Bakhtin 1986). The dialogic approach emphasizes that selfhood is a product of social relations, of a dialogue between individuals and institutions. I use elements of narrative analysis (Franzosi 1998; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber 1998; McNay 1999; Riessman 1993) to analyze how women present their experiences of

reintegration. Narrative analysis aids in understanding how trafficking victims construct their identities through a dialogue with institutional discourses and definitions.

> It is the story—the chrono-logical succession of events—that provides the basic building blocks of narrative […]. The events in the sequences must be bound together by some principle of logical coherence […]. Finally, the events in the story must disrupt an initial state of equilibrium that sets in motion an inversion of situation, a change of fortunes—from good to bad, from bad to good, or no such reversal in polarity, just an "after" different from "before," but neither necessarily better nor worse. (Franzosi 1998:520-21)

Through my analysis of the narratives, I seek to perceive how women present their past, present, and future in relation to their experiences of reintegration. What has reintegration helped them to achieve? What do they single out as the most significant outcomes of reintegration in their lives? How do they relate experiences before and after reintegration?

Natasha

> N: Tell me about your day in the shelter? How do you organize your day?
> Natasha: We don't have any schedule, no matter how much they [the NGO workers] try to set one up. We always have something to eat. We get food all the time. When some food is finished, Olga Igorevna calls us and asks if we have enough bread, sausage, so that we are not hungry. Our schedule is that we go to sleep at 11pm. But we get up when we want. The only thing that is limited is that we can only be out until 11pm, because "well-mannered girls" are out only until 11pm. After 11pm, "normal girls" are not going out [laughs]. They [the NGO workers] work on my manners, because after boarding school, I don't have any manners.
> N: What do you mean that you don't have any manners?
> Natasha: In a boarding school, one cannot get any manners.

Natasha talks about her previous life in a boarding school for orphans where, she implies, children cannot learn "proper" manners. Considering Natasha's conflict with Nina Ivanovna and Nina Ivanovna's opinion of boarding schools as places where children do not learn how to spend money or wear proper clothes, Natasha reflects Nina Ivanovna's words when saying, "I don't have any manners." Another interesting point is Natasha's identification as "the normal girl;" it

demonstrates that reintegration program at the NGO contributes to normalization of "proper" femininity through regulation of gendered behavior in time and space (staying home after 11pm). Natasha mentions that this is "the only thing that is limited" in the shelter's schedule; this means that the curfew is more strictly enforced than other daily schedule activities.

> N: How do they work on your manners in the shelter?
> Natasha: When I arrived [to the shelter], I could not communicate normally with other girls. If I didn't like someone, I would not find common ground with that person. I might ignore that person… Now, I have learned how to communicate. Olga Igorevna tells me that "if you, for example, will work in our organization, you will communicate with Moldovan women and others." You cannot see what a person is like from the beginning. So, they work on my manners so that I can communicate normally with people, in a polite way.

Natasha's communication style is another aspect of normalization. By hinting at Natasha's possible future employment at the shelter, Olga Igorevna motivates Natasha to learn the "manners" of interaction.

> N: What is polite communication?
> Natasha: In boarding school, if someone told me something, I could argue with that person, I could say something different. I don't know… I was ashamed to speak about certain topics. Thanks to this upbringing [in the shelter], I can communicate normally. Before, I could shout "hi" across the street, and I did not care if someone was looking at me.
> N: And now can you shout "hi" to someone?
> Natasha: [Laughs] If the person approaches me, I can say "hi". Before, I could go out until I wanted to. Now, how could I do something like that? Other girls are going out until very late.

Natasha internalizes certain beliefs about "proper" behavior in public. Her phrase "Now, how could I do something like that?" means that she incorporates the normalizing standards in her selfhood. She also compares herself to other girls who "go out until very late" to demonstrate her own "propriety."

> N: How late is late?
> Natasha: Until morning. At home, I could go out with my female friends and sit in a bar, and I did not care if someone at home was concerned about me. And now, I

> would be ashamed to go out. If you are a girl, you must be… And every man should understand this—that a normal girl will sit at home [laughs].
> N: So you think that a normal girl should sit at home?
> Natasha: Not always; she should go out from time to time. For example, I date this guy. He knows that I have to be at home by 11pm. I told him this, and we are always back at home at 11pm. We go out, play pool or bowling, go to the cinema. We go to an amusement park. He calls me and I tell him, "Call me earlier, and we will meet earlier, and we will come back earlier." He understands that. I did not tell him that I was working [in the sex trade]. We don't know each other long enough.

Natasha further demonstrates her internalization of ideas about "proper" womanhood – a girl "must" stay at home at night. However, she negotiates this "propriety" by specifying that it is ok to "go out from time to time" as long as it takes place before 11pm (time defined by the shelter). In the relationship with her boyfriend, she performs this "proper" feminine behavior.

> N: How long have you known him [your boyfriend]?
> Natasha: Two weeks. I like him because he is calm, but at the same time, he is funny. He likes to joke, to have fun. He is good-looking; I like that. He is blonde. He is from Odessa. He studied in a Marine College. He is a sailor. He leaves for sailings sometimes for up to six months. We have a serious relationship. I've gotten such an impression in these two weeks.
> N: You mean he has serious motives?
> Natasha: Yes, he is older than me. He is 23. His mother is waiting to meet me. I have to meet her soon. I am afraid. But thanks to our organization, I can present myself in a good way and behave myself well in a company of people. I am ashamed that before I did not care how I behaved in such company; I did not care about the people's impression of me. Now, I am ashamed. If I am going to meet a group of people, a new group, I am silent during the first evening because I am ashamed, but then I start talking to Sasha [boyfriend] and then to other people. And the people whom I meet are different. There is no such vulgarity, like in my previous groups. Vulgarity and everything like that. Now, I am going to groups where the boys are ashamed to curse in our [female] presence. We have only one girl in our company. She is like the former me—she does not care. I look at her and I see myself in the past, and I think that I behaved just like that in the past.

This "serious" relationship is important for Natasha; she does not want to jeopardize it with vulgar behavior, especially during a possible meeting with Sasha's mother. Natasha is "ashamed" to act "vulgar," meaning that she has internalized strategies of social control. Natasha

judges her own conduct against that of other females—the girl who looks like "the former me."

This distancing from her past is part of building the new, "proper" selfhood.

> N: Who are the people in the group?
> Natasha: Sasha, my guy. We play pool; go to the bowling club; sometimes, we go to the sea. They don't smoke weed, don't do drugs. We can drink some champagne. They have taught me how to play pool. When Sasha was younger than me now, he was a sportsman.
> N: What sport?
> Natasha: Body-building. He has good muscles.

Natasha emphasizes the importance of a healthy lifestyle for her "new self"—no drugs, no weed.

At the same time, she stresses Sasha's masculine qualities: a sportsman, with good muscles.

> N: How was the course of reintegration for you?
> Natasha: It was difficult to rebuild myself. It was also painful to remember … [the past]. My psychologist said that I needed to tell someone about all my feelings of offence and sorrow, especially regarding my child [who died]. We had a group therapy in the shelter, and I went to attend it. It was about prevention of violence in the family. We were sitting in a circle and talking. Everyone was telling their own problems. When I could not hold it inside, I started crying. Everyone was saying that I should talk about my feelings, and that I would feel better. And I told my story. Everyone gave me advice, and I immediately started feeling better. My psychologist, [name], always supports me, but at the same time, if I have done something wrong, she says that this [or that] could have been done differently. Some issue could have been solved in a different way. If some girl does not understand me, I have learned to sit and listen to her first. But then, if I have listened and told her my opinion, and she does not understand me, then we'll have an argument, a quarrel. Sometimes, we will even fight.
> N: Even fights?
> Natasha: Yes [laughs]. Once we went out with one girl, to visit Sasha and his company. I was friends with her. But she showed herself from a very bad side. I was so ashamed. She basically disgraced me. I could not stand it; I hit her in her face. After that, I never took any friends with me. I'm better going out on my own. Sasha did not say anything about that case. I did not explain anything. I felt like if I started talking about that girl that I would need to tell him everything about my past. We [Sasha and I] kind of forgot about that situation. Ksenia [social worker] tells me, "You just go out yourself, do not take anyone with you." I wanted her [the girl involved in the fight] to have a relationship like I have [with Sasha], but she did not want to have such relations.

The "proper" self is not only about the self. Natasha demonstrates the "proper" self through having "proper" friends. In her new life, she cannot have friends who "disgrace" her.

> N: You said that it was hard to rebuild yourself. What was this rebuilding about?
> Natasha: I started being patient. Before, I could not be patient. I would start expressing my emotions right away. I could not restrain myself. Now, I can keep the emotions inside. I might feel lots of emotions about a person, but [I know] I better think about it and keep silent.
> N: How does this patience help you?
> Natasha: For example, if I feel angry about this person, I start counting from 21, backwards. Or, I go away and start doing something, and I do not pay attention. The girls in the shelter are different. I cannot change everyone. I started rebuilding myself in such a way—I started being patient, counting until 21, backwards. Then, I used to say some jargon words like "cool," etc. And one guy from our group taught me not to use those words. I am forgetting already these words. I am changing gradually. I feel like every day I am making a new effort. Then, my manners of behavior are changing. Before, I could sit, lower my head. But now when I am interacting with someone, I have to sit normally, with good posture. I don't even remember how I used to be; I have rebuilt myself so much. I made myself into a normal person, and I want to achieve a lot in my life. I want to become a fashion hairdresser.

The "proper" womanhood includes abiding by the constraints of emotions, language, and body (posture). Natasha measures distance from her past self – "I don't even remember how I used to be; I have rebuilt myself so much."

> N: What else do you see for yourself in the future?
> Natasha: I want to become a businesswoman and help orphans. I would like to sponsor one class from my boarding school and help them. I did not like that all children in our school had to wear uniforms. I would buy different clothes for everyone. If I had enough money.

Natasha imagines her future life in terms of upward class mobility – she wants to be able to earn "enough" money and to be able to spend them ("to sponsor"). Ability to spend money is a strategy of performing class difference.

> N: You receive your clothes from the shelter now. Can you choose them yourself?
> Natasha: Yes, we go to buy clothes with a social worker or someone else. Ksenia knits some things for me.
> N: What else do you see for yourself in the future?
> Natasha: I want to get married, successfully. I want to have a child. I want to have a good family. My family was… He [husband] could come home at 3 am, and this was normal. I would like to have a normal husband, kind of like Sasha.
> N: What will your future family look like?

> Natasha: My family will be provided for. I will be working, and my child will have everything he wants. I will be responsible for his upbringing. He will not be spoiled. I want him to respect parents. And I want him to trust me. I want my child to be able to tell me everything.

Natasha dreams of "successful" matrimonial relations. She imagines her future in terms of satisfaction of needs ("providing for").

> N: How else did reintegration help you?
> Natasha: I have received $50 of assistance. I bought gifts for everyone [in the shelter]. I like to give gifts. Also, I studied; I attended courses. After I graduated from school, I did not want to apply anywhere for further studies. Now, I am determined to continue studying to build my future. And I got this help. I wanted this [to study] myself, but I needed someone to help me.

Natasha says that she developed a motivation to study, and, with regard to furthering her education, she emphasizes that she "wanted this herself." The act of emphasizing shows that NGO workers have "helped" her to develop this motivation.

> N: How was the training?
> Natasha: It was difficult to attend the first week of courses. I needed to read and write there, but I was lazy and did not want to do this. But then I thought that if I were lazy, then I would not learn anything. These courses cost money. And I started to study. Ksenia also said that if I would not study, I would not work in her hairdressing salon [Ksenia is a director of a hair salon within the rehabilitation center]. And I started studying. I called Olga Igorevna and said that I needed special equipment. They bought it for me. When I took scissors in my hand for the first time, my hands were shaking. I thought I would make a lopsided haircut. The first client was a man, and he was my first victim in the haircutting process. The haircut was not good, and I just shaved his head in the end. Now, I am good. I can do my own hair. I have asked Olga Igorevna to ask the IOM if I can attend the courses to become a fashion hairdresser. Later on, I would like to open my own business—a salon, perhaps.

Ksenia, a social worker, motivates Natasha by offering her a future place in the hairdressing salon organized by the rehabilitation center. Since Ksenia is a close friend of Natasha's, this is a strong motivating factor, and Natasha pulls herself together to study. However, another employee, Nina Ivanovna, does not motivate Natasha. In contrast to the first situation, Natasha resists Nina Ivanovna's attempts at discipline.

> N: What happened between you and Nina Ivanovna?
> Natasha: She is a kind person, but […]. I don't like that she changes her mood a lot. One time I am a "sweetie and honey" for her, and another time, I am the worst person. I cannot guess how she is going to be each time. She is always unsatisfied with me: she disapproves of my clothes; she does not like many things about me. I told her, "I am not going to dress like you. You are 42, and you are wearing a mini-skirt."
> N: What does she answer?
> Natasha: She says, "I always feel young. I am always 16."

Natasha disapproves of Nina Ivanovna's style of clothes in response to Nina Ivanovna's criticism of Natasha's appearance.

> N: What do you wear that makes her unsatisfied?
> Natasha: For example, I don't like to wear a bra. I don't feel comfortable. She comes and asks, "Are you without a bra?" Another time she started asking me where I got a sun tan. When she talks to me, I feel insecure, I feel ashamed. She is getting too close to me. I just don't like when such people are getting too close to me [invading privacy?]. She touches something sensitive. She talks about my clothes, "Why do you do this? Where did you get this? Why would you want to go home [home city]?" This makes me want to ask her, "Why do you need to go home?" Simply, we all got used to her. Everyone knows that she is like that. Everyone accepts her as she is. She does not know how to organize her own life, but she [tries] to teach me how to do it. She has two children; and she was married twice and divorced twice. Nina Ivanovna wants to know everything. She cannot miss anything. Everything concerns her. We even stop talking when she comes to the kitchen. She [Nina Ivanovna] asks, "What are you talking about here?"

Natasha demonstrates multiple ways of how she resists Nina Ivanovna's authority. These actions reflect the agency of NGO clients who selectively choose to use some institutional definitions and discourses but to reject others. Natasha actively negotiates the terms of "proper" womanhood. For example, she does not allow Nina Ivanovna to regulate her appearance through forcing Natasha to wear a bra.

Natasha further demonstrates engagement with institutional classifications:

> N: I was also invited to Kyiv to work there as a social worker.
> N: Why did you not go?
> Natasha: I am still too young, 18.

The IOM employees define Natasha as "too young," and she echoes "I am still too young."

N: Who offered you this position?
Natasha: Psychologist. She said that I would be a good social worker. I actually like to work with little kids. I like to take care of someone. If I could work in a kindergarten, I would like that. Even if children are spoiled, I still like to work with them.
N: When can you become a social worker?
Natasha: Next year, when I am 19. I need to understand first how to work, how to interact with the girls. I already know how to write a story. When girls are arriving, sometimes their stories do not get written because they are tired after the trips. Olga Igorevna asks me to write down the stories of the girls. We have special forms, and I fill out the forms.
N: Someone has shown you how to fill them out?
Natasha: When my story was recorded, I already understood how it was done. I like that. I would work like this with pleasure.

Natasha discusses how the NGO employees involve her in the work of the shelter: she learns the bureaucratic procedures and forms. She also seems to enjoy the association with the professional status of a social worker.

N: You said you liked your stay in the Kyiv Rehabilitation Center, right?
Natasha: Yes, we went to Maidan [the central square in Kyiv], went to sing karaoke. I liked riding the metro—it was first time that I saw the metro. We have only trolleys in Odessa. We rode the escalator 15 times up and down, and I liked that it was located underground. I only saw this in films before. I liked the interaction with people, with [name]. Here, in Asol, I am ok with everyone. I like to be the favorite one. I am used to it. I like when people pay attention to me. I am an egoist in life. I am very jealous. If I have a friend, this is only my friend, cannot be a friend of someone else. I can get jealous. I am jealous that Ksenia has other friends. I could work here as a social worker. There was one girl who was working here as a social work. She did not manage [well] with this work. She was drinking at work. She was going out with the girls. She was friends with them because they had money. Girls arrive from Turkey with money, and she goes out with them. And now, they [the NGO employees] don't hire social workers from us [trafficking victims]. It's an unofficial rule. I would like to work in such a sphere. I like to attend workshops. I would like to go to different workshops.

Natasha disapproves of the "girl" who failed as a social worker. Her position reflects the institutional definitions of a good social worker.

N: Do other girls participate in the life of the center?
Natasha: We trust everyone, but if you have abused the trust at least one time, then you lose the trust. We had one girl […]. I am always trusted—I run errands, buy food. Once, I went to study at vocational training courses, and I did not have

> time to finish some errands, and this other girl was asked to do something. She went to buy something for the center, but she just got drunk. The center paid $100 for her treatment, and she got drunk! After that, she lost all trust. She showed herself as not capable of change. No matter what was done for her, she did not change.

The narrative shows how Natasha internalizes the institutional criteria of trust. However, the NGO is not the only reference point that Natasha uses to craft her identity.

> Natasha: My Sasha does not smoke, so I told him that I would stop smoking too. I could smoke two packs of cigarettes before. Now, I can smoke half a pack or so. If I am nervous about something, then I can smoke every hour. Before, when I was nervous I was eating something sweet.

Now, according to Natasha, smoking is also incompatible with "proper" womanhood.

> N: What else do you plan to do?
> Natasha: I will finish another course of vocational training. I should stay focused; I will not get lazy. I often want to sit in a room, watch TV, and relax. But if I want to work in an organization like our center, I need to study. I like our center; I like communicating with the girls [trafficking victims]. I like to relate to them with attention. Every girl comes traumatized; they all need care. People who work in this organization understand that these are women who have lived through difficult times.

Natasha has developed an institutional identity ("I like *our* center"); she identifies with the women who work in the shelter and wants to be one of them. She understands that this will require education. She also perceives that such a job involves motherly "care" and discipline.

> N: Would you change something in the way shelter works?
> Natasha: I would introduce a rule that girls should not give out our phone number when they meet guys. I don't like when men call at 3 am, and ask for Alyona or Oksana. Olga Igorevna tells them not to give the phone number, but she is a kind person; she cannot scream at them. I don't like when they give out the number. My Sasha knows that he can call only until 11 pm. I told him. Then, they should not show up where we live. There were a few cases when men came under our windows. It should be quiet in the organization; we live here. I would like to see this introduced. Otherwise, I like everything.

Not only has Natasha disassociated from those "girls" who violate the order of the shelter, but she also presents Olga Igorevna as too soft and too kind to discipline the shelter's unruly

inhabitants. At the same time, Natasha positions herself as a person who is capable of ensuring discipline.

> N: Who are the closest people to you now?
> Natasha: I don't interact with my aunt now. She appropriates my pension, and does not give me my money. Ksenia is the closest person. Olga Igorevna. Sasha—also, but I have not known him so long. I did not tell him my story. I think I know him too little to tell him this.

An important reason why Natasha internalizes many institutional definitions and rules is that the shelter is her most significant source of social support. The problem for Natasha is that she has to hide her "past self" from people who are not from the shelter, e.g., from Sasha. At this stage in her life, she can only have completely open relations with the NGO workers: the closest people to Natasha are employees of the shelter. This explains why she develops a strong identification with the shelter, its workers, and its regulations.

Alexandra

> N: How did you come to the shelter?
> A: I was in a shelter in Ternopil because I could not stay with my parents. I like it here a lot. I needed to forget many things that happened to me, and they [the NGO workers] helped me here. I also received [material] help. Currently, I work. I studied to become a driver. Now, I want to study to become a trolley driver. Before, I did not know what I wanted. Now, I know what I can do. I did not understand what I was—this is why I was going here and there [migrating]. Before, I was afraid of everything: to turn around, to cough [figure of speech that means "afraid to say a word"]. I was afraid of my own words. I was afraid that someone would say something, that I would be judged negatively. Until now, I haven't liked if someone judges me. Basically, I started living independently when I got married and started working. Then, I started communicating with people. From that time, I started developing slowly. But I did not understand everything yet. When I got divorced, from that moment, I understood that I was on my own. It was hard. But I was on my own, and I needed somehow to survive. And my father said, "Don't divorce. How are you going to live on your own, how will you survive?" When he said this, I said that I would survive because I have a child. From that moment, I was making decisions on my own, and I told my daughter, "We will live on our own." And she needed to learn how to be independent. She started taking care of herself, started to wash her hair—she did

> not do that before. I tell her what needs to be done, and she does it herself. Maybe she is too small for some types of work, but I know that if I don't teach her now, she will have problems in the future. I think it's easier to teach her now.

Alexandra's "past" is primarily about her relationship with her parents and ex-husband. The NGO shelter is a support for her in her quest for independence from parental authority. She says that the most important forms of support for her are the provisioning of temporary housing and the vocational training she has received. Alexandra decides to become a driver, which is typically a masculinized occupation in Ukraine.

> N: You work in sales now, right?
> A: I feel that I don't like it. This is not my job. I feel tired when I need to lie, and it is difficult. When I have to lie, I have to betray myself. So, I said "no." I am ashamed when I have to lie. I cannot work there. Or, I can, but I don't want to.
> N: How did you choose to become a driver?
> A: I have liked that my whole life. When I was a child, I would remember all the details about local cars and their tag numbers. My father would go somewhere, and I would travel with him. I did not sit in the kitchen with my mother; I would go with him. I always wanted [driving]. I always wanted to go, to travel, to feel the steering wheel. I know one person who has a car but does not want to drive. But I like to drive. Speed and control […]. When I sit behind the wheel […]. I have chosen the courses myself. My parents were trying to talk me out of this, but I have made this decision independently, and I will do this in this future. I see that I have a different life now—not only in a room [private space]. I am now independent, I will organize my life how I want it—not how they tell me, but how I want it.
> When I had to choose the courses, they [the NGO workers] offered computer classes. I could do that; sometimes I could work from home. Massage specialist—I could that do as well. I weighed everything and decided that this [driving] is also possible. When I told my relatives […] that was chaos; that was something […]. I left and I thought, "Why does nobody understand me?" "You don't need this, you will not find work, this, that […]." I thought I would become a taxi driver. But no one told me that to become a taxi driver, one needs two years of experience. But I have received something from that experience. I have received my driver's license; I did not buy it, as some people. I was studying and driving with pleasure. I was asking our teacher what I needed to improve, so that I would make no mistakes. But he said that it was normal driving. When I received this support, I liked the learning process. I knew that if I want something, then I could achieve this. If I will read the course materials, I will understand. For example, for computer skills training, there are lots of readings. If I will not read them, then I will never understand how to operate a computer.

For Alexandra, the past is a time of not knowing herself and of feeling scared. Experiences of divorce, sex trafficking, and eventual reintegration helped her to formulate what she wants—independence and control over her life. Thus, Alexandra wants to depart from the traditional female role—"in a room." The reintegration program, through its vocational courses, helped her to be closer to her desired state of independence.

Liza

Liza is an organizer for the School of Volunteers at the NGO, *Revival of the Nation*. She works with trafficking victims because "this experience can be understood only by someone who lived through this" (Interview with Liza). She claims power by referring to the authenticity of her experience as a trafficking victim. She presents herself as someone who has a direct knowledge of the problem and, therefore, can be a better "helper."

> I came through this, and I immediately see who lies and who does not, who was and who was not there.

Liza refers to the problem of "false" vs. "real" victims and argues that she can distinguish between them.

> N: How do you see this?
> L: I see it when a person who was victimized does not talk much. She keeps everything in herself. You need to help her to open up, to approach her in such a way that she opens up… I came here by chance. When I came back home, I could not tell [my story to] anyone because they [family, community] would not understand, they would not be able to help. I came here and met [an NGO employee]. For the first time in my life, I was crying like a baby for three hours. I told her [the NGO employee] everything that was hurting me here [points to her chest, heart]. I also told my story to psychologists, but not what was here [points to her heart]. Here [in the shelter], they understood me, helped me, sent me to get medical treatment in Kyiv. Then, we opened a center for volunteers. We are helping others. I have brought already about 30 to 40 girls here. I bring them here, we gather, we communicate, we talk about all the problems that we have. We talk about what they want, etc. All the women who were in the sex trade, and who had families, they don't have families anymore. To put these families back together—

> this is not realistic. But at least we can keep mother and child together—this is what we are trying to do. When a mother does not have her needs provided, then her child is not provided for as well.

Liza's identification with the School of Volunteers is very strong. She uses "we" to symbolically include herself in the shelter's group of employees.

> L: We have an organization called "Woman for Woman." We are the only organization that helps in [city]. We provide training courses in sewing; we have training courses in computer skills. This is free of charge. This is for our victims; we check them [identify them as victims]. You see, a person can come and say that she is a victim, but we need to check. We check the passport—whether the person has crossed the border or not. Anyone can come and say that they are a victim.
> N: Have you had such cases that people came and you knew that they were not victims?
> L: No, typically not. But in your Russia, we have seen this. We brought back some girls from Russia, and we asked one of them to tell her story, and we offered her help. And another girl asked, "How will you help?" You see, she doesn't care; she just wants to get money. But the person who is a victim is ashamed; this person will not tell anything. We need to approach this person in a certain way, not directly. You will not be able to ask this person directly; you need to let her open up to you.

Talking to trafficking victims requires certain skills, and Liza presents herself as an expert on talking to victims. Liza also questions the motives of Western philanthropists who visit Ukraine and promise financial help:

> L: We also have hospitals here in [city]; we could provide medical help here; we could rent the hospital services. We have had many foreigners here, and all of them have said that they would like to help, but nobody has helped. They came and stayed in rooms that cost 960 hryvnas per room, but there are rooms for 300 hryvnas downstairs; they are normal rooms. They could give the money to an orphanage […]. If you want to help, why do you rent luxury rooms, why? This is $300! They are rich people; they say, "We will help you," and nothing […].
> N: Why did you decide to participate in the School of Volunteers?
> L: This was after Kyiv [the Kyiv rehabilitation center]. I stayed there for a long time. When I came back [to home city], I talked to [NGO employee] and [NGO employee], and they told me that they had a project that could be developed. So, we started it. No one pays us; we do this for free. We meet, we talk, we go out. When we have trafficking victims from abroad, they sometimes have health problems, even after they go though treatment in Kyiv. They ask me to help them set up an appointment with a gynecologist. I also go with them sometimes.

Liza provides volunteer help and participates in practicing social motherhood. She describes how she became involved in the organization's activities.

> N: How did they [the NGO employees] help you in Ternopil?
> L: They were buying me pills. I participated in psychological trainings. Then, they asked me if I wanted to participate in the School of Volunteers. I started working as a hotline counselor. It was difficult; I did not understand what kind of work this was. After I worked for some time, I started to feel compassion towards these people [trafficking victims]. When they call, they ask if they can come and stay at the shelter. When one of then arrived, [NGO employee] told me to try and talk to her alone, but they were nearby to help me. And then she [NGO employee] said that I managed so well that I could do it myself. So, when new victims come, I talk to them, check their passports, check their deportation status. We send them to Kyiv. We contact police. If they were indeed abroad, the police check their records. One of them became my friend. Now, she also wants to open a shelter in [city in Crimea]. We will do this together. There are many victims there [in Crimea]. Many of them travel to Turkey. Her grandmother died and left her a house. We can have a rehabilitation center there, if I can find money to pay for utilities. She was the first person whom I helped. We became friends.

Liza's narrative demonstrates how she gradually became involved in different aspects of the shelter's institutional organization: she started working on a hotline, she was responsible for intake, and, now, she runs the School of Volunteers. Finally, she has plans to become an organizer of her own center. Liza's story demonstrates that some NGOs can develop equal relations with their clients, even within the organizational constraints of bureaucratization and professionalization.

Nina

Similar to Liza's case, Nina gradually became involved in the life of an NGO.

> N: In the shelter, they [the NGO employees] provided me with food; they bought me some clothes, a coat—a big expense. And the center conducted different interesting activities. Volunteers accompanied me to different museums. I was also helping here, in the center; I did some work that is usually conducted by volunteers—distributing brochures, folding, unfolding them. In the beginning, everyone paid a lot of attention to me. Then, when they understood that

> everything was ok with me, I was accepted as "one of us." I was not a "victim," but a colleague. When I visit the center, they tell me what happened in my absence. I also went to a conference with them, and no one was introducing me as a "victim," but it was written "an employee of the Crisis Center."

Nina emphasizes how important it has been for her to become "one of us." This has helped her to trust the NGO employees.

> N: The people who met me initially looked very trustworthy. They behaved in such a way that I was not a victim, but an equal person, like we had known each other 100 years. When I arrived at the Crisis Center, the accountant came, and we started talking. I was telling them [the accountant and others] about the beauty of Israel. Sea […]. I was telling them what an interesting country it was. Everyone was listening to me.
> I: Do you maintain your connection to the center?
> N: Yes, sometimes there are some activities or some interesting conferences, trainings. Also, there is material help provided by the center. After last conference, there was some food left, and I was invited to come get some food. Sometimes, there are tickets left; you can go to a theater for free; then they call me to come.
> I: How often are you here?
> N: Lately, not often, because of work. But, in general, I usually call to see how they are.

Nina lives with her younger brother and sister and does not have other relatives in the city. The NGO is an important source of social support for her.

> I: I know that you are also attending some courses. Is this also provided through the center?
> N: Yes, through the center. While in the shelter, I attended a course in English for one month; this was an intensive training. I also studied to be a PR manager. This course lasted three months. And now, I am attending a six-month course—preparation for university admission. Four days per week. This requires a lot of time, and I cannot go there all the time. I cannot leave my work; I am not allowed to leave sometimes. And I cannot lose my job because I need to support myself.
> I: You work on weekends as well?
> N: I work almost every day. Lately, we have had few salespeople. After the New Year, I worked for 17 days without a break, and then I left for one day. In general, the schedule is quite flexible; I can talk to other people to substitute for me, but in the last months, there have not been enough people […].
> I: How much do you earn?
> N: 300 rubles [about $12] per day, plus a premium at the end of the month. About 10,000 rubles per month [about $350].
> I: What do you plan regarding your future?

> N: I don't even know [laughs]. Actually, I want very much to study at a university. I know that I cannot have a decent job without education. However, I don't know how it is going to work out. I think that this probably will not work out for me because I attended school a long time ago. And I think it's impossible for me to enter a university. If I were go to a private program [it is easier to be admitted in such programs], then I would have to work several years to save money for this education. I want to go study very much, and I feel sad that I did not enter such education before. I don't have a profession now. More accurately, I did not have the opportunity to enter. When I could enter, I did not have financial support; no one was helping me. And now, I work and don't have time.

Nina would very much like to continue her education; however, she had a difficult time combining work and study. Eventually, she could not combine these two activities and stopped attending the university preparation courses.

> I: Tell me about your life in the shelter.
> N: Initially, I thought it was nice there. When I came to the shelter, it was freshly painted. It smelled like a newly renovated apartment—freshness. The place itself was nice, hard-wood floors, big bathroom, big rooms, big kitchen, equipped with everything, new stove. I liked the whole apartment. In a few days, they [the NGO employees] brought a TV. Someone also gave their own tape recorder. In the shelter itself, we did not communicate with anyone. No one could visit us there. It happened very rarely that someone visited us there. I was required to come to the center by 11 am.
> I: You were required… Was there a rule?
> N: Well, yes, I was told, "You have to come tomorrow." At the beginning, a psychologist worked with me. Later, I signed up for courses, and I had to attend two courses. During weekends, I would meet with my friends, walk around the city. I had to be home by 10 pm. There was a phone; they [the NGO employees] called me. I understand that they were responsible for me. There was a contract that stated that they were responsible for me during the month or two while I lived there. So, I agreed to the rules, and followed these rules.

Many anti-trafficking NGOs require that their clients sign contracts while remaining under the care of a shelter. Nina signed such a contract, which specified the rules that she needed to observe.

> N: There were lots of girls who came from Israel and from other countries, and [an NGO employee] would always ask me to talk to them. And it was quite easy to talk with these girls, who had just arrived, who did not know me yet. It was natural; we had gone through the same [experience]. Not everyone can be called a

> victim. One girl offered to me to bring men to the apartment. She suggested to post ads in a newspaper. I don't even know why she accepted this help.
> I: This is why it is hard to call her a victim?
> N: Yes […]. She came; she was looking for a job for herself in the shelter, in [city]. For me […] definitely, she is not a victim. She went there [abroad] herself. Even after I had not lived in the shelter for months, I still came to the shelter. There was one girl, [name]. She is from Germany [she returned from Germany]. And she was afraid to sleep alone at night. And I offered to help […]. Yes, I, myself, offered [to the NGO employees] that I would stay at night with her. I had very nice relations with her; she told me everything. When you come to such a shelter, you think about what you can tell and what you should not tell [to NGO employees]. It is easier for her [the girl who was afraid to sleep alone] to talk to me—we told everything to each other.

Nina claims that she has a special commonality with other trafficking victims – this helps her to better understand them. This also helps the trafficking victims talk to Nina.

> I: Hers was a serious case?
> N: Well […]. It probably looked serious to them [the NGO employees]; I don't know. For me, she behaved normally. Naturally, after all the time she spent abroad, after one year or more of working without weekends […]. [Traffickers] force [sex workers] to work even during menstruation. So, no weekends, nothing. And this is painful […]. And I understand that this is just such the state at the beginning. This long rest is normal. You want to lie down; you want to do nothing. This is relaxation. We were sleeping there [abroad] six to seven hours. Sometimes, we slept four hours. And it's necessary to always be wearing make-up, with hair done, with everything. No traces of tiredness. And maybe she [the victim who was afraid to sleep alone] looked too sleepy to them [the NGO workers], but she was just sleeping, relaxing, from this […]. [The NGO worker] considered this a very serious problem. This was not that serious, as I […]. I am not a psychologist, but anyway [...]. I lived with her while she was there. I maybe spent two weeks there with her.

Nina claims that she understands the trafficking victim better than NGO employees because she has had personal experiences similar to the victim's.

Nina was able to develop a very collaborative relationship with the NGO employees, and, because of this, they included her in the organization's activities. Nina was glad to participate and, at the same time, started talking on some volunteer responsibilities. Nina continues her volunteering relationship with the NGO.

Anna

Anna became an employee of the NGO at which she received reintegration assistance. The NGO has programs of HIV/AIDS prevention, and she was hired as an outreach worker.

> N: Tell me about this job. What kind of people do you work with?
> A: I work as a social worker in a program on harm reduction. This is prevention of HIV/AIDS among risk groups in [city]. The risk groups are drug users and women in the sex business. My group includes women in the sex business, who consume drugs and work on highways.
> N: Where do you meet them?
> A: They come to me at a place of needle exchange. I've worked with them for more than a year. They come themselves. We have very trusting relationships. They know that if they tell me something than no one will know. They started to trust me. Before, they looked at me with caution. When I had just started work, they studied me. Now, they come to me as a friend.
> N: What helped you to establish trusting relationships?
> A: My ears. They need someone to listen to them. This is such a closed group. They communicate most often with their customers. I give them different literature, tell them something new, how to avoid risks. If they have some problems, I tell them where to go.
> N: Did you study to work in this position?
> A: Yes, I went through training.

Anna is proud that the NGO workers have trusted her to perform this work; she is satisfied that she can now support her two children.

> N: How do you see your future?
> A: My children, first of all. My work. I don't want to stop where I am now; I want to go maybe a little bit […]. In general, I like to work with people; I like to give myself away. I would like to be a social worker—this is for me. I like my work a lot. I was lucky; I just got into the right place. Maybe, there will be some professional growth, I don't know. So far, I am satisfied to be a social worker.

Anna develops the identity of a social worker. She would like to receive additional education to become a "professional" social worker, as she recognizes that she needs professional certification in the institutional setting.

Sonia

Sonia has received many services through the IOM and a local NGO. She describes how she has benefited from the reintegration program.

> N: How did you get here?
> Sonia: I contacted the IOM. First, I was in contact with the police and then I contacted the IOM. In the IOM center, they helped me to get rid of this problem [alcoholism]. Also, I have very little education, only nine grades. I wanted to study, and I was directed to this shelter. I was told that there was an opportunity to live here and to get education.
> N: Then you came to [city] […]?
> Sonia: Yes, people here are very good […] psychologists. When I came, I was struggling with depression. I did not have a purpose in life. During the half a year that I have been here, I have reached a lot. A lot. I have finished four vocational training courses already. I studied computer skills. I have finished a secretary preparation course. Huge steps in my life. I understand what I want in this life. Good psychologists are working with us, helping us to understand who we are. This is the most important [thing].
> N: Tell me who you are. How do you see yourself?
> Sonia: I am surviving as a normal person. I just understood this. Only here, I understood that I can and I want to study. I understood that I need goals.
> N: Have you already finished your studies?
> Sonia: I am working with tutors to finish 9th grade, and I have an opportunity to finish all 11 grades in one year. This is possible with the help of the center. Irina Gennadievna tries to help us in every way she can.
> N: You had depression. How did you overcome this?
> Sonia: When I came here, I was alone. Our psychologist, and other women who work here, they paid so much attention to me. They helped me to get rid of many complexes. They helped me to have faith in myself. I have been here for six months already, and I have received so much from them.

Sonia has accomplished many tasks while in the shelter. She wants to continue her studies; however, she is unsure about her housing situation.

> N: Tell me about your life here, in the shelter.
> Sonia: I work. When I come from work, we have work shifts in the shelter. The work shifts consist of cleaning the rooms and cooking. It is not hard to live here. The conditions are very good.
> N: What is your daily schedule?
> Sonia: In the morning I get up, and I go to work. I sell office supplies in a kiosk. I work everyday, but part-time. I start at 8 am, I wake up early, and I go to [city]. A car picks me up. I work until 1 or 2 pm. And then I come back to the shelter,

> clean, cook. Then I have free time; I read a lot. I don't have a favorite genre, I read different books.
> N: Do you have a curfew here?
> Sonia: Yes, we have to come back by 8 pm. I think this is the right policy because you can do everything before 8 pm. If one wants to go out and seek adventures, one can do this during the day. And in the evening […]. I think this is a correct policy. If someone is late, then we call to let the staff know that we will be late.

Sonia internalizes the discipline of the shelter, clearly disapproving of those who "want to go out and seek adventures."

> N: When do you think you will leave the shelter, and what will you do?
> Sonia: To leave it, I don't know […]. Now, there is a possibility […]. But there are problems with housing. If I solve the housing problem, I could leave even today. My plans […]. I want to study; I want to apply to university next year. I want to receive knowledge. I want to be able to stand on my own feet.
> N: Where do you want to apply?
> Sonia: I want to apply to the Department of Foreign Languages. I want to study German. It is difficult, but I want this. I like German very much.
> N: Did you study it before?
> Sonia: No, I studied English in school. But I have encountered the German language in my life, and I know it a little bit.
> N: What was the most difficult part for you in the process of rehabilitation?
> Sonia: It was very difficult to get used to the idea of other people drinking alcohol. When I stopped drinking, the drinking did not stop happening. It is very hard for me to tolerate the smell of alcohol. I have headaches. This was the most difficult when I would meet people who were drinking. I felt such revulsion at first. Now, I am fine with this. Six months have passed since I went through the treatment course. Now, I don't have any such problems. Now, I am the happiest person.
> N: What helped you in the reintegration process?
> Sonia: Interaction has helped me a lot. I had a difficult problem. I was coming to meetings, and I was upset. I was talking about my problem. There were three social workers and a psychologist, and I was telling about my problem to everyone. These four people taught me how to see this problem from different angles. To see it as a solvable problem. This helped a lot. The people were supporting me, giving me advice. They taught me so much. They taught me how to love people, how to love myself. It is great when I have such support from strangers. Now, these people are not strangers because they have done so much for me.

Sonia also develops identification with the shelter and its personnel. She perceives the shelter as a resource place that helped her to believe that her problems are solvable.

Anti-trafficking NGOs and the IOM in Ukraine and Russia experience structural pressure to professionalize and bureaucratize their activities. The anti-trafficking institutions often have to satisfy requirements of donors that supply funding for their programs. The requirements include reporting procedures, standardized forms, professional language, formalized relations with clients (e.g., signed contracts), etc.

At the same time, NGOs' workers practice social motherhood in relations with the trafficking victims. They behave towards the NGOs' clients with motherly care and with motherly discipline. By engaging in these maternalist activities, the female NGOs' professionals seek to gain access to the public sphere.

Overall, the clients of anti-trafficking shelters benefit from reintegration services. They are sometimes able to participate in the NGOs' activities. In the process of reintegration, the trafficking victims develop the dialogical self through engagement with, reproduction, negotiation, and resistance of institutional definitions, norms, and categories.

CONCLUSION

Campaigns against sex trafficking of women from Ukraine and Russia emerge in the context of the countries' incorporation into the global economy. The transnationalization of the sex trade creates transnational sex trafficking chains and increased risks for migrant women. NGOs, international organizations, and governments form transnational anti-trafficking community that seeks to counteract sex trafficking of women from Russia and Ukraine. Anti-trafficking actors operate in transnational social fields; they navigate between multiple legal systems and cultures.

In many respects, anti-trafficking programs help to reduce the risks associated with migration. They disseminate information about safe migration; generate public discussion on human trafficking; lobby anti-trafficking legislation, provide valuable protection to trafficking victims. Local NGOs and international organizations sponsor limited educational and employment opportunities for trafficking victims. However, anti-trafficking institutions also increase social control over migrants and increase certain risks, e.g., risks related to deportation. Risk management of the anti-trafficking campaigns relies on disciplinary power that creates prudent, national, classed, and gendered subjects.

Anti-trafficking campaigns are composed of asymmetrical power relations – NGOs' professionals often demonstrate objectified relations of power ("ruling relations") and maternalistic relations towards their clients. However, some NGOs create possibilities for trafficking victims to participate in the organizations as volunteers and employees. In the process of reintegration, women develop their identities in response to available institutional categories and standards. They actively appropriate, negotiate, and contest the institutional definitions.

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Angel Coalition
www.angelcoalition.org

LaStrada-Ukraine
www.lastrada.org.ua

IOM Russia, www.iomrussia.ru

IOM Russia, Prevention of Human Trafficking Project
http://www.no2slavery.ru/eng/

IOM Ukraine, www.iom.org.ua

The Government of Ukraine
http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en

The Government of Russia
http://www.government.ru/content/

U.S. State Department
http://www.state.gov

APPENDIX A

LIST OF NGOS VISITED IN UKRAINE

City, town	Name	Services provided for trafficking victims	Dates of visits
Kyiv	*LaStrada-Ukraine*	Prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline; program of social reintegration	May-June 2002; April-August 2005; May 21-22, 2006
Zhytomyr	*Women's Informative Consulting Center*	Shelter outside of Zhytomyr; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	July 4-5, 2005; August 22-23, 2005
Odessa	NGO "*Faith. Hope. Love*"	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	July 16-23, 2005
Simferopol	NGO "*Hope and Future*"	Program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	August 9-12, 2005
Sevastopol	*Youth Center for Women's Initiatives*	Program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	August 15-16, 2005
Ternopil	NGO "*The Revival of the Nation*"	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	August 25-27, 2005
Kherson	NGO "*Successful Woman*"	Program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	May 24, 2006
Lutsk	NGO "*Volyn Perspectives*"	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	May 26-27, 2006
Dnipropetrovsk	*Women's Information and Coordination Center*	Program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	May 29, 2006

LIST OF NGOS VISITED IN RUSSIA

City, town	Name	Services provided for trafficking victims	Dates of visits
Moscow	*Angel Coalition*	Transit victims assistance center (TVAC); program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	July 2002; September 2004 - March 2005; May 20-23, 2005; May 20-24, 2006
	Russian Association of Crisis Centers for Women (*RACC*)	Prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	January 25, 2005
	Independent Charitable Center of Assistance for Victims of Sexual Violence "*Syostri*"	Prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline; social and legal assistance to victims of sexual violence	February 18, 2005
Saratov	Regional Public Foundation "*Crisis Center*"	Prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	July 20-22, 2002; January 9-17, 2005
Nizhniy Novgorod	*Regional Children's Foundation*	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	September 17-19, 2004
Kazan	*Public Innovation Fund*	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	September 20-22, 2004;
Petrozavodsk	*Karelian Center of Gender Studies*	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	October 14-15, 2004
Murmansk	*Murmansk Crisis Center for Women "Priyut"*	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	October 10-13, 2004; February 20-24, 2005

St. Petersburg	The Institute of Non-Discriminatory Gender Relations. *Crisis Center for Women*	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	November 30 – December 7, 2004; January 31 – February 6, 2005; June 1-5, 2006
	Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs	December 2, 2004
	NGO "*Stellit*"	Research on sex trade; social assistance to women in the sex trade; sex trafficking prevention program	February 8, 2005
	Legal Aid Society for Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Cases "*Alexandra*"	Legal counseling; prevention programs	February 7, 2005
Rostov-na-Donu	Information Center "*Athena*"	Prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	March 28, 2005
	NGO "*Hope*"	Prevention of sex trafficking	March 29, 2005
Novocherkassk	NGO "*Aksinia*"	Prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	March 30, 2005
Yaroslavl	*Center for Assistance to Family and Children*	Shelter; program of social reintegration; prevention programs; anti-trafficking hotline	April 15-17, 2005

APPENDIX B

LIST OF INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDY

UKRAINE

Name	Anti-trafficking functions
International Organization for Migration (IOM)	Administering programs of social protection of the trafficking victims in Ukraine; administering the IOM Medical Rehabilitation Center in Kyiv; administering repatriation of Ukrainian trafficking victims from abroad; funding programs; lobbying of anti-trafficking legislation; facilitating international cooperation; research and publication
International Labor Organization (ILO)	Lobbying of anti-trafficking legislation; facilitating international cooperation; research and publication
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe	Funding programs; lobbying of anti-trafficking legislation; facilitating international collaboration
The US Department of State	Funding programs, including many activities of IOM-Ukraine; lobbying of national policies; facilitating international cooperation
SIDA, Swedish Agency for Development Cooperation	Funding prevention and protection programs
The British Council (national research and educational foundation in the Great Britain)	Funding research; publishing research materials; prevention of HIV/AIDS
ECPAT International	Funding programs to counteract child trafficking
Winrock International	Funding programs of business training for women and anti-trafficking preventive programs.
Caritas (International Catholic organization)	Funding shelter facility in the west of Ukraine; funding preventive programs

RUSSIA

Name	Anti-trafficking programs
International Organization for Migration (IOM)	Administering repatriation of Russian trafficking victims from abroad; funding programs; lobbying of anti-trafficking legislation; facilitating international cooperation; research and publication
International Labor Organization (ILO)	Lobbying of anti-trafficking legislation; facilitating international cooperation; research and publication
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe	Funding programs; lobbying of anti-trafficking legislation; facilitating international collaboration
UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund	Funding programs against child trafficking
The US Department of State	Lobbying of national legislation; facilitating international cooperation; funding and organizing training for the law enforcement officers (through the US Embassy)
SIDA, Swedish Agency for Development Cooperation	Funding prevention and protection programs
Terre des Hommes (international organization with headquarter in Switzerland)	Funding programs
Kvinnoforum, Sweden	Organizing trainings for the law enforcement; facilitating international cooperation
UNIFEM Trust Fund against Violence against Women	Funding anti-trafficking prevention programs
Lutheran Church, Germany	Funding anti-trafficking prevention programs
Soros Foundation	Funding anti-trafficking prevention programs
Winrock International	Funding programs of business training for women and anti-trafficking preventive programs.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDY

UKRAINE

Institutions	**Level**	**Function**
Verkhovna Rada (Parliament)	National	Legislative
The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	National	Executive
Ministry for Youth and Sport, Family Policy Department	National, with regional departments	Social protection
Ministry of Internal Affairs, Unit on Combating Trafficking in Persons (including in Odesa, the Republic of Crimea, Zhytomyr, and Volyn region)	National, with regional departments	Law Enforcement
The Prosecutor General's Office	National, with regional departments	Prosecution; judicial control over investigations
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	National	Repatriation

RUSSIA

Institutions	**Level**	**Function**
State Duma of the Russian Federation (Parliament)	National	Legislative
Government of the Russian Federation	National	Executive
Ministry of the Interior	National, with regional departments	Law enforcement
General Prosecutor's Office	National, with regional departments	Prosecution
Ministry of Health and Social Development	National, with regional departments	Social protection
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	National	Repatriation
Federal Migration Service	National	Regulation of immigration

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCENARIOS

The project includes two major groups of respondents: representatives of social institutions (the state and non-state actors) and repatriated migrant women. There are two different consent forms for the two types of respondents. I use two basic interview scenarios – for the officials and for the migrants. The format is semi-structured. The order and quantity of the questions varies depending on the respondent – some questions are not relevant for all respondents in a particular group.

Questions for the officials:

I. History of the anti-trafficking campaigns.

- How did your organization/department become engaged in the anti-trafficking programs/campaigns?
- What is your organizational definition of trafficking? (Does it include trafficking into prostitution only? Do you talk about or take action regarding trafficking in people for other purposes, e.g., for agricultural labor, for fishing or construction industry?)
- What was the first campaign/action?
- Who was in charge of the action?
- Who was in charge of the organization then?
- What was the motivation for the first action/campaign?
- Did you participate in the first campaign?

- What other programs were initiated after the first action? What is their nature? Why were they open? Are there programs related to the so called "sending" or "domestic" trafficking?
- Who is in charge of the anti-trafficking campaigns now?
- What is your role/engagement with the anti-trafficking programs?
- Does the organization have any plans to work on the anti-trafficking campaigns in the future? What are the plans?

II. Causes and solutions.

- What are the causes of the recent wave of trafficking in people from Ukraine and from/to Russia?
- Why do you think the issue of sex trafficking became a focus of public attention?
- What does your organization provide as the solution to the social problem?

III. Work with the migrant population.

- Does your organization come in contact with the victims of trafficking?
- If so, what is the nature of the contact?
- What criteria do you use to define someone who is a victim of trafficking?
- How many victims of trafficking were in your organization? What are the countries of destination? Where are the victims from?
- Does your organization provide assistance/services to the victims? What sort of assistance? Who can qualify for the assistance?
- Do you interview the victims in the process of prosecution of traffickers? How does the interviewing process happen?
- Do you personally work with the victims of trafficking?

- How would you characterize your experience of working with the victims of trafficking?

IV. Sex trafficking and prostitution.

- Public figures often discuss the issue of trafficking in the context of public debates on legalization of prostitution. What are the organization's views on legalization of prostitution?
- Have your organization spoke publicly or took any actions regarding legalization of prostitution? What were the occasions?

V. Other.

- What other anti-trafficking organizations (state and non-state) do you know?
- How would you characterize the relations between your organization and other (non)-governmental organizations in the area of anti-trafficking campaigns?
- Does your organization publish any materials about trafficking or anti-trafficking campaigns? Have published in the past? Could I have a copy of them?
- Are you going to organize any anti-trafficking conferences or hold any meetings on the issue? Is it possible to attend them?

Questions for women-migrants:

I. History.

- When did you come to the rehabilitation center first time?
- Why did you go there? (How did you get there?)

II. Deportation.

- Were you repatriated? Deported from abroad?
- What country or countries did you go to? Why did you go there? How did you come back?
- Tell me about the experience of repatriation or deportation.

III. Rehabilitation.

- When you came to the rehabilitation center, where did you live?
- Tell me about your life at the shelter
- What did the rehabilitation include?
- How were the relations with the staff members?

IV. Social environment.

- Tell me about your family.
- Who are the closest people to you?

V. Past, future.

- How do you see your experience of migration? How do you relate to this?
- What do you think about your future?

VI. Demographics

- How old are you?
- Where are you from?

- What citizenship status do you have?