

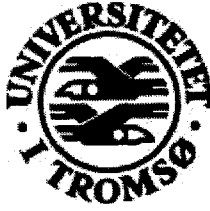
**Centre for Peace Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Tromsø**



**IS GENDER IDENTITY THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF INSECURITY
IN THE CONTEXT OF TRAFFICKING?**

COUNTRY IN FOCUS: UKRAINE

**Maryna Selivanova
Master Degree Program in Peace and Conflict Transformation
2005**



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Abstract

The thesis examines the question of women trafficking arguing that taking gender lenses and offering human security framework will provide an important angle for examining the problem. It takes Ukraine as a case study and suggests that inbuilt in the Ukrainian society gender inequalities which reproduce gender identities is a major factor contributing to women's insecurity on the one hand and making them vulnerable to trafficking on the other hand. It describes that traditional understanding of security in the field of international relations dominated by the realist discourse does not address the problem of trafficking. Women's experiences are not included and trafficking generally is considered to fall within private sphere within public / private dichotomy. Human security framework may be a solution to locate the problem and make women's experiences visible.

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List of Acronyms

UN United Nations

IOM International Organization for Migration

NGO Non-governmental organization

OSCE Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

UNDP United Nations Development Program

CATW Coalition Against Trafficking in Women

GAATW Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women

Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Background Information

Human trafficking is a serious modern day problem, which may be viewed and explored from different perspectives - as organized transnational crime, migration dimension, violation of human rights, high profit trade. It is estimated that annually around 600,000 to 800,000 people – most of them women and children, are trafficked across borders. This data does not cover those who are trafficked within national borders (Facts, US Department of State, 2004).

The topic of women trafficking has received much attention during the last 10 years. Perhaps, such attention sparkled because of appearance of new victims of trafficking – women from the former Soviet Union. For decades the major countries of origin were Asian countries. The collapse of the Soviet Union provided a new market of potential victims (Hughes, 2000: 626).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union Ukrainians faced high rates of unemployment, corruption, severe economic difficulties, inflation. Women appeared particularly hit – “to understand the specific ways in which women are affected, trafficking should be placed in the perspective of gender inequality, traditional female roles, a gendered labour market and the worldwide feminization of poverty and labour migration” (Wijers, 2004: 13).

Opportunities abroad – whether marriage or job - seem for many women to be the only solution to their insecurities.

1.2 Research problem

The research problem to be examined in the thesis is “What makes Ukrainian women particularly vulnerable to the risk of trafficking?” The choice of the problem was predetermined by the fact that trafficking is a very serious problem in Ukraine.

The hypothesis of this thesis is that gender inequality structures by reproducing gender identities within Ukrainian society make Ukrainian women vulnerable to trafficking and at the same time are the main cause of women’s insecurities.

Trafficking from Ukraine occurs due to many preconditions that exist in the Ukrainian society. These preconditions, include, but are not limited to, economical hardship, organized crime and gender inequality in the society.

Gender inequality factor interacts with other insecurity factors in multiple ways thus giving a push to women in their efforts to try to find a better destiny abroad. Gender inequality creates conditions under which women are particularly exposed to trafficking. Human insecurity situation fosters women to find ways going abroad – whether to work, or get married to a foreigner, or other ways, – and finally these women find themselves forced into prostitution with inhuman living conditions and little prospect of escape.

In order to describe this sort of dependence the following research questions are to be approached:

- 1) Discuss the theoretical framework, namely, role of gender inequalities in society and human security concept,
- 2) Find out how data supports the idea of gender inequality in Ukrainian society,
- 3) Discuss the interrelation between trafficking, gender inequality and how human security framework may locate trafficking within its auspices.

In literature on trafficking emphasis on economic hardship, as well as organized crime networks, prevails, they are always pointed out as a condition making women susceptible to trafficking. Gender perspective is also mentioned but in varying contexts. Often attention is paid to the dichotomy forced / voluntary prostitution. Among scholars and international organizations who made a link between trafficking and gender inequalities as a push factor in the countries of origin are Brown (2001), Van Impe (2000), Global Alliance against Traffic in Women (GAATW) (2000), Berman (2003), Wijers and Lap-Chew (1997).

This thesis will focus on gender inequalities as in-built in society structures that fuel trafficking and which at the same time are women's insecurities. Arguing that gender-linked insecurity is the main cause of trafficking, this thesis insists that women's experiences and insecurities should be taken seriously. It suggests that human security concept can not only locate such a phenomenon as trafficking in women but also give an insight, which pays attention to women's insecurities, and examines them and not just proclaims care about trafficked people.

Trafficking is associated with security concerns which can be described as ranging from perceiving victims of trafficking as unwanted migrants and thus as a threat to states

(Berman, 2003) to discussion whether trafficking is a threat to individuals (Clark, 2003). This paper will argue that trafficking is rather a result of insecurity than a threat in itself.

The research on links between women trafficking and human security employing the gender perspective has a merit due to the fact that it will scrutinize causes that make women want to find a job abroad, this, in turn, will help to deepen the understanding of roots of trafficking cycle. Also, it may contribute to the discussion on women trafficking prevention by giving a different perspective from those often used in discussions on trafficking.

1.3 Definitions

The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime provides the following definition of trafficking:

(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 vulnerability¹ or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended 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" (Protocol, 2000: 2).

This research will focus only on trafficking in women for the purposes of the exploitation of prostitution thus narrowing the definition provided by the UN Protocol.

Not only women are trafficked, men and children can also be the victims of trafficking.

Nevertheless, it is noted that "the overwhelming majority of people trafficked into

¹ UN Interpretative note (64): "The travaux préparatoires should indicate that the reference to the abuse of a position of vulnerability is understood to refer to any situation in which the person involved has no real and acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse involved." (Report, 2000: 12).

prostitution are women” (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2000: 2). Also not all trafficked persons are forced into prostitution. Narrowing the topic is essential for the discussion on trafficking from Ukraine. The reason to limit this thesis to women trafficking for the purpose of the exploitation of prostitution is that though human trafficking is not necessarily a gendered issue, though it is often the case, for Ukraine – country of empirical research - this is a problem with strong gendered emphasis resulting in thousands of women entrapped into prostitution.

Generally, the literature referring to trafficking from Ukraine as a rule focuses on trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation and not any other forms of trafficking.²

1.4 Practical Challenges/ Limitations of Research

The practical challenges and at the same time limitations of this research include impossibility of collecting information directly from victims of women trafficking. Due to the stigma attached by Ukrainian society to sexual offences and relatively strict sexual codes for women (particularly in the rural areas) their experiences are perceived as very shaming and not a topic for discussion. They will hardly ever would like to talk about what happened to them. It is easier for them to live with these experiences if nobody around knows about their previous life. Another reason why victims of trafficking keep silence is a fear of revenge from traffickers. For this reason, and also because of the limited fieldwork time frame, the empirical data does not include direct interviews with victims.

Another practical challenge of any research on women trafficking is that there is no exact statistics on women trafficked since human trafficking is illegal activities. All numbers are always approximate, estimated by either governmental or NGO agencies. It is impossible to obtain exact figures since when victims of trafficking go abroad many of them do not know what kind of job and living conditions they will get. Also, when they return home, many of them do not talk about what happened to them.

² Furthermore, M. Wijers and L. Lap-Chew (1997: 15) note that generally information about trafficking in women is given in the context of trafficking for the purposes of prostitution. They make an observation that “prostitution appears to be the most accessible, visible and therefore most researchable field”.

The different meaning attached to the term “trafficking” also brings confusion. At M. Lehti notices, “at its largest, trafficking in women is understood to include all (international) female prostitution, and at most limited, only certain crimes against personal freedom criminalized in national legislation” (Lehti, 2003: 7).

Within the thesis, chapter one gives the ground for the whole research providing definitions, limitations of the research and framing the research question. Chapter two will discuss theoretical framework. Chapter three will review literature on trafficking, describe general trafficking trends, and situation in Ukraine in particular. Chapter four will present empirical data from Ukraine. Chapter five will use the theoretical framework described in the second chapter for analyzing the empirical data.

The emphasis of this thesis is to suggest another possible discourse for trafficking – human security framework, which is different from dominant discourses and deserves attention since it can locate women’s experiences. This thesis aims at revealing women’s experiences and insecurities and showing how understanding of these experiences insecurities may help understand roots of trafficking.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

“Quite simply, and with deadly monotony, women’s systematic oppression – and insecurity – is not taken seriously; to the extent that it is “visible”, either gender hierarchy is justified by “nature is destiny” beliefs, mystified by apparent “equal opportunity” options, and / or its transformation is deferred until “after the revolution” (Petersen, 1992b: 49).

2.1 Locating Theoretical Framework

The aim of this chapter is to suggest a theoretical framework which would best help to understand the gendered insecurities of Ukrainian women seen in the context of trafficking. Thus, this chapter will start with discussion of human security concept and will try to build links between human security concept and the way feminists understand security. It will briefly state the main ideas feminism draws upon. Then it will pay attention to the notion of security in the way it is understood by feminist scholars. It will describe gender bias in the field of international relations, and discuss feminist epistemologies. It will argue for a framework that is able to locate women’s experiences, to make women visible. Security in its traditional understanding does not include women. Accordingly, alternative visions of security are needed in order to see the gendered insecurities of Ukrainian women.

2.3 Human Security Concept

Traditional realist tradition understanding of security lies in exclusively military terms and with regard to states. At the same time, the modern interdependent world faces a number of new threats, like ecological instability, structural violence, and threat of nuclear weapons, global economic system making states increasingly interdependent. Also, not only states are on the international arena – there is a growing number of transnational non-state actors. Security in its usual sense has never been sufficient to protect people, but currently insecurities of people are particularly emphasized.

As Tickner notes, in 1980s, there appeared a trend towards broadening what is meant by security to include environmental and economic aspects. At the same time, the gender aspect still was not paid much attention (1997: 624).

The recently introduced concept of human security gradually gains attention of more and more scholars. The concept itself represents a shift towards individual from a state-centric model, it has people as a referent of security, security becomes linked to the individual level. The questions on scholarly agenda include what covers human security, how wide it is, what are the possible threats to human security. It should be noted that the concept, though debated for some time, still lacks agreed definition and common understanding what it is. Moreover, it cannot become too inclusive (Anonymous, 2002: 658), - in this case it will lose its meaning

In 1994 UNDP Human Development Report defined human security as 'people-centered' and linked it with human development. It identified the following subcategories of security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, political security (UNDP, 1994: 24). The note that individuals understand security depending "on their immediate circumstances" suggests that human security threats will differ in different societies. UNDP report further notes particular vulnerability of women to threats – "in no society are women secure or treated equally to men" (1994: 31). Domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, structural violence – "personal insecurity shadows them from cradle to grave" (UNDP, 1994: 31).

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has no clear definition of human security concept. The term "human security" has not entered agreed OSCE documents (OSCE, 2000: 22) though it is in use. Also terms "human dimension", and "human security" need to be reconciled since they seem to be mixed and sometimes used to define the same. Human dimension of security was described in Helsinki Final Act 1975 – OSCE founding document. This document adopted a comprehensive view on security which embraced politico-military aspect, economic and human aspects – all considered to be important for maintaining peace and stability. The term "human dimension" refers to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (OSCE Handbook, 2002:1). So, from the very start of existence of CSCE (and then OSCE) security concept if not "put people first" but at least included them.

Newman suggests that "human security is not a coherent concept", there is different understanding of it, which represents "different sociological/cultural and geostrategic orientations" (2001:240).

Sadako Ogato and Johan Cels stress that not only protection matters in the definition of human security, but also empowerment: “ Human security means protecting people from severe and pervasive threats, both natural and societal, and empowering individuals and communities to develop the capabilities for making informed choices and acting on their own behalf” (2003: 274).

Canadian government’s view on human security can be described as a safety approach; threats can be of military and non/military character (Heinbecker, 2000).

A number of scholars made explicit connections between human security concept and gender (Anonymous, 2002; Fox, 2004; Fukuda –Parr, 2004; Hoogensen and Rottem, 2004). M.-J. Fox explored the topic of girl soldiers and while singling them out of a broader topic of child soldiers pointed to “additional mistreatment suffered by girl soldiers” (2004: 476).

Another article, discussing human security agenda makes a strong link between human security concept and gender inequalities and suggests that “human security goes beyond the right to live free from violence and coercion and encompass other dimensions of life, such as the right to exercise civil, political and reproductive rights; to have access to food, sanitation, education and health, to be free from discrimination based on sex, race and ethnicity...” (Anonymous, 2002: 658). Disempowered, marginalized groups are socially excluded and lack the feeling of security (Anonymous, 2002: 659) Authors while admitting that the concept cannot embrace every possible threat argue that security cannot be the same for all, human diversity needs different understandings of security (Anonymous, 2002: 663). Such understanding of the concept allows to take domestic violence, trafficking, and generally gender based inequalities/structural violence under its umbrella.

It should be noted, that human (in)security should be seen in a context with a certain society. Human securities/insecurities are not fixed and will differ from society to society and are linked to identity and structural inequalities. As Tickner points with regard to gender inequalities - “searching for universal laws may miss the ways in which gender hierarchies manifest themselves in a variety of ways across time and culture; therefore, theories must be sensitive to history, context, and contingency” (1997: 626). Some countries become major trafficking sources, some do not. Like in case with Ukraine – particularly Ukrainian and particularly women are vulnerable to trafficking. So, there are certain preconditions, which make women vulnerable towards trafficking. Structural

inequalities are central to contribute to the insecurity of individuals. These structural inequalities are in-built in modern states (Tickner, 1997: 625). Structural inequalities shape identities, which in turn reproduce these inequalities.

The discussion on human security cannot be comprehensive without building links between human security and identity and gender identity in particular. Manifold identities, gender identity among them, allow seeing the constructed threats. Since identities should not be seen as essentialist, but different through time and place, threats will also be different in different societies. Identity, thus, will allow flexibility in defining security threats in different societies, and at the same time the concept of human security will not be embracing all possible threats thus discrediting itself at the very start.

Traditional realist understanding of security is gender-biased and does not include women experiences. Moreover, traditional security does not have trafficking among its concerns. Human security concept paying attention to gender inequalities may give opportunity to reexamine the causes of women trafficking, point to insecurities that make women vulnerable to trafficking. On the other hand, human security concept may also benefit from investigating trafficking within its framework.

Feminist understanding of security in broad terms – “diminution of all forms of violence, including physical, structural and ecological” (Tickner, 1997: 624) seems to be very compatible with the suggested by scholars interpretation of the concept of human security. Generally, if we talk about human security – term which is very multidimensional – gender should undoubtedly be placed within its framework.

2.2 Gender

There exist different feminist theories – liberal, radical, postmodern, psychoanalytic, socialist, standpoint, existentialist, Marxist; though, as noted, there is an overlap between different approaches, but what unites them all is that they take gender as a category of analysis by trying to understand causes of women’s oppression and how to eradicate it (Tickner, 1997: 620). As Peterson notes, “feminism is not just “about women”, nor the addition of women to male-stream constructions; it is about transforming ways of being and knowing “(1992a: 20).

The concept of gender is central to feminist theory. Feminists, when talking about gender, use the term “sex” to describe what women and men are biologically and the term “gender” to define a “set of culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity” (Tickner, 1992: 7). Tickner notes that though biology may restrain behavior, it “should not be used “deterministically” or “naturally” to justify practices, institutions, or choices that could be other than they are” (Tickner, 1992: 7). Feminists consider that gender is socially constructed and thus produces “subjective identities through which we see and know the world”, and that “the world is pervasively shaped by gendered meanings” (Peterson, 1992a: 9).

A. J. Tickner, in an attempt to introduce gender to the discipline of international relations, argues that the whole discipline of international relations excludes women and is gender biased. States are masculine in the way they are described by the realist tradition, the construction of masculinity was projected to the behavior of states (Tickner, 1992: 37). States are autonomous, decisive, and strong – qualities prescribed to masculinity. States should not have qualities associated with femininity – weakness, indecisiveness, and relatedness.

Here, the question of epistemologies arises. Feminists wonder: who is the knower? Whose knowledge is it? Is it a partial knowledge? Theorists note that in most disciplines what is human is equated with what is masculine, and men’s experience is assumed to be human experience (Tickner, 1992: 4 – 5; Peterson, 1992a: 6). At the same time, it is obvious that knowledge that is based on experience of only certain groups is inaccurate. And it is women’s experiences that must be included in order to get a more accurate understanding of social relations (Peterson, 1992a: 11).

Traditional epistemologies eliminate women as possible “knowers”, feminists insist that this is a partial knowledge got from the men’s point of view (Harding, 1987a: 3; Harding, 1987b: 181). Thus, science itself is a masculine way of knowing (Peterson, 1992a: 12). Most feminists criticize “positivist” epistemology of international relations theory, the idea that certain facts about the world can be ascertained through scientific investigation. They criticize the idea that the researcher is just an impartial observer (Steans, 1998: 35). Peterson notes that feminists understand objectivity as “impossible in a socially

constructed world”, rationality “is historically specific”, and “methods are necessary contextual, and therefore shaped by culture and particular values” (1992a: 12).

Feminist theories are not simply about “adding women”, they imply challenging and redrawing of boundaries of core concepts (Tickner, 1992: 18, Peterson, 1992a: 17). Since the world is gender structured and feminine and masculine are in interrelation, changing of meaning of one will modify the meaning of another. Peterson argues that since masculinity is exclusion of femininity, then adding what constitutes femininity to masculinity will entail transformation not only of what constitutes feminine but also masculine. She further notices, that the boundaries between hierarchical categories like masculine / feminine, body / mind, subject / object will also be changed (Peterson, 1992a: 18). These hierarchical dichotomies, like public / private, culture / nature, rational / irrational, order / anarchy, mind / body, are important to feminist discussion. They are constructed in a way that the first of each pair is presented as characteristic of masculine, second - of feminine (Peterson, 1992a: 7). These categories are not essential, they are relational and should be seen in historical context (Peterson, 1992a : 18).

The notion of security is central to the discipline of international relations. Security as described by the realist tradition, which dominates in the field of international relations, is understood in military terms. Feminists challenge this understanding of security by asking whom protects this kind of security. Considering security from a gendered perspective would imply revealing and elimination of gender relations of domination and subordination (Tickner, 1992: 23).

While exploring notions of security feminist theorists arrived at several theoretical sectors for discussion, among which the following two are particularly relevant for this thesis. First, feminists question the irrelevance of women to the field of international relations by showing dynamics of gender-based bias in the discipline. It includes investigation of invisibility of women in the field of international relations, recalling women’s experiences, recognition of gender-based exclusion from the field of international relations. And second, feminists question whether women are really secured by the state (Blanchard, 2003: 1290).

When theorizing on security feminists see women's security as a central concern (Tickner, 1997: 624). Particular insecurities of women cannot be comprehended without taking into consideration divisions between public and private spheres (Tickner, 1997: 627). Women were historically ascribed to private sphere, depoliticized. In this way they and their experiences were made unimportant, invisible. While there was a public realm of politics for men, there was a private realm of necessity for women – to keep households and perform reproductive functions. Women became associated with nature, object, nonreason. The rise of industrial capitalism further strengthened this public / private divide: economic activities or man's work had greater importance, while women's work in the household was further devalued. Family and work were separated thus reaffirming the divide between public and private (Peterson, 1992b: 35 – 44). This gendered hierarchical divide contributes to understanding that structural violence falls out of scope of what interests states, of traditionally defined security. As Blanchard notes, “ the international political economy can render women insecure through the gendered division of labour, the discounting of work in the home, the dictates of structural adjustment programs, the ravages of poverty, and the violence of sexual tourism and trafficking in women – all issues that generally do not get the attention of orthodox practitioners of IR” (2003: 1298).

All societies preserve some emotional and psychological characteristics of what it means to be male or female (Steans, 1998:10). They prescribe certain modes of behavior, create attitudes in a society, and are reinforced via these attitudes. Boys and girls are told how to be masculine and feminine respectively. Women are expected to do servicing work: be caretakers, sustain familial communications, work in the service sector (Peterson, 1992a: 11). This work is considered to be of lower importance than work of men, who are autonomous, and work in the public sphere. As Peterson observes, “women are the objects of masculinist social control not only through direct violence..., but also through ideological constructs, such as “women's work” and the cult of motherhood, that justify structural violence – inadequate health care, sexual harassment, and sex-segregated wages, rights, resources” (1992b: 46).

Gender – role stereotyping shapes gender identities and limits choices. Characteristics associated with femininity should not be seen as essentialist, but as having been shaped throughout the history in response to their socialization (Tickner, 1992: 137). Shaped identities and ideologies reproduce and depoliticize structural violence and its insecurities

(Peterson, 1992b: 50). Understanding domination as natural legitimizes and reproduces social hierarchies, oppression is internalized, protests are silenced and exploitation depoliticized (Peterson, 1992a: 15).

The dichotomy protector-protected, where men / states are protectors and women / people are protected, provides further grounds for analysis. Pettman says that “protector / protected relationship ... constructs women as dependent on men and states to defend them against other men and other states” (1996: 99). However, it is noted that it is the protector who poses a threat most often and, in situations of this kind, the protected do not really have a freedom of choice, alternatives in choosing whether to accept protection or not (Tickner, 1997:627; Peterson, 1992b: 50). Though agreement to be protected may bring some sort of security, this conformity will be involved in reproduction of the structures of insecurity (Peterson, 1992b: 51).

As A. M. Blanchard concludes, feminist security theory articulates an alternative vision of security, which, in its turn, leads to revealing gender hierarchies, eradicating patriarchal structural violence towards attainment of common security (2003: 1305). Feminist security theory “combines a rejection of realism, an interrogation of the abstractions of strategic discourse, an awareness of the connection between women’s everyday experience and security, a critique of the state, and the recognition of the effects of structural violence with a strong normative and transformative vision, evidenced by its focus on inequality and emancipation (Blanchard, 2003: 1298).

This alternative vision of security is closer to people than security in its usual state-defined parameters. Blanchard notes, however, that the notion of security was recently expanded to include economic, environmental and social security (2003: 1293). At the same time, inclusion of women’s experiences, redrawing the borders between public / private, exposing patriarchal structures within societies and pointing to structural violence caused by embedded inequalities contributes to understanding of security.

Gender lenses shed light on patriarchy that creates women insecurities. Feminist understanding of security, which questions the extent it includes and protects women, intersects with recently introduced and debated concept of human security.

The discussed above theoretical framework gives springboards for qualitative analysis of data on trafficking on women from Ukraine. These facilitators of interpretation and discussion will be dichotomies private – public, protector – protected. Also feminist theory will allow to examine so-called “natural” roles of women and how they contribute to women’s insecurities. All these, in turn, should lead to the conclusion on insecurities for Ukrainian women. Human security framework will be argued for in the context of trafficking since it can reveal women’s insecurities.

Chapter III: Trafficking

3.1 Review of Literature on Trafficking

The trafficking debate usually starts with definitional problems. The main issue questioned is whether all prostitution is forced and exploitative. It should be noted that the adopted by the UN human trafficking definition was a subject of intense debate over the view on prostitution, whether the notion of “consent” is applicable to prostitution (Doezema, web). According to the abolitionist approach which is defended by the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, prostitution in itself is exploitative and a violation of women’s human rights, that is why the distinction between forced and voluntary sex is irrelevant – “all prostitution exploits women, regardless of women’s consent” (CATW, web, section “about”, also Barry, 1984). As K.L. Petersen notes, “as all prostitution involves sexual exploitation it becomes impossible to talk about the individual right to choose prostitution” (2001: 218).³ Their opponents see prostitution as a legitimate labour and insist on a distinction between forced and voluntary sex. Taking the position that all prostitution is forced results in blurring distinctions between trafficking and prostitution (Petersen, 2001: 219). These different views on what should be meant by trafficking have implications for statistical data on trafficking.

The problem of trafficking went beyond its empirical studies – there are attempts to conceptualize it, give it theoretical grounds. It took several directions in the way scholars and governments view trafficking (Lindstrom, 2004: 48). The chosen approach predefines the trafficking discourse, including suggested policies to combat trafficking. These approaches interrelate with each other, though usually one predominates. The migration approach views trafficking as irregular economic migration. This approach is usually chosen by countries – they wish to reduce the presence of undocumented migrants (GAATW, 2000: 63). The law enforcement (Lindstrom, 2004: 48) or it is also called crime control (Berman, 2003: 41) approach views trafficking as a crime. It involves “creating stricter border controls and implementing legislation to punish those who engage in “trafficking” or assist in any way persons who might seek to immigrate illegally”

³ This thesis will not go into discussion on dichotomy forced/ voluntary prostitution but rather will focus on insecurities in Ukrainian society making women vulnerable to trafficking. The dichotomy forced/ voluntary prostitution gives another aspect for examining patriarchic structures and no doubt has its implications for trafficking discourse.

(Berman, 2003: 41). National governments choose this approach.⁴ Human rights approach views trafficking as a violation of human rights and human rights of trafficked persons are at the center of efforts to combat trafficking. International (GAATW, for example) and local antitrafficking organizations work with this understanding of trafficking. The structural approach focuses on structural roots of trafficking – “global and regional inequities in the distribution of jobs, resources and wealth”(Lindstrom, 2004: 48-49). Recently, more and more scholars point to inefficiency of law enforcement or migration approaches in tackling the problem of trafficking (Lindstrom, 2004; Petersen, 2001, Van Impe, 2000).

What is very observable in the literature on trafficking - authors mention economical hardship as a push factor to find a better destiny abroad (Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997; IOM, 2001) and point to the fact that women are disproportionately hit by poverty (Kligman, Limoncelli, 2005). As it was stated earlier, scholars also established a link between gender inequalities and conditions that push women to find better prospects abroad (Brown (2001), Van Impe (2000) Global Alliance against Traffic in Women (GAATW) (2000), Berman (2003), Wijers and Lap-Chew (1997). Berman (2003) discussed the link between gender, trafficking and the way states approach the problem of trafficking.

Also, many authors mention trafficking in the context of globalization (Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997; IOM, 2002; Bertone, 2000). As Berman puts it, “issues of trafficking are inextricably linked to the changing social, political and economic conditions associated with globalization (2003: 39).

Up until recently studies on trafficking did not pay much attention to the demand side of trafficking, it was states of origin that came to the close scrutiny. The pilot study by B. Anderson and O’Connell Davidson “Trafficking – demand led problem?” gives the light to the issue.

Generally, the literature on human trafficking is very vast since the problem is not new and almost every country is affected by it. The literature may conventionally be divided into reports of different agencies, like International Organization for Migration (IOM), La

⁴ The announced by the Bush administration in July 2004 initiatives to combat trafficking prove this tendency. These initiatives include \$14 million to law enforcement agencies and service providers, and \$4.5 million to nine local organizations that provide shelter (United States Department of Justice, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/July/04_ag_489.htm).

Strada, Human Rights Watch, and other articles and books. Reports usually provide valuable country studies and statistical data, while other literature may focus on one or two issues with regard to trafficking, for instance, debates on prostitution and trafficking.

3.2 Trafficking: General Features

Trafficking in women is not a new phenomenon. In the end of XX century there can be distinguished several waves of trafficking in women in the direction of the European Union and the United States of America. The first wave in 1992 involved Asian women, particularly from the Philippines and Thailand. The second wave in 1993 came from South America, mostly women from the Dominican Republic and Colombia. The third wave constituted from Ghanaian and Nigerian women. Since 1994 Central and Eastern European women (Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Russian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Albanian, Latvian) are the largest share of trafficked women (IOM, 1995 :8).

In Europe trafficking in women and children is dominated by trafficking connected with prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation (Lehti, 2003: 7).

Trafficking in persons may be transnational and internal, e.g. – without crossing borders.

Trafficking should not be confused with people smuggling. Smuggling occurs with people's consent – people agree to be illegally taken to another country. Victims of trafficking do not give consent to be trafficked or even if they consented at the initial stage then it means that it was given under the conditions of coercion, deception or abuse of the vulnerable position of a victim. Smuggled migrants are considered to be knowingly involved in criminal acts, while trafficked persons are considered to be victims. United States Department of State (2004) considers that smuggling can be a part of trafficking – when victims first consents to be illegally taken to another country, but when taken there find out that they need to be engaged in prostitution, for instance.

Trafficking occurs all over the world, but there is a distinction between countries such as being primarily a country of origin, a country of destination or a country of transit of victims. Countries of origin are those where victims are trafficked from, countries of destination are countries where victims are trafficked to, countries of transit – their territory is used to transfer victims to another country. Often countries fall within several categories, for example, Ukraine is both a country of origin and transit.

Trafficking is a demand-supply driven process where a country of supply is a country of source/origin for trafficking, and a country of demand is a country of destination. While discussions are made over supply countries, countries that create demand side are often omitted from the discussion. Not only countries of origin should take steps to fight trafficking, but countries of destination as well bear responsibility for that.

The demand process is gendered – it is women who are trafficked mostly and in most cases they are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Hughes and Denisova note that “the destinations for most trafficked women are countries and cities where there are large sex industry centers and where prostitution is legalized or widely tolerated (2003: 22).

M. Wijers and L. Lap-Chew defined certain factors both in sending and receiving countries that contribute to trafficking. Corruption of authorities, globalization of economy, development strategies, e.g. tourism, laws and policies on migrant labour, laws and policies on prostitution, national or local conflict/military presence, cultural and religious practices, migration laws and policies – these factors are named among those contributing to trafficking in the country of origin. Contributing factors in destination countries are immigration laws and policies, laws and policies on migrant labour, globalization of the economy, labour legislation, laws and policies on prostitution, development strategies, e.g. tourism, poverty and unemployment, corruption of authorities (1997: 51). These factors do not work separately but in interaction with each other.

Trafficked people are easy to manipulate since they are removed from their social networks, they are made dependent on others. Thus, vulnerable persons become even more vulnerable (Van Impe, 2000: 118; Brown, 2001: 22).

3.3 Trafficking in Ukraine

Trafficking in women became a problem in the countries of the former Soviet Union in 90-s. In 1998, the Ukrainian Ministry of Interior estimated that 400,000 Ukrainian women were trafficked during the previous decade (Hughes, Denisova, 2003: 10). Many factors fostered this process, among those most vivid and discussed are open borders, economic hardship, and organized crime networks. Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights point that among factors that influence trafficking in Ukraine are harsh economic conditions, perceived marriage opportunities, domestic violence, romanticized views of work abroad,

coercion from parents and acquaintances (2000: 17). Ukraine is primarily a country of origin of trafficked women though there were cases of trafficking of Moldovan women through Ukraine.⁵

Usual countries of destination for Ukrainians include Turkey, Israel, the Czech Republic, Italy, Greece, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, the Russian Federation, Syria, and the United Arab Emirate, Cyprus (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, 1999: 12). On the way to destination countries women are taken through one or several transit countries which makes it difficult to trace disappeared women (Hughes, Denisova, 2003: 37).

Women from different regions of Ukraine are likely to be trafficked to different destination countries. Women from western Ukraine are trafficked mostly to the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Germany. Women from northern parts of Ukraine are often trafficked to Lithuania, Latvia, Netherlands and Estonia. Women from south of Ukraine are trafficked to Turkey, Greece, Israel, Italy, the United Arab Emirates. Women from eastern parts of Ukraine are taken to the Russian Federation and then to other countries (Hughes, Denisova, 2003: 4).

In January – June 2004 IOM Mission to Ukraine provided assistance to 114 victims trafficked to Turkey, 76 – trafficked to the Russian Federation, 24 – trafficked to Poland, 22 – trafficked to the Czech Republic, 22 – trafficked to Israel.⁶

Within the period 1997 – 2003 there were filed 592 cases on missing persons who went abroad. Most cases were filed on persons whose countries of destination were the following: Turkey – 61 cases, the Czech Republic – 29, Greece – 40, Bulgaria – 32, Germany – 32, Israel – 29, Italy – 56, Macedonia – 38 (La Strada Ukraine, 2003: 20). In 2003 there were 289 criminal cases filed with the Ministry of Interior of Ukraine against traffickers in people, as of June 2004 there were filed 182 criminal cases.⁷

Up until now the majority of Ukrainians experience extreme economic hardship, with the situation particularly harsh in small cities and rural areas. Low wages and little possibility

⁵ Information provided by IOM Mission to Ukraine in August 2004

⁶ Information provided by IOM Mission to Ukraine in August 2004

⁷ Information provided by IOM Mission to Ukraine in August 2004

to find a job make it very difficult for Ukrainian families to make both ends meet. According to the UNDP Human Development Report for 2003, in Ukraine 45.7% of population live below 2 US dollars a day. The level of unemployment in Ukraine as for 2002 according to the State Committee of Statistics was 10.1 % (UNDP, 2003: 33). It should be noted though, that real unemployment rates are higher. Many families, particularly in the countryside, make their living only owing to garden plots.

At the same time, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, borders were open and it became relatively easy to travel abroad. Countries abroad were and are perceived as being a better place, prosperous, where everybody can find a better life.

Sometimes women go abroad knowing that they will work as prostitutes but being unaware about the conditions of such work. Other women are recruited via job agencies offering jobs as waitresses or dancers, acquaintances, the au pair system, marriage agencies, travel agencies (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2000: 20; Hughes, 2004). All the offers of work/marriage/au pair abroad are perceived in the Ukrainian society as a possibility to get a better life and are seen sometimes as the only choice to make a better living. According to the research conducted by the International Organization for Migration in 1998, 80% of Ukrainian women questioned expressed their wish to work abroad (Zapobihannia torhivli liudmy, 2001: 19). This statistics may be interpreted in another way - all these 80% of women are potential victims of traffickers and might be recruited by so-called “employment agencies” offering jobs as dancers, hostesses, etc., abroad or by dishonest marriage agencies, au pair agencies, acquaintances.

Women appeared to be disproportionately affected by the economic transition. The economic decline, restructuring led to poverty, high levels of unemployment and “unregulated market for informal labour” (Human Rights Watch, 2003: 7). Zhurzhenko notices that the main difficulties transition economy gives are increased burden on the family and most of all on women – “the destruction of the social welfare system, the increased cost of social services, the deterioration in the quality of medical care and the commercialization of education force women to accept the burden of additional social responsibilities which earlier had been managed by the state” (Zhurzhenko, 2001: 37). Rudd points out that young women have minimal financial resources to support themselves

and their families. This lack of financial resources influences them strongly in taking a decision to go abroad (2002: 2).

Though in comparison to the times of the Soviet Union it became easier to travel abroad, Ukrainian nationals need visas to go to western countries. Procedures for obtaining visas are not easy – Ukrainians often need to prove that they have necessary financial means to accomplish the travel, they need to give information on their job and income, prove that they will return to Ukraine after their travel.⁸ Highly restrictive rules regulating migration force people to appeal to different agencies with doubtful offers. These agencies offer help in obtaining visas, some of them offer jobs abroad. Marriage agencies offering to find a foreign husband also fall within this category, since women view marriage to a foreigner as a way of escape. The restrictive measures applied by embassies are particularly true for women. Women are discriminated on the basis of gender. There is a belief in the Ukrainian society that young unmarried women without children are highly unlikely to get visa to any western country. Women are viewed as potential immigrants. The problem is that these restrictive rules may have a counter effect forcing more people to use services of different firms offering help with getting visas, finding jobs abroad (Van Impe, 2000: 121).

The ways of entrapment into prostitution are very well organized. When women arrive to the country of destination their documents are taken away. If they came to get a promised job, they find it very different from what they were promised. From initial recruitment till arrival to the country of destination women may be resold two or more times (IOM Ukraine's Mission Informational Bulletin, 2004). They are forced to work as prostitutes, kept in brothels and watched by the owner. Uncooperative girls are beaten, threatened that details of their job will be passed to their relatives or threatened by the possibility of revenge to relatives. Girls are often kept on a debt bondage – they are told that they need to pay back all expenses occurred with their travel, visas, their purchase of the owner (Hughes, 2000: 635-636). Additionally they are charged for accommodation, different penalties are imposed. Sometimes they are forced to take alcohol or drugs to become more “cooperative”. Trafficked women do not have access to health care assistance. Also

⁸ Often Ukrainian citizens cannot obtain visas if the purpose of their travel is not one of the following 1) either travel on a business trip, in this case they need to present documents proving this, 2) or are invited to the country of intended travel – in this case they need to present invitation letter, 3) or travel with organized tourist trip – in this case tourist agency will be responsible for obtaining visas.

victims of trafficking become vulnerable to prosecution and deportation for breaking immigration laws or for prostitution.

Ukrainian society as a highly patriarchic one often sees trafficked women as solely responsible for being trafficked. During the research conducted by Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights several officials in Ukraine expressed their concern about “deterioration of gene pool” resulting from prostitution and trafficking. Furthermore, it was repeatedly said that “it was women who needed education and “psychological correction” and that this was the most effective way to address trafficking” (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2000: 13).

As identified by IOM Mission to Ukraine, the average victim from Ukraine is typically between the ages 22 and 27. Victims represent all strata of Ukrainian society and have various educational level (IOM Ukraine’s Mission informational bulletin, 2004: 2).

The United States Department of State trafficking in Persons Report of 2004 observes an increase of trafficking in children, particularly orphans (2004: 184).

This chapter gave an overview of literature on trafficking, described general ideas about trafficking and provided an outline of the trafficking problem in Ukraine. It in particular underlined the extent of the problem in Ukraine and while stressing how much women are hit by the economic transition linked economic hardship experienced by women with their desire to find a better destiny abroad.

Chapter IV: Trafficking Case Studies - Ukraine

4.1 Data Collection

The empirical question of this master thesis is to find out the data, which proves gender inequality situation in Ukrainian society. Another question to be answered is whether there can be any link established between the data and women trafficking and between the data and women's insecurities.

In order to support theoretical discussion and for the purpose of collecting such data there were identified the following possible sources of information:

- 1) Newspaper advertisements offering jobs abroad. There were chosen two most popular newspapers offering jobs abroad.⁹ Newspaper *Proponuu Robotu* is a Kiev-based newspaper, while *Aviso* is an all-Ukrainian newspaper. The primary interest when examining suspicious job offers was to see general patterns of this kind of advertisements.
- 2) Web sites of Internet based marriage agencies. Internet based marriage agencies were preferred to usual marriage agencies since they are more visible and it was easier to get information. Internet based marriage agencies were found via the search engine Google. This source was chosen because it could give additional information on how the roles of women are perceived in the society. Furthermore, this source of information is linked to the problem of trafficking. When examining these web sites the question to be answered was "How do these websites portray Ukrainian women?" Answer to this question supposedly could lead to the understanding how the image of Ukrainian women is constructed. Both job advertisements and marriage agencies are interesting to examine from the point of view that they are usually the first step women take on the way to be trafficked.
- 3) Interviews with employees of different anti-trafficking agencies that were held during August – September 2004. Informants were selected on the basis of their affiliation with antitrafficking NGOs. There were sent e-mails (or antitrafficking organizations were contacted via phone) with a description of my project and a

⁹ In Ukraine the most popular job newspapers are *Proponuu Robotu* (Offering job), web site <http://www.pro-robotu.com.ua> (in Russian) and *Aviso*, web site <http://www.aviso.com.ua> (in Russian)

request for an interview. Interviews were conducted with employees of the following anti/trafficking organizations operating in Ukraine: La Strada (Ukrainian branch), OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine, IOM Mission to Ukraine. Employees have different rank posts in their organizations. Interviews held were semi structured with open questions allowing for flexibility during discussions and detailing of information if needed. The interviews consisted of three phases: the introductory phase – I explained who I am, what is the purpose of this meeting, gave brief information on my project, the second phase - interview itself and the concluding phase where informants were asked to contribute what they considered was left uncovered and also whether they had any questions or concerns.

- 4) Stories of victims¹⁰ were chosen from the materials provided by antitrafficking organizations working in Ukraine.
- 5) Collection of statistical material on gender inequality in different spheres of Ukrainian society. Statistical data is likely to be the strongest argument to support the assumption of gender inequalities in the Ukrainian society.

Such a wide selection of sources of information gives a more full and many-sided picture of the problem: stories of victims will present women's experiences and insecurities, job advertisements should allow to see how women are targeted, Internet based marriage agencies should give an information on women's images, interviews with employees of antitrafficking organizations will provide their insight on the problem, statistical data will serve to support the argument.

All in total, interviews, statistical data and content analysis of stories of victims, job advertisements, and marriage websites should help to reveal the general patterns, discover significant trends. In this regard all the selected sources of information supplement each other.

4.2 Stories of Victims

Stories of victims recorded by anti-trafficking NGOs reflect not only narratives themselves but also what victims were inquired about. In other words, these stories do not give a full

¹⁰ In this regard direct interviews with victims of trafficking would have given much more information, but, as it was mentioned above there was no possibility to have interviews with victims of trafficking

picture since they show only those sides which victims were asked about. In this way victims' stories do not give much information which could contribute to building a link between gender inequality and women trafficking. Generally these stories are focused on how women appeared in hands of traffickers, conditions of their life abroad, inhuman treatment, or how they were rescued. Women mention economic hardship, but there is no sufficient information on their status in the society.

Here are abstracts from some of these stories, selected only those which may give some insight on women's situation in Ukraine before they were trafficked.

1. *"I went abroad due to **serious financial problems**. After graduating from the **institute I could not find a job**. One girl – a friend of mine – told me that she could assist me in finding a job. A little bit later a man called and proposed to work in Greece as a waitress".¹¹*

2. *"Christina's family encountered **serious financial troubles** when her husband was fired due to a personnel cut. Initially, she tried to earn money by occasional jobs in the city, but **she failed even to make ends meet**. Once, when she was invited by a friend of hers to drink coffee, Vlada – a common friend of theirs – proposed that Christina work as a bar dancer in Turkey".¹²*

3. *"I went abroad **to be able provide my son with most necessary things**. I understood that I couldn't do more than I can, but **I strongly wanted to break away from poverty**. So it was an effort, a desperate effort".¹³*

4. *"Svitlana and Oksana were friends. **Svitlana's mother was ill and Svitlana did not have enough money to pay for medicines**. Besides, she could not pay for the flat. Oksana got divorced with her husband and was living with a small child. Both Svetlana and Oksana were looking for additional sourced of income. One guy whom Svetlana knew suggested to take them to Belgium and arrange a job of a housekeeper for both of them" (La Strada Ukraine, web)*

¹¹ Information provided by IOM Mission to Ukraine in August 2004

¹² Information provided by IOM Mission to Ukraine in August 2004

¹³ Information provided by IOM Mission to Ukraine in August 2004

The value of these stories is in the fact that they highlight economic insecurities. Also the third story clearly shows that a woman was ready to sacrifice herself in order to get her family doing better. It should be stressed that financial difficulties hit women much more than men, and economic insecurity does not come for women by itself – women’s marginalization in the society contributes a lot to further deterioration of women’s situation. Fukuda – Parr points: “Such events worsen women’s already inadequate access to health care, schooling and job training. Women’s burden of unpaid work increases as families try to save on paying for health care and other services” (2004: 39).

4.3 Job Advertisements

Job advertisements and mail – order bride agencies are most easy noticeable examples in terms of women recruitment. Examination of advertisements allows to see whom they target. Internet-based marriage agencies give another perspective – they show the way women are portrayed.

Newspaper advertisements offering jobs abroad appeared soon after borders were open. Some of these advertisements targeted particularly women. Women were suggested work abroad as nannies, dancers, artists, and hostesses. These advertisements do not require any particular skills or qualifications and at the same time promise high salaries. The only requirement is usually to be pretty and young. Quite often these advertisements also suggest to pay expenditures occurred with traveling and to provide a room. Currently there is a tendency of decrease in the number of advertisements of this kind, but still it is possible to find at least one suspicious advertisement in the major job offering newspapers.

Here are some examples of such advertisements¹⁴:

- “*Artistic agency Alfa-Production offers job in Switzerland cabaret as erotic show dancers, singers, circus artists. Also women dancing groups are invited*” (Aviso-Kyiv #2 (752), 12.01.2001).
- “*Contract job for pretty girls in Japan as dancers*” (Aviso-Kyiv # 7(855), 29.01.2002).

¹⁴ Translation done by the author

Strikingly, in *Proponuu Robotu* there is also a number of suspicious advertisements which do not say exactly where the job geographically will be. Neither they say anything about the place of job (pub or club). Besides, they are in a way more specific about the kind of job than those advertisements on jobs abroad. Potentially such jobs may be advertised by trafficking networks. The reason for why they are unspecific about the geographical location and place of job may be that La Strada Ukraine in every issue of *Proponuu Robotu* places quite a big advertisement on the dangers of being trafficked and deliberately connects it with jobs abroad.

Here are some of such advertisements¹⁵:

- *“Girls of model appearance needed. Both who have dancing skills and who do not, aged 18 – 30. High paid job, accommodation will be provided” (Proponuu Robotu #6, 2005).*
- *“Girls aged 18 – 26 needed. Slim, with pleasant appearance. Without prejudices” (Proponuu Robotu #6, 2005).*
- *“Job for girls with nice appearance. Salary \$2000 – 3000¹⁶. Possibility of providing accommodation” (Proponuu Robotu #6, 2005).*

Research done in 1999 says that at that time each of the issues of newspapers that advertised jobs abroad contained 5 to 20 suspicious offers to young and pretty women (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, 1999: 10).

Not necessarily all job offers will result in trafficking, but it should be noticed that they look very suspicious, the pictures that accompany these advertisements are very sexualized.

These kinds of jobs and their requirements drastically differ from the overall labour market situation in Ukraine.¹⁷ While women are generally discriminated at the labour market these jobs are very easy to get, no experience is needed. This kind of situation is very dangerous: without other alternatives, or alternatives with low paid jobs there is a temptation to try the job that has so few requirements and offers a high salary. Another insecurity here – images of abroad are romanticized. As it was noticed above western

¹⁵ Translation done by the author

¹⁶ It is 10 times more than the average salary in Ukraine

¹⁷ Labour market situation in Ukraine will be discussed at Statistical Data section

countries are perceived as a better place. This creates further incentives to get interested in these jobs.

4.4 Internet Based Marriage Agencies

Another way to get women into trafficking is to recruit them via marriage agencies.

Hughes points out that NGOs in the countries of origin and destination reported cases of women being trafficked via marriage agencies (2004: 61).

It is necessary to pay attention to Internet based marriage agencies since they give the important information on images of women who want to find a foreign husband. Unlike job advertisements which target women and express requirements toward appearance and age Internet based agencies portray women in a way as if they sell them. Photos of women are very sexualized.

Internet based marriage agencies usually offer brides from poor countries. Particularly interesting in this regard is how the image of Ukrainian¹⁸ girls is constructed. They are portrayed as feminine, “of model quality”¹⁹, “traditional and family oriented... , knows that it is her duty to stay at home, take care of the kids, cook the meals and keep the house clean. She does not even imagine that these things can be otherwise”²⁰, “would never prefer her career over her family”²¹.

Western women are labeled as “anxious for success and reach after independence forgetting basic assignment of being firstly careful mother and loving wife”²².

All these descriptions create insecurities for women because they are constructed in such a way that Ukrainian women are viewed as a commodity that can be purchased. Most likely, the women advertised via these agencies are at a higher risk of becoming a victim of violence (Hughes, 2004: 50).

¹⁸ It is image not only of Ukrainian women, but rather East European women. These marriage agencies use the same descriptions for Russian, Belorussian women

¹⁹ <http://www.2darlings-agency.com/>, retrieved on 14.04.2005

²⁰ <http://www.ukrainian-woman.com/start/women.shtml>, retrieved on 14.04.2005

²¹ <http://www.lugan-girl.com/Articles/Ukrainian%20woman.html> , retrieved on 14.04.2005

²² <http://www.edem-club.net/women.htm>, retrieved on 14.04.2005

These descriptions, though sometimes exaggerated, underline the low status of women in the Ukrainian society. Another problem is that abroad they create stereotypes of Ukrainian women.

4.5 Response by Anti -Trafficking Organizations

Interviews with representatives of antitrafficking organizations operating in Ukraine were considered important within the course of data collection since they could give their understanding of the problem. Their approaches towards prevention of trafficking are particularly essential, since these approaches show how antitrafficking organizations view causes of trafficking and this determines the types of projects they carry out.

There are several organizations operating in Ukraine and having anti-trafficking activities at their core agenda. They include:

- La Strada-Ukraine
- International Organization for Migration, country mission
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine office)

These three organizations are the major operating within this field in Ukraine. They conduct a number of anti-trafficking projects by themselves and support antitrafficking NGOs working in different regions of Ukraine.

During interviews conducted in August - September 2004 representatives of all three organizations underlined the importance of preventive anti-trafficking work.

La Strada-Ukraine conducts the following preventive activities:

- distributes at schools, universities, embassies leaflets with information on women trafficking, on what you may expect from dubious job offers, advice for those who go abroad, what to do if you are trafficked
- conducts lectures at schools, universities
- appears on TV and radio with informational programs about trafficking
- Also in cooperation with OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine office and IOM Mission to Ukraine maintains a national hotline as well as a network of regional hotlines where it is possible to get consultation on trips abroad with the purpose of studies, work, marriage. According to the statistical data as of 2003 there were

4851 calls to the national hotline out of which 75% were seeking consultations regarding the work abroad, 4% - on studying abroad, 2 % - consultations on marrying a foreigner, 2% - inquiries on missing persons, 1% - calls from trafficked persons who are back to Ukraine or their relatives (The International Women's Rights Center "La Strada-Ukraine", 2003: 6). La Strada does not dissuade people from going abroad, but rather gives information on possible dangers.

La Strada-Ukraine does not conduct any economic empowerment programs, though they recognize economic difficulties as one of the reasons of desire to go abroad.

OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine office besides maintaining mentioned above hotlines also within trafficking prevention activities has developed economic empowerment programs.

International Organization for Migration conducts raising public awareness campaigns, provides employment counseling and gives grants for vocational training.

In 1998 –2004 Winrock International also contributed to fight with trafficking in Ukraine. Its projects among others included creation of centers Women for Women which provided job training, maintaining hotlines, offered business training and loans to promising graduates (Winrock International, web site). The approach of Winrock International was to persuade women not to go abroad and to look for opportunities home.

Representatives of La Strada – Ukraine, IOM country mission and OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine office stressed that economic hardship fosters women to find jobs abroad, and they do not see other alternatives home. This approach finds reflection in a number of economic empowerment programs run by anti-trafficking organizations where women may get a new profession or get to know how to start own business.

Gender inequality was also mentioned as a problem of Ukrainian society, but representatives of these organizations did not make clear links between gender inequality and trafficking.

4.6 Gender – Related Statistical Data

Gender-based discrimination is embedded in all spheres of Ukrainian society. Low status of women, strong opinions (particularly in rural areas) about certain roles for women, beliefs that Ukrainian women are the only responsible for bringing up children,

discrimination in the labour market, political participation discrimination, discrimination against sexuality - these are the realities of Ukrainian society.

The labour market in Ukraine is segregated into man's professions and woman's professions. As pointed out, "The main difference between them is the fact that the labour market where the majority of the employed women have lower status and subsequently lower wages" (UNDP, 2003: 29). It is difficult for women to find jobs – employers consider unpractical to hire young women because they will get children and will need to take a leave, young women with small children are also discriminated – for the reason that they will often need take sick leaves, also employers will find unpractical to hire older women (Human Rights Watch, 2003: 28 – 31). Also it is not easy to keep jobs – women may be fired when they get pregnant, employers do not want to wait till women come back from pregnancy and child care leaves. Human Rights Watch in its report on discrimination against women in the Ukrainian labour force also notes that gender specifications in job advertising (suggesting managerial vacancies that are higher paid to men), age specifications, appearance factor (job announcements may contain descriptions "pretty", "attractive") – all contribute to the discrimination of women in the labour market (Human Rights Watch, 2003; Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2000: 11).

As of 2003 there were 7% of women in managerial positions in the central bodies of executive power (UNDP, 2003: 14). Some other statistics is also quite indicative: women take only lower posts at civil service (UNDP, 2003: 16).

Only 5.3 % of seats in the national Parliament are held by women, ratio of female earned income to male earned income constitutes 0.53. At the same time women constitute 64% of professional and technical workers (UNDP Human Development Report 2004).

Ukrainian society takes approach of traditional family roles, though mostly all women (if there is a possibility) work – this is inherited from the times of Soviet Union, when gender equality was pronounced. At that time women combined family and paid work functions (so-called "working mother contract"), and the state provided the necessary support – benefits for working mothers, childcare and guaranteed their jobs preserved (Zhurzhenko, 2001: 37). Currently the burden of household work lays still on women, but there are no so extensive social protections. Even if the law stipulates some benefits, employers of private

firms tend not to take them into consideration. So, women in Ukraine usually take the double burden: besides having regular job working hours, they also take care of the household and children (Human Rights Watch, 2003: 10). The statistics on rural Ukrainian households shows that men spend 47 minutes per working day on running a household, while women spend 3 hours 47 minutes per working day on running a household (UNDP, 2003: 50).

To be feminine in the Ukrainian society means to take care about the house, children, and husband, become a sort of a slave in a house, and choose certain professions. To be masculine in a Ukrainian society means not to care about the household, because this is woman's job, occasionally participate in raising kids. To be masculine and to be feminine in this way is not questioned in the Ukrainian society, it is considered to be natural to act like this. It would be considered abnormal in some families, for instance, if a woman insisted on sharing responsibilities at home. Women sacrifice their individual interests and rights for the benefit of the family.

In this respect statistics on comparison of girls' and boys' attitudes to female and male roles in the family is indicative: 70% of boys and 21 % of girls agreed that "housekeeping is a woman's responsibility", 55% of boys and 17% of girls agreed that "a career prevents a women from being a good wife and mother", 76% of boys and 32 % of girls agreed that "a man should be the head of the family and in control of family life"(UNDP, 2003: 69).

These constructed roles influence all spheres of society – attitudes are such that it is "naturally" true to act in the described way. Taking into consideration difficult economical conditions and constructed roles in the Ukrainian society, women appear to be double hit: by economical situation and by gender roles established in Ukraine. They suffer as well as men from poor economical conditions, but unlike men they are also under the pressure of established in the society inequalities. Economic hardship worsens gender inequality and puts more burden on women. So one kind of insecurity worsens another. In-built in society inequalities presuppose woman's choices. In case of Ukrainian women some of them might see only one choice – to go abroad either to earn some money or to find a foreign husband.

This chapter presented the data that will help to build the argument in the following chapter. Though the data varies greatly in its type – statistical data, interviews with antitrafficking organizations, job advertisements and depiction of Ukrainian girls by mail – order bride marriage agencies – it has a uniting idea behind it – gender – based discrimination in the Ukrainian society that is a cause of insecurity for women and that is linked to trafficking as a push factor. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter IV: Interpretation of Findings and Discussion

“The social and cultural status of women in Ukraine is on the one hand characterized by formal and legal equality of all citizens regardless of their sex, whereas on the other hand deep gender discrimination in all areas of social and private life – social, economical, political, work field, family, etc - prevails. ...the problem of trafficking in people, especially women, has appeared in Ukraine together with getting of independent status and connected with economical and social problems in the country” (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, 1999: 34).

The presented above data suggests several conclusions:

1. Stories of victims clearly depict economic hardship experienced by them. They show the extreme of financial problems and the readiness of Ukrainian women to try to cope with it by all possible means. As it was noted, economic insecurities are worsened by women’s marginalization in the society. Decision to go to work abroad is not an easy decision for Ukrainian women. Not many people travel abroad, so the majority of Ukrainians have never been abroad. So it should be stressed that these women are ready to leave their families and go to a totally unfamiliar environment.
2. The web sites of mail-order bride agencies advertise girls in such a way that they underline (though exaggerating) the hierarchy in the society - women are described as submissive, and knowing that it is their duty to take responsibility about the house, ready to take traditional family roles. This kind of depiction shows that Ukrainian women are largely associated with private sphere. Particularly interesting is contrasting them to western women. Slavic women depicted as belonging to the private sphere, unlike western women. Slavic women are portrayed to the extreme of femininity, which is devalued, submissive. The construct of the traditional, family oriented, submissive Ukrainian woman does not necessarily correspond to all women in Ukrainian society. Rather it is the construct that imposes regulations, provides basis for beliefs and gives legitimization to continue marginalization of women. At the same time, the statistics suggested above on attitudes of boys and girls to traditional family roles gives grounds to argue that girls feel more uncomfortable with them than boys. There is a significant difference in opinions of

- boys and girls on women's carrier, housekeeping, organizing family life. Clearly, for girls this constructed image of a "right" Ukrainian woman presents insecurity associated with their gender identity.
3. Job advertisements for work abroad as dancers, artists target particularly women. The way they target women is very humiliating. Very doubtful that in the country of destination it will be the kind of job promised since no particular skills are demanded. The insecurity for women is that in the absence of other alternatives they will be tempted to take these kinds of jobs.
 4. Statistical data clearly shows that the Ukrainian society is highly patriarchic. Discrimination based on gender is found in all spheres of Ukrainian society. The job market is particularly the case of gender bias. Employers justify their preferences for employees-men by assumption of "women's physical and intellectual capacities and their family responsibilities". The result of this practice is that women are pushed to low-wage service sector jobs (Human Rights Watch, 2003: 3). This appears to be a situation which affects women badly to a significant extent – on the one hand, women are already marginalized by putting all the burden of running a household on them (in rural areas, it is a triple burden – they need to work on the household plot), on the other hand, they are being excluded from some jobs.

All the described above sources of empirical data help to see the pattern of gender relations and women's insecurities in the Ukrainian society – on the one hand, gender inequality is vivid in the labour market, attitudes, and beliefs and it interrelates with economic hardship worsening it. On the other hand, women's insecurities connected with their gender identity are addressed and played upon by already existing structures – as examined, marriage agencies and those who offer jobs for women while they are discriminated in the labour market with usual jobs.

When discussion on trafficking is made much attention is paid to economic hardship, organized crime groups operating in the country. Gender aspect might not be as vivid as economic hardship but it should be high on the agenda. Most of the literature on trafficking suggest a clear link between economic hardship and a question of choice,

arguing that economic conditions in the homeland leave only one choice for women – leave the country. At the same time economic hardship targets every person in the society, but it appears that women are much more hit than men. The explanation of this fact lies in gender inequalities and marginalization of women. Article 24 of the Ukrainian Constitution guarantees freedom from all forms of discrimination including discrimination based on sex. Clearly, there is a gap between what is written in laws and reality. As data on Ukraine shows, in a transitional society with gendered hierarchies women appeared to be in a much worse position than men. Ukrainian women's low status in the society worsens economic insecurities for them. Tickner notices that women's particular economic insecurities can only be comprehended with relation to patriarchal structures (1997: 627). The "naturalness" of being a caregiver deteriorated situation for women to the extreme – they feel more insecure than ever before, readiness to sacrifice for the family forces them to look for every possible income, including work abroad which is in a totally unfamiliar environment to them.

As Ticker pointed out, "social expectations having to do with gender roles can reinforce economic inequalities between women and men and exacerbate women's insecurities. Such issues can only be explained using gender as a category of analysis; since they take them as given, regional actor models miss the extent to which opportunities and choices are constrained by the social relations in which they are imbedded" (1997: 628).

Gender inequality as a root cause of trafficking in other societies was pointed by scholars. A number of studies confirm that it is not only economic hardship that makes women insecure but gender inequality as well.

The idea of gender inequality as a factor contributing to women trafficking is well expressed by Kristof Van Impe in his studies on Filipino women trafficking. In his studies he points out that human trafficking has to deal with cultural differentiation and - as in the case with Filipino women – a highly patriarchic society (Van Impe, 2000: 125). He notices: "The interaction between economic status (low family income), gender role socialization and the family dynamics ... make Filipino women vulnerable to trafficking" (Van Impe, 2000: 118). He observes that Filipino women are highly socialized to sacrifice themselves to support families (Van Impe, 2000: 118).

L. Brown makes a clear link between gender discrimination and trafficking. In her research on female sexual slavery in Asia she stresses that those who suffer from commercial sex abuse are those who are at the bottom of different hierarchies – “they are female, they are from poor families in poor communities, and they belong to despised racial and ethnic minorities” (Brown, 2001: 3). She sees women as societies’ most vulnerable people (2001: 3), searching escape from poverty (2001: 20), powerless (2001: 22).

L. Brown notices in particular, that there is a symmetry in societies – strict sexual codes and male-dominated societies correspond to systems of sexual slavery and supply of trafficked women to the sex trade (2001: 25).

So, it is possible to notice a correlation between highly patriarchic societies where women feel insecure because of their gender identity and countries of origin of trafficked women. Thus, trafficking is fueled by insecurity caused by gender inequality which reproduced certain gender identity. Gender identities should not be taken as essentialist, they differ in different societies and are reproduced through socialization. As I. Skjelsbek and D. Smith note, ...”Identities are not given by nature. We become who we are through our interactions with our social surroundings” (2001: 51).

Reiterating the discussion on private – public dichotomy, K. L. Petersen by quoting ministerial report from 2000 points out that in Denmark until the end of 1990s trafficking was considered as private rather than societal problem – “Moreover, the Committee must conclude that until recently domestic violence and trade with women have been perceived as private rather than societal problems” (Petersen, 2001 : 224, quoting Ministry of State 2000: ch.5, 12). The view on trafficking as a private rather than societal problem is well supported by the comments made by Ukrainian officials who prescribed “psychological correction” for women (see p. of this thesis)

Extreme hardship, gender discrimination on the labour market, bearing the burden of running a household – all these are everyday insecurities for Ukrainian woman the basis for which constitutes gender inequality. Women are insecure because of their gender identity which is perceived as essentialist with certain roles and patterns of behaviour prescribed to women. As a result, Ukrainian women seek different strategies to increase their security. Considering work abroad, marriage to a foreigner can be regarded among those strategies – options are very limited. Peterson argues, “...women select marriage as a

form of protection in large part because their choices - within systems reproducing structural violence – are severely limited” (1992b: 51). So, the question of choice for women in hierarchical societies is often non-existent. It is also possible to draw parallels in the ways security is pursued by women and by girls who become child soldiers. Fox describes, “...the very human security that the state was unable to supply was instead provided by non-state armed political groups, empowering girls with education, training and weapons” (2004: 477). In all three situations – work abroad, marriage, and child soldiers – girls and women are seeking protection.

The dichotomy women / men, protector / protected questioned by feminist literature provides an important angle for discussion. Women are identified as protected, while men are protectors. However, with regard to trafficking it is men who in most cases pose threats to women, women are sexually abused by men.

At the same time though women are defined as those whom the state and men protect, women themselves do not have the voice “on the conditions and costs of protection” (Pettman, 1996: 99; Tickner, 1992: 28). As noted, “it is a small step from protected to possession to control” (Pettman, 1996: 99). Women when they seek job abroad, marriage to a foreigner are trying to find new protectors that may appear even more threatening than previous ones. The question of protection is a question of trade – offs (Peterson, 1992b: 53). Accepting job offer abroad as a dancer women lose the possibility to see families, risk when agree to doubtful offers and instead try to get economical security. Expressing a desire to marry a foreigner women trade off their independence, they are ready to be submissive, family oriented.

The dichotomy states – people as protector – protected is also flawed: states take approach of law enforcement or crime control towards trafficking which does not contribute much to the protection of victims of trafficking, rather it just worsens the situation for them, since trafficking activities go much underground. For instance, tightening border control may bring controversial results – those looking for jobs abroad use different doubtful agencies that help them to get out of countries of their origin. In this regard Peterson notes that when state intervenes in problems like domestic violence “it typically does so from within a patriarchic ideology that is at best “protects” women while simultaneously reproducing masculinist givens that ensure women’s need for protection” (1992b: 46).

It is interesting to note, that judging from the approaches states choose to fight trafficking (migration and law enforcement, though law enforcement prevails), states do perceive trafficking as a problem which needs to be treated by tightened border control and improved legislation that will prescribe victims of trafficking to go back to their home countries than by defending their human rights and exposing the structures that cause trafficking. Anderson and Davidson suggest that governments may take the issue of trafficking to pursue their own agendas with regard to immigration (2002: 7). Put it in other words, while governments proclaim that they concern about trafficked women, they continue to take trafficking to the extent it touches the interests of states.

Trafficking falls out of scope of traditionally defined security with its main emphasis on states. The field of international relations with realist tradition predominant excludes trafficking from its areas of concern or pays attention to it to the extent it concerns states. Though, it is very noticeable, it may become a concern for countries of destination or transit, but not for countries of origin.

Scholars point that the fact that trafficking discourse often lies within organized crime and migration frameworks means that trafficking is viewed as a threat to state's security and governments link anti-trafficking activities with security concerns (Berman, 2003). This angle of examining the problem within traditional realist perspective leads to certain policy implications which focus on defending interests of states, not people.

The needs of trafficked women become ignored within this framework. It is pointed out that states may choose border control and punitive action as primary measures to fight trafficking. At the same time restrictive measures cannot stop trafficking by themselves (Van Impe, 2000: 118).

There are worried voices in the scholarly literature whether criminalization by itself can solve trafficking problem and how this measure interacts with the concerns of trafficked women. (Van Impe, 2000: 115, Petersen, 2001: 226, Berman, 2003). Lindstrom in the context of EU strategies noticed that, "increased allocations for law enforcement have no effect on the push factors of social disintegration and poverty that lead to a steady supply of women" (2004: 51).

It is obvious that chosen by states approaches to trafficking do not help to see women's experiences, thus continuing to silence them. Women stay invisible for states. Taking

predominantly law-enforcement approach states fail to address the conditions that reproduce trafficking cycle, they fail to see hierarchical inequalities. “Unnoticed” by states gender hierarchies continue to reproduce themselves creating insecurities for women, women continue to be involved as a commodity in the market of trafficking. As Peterson puts it, legitimation (developed policies can be viewed as one of kinds) is a key to maintaining state power and “becomes pivotal to our understanding of that power and the in/securities it constitutes...forgetting of human costs and possible alternatives is ideological” (Peterson, 1992b: 38)

Sucurity does not have a meaning without an “other” that helps detail the conditions of insecurity (Lipschutz, 1995: 9). Women have traditionally been constructed as “other”. Taking the case of trafficked women, they are “other” to states-destinations. Also in their home countries, where they are marginalized and are at the bottom of gender hierarchies they are also “other”. So whom is this kind of security for?

It should be pointed out though, that international organizations acknowledge gender inequalities as a cause of trafficking (international organizations usually take human rights approach to trafficking) (IOM, 2003: 3). However, as examined above, the projects “in the field” take this perspective only to the extent of organizing economic empowerment programs targeted at increasing women’s competitiveness in the job market. These economic empowerment programs arguably are not meant to tackle women marginalization in the society.

The framework for approaching the problem of trafficking needs revision if there is a will to tackle it. There should be a shift from migration and law enforcement approaches to human rights and structural approaches with strong emphasis on women’s experiences. Law enforcement and migration approaches may be complementary but definitely not major ones. Though antitrafficking organizations take human rights approach they are not the actors to change policies at the very root. It is the states that have to notice women, change the trafficking discourse and policies.

Recently introduced and debated concept of human security, which, as discussed, should take gender under its auspices, can locate trafficking along with domestic violence, girl soldiers – all the issues which have in their foundation gender inequalities.

Trafficking falls naturally well within human security thinking. Some scholars name human trafficking a human security threat in itself - this statement may be questioned (Clark, 2003; Fukuda-Parr, 2004). On the one hand, human security concept cannot embrace every possible negative process – the definition will be too broad and vague. On the other hand, it is possible to see that human trafficking is rather a result of insecurity, which makes people vulnerable, than insecurity in itself.

M. A Clark in her article tried to make connections between human security and women trafficking. She describes conditions of vulnerability, among which she lists economic vulnerability, entrenchment of organized crime, social and cultural vulnerability. It should be noted that economical and social and cultural vulnerability are particularly relevant to Ukrainian women. In the case of Ukrainian society by social and cultural vulnerability are meant patriarchic gender hierarchies. They are those insecurities that fuel trafficking.

Since women are invisible in a traditional approach to security, it was suggested that human security concept could locate women and their experiences and insecurities. Unlike taken by states migration and mostly law enforcement approaches to trafficking, human security concept corresponds to human rights approach and structural approach to trafficking.

Human security perspective while embracing gendered insecurities under its umbrella may suggest informed understanding of women trafficking which is substantially different from predominant discourses offered by governments; the difference is in taking women's experiences into agenda. Taking women's experiences seriously will allow reexamining the root causes of trafficking.

This chapter built the argument taking empirical data as its starting point. It interpreted findings situating them within the theoretical framework chosen for this thesis – gender and human security. It argued that gender based hierarchical structures while interacting with other sources of insecurity become the main cause of insecurity for Ukrainian women and the major trafficking push factor. Marginalization and exclusion of women left them without any better choice. Also it was discussed that trafficking is a result of women's insecurities rather than an insecurity itself.

It also argued that in order to tackle the problem women should be made visible and their experiences should count. Taken by states traditional approaches to trafficking – law

enforcement and migration – represent the way states care about own security rather than security of women. Human security concept which is linked to gender perspectives suggests another vision of the problem since it includes women and allows to reexamine the root causes of trafficking.

Conclusions

This thesis examined the problem of women trafficking by asking the question about primary insecurities that make Ukrainian women vulnerable to trafficking.

It started examination of the problem from looking at theoretical frameworks – gender and human security – and discussing how they interrelate with each other. It is important to note that when feminists talk about security they mean security of women, first of all. Human security concept also puts security of an individual at its core. It was stressed that if there is a discussion about human security gender perspective also should be discussed since it falls within the scope of the concept of human security.

It proceeded with providing a literature review, general description of trafficking and peculiarities of trafficking from Ukraine. Ukraine is a country hit by poverty, and women are disproportionately affected by the economic transition. Many women see solution in finding a job abroad or finding a foreign husband.

The empirical part of the thesis is based on interviews with representatives of antitrafficking organizations, stories of victims, job advertisements offering jobs abroad, Internet based marriage agencies' descriptions of Ukrainian women, and gender-related statistical data. Stories of victims underline extreme economic hardship, job advertisements and portrayals of women by Internet based marriage agencies are humiliating, statistical data clearly shows hierarchical gender inequalities, antitrafficking organizations working in Ukraine do not take gender insecurities onto their agenda. These different sources complementing each other allowed to get a full picture of gendered insecurities of Ukrainian women.

Further discussion was based on empirical data and within the gender-human security theoretical framework. It argued that gender identity reproduced by the in-built in the Ukrainian society gender inequalities is women's insecurity and the main cause fueling trafficking. It also discussed that taken by governments approaches to trafficking make women invisible and can not be regarded as efficient since they do not address the root causes. It suggested that human security framework can include women and locate women's experiences and insecurities.

The examination of women trafficking problem led to the conclusion that gender identity related insecurities are the root causes of trafficking.

Asking a question whether women feel secure in Ukraine will lead to a manifold answer “no” which for somebody will mean lack of prospects, for another economic insecurity or family violence, but the underlying source of insecurity will always be gender inequality.

Due to its international and deeply rooted character trafficking is very difficult to fight, but the recognition of gendered insecurities as a root cause of trafficking is likely to bring scholars and governments one step further to its eradication. Moreover, understanding of gendered insecurities as a root cause of trafficking should bring changes to policies of those who have antitrafficking activities on their agenda – states, international organizations, local NGOs. And these policies may be based on human security approach. Establishing the links between women trafficking and human security might fuel the debate over ways of preventing/combating women trafficking and draw more attention towards non-economic causes of trafficking. Though the country of empirical studies is Ukraine, this approach for studying the problem of women trafficking might prove well applicable for other countries.

Of course, this thesis suggests only one direction for research on women trafficking. The dichotomy forced / voluntary prostitution or the international political economy of sex may be one of the directions of further research within the framework human security - gender.

A world that is more secure for all cannot be achieved until gender hierarchies persist and are reproduced in the societies.

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Appendix

Questions used as a plan at interviews with representatives of antitrafficking organizations

1. What are the projects your organization is implementing now?
2. Which of the projects have preventative aim?
3. What do you see as root causes of trafficking?
4. How are the projects the organization carries on contribute to fight the root causes of trafficking?
5. How would you describe the interrelation of different causes of trafficking?
6. Do see any gender inequalities in Ukrainian society?
7. Is gender inequality connected to the problem of trafficking? If yes, how?