

Prostitution – a social problem?

The views on prostitution's nature, causes and effects in the Baltic states and north-western Russia

Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre
Equality Department of Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs
Nordic Council of Ministers

PROSTITUTION – A SOCIAL PROBLEM?

**The views on prostitution's nature, causes and effects in
the Baltic states and north-western Russia**

Compiled by Marion Pajumets

Tallinn 2004

Compiled by: Marion Pajumets
Translated by: Ilvi Jõe-Cannon
Edited by: Multilingua
Design and layout: Piret Räni

Researchers:

Marion Pajumets (Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre)

Sandra Sebre (Latvian University, Department of Psychology)

Natalia Khodyreva (NGO Institute of Non-Discriminative Gender Interrelations Crisis Center for Women)

Raimonda Mikalajunaite (NGO Social Analysis Group; SPINTER Research Ltd)

Funded by:

Nordic Council of Ministers

Supported by:

Equality Department of Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs

Printed by: Multiprint



FOREWORD

“Prostitution – a social problem? The views on prostitution’s nature, causes and effects in the Baltic states and north-western Russia” was a project coordinated by the Estonian Women’s Studies and Resource Centre and the Equality Department of Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs, and funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

I would like to thank my partners for their inspirational collaboration in this project: Sandra Sebre and Ieva Bite from the Latvian crisis centre, *Skalbes*, Raimonda Mikalajunaite and Raminta Razgute from the public opinion and market studies company, *Spinter Tyrimai Ltd.*, and Natalia Khodyreva from the Non-Discriminative Gender Interrelations Crisis Center for Women in the Russian Federation.

Ilvi Jõe-Cannon at the Estonian Women’s Studies and Resource Centre has given me good advice and English translations on this and several other projects. Likewise, I want to express my appreciation to Kristiina Luht for the years we have worked together in the Nordic-Baltic campaign against trafficking in women, and Katri Eespere for attending to the administrative aspects of the project.

Sociologist Mikko Lagerspetz, head of the Estonian Institute of Humanities Social Theory Faculty, and Ülle-Marika Papp, head of the Equality Department of Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs, gave generous advice during the course of the study, and sociologist Malle Järve made valuable suggestions for the compilation of the report.

The opinion-makers in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and north-western Russia who agreed to give interviews played an indispensable role in the study.

I am grateful to everybody involved in this project.

Marion Pajumets

Tallinn, 8 December 2003.

Introduction.....	8
1 Theoretical background to the study.....	10
1.1 Claims-making theory in the analysis of social problems.....	10
1.1.1 Rhetorical idioms.....	11
1.1.2 Counter-rhetorical strategies.....	12
1.1.2.1 <i>Participatory counter-rhetorical strategies</i>	12
1.1.2.2 <i>Non-participatory counter-rhetorical strategies</i>	13
1.1.3 Claims-making presentation styles.....	13
1.1.4 Motifs for making claims.....	14
1.1.5 New Prostitution-specific rhetorical idioms.....	14
1.2 Brief introduction to principal prostitution policies	
1.2.1 Criminalization/prohibitionism.....	17
1.2.2 Regulationism.....	17
1.2.3 Abolitionism.....	17
1.2.4 Neo-abolitionism.....	18
2 Present prostitution situations and policies in the Baltic states and north-western Russia.....	18
2.1 The Republic of Estonia.....	18
2.2 The Republic of Latvia.....	20
2.3 The Republic of Lithuania.....	21
2.4 North-western Russia.....	21
3 Coverage given to prostitution in Baltic state and north-western Russian newspapers.....	23
3.1 Content analysis of articles concerning prostitution in Baltic state dailies from 01.01.1999-01.04.2003.....	24
3.1.1 Analysis method and samples.....	24
3.1.2 Analyzed variables.....	24
3.1.3 Analysis results.....	25
3.2 Analysis of rhetoric in major discussions about prostitution in dailies from the Baltic states and north-western Russia from 01.01.1999-01.04.2003.....	30
3.2.1 Reports on the legalization of brothels in the Netherlands (February 1999-August 2001).....	30
3.2.2 Reports on the "pedophile scandal" in the Latvian daily <i>Diena</i>	32
3.2.3 Report on prostitution and trafficking in women in the Lithuanian daily <i>Lietuvos Rytas</i>	34
3.2.4 Discussions about the legalization of prostitution in the Russian weekly <i>Argumenty i facty</i>	35

4. Opinion-makers views on prostitution and different prostitution policies.....	38
4.1 Method of analysis.....	38
4.1.1 Semi-structured in-depth interview.....	38
4.1.2 Samples and conditions for conducting interviews.....	39
4.1.3 Data analysis.....	40
4.2 Prostitution – a social problem?.....	41
4.2.1 Prostitution as a rare or functional phenomenon.....	41
4.2.2 Prostitution – a problem because of the accompanying phenomena.....	44
4.2.3 Prostitution – a substantive problem.....	45
4.3 Causes and effects of prostitution.....	48
4.3.1 Causes and effects of selling sex.....	49
4.3.2 Causes and effects of buying sex.....	52
4.3.3 Causes and effects of prostitution from society's and the state's perspective.....	55
4.4 Attitudes towards different prostitution policies.....	57
4.4.1 Criminalizing models.....	58
4.4.2 Regulative models.....	61
4.4.3 Abolitionist models.....	65
4.4.4 Neo-abolitionist model.....	67
4.5 Presumed changes in sex business due to EU enlargement.....	72
5. Summation and conclusions.....	76
5.1 Prostitution of sex and normalization of prostitution in post-Soviet countries.....	76
5.2 Conflicting views of the government's role – agent for commercial markets or guardian of morals.....	77
5.3 Support for legalization in order to combat the problems caused by prostitution.....	78
5.4 Contrasting coerced and willingly pursued prostitution.....	80
5.5 Prostitution as a violation of human rights.....	81
5.6 Concealing the responsibility of the sex buyer.....	82
5.7 Failure to see the links between gender roles, gender segregation in the labor market, and prostitution.....	83
5.8 Attitudes towards different prostitution policy models in the West and EU enlargement.....	84
5.9 Placing the question of prostitution among politically marginal issues.....	85
6. Bibliography.....	87

INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the former republics found themselves in a social regulation vacuum - anomy.¹ The norms, behavior and strategies that had prevailed during the Soviet period lost their relevance and new ones had not yet been created. Simultaneous to the spread of cultural relativism, the standard of living worsened and with it deteriorated the people's sense of community and solidarity. However, a class of new rich developed fast, resulting in a widening gap between the successful and those whom the system had left behind.² In comparison to earlier democratization processes in post-authoritarian societies, the changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union were unusually comprehensive – alongside the changes in the political order, economic and cultural transformations also took place. Thus, one can speak of a triple transformation (Offe 1996: 34, 131).

In this chaotic situation, possibly also partly due to a desire to oppose socialistic economic policies, the newly independent states chose a neo-liberal path. In the general confusion there was no time to reflect on different Western social models' people-friendly or negative aspects. Under the rightist economic policies, everything was subjected to free market rules, including moral values, and a tolerant attitude towards commerce in human beings emerged. It brought with it a relatively tolerant

attitude towards trafficking in persons. The entertainment sector's explosive development saw pornography and prostitution its lawful right to exploit. During the first few years of restored independence when people were poor, they started earning an income without being selective about the means. Some did not have difficulty earning money; others did. It was important to be in the right place at the right time, taking advantage of the weak spots in Soviet law that did not fit in with a capitalist society. Prostitution began to spread under these conditions and increasing numbers of women began to earn a living by selling their bodies (Lamesoo 2003: 58).

Initially, capitalism was characterized by changes in the role of the state, including its guardianship role of citizens' morals. Ethics was to be considered the citizen's private matter and the government was to be reduced to that of the technical-administrative organizer of activities performed by the market (Lagerspetz 1996: 125). As a consequence, repeated, and in some states successful, attempts were made in the region for the government to regulate the sex industry.

Ten years after the restoration of independence, the spread of prostitution has been arrested in the post-Soviet systems of the Baltic Sea region's countries. The sex market has peaked. In recent years calls to combat the sex industry have even been heard. Chiefly, foreign states

¹ See Durkheim, E. (1968) *Suicide*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, London, p. 15.

² See Terk, E. (1999) *Eesti majandusareng:saavutused, vastuolud, perspektiivid*, from *Eesti inimarengu aruanne 1999*, (Vetik, R., editor) UN Developmental Program, Estonia, p. 62.

have started to criticize post-Soviet countries for their neutral policies on sexual exploitation of women. The Nordic countries criticize Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Commonwealth of Independent States as a region of origin for the trafficking of human beings, and they say that these countries' governments do not sufficiently respect human dignity and human rights.³

Today, many of the post-Soviet countries have reached the stage where utilitarian approaches to the sex industry meet and compete with moral premises and/or human rights approach. After the restoration of independence in 1991, the idea to legalize prostitution was considered seriously, but the pressure from Nordic countries silenced the attempts at least for a while. Unfortunately, statutes concerning prostitution in the Baltic countries and north-western Russia have proved to have little effect on the spread of it for a variety of reasons, and, therefore, it is necessary to decide how to move forward.

It is very important to explain at such a time the positions of the region's opinion-makers on the topic. Do they regard prostitution as a social problem in which the state must get involved, or do they accept it as part of life?

The Republic of Estonia, Republic of Latvia, Republic of Lithuania and north-western Russia participated in this study. Sociological studies were conducted in all of these countries in the spring and summer of 2003. Interviews were

conducted to explain how, and to what extent, the region's leading opinion-makers see the existence, causes and effects of prostitution as a problem. Furthermore, the sex industry's ties with traditional gender roles and gender inequality were studied. The views of society most probably significantly reflect the opinion-makers' attitudes toward prostitution. Thus the project can provide information about ordinary citizens' attitudes and arguments.

This study project's aim is to present those leading opinion-makers' views of the prostitution in the Baltic states and north-western Russia and on that basis to encourage a comprehensive and public discussion about the positive and negative aspects of different prostitution policies.

The project was coordinated by the Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre, (led by Marion Pajumets) and the Equality Department of Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs, (led by Kristiina Luht). Its partners were Natalia Khodyreva from the Institute of Non-Discriminative Gender Interrelations Crisis Center for Women in north-western Russia; Sandra Sebre and Ieva Bite from the Latvian crisis centre, *Skalbes*; and Raimonda Mikalajunaite and Raminta Razgute from the Lithuanian public relations and market analysis company *Spinter Tyrimai Ltd*.

The project was financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

³ See Miko, F. T.; Park, G. (1992) *Trafficking in Women and Children: the US and International Response*, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, p 6.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Claims-making theory in the analysis of social problems

This study focuses on opinion-makers' understanding of the problems of prostitution, and suggested solutions, in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and St. Petersburg, Russia. Attention is paid to interviewees' participation in the social claims-making process.

The selection of claims-making theory for the study's backdrop was dictated by the project's goal: to open a diversified prostitution policy debate based on the actual socio-political context of contemporary Estonia and to start a public discussion on this basis, threshing out the country's future prostitution policy.

Claims-making theory originates with Peter R. Ibarra and John I. Kitsuse. This method of analysis of social problems is a continuation of Malcolm Spector's and John I. Kitsuse's constructionist theory for analysis of social problems presented in their book "Constructing Social Problems", published in 1977 (New York: Aldine de Gruyter). The above-named theory and method of analysis are a shift from the normative and behavioral models paradigm to the interpretative paradigm. The latter provides a contrast to the traditional study of social problems where the sociologist adopts the "expert" role in passing judgment on the "rationality", "value", "sensitivity" etc. of members' formulations of social problems or lack thereof. In contrast, the constructionist

examines the problem statements presented by subjects in the study without assuming the scholar's liberty of assigning value to them (Ibarra, Kitsuse 1993: 27).

According to the claims-making theory, what is studied is where the representatives of the different institutions see social problems and their solutions in the area of prostitution. In other words, the aim is to find out what is talked about when there is talk of prostitution. Decisions about the "correctness" or "objectivity", the "falseness" or "subjectivity" of the situation definitions presented by the interviewees are not made. It does not exclude, however, touching upon the interviewees' different views in the dialogue.

In this study, a social problem is defined as something that the subjects of the study perceive to be a social problem. References are not made to the existence of latent social problems that the interviewees do not yet see, but which the outside observer does. The basic understanding is that a social problem does not exist autonomously, i.e. seen by only a handful of scholars but not recognized by society at large.

Claims-making theory focuses on pointing out the studied persons' perception of the situation, or the *condition-categories* they create, and

showing the rhetorical idioms they use to express their opinions on the existence, causes and effects of prostitution. In addition, the study also looks at the rhetorical contrivances used by opinion-makers in arguing in favor of some prostitution policies and against alternative ones.

The analysis of the study material pays attention to how these leading opinion-makers use the following rhetorical measures:

- rhetorical idioms
- counter-rhetorical strategies
- claims-making styles
- motifs in claims-making

At the end of the chapter, new rhetorical idioms are presented that emerged during the course of the study and were necessary for the analysis of prostitution study material. In the creation of the new rhetorical agents, Kitsuse and Ibarra's universal idioms were borne in mind, and the actual rhetorical contrivances used by the study's respondents in their handling of certain questions were also taken into consideration.

1.1.1 Rhetorical idioms

The perceived situations or condition-categories are problematic in claims-making. The use of rhetorical idioms refers to the moral competence of the claims-maker. It is a case of a unique cluster of moral vocabulary by which the condition's category is presented with

a demand for its transformation. Rhetorical idioms cause claims-makers to argue along predictable lines.

The rhetoric of loss

The aim of the use of this rhetoric is not to change the condition-category and to promote development in a better direction, but to arrest change. Change is seen as a devaluation of inherited divine values inherited. Humanity is presented as sacred and pure, but threatened by the quality of watchdogs and guardians. The use of this idiom is often accompanied by the assertion that judgment and punishment await us if decisive limits are not placed on development.

Due to its protective and tied-to-the-past character, the use of this idiom is often called reactionary strategy by its opponents.

The rhetoric of entitlement

Users of this rhetoric emphasize that each person has freedom of choice and self-expression and, therefore, equal opportunities have to be created for different groups of people. The idioms refer to an egalitarian and relativistic value system; to the need to democratize society and for progress.

The rhetoric of endangerment

Due to harm stemming from the condition-category, the concern here is for a person's physical well-being and health. A person has the right to be protected against harm, to have good

health, and if it is possible for physical harm to be prevented then the person has the right to it also. The user of this idiom emphasizes that it is necessary to take immediate steps to eliminate the risk, often buttressing the assertion with the results of studies.

It is often warned that if the risk is not immediately eliminated, peripheral individuals would become members of the risk group: bystanders, passengers, society as a whole; innocent victims. The popularity of this idiom is driven by body-centered individualism.

The rhetoric of unreason

This idiom emphasizes that in the given condition-category a person is basely used, manipulated or brainwashed. By using this rhetoric, the assertion is that the person was trusting, na ve, innocent, poorly informed, uneducated, in a hopeless situation, easy prey – that s/he did not her/himself know what s/he was doing.

The rhetoric of calamity

The user of this idiom warns against chaos with totally unacceptable measures. Usually, this rhetoric is used when other demands have already been presented in society. This rhetoric shows how all problems fall together and re-enforce each other if drastic steps are not immediately taken to change the situation. It gathers the different claims together under a symbolic roof.

1.1.2 Counter-rhetorical strategies

Counter-rhetorical strategies are divided into two groups: participatory and non-participatory. In the former, the presenter agrees at least partially with the condition-category, but does not accept the presented action strategy. In the latter case, the opponent neither agrees with the condition-category nor the presented solution.

1.1.2.1 Sympathetic counter-rhetorical strategies

- Naturalizing

The user of this strategy agrees with the claim-maker's presentation of the condition-category, but does not agree with the proposed changes, because s/he considers the condition natural and unavoidable. The counter-rhetoric also assumes that if the proposed measures were used, it would be na ve to expect change for the better. The presenters of this counter-rhetoric could be accused of cynicism or pessimism.

- The costs involved

The user of this strategy is in agreement about the situation, but does not agree with the measures presented to improve it.. Instead, learning to live with the situation is seen as the answer, because interfering with it would inevitably create chaos and economic harm. This claim can be paraphrased as "Two wrongs don't make a right".

- *Declaring impotence*

Agreement about the condition-category exists, and it is even agreed that something must be done in principle, but that the necessary resources for action are lacking – finances, time, energy, specialists etc.

- *Perspectivizing*

This claim is treated as the claim-maker's opinion and not as an objective view of the situation. It is agreed that everybody has a right to her/his opinion, and thereby the power of social demand is reduced.

- *Tactical criticism*

The user of this counter-rhetoric agrees with the claims-maker's condition-category, but thinks that the presented action is not suitable for solving the problem. The assumption is that the suggested tactic would worsen, rather than improve, the situation.

1.1.2.2 *Unsympathetic counter-rhetorical strategies*

- *Antipatterning*

The aim here is to show that the claim is based on a fictional social problem. It is emphasized that the matter is not a social problem, but an isolated tragic occurrence/event. Since the condition-category presented by the claims-maker is treated as erroneous, it is considered unnecessary to apply corrective measures.

- *Telling anecdote*

The aim here is to show that the social problem is an invention, and an opposite example from life is cited as evidence to demonstrate that the situation is secure.

- *Counter-rhetoric of insincerity*

Here it is alleged that the demand to improve the situation is false, hiding ulterior motives or self-interest on the part of the claims-maker in the moral argument.

- *Counter-rhetoric of hysteria*

Here it is alleged that the moral argument by the claims-maker is erroneous due to excessive emotionalism and irrationality, causing her/him to be incapable of an objective assessment of the condition-category.

1.1.3 **Claims-making styles**

- *Scientific style*

The style of presentation by this claims-maker is exact, highly technical, ostensibly neutral and objective. In order to add authority, the user of this style refers to the results of studies.

- *Comical style*

This style is effectively used to bring out the absurdity or contradictory nature of the demands or the claims-maker's positions.

- *Theatrical style*

Mostly artists and actors resort to using this style. They prefer to respond to verbal demands

by physical action, such as, for example, throwing meat at supporters of the legalization of prostitution.

- *Civic style*

The claim is presented from the position of an ordinary, honest person who speaks the everyday language and uses the kind of logic understandable to everyone.

- *Legalistic style*

This style user's trump card is the application of analogies, precedents and institutional justice.

- *Subcultural style*

The claim is presented in a different and unexpected way, which may sharpen it by reducing the abstractness of the condition-category.

1.1.4 Motifs in claims-making

Motifs are the abundant figures of speech that are used repeatedly in the claims presentation process. Motifs gather or illustrate some aspect of a social problem. They are universal phrases that highlight connotations only when placed in context. By using "wrong" motifs in the claims presentation process, the effect of the claims can unexpectedly become the opposite of that desired.

Some motifs refer to actors ("victim of patriarchy"), some to activity ("world's oldest profession"), and some to volume ("epidemic").

1.1.5 Prostitution-specific new rhetorical idioms

In analyzing the study material – articles in dailies and opinion-makers' views – it became apparent that idioms are being used that are specific to the subject of prostitution in addition to the five rhetorical idioms presented by Ibarra and Kitsuse (1993), which did not contain such nuances. Ibarra and Kitsuse see their rhetorical measures as prototypes that can be specified and perfected in the empirical exercise (1993: 34).

It should be borne in mind that both the Ibarra and Kitsuse idioms and the new rhetorical idioms often have multiple applications. For example, in the case of the rhetoric of entitlement, the rights of the prostitute as well as of the client can be emphasized. Likewise, one could speak of the personal tragedy of both the sex seller and buyer. The rhetoric of economic gain and economic need can be viewed from both the aspect of the prostitute and, also, of the state.

Using the base strategies of Ibarra and Kitsuse, the project analyzers identified strategies and their typical applications as follows:

- *The rhetoric of tradition*

The user of this rhetorical idiom asserts that prostitution has always existed and strongly opposes any attempt to eradicate it. This rhetoric includes the motif of the "world's oldest profession". It can be applied to local traditions,

such as red light districts where prostitutes have worked during previous political eras. In addition, this rhetoric normalizes prostitution, typically using the motif of a “business like any other”. Very often, civic style is used in referring to tradition.

- *The rhetoric of personal tragedy*

The personal tragedy rhetoric presents nuances from the prostitute’s or the client’s past or present, making abuse probable. Among the causes could be cited harmful childhood experiences, such as sexual abuse, neglect by alcoholic parents, and so on. The claims-maker can also present recent episodes as causes of personal tragedy. The use of this rhetorical idiom to explain sex seller’s services is closely tied to the abuse rhetoric offered by Ibarra and Kitsuse. Sex-selling psychological elements in the prostitute’s personal tragedy rhetoric have to be differentiated from the economic need rhetoric.

Buying of sex can be explained in terms of personal tragedy rhetoric – complexes and difficulties in relations originating from the past.

- *The rhetoric of economic need*

The user of this rhetoric refers to the serious economic hardships that force one to sell sex. The rhetoric of economic need is tied to the rhetoric of abuse presented by Ibarra and Kitsuse. It is shown that the prostitute did not have a choice and selling sex was the only means of staying alive. The user of the

economic need rhetoric often constructs a condition-category that is dominated by the lack of social and economic resources – poverty, lack of employment and education – to provide for an illegitimate child, parents or siblings as the rationale for sex selling.

The rhetoric of economic need can also be used to effect change in prostitution policies. In such instances, emphasis is on the cost of the prostitution policy in effect, and that improvement can be achieved by banning or regulating the sex industry.

- *The rhetoric of economic gain*

In one sense, this rhetoric is the opposite of the rhetoric of economic need. The user asserts that the prostitute satisfies her vanity and need for excessive consumption by selling sex. The rhetoric of economic gain can be applied by referring to moral decay as well as justification for selling sex. In the case of the latter, the rhetorics of economic gain and a prostitute’s entitlements are combined, claiming that a prostitute has the right to make decisions about her own body and that prostitution is “free choice” made according to one’s own best interests.

The *rhetoric of economic gain* is often used in references to the financial gain that the state or city could make, and the harm caused by not taking advantage of such opportunities.

In comparison to the rhetoric of economic need, the emphasis here is not so much on the poor situation that could be improved by changing prostitution policies, but on the revenues that

the state would miss out on by not legalizing prostitution.

And finally, this rhetoric makes reference to the profits organized crime makes through the existence of prostitution or the state's bad prostitution policies.

- *The rhetoric of pleasure*

In explaining the prostitute's motives for her activities, the pleasure rhetoric is in contrast to references to both economic need and economic gain. This rhetoric alleges that one of the reasons for selling sex is the pleasure it gives. Selling sex is seen as a "hobby" or a good opportunity to have fun while earning money.

The user of this rhetoric can vilify the prostitute and the prostitute's client because of their behavior. However, the pleasure rhetoric is mostly used alongside the rhetoric of entitlement. In the case of the latter, it is said that people have different needs and that in a democratic society everybody should be free to decide what s/he does with her/his own body.

- *The rhetoric of social good*

The user of this rhetoric refers to the positive changes that would result from changes in prostitution policies. Whether the emphasis is on prohibition or regulation, the claims-presenter sees in policy change a reduction in crime and in the sale of illegal alcohol and drugs, and other beneficial results for society. Thus the rhetoric of social good envelops the rhetorics of health risk, abuse, and calamity presented by Ibarra and Kitsuse. "Social harm" is the principal motif with which the users of this rhetoric mobilize public opinion behind proposed political changes.

- *The rhetoric of political balance*

The need for political balance is discussed for the purpose of changing laws on prostitution or their implementation. The user's position is that neither banning nor legalizing prostitution is a good solution. On the one hand, the sex industry cannot be eradicated by criminalization, while on the other, prostitution cannot be given recognition through legalization. The user of this rhetoric offers a middle road whereby the government neither prohibits nor legalizes the sex industry.

1.2 Brief introduction to principal prostitution policies

Different countries, interest groups and individuals have different understandings of what makes prostitution a problem. Prostitution policies and the legal system are tied to every understanding. Four main explanations for the problem of prostitution have evolved throughout history, as have four clear legal systems to address the phenomenon. They are:

- criminalization/prohibitionism
- regulationism/legalization/classical order/
French order
- abolitionism/decriminalization/toleration
- neoabolitionism/decriminalization combined
with a human rights approach

1.2.1 Criminalization/prohibitionism

Those systems that criminalize prostitution regard the phenomenon as a crime that undermines society's morals and ethics. Some systems are more tolerant of the prostituted women and pay more attention to the procurers. Others view prostitution as a social disease and prostitutes as "criminals", "moral idiots", and "social parasites". In legislation, it is assumed that it is the government's responsibility to protect and uphold the morality of the people in the country.

Among the countries that criminalize prostitution are China, Iceland, Japan, most US states and Canada.

1.2.2 Regulationism

States that regulate prostitution see themselves as being morally neutral. Prostitution is regarded as a function that has to be regulated by the state or the city. It results in the licensing of brothels and individual prostitutes, checking the health of prostitutes, zoning the sex industry into designated areas, and collecting taxes from the activity. Providing services without a license is punishable by law. This policy is based on the liberal principle that each person has the right to decide how s/he uses her/his own body and that that decision has to be respected (Turunen 1996: 22). This ideology maintains that prostitution is the world's oldest business; it has always existed and always will.

Neoregulationist systems ban brothels and procuring, but regulate the activities of individual prostitutes. This system exists in the Republic of Latvia, for example.

Among regulationist countries are Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Greece, Switzerland and Turkey.

1.2.3 Abolitionism

The abolitionist legal system regards the selling of sex as business, and the relations between the seller and the buyer as free association between adults. This system differs from the regulationist system in that it identifies procuring as trafficking in human beings and considers brothels to be establishments for slavery (Naiskauppa ja... 1993: 7). Neoregulationist

systems differ from abolitionist ones in that, in the former, the government licenses individual prostitutes, and in the latter, prostitution is not regulated in any form.

Those countries with abolitionist policies basically tolerate the buying and selling of sex for money. The government only interferes with the buyer-seller arrangement in cases of coerced prostitution or when a minor is the seller of sex. The aim of the abolitionist policy is to revoke laws that regulate or prohibit prostitution, and to strengthen the statutes that combat procuring (Barry 1995: 236).

States that cancel regulations want to destigmatize and demarginalize prostituted women, or, in other words, restore the status of normal members of society to women that have earned their living by selling sex. They try to show that it is not a crime or a form of social disease, but a strategy by women to stay alive in an unjust economic situation.

Among abolitionist countries are Estonia, Finland, Norway, France, Ireland, Italy, Spain and Great Britain.

1.2.4 Neoabolitionism

This is an abolitionist legal system that gives special emphasis to women's human rights and the need to protect human dignity.

Neoabolitionist systems punish the procurers

and the clients, but not the prostitutes. It is inherent in the legislation that in an Anglo-American patriarchal society, women are economically and emotionally pushed into a corner. Therefore it is insignificant whether the woman "freely" sells her body or is deceived into it; there is no difference between voluntary or coerced prostitution. In all such cases, prostituted women are seen as victims of male-centered social manipulation. Prostitution is regarded in the neoabolitionist system as violence against women and its elimination is considered the state's moral responsibility. All attempts are made to prevent a prostitute from becoming a victim a second time.

The neoabolitionist system is in effect in Sweden, and Finland is weighing up its adoption.

Systems that are basically similar in different countries often bear small differences. Some states implement a mixed model, or a prostitution policy that combines elements from different systems. In addition, significant differences can exist between legally established models and practices. The implementation of a law (for example, the enforcement of the procuring prohibition) depends a great deal on the resources, motivation and priorities of the police and other agencies.

2. PRESENT PROSTITUTION SITUATIONS AND POLICIES IN THE BALTIC STATES AND NORTH-WESTERN RUSSIA

Fifteen years ago, the Baltic states and Russia belonged in the Soviet Union, a state that prohibited prostitution. According to official ideology, prostitution and pornography were harmful products of the capitalistic West, and they were meant to disappear in the Soviet Union. Commerce in bodies was unsuitable as work or leisure for any Soviet person. Officially, prostitution had been eliminated. It became possible to talk about prostitution again in the mid-80s, during Mihhail Gorbachev's *perestroika*, and it appeared that it still did exist, hidden from view and approved by the authorities.

The socialistic super-power collapsed at the beginning of the '90s along with its norms and practices. Along with the other systems fell the legal order that had shamed and

punished commerce in sex over a huge territory for 50 years. The Baltic states restored their independence within the formerly Soviet territory. The Russian Federation and other countries were established. The new republics turned quickly to the market economies that had been vehemently denounced by the previous order. The legal system was reformed along with the economic system. In a short time, opposing prostitution policies were put into effect in a relatively small geographic region composed of the Baltic states and north-western Russia.

In this chapter, a short overview is given of the present situation of prostitution and the policy models applied to the sex industry in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia.

2.1 The Republic of Estonia

At present there are between 50 and 70 (Kalikov 2001), or according to some experts up to 200 (Kase, Pettai 2002: 16), brothels in Estonia. The number of prostitutes changes constantly and it is difficult to determine for several reasons, including the abundance of definitions of prostitution and the fluctuations of tourism. It is estimated that their number is around 3000 (*ibid*).

At the beginning of the period of restored independence, young Estonian and Russian

women were represented more or less equally among the prostitutes. In later years, the share of the latter increased (Kalikov). This development can be tied to the problems of integration, including fewer opportunities for non-Estonians in the labor market, and Estonian citizens' easier access to foreign countries. The sex industry's clients in Estonia originate mostly from Nordic countries and other European states, but many are also ethnic Estonians and Russians (*ibid*).

Brothels advertise themselves more or less openly in several newspapers and magazines, offering “erotic massage” or “private dancing”. In addition, taxi drivers distribute their addresses. Prostitutes without procurers often look for clients through the Internet. Street prostitution in Estonia is not prevalent. According to the International Organization of Migration, about 500 persons per year are trafficked from Estonia into the sex industry abroad.⁴

Projects carried out in Estonia to map out prostitution, to help prostitutes and to prevent sex business have been financed by foreign organizations and countries, especially the Nordic countries. Support from the Republic of Estonia has been negligible to date.

2.2 The Republic of Latvia

At the beginning of restored independence it was an administrative offence in Latvia to engage in sex business, as it had been during the previous regime. Since the new state apparatus lacked strong control over the sex industry, it grew fast and openly. Not only special newspapers, but also those catering to the general public, carried offers of sexual services, and during the night Marijas Street in

During the period of restored independence, Estonia has implemented an abolitionist prostitution policy. The penal code does not include the sale or purchase of sex, but it does prohibit procuring. It is also against the law to rent rooms for prostitution and to attract minors into prostitution. Prostitution may not be advertised.

Additionally, Estonia's penal code bans certain activities, including torture, enslavement, abduction and sexual intercourse with a child, which can be tied indirectly to prostitution and trafficking in persons.

Estonia has signed most international anti-prostitution and anti human trafficking agreements. This year, the parliament ratified the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.

Riga was laced with prostitutes. Various sources involved in the business, as well as recent court cases, reveal that prostitution and the presence of brothels was possible and largely dependent upon “paying the right police structures” (Meimane 2003: 24-28). Estimates about the number of prostitutes in Latvia varied greatly. Morals police suggested 10000, but the Criminology Research Centre cited 40000.

⁴ See Trafficking in persons in Estonia: 500 women per year, <http://www.uno.ee/onsight/arhiiv/535/5462>.

At the beginning of restored independence, Latvia retained the Soviet laws and policies that had banned sex business. A decisive neoregulative reform came into effect in 1998 and it was enhanced in 2001. Violation of administrative law became “providing sexual services for a charge”.

Selling and buying of sex is permitted in the Republic of Latvia, but procuring, coercing into prostitution and running brothels are forbidden. Sex services can be offered according to the

laws in Latvia, provided that it is done by people at or above the age of consent possessing a medical certificate of good health. Furthermore, all municipalities exceeding 20000 inhabitants have to designate areas for sex business.

Social security questions for prostitutes remain to this date unresolved in Latvia. Prostitutes cannot register themselves within the tax office as professionals. Since they do not pay income and social security taxes, the state's social security system leaves them out.

2.3 The Republic of Lithuania

During its period of restored independence, the Republic of Lithuania has prohibited prostitutes' and procurers' activities without interfering with the buying of sex. It is a criminal offence to entice minors or people in a weakened position into prostitution, and to profit from the prostitution of another person.

It is an administrative offence in the Republic of

Lithuania to offer sex for a charge. Penalties for the offence range from 300 to 500 litas.⁵

Lithuania's penal code also forbids trafficking in persons and the unlawful deprivation of liberty, which can be tied to prostitution. The Republic of Lithuania has adopted the main international instruments for combating prostitution and trafficking in human beings.

2.4 North-western Russia

It is estimated that at the beginning of the 1990s, 5000 prostitutes and 1232 brothels were operating in St. Petersburg. Established in 1993 were the morals police, whose sphere of responsibilities also included the mapping and

arresting of prostitution as a force destroying people's morals. By the mid-'90s, discussion of legalizing prostitution had started. It was led by the police and lawyers, who hoped to raise abundant revenues by legalizing the sex industry and to arrest the spread of sexually

⁵ The range in euros is 87-145.

transmitted diseases. According to the morals police's recent data, about 20000 prostitutes are active in St. Petersburg during summer, most of them originating from other parts of Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States. They advertise their services openly in newspapers and on the Internet. Streetwalkers are also conspicuous in St. Petersburg, of whom 88% are drug users - mostly heroine – and 33% are infected with sexually transmitted diseases. Prostitution in north-western Russia has been studied from historical, social, psychological and medical aspects. The mapping and analysis of prostitution have been supported by local funds, such as the Russian Humanitarian Research Fund, but mostly by foreign sources.

The Russian Federation prohibits prostituting and procuring and ignores the buying of sex, as is also the case in the Republic of Lithuania. The Criminal Code penalizes involvement in prostitution by means of the application of violence or the threat of its use, blackmail, destroying or damaging property, or fraud, and

organizing of hangouts for prostitution.

Providing sex for a charge is prohibited in the Code of Administrative Offence and the penalty is between 15 and 20 times the minimum wage. Under the same Code –not the Criminal Code - is profiting from another person's prostitution and procuring. The penalty for the latter is slightly higher than the one that a prostitute has to pay the state for getting caught. It is criminal to trade in minors, which could be tied to prostitution.

The Russian Federation has ratified the following main international instruments for combating prostitution and trafficking in persons: the United Nations Convention on the eradication of all forms of discrimination against women and the United Nations Convention on children's rights; and the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime and the Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime.

3. COVERAGE GIVEN TO PROSTITUTION IN BALTIC STATES' AND NORTH-WESTERN RUSSIA NEWSPAPERS

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of coverage on the question of prostitution in the Estonian daily, *Eesti Päevaleht*, the Latvian daily, *Diena*, the Lithuanian daily, *Lietuvos Rytas*, and the Russian weekly, *Argumenty i Fauty* from 1 January 1999 to 1 April 2003. Analysis of the dailies assists in an understanding of the public mood on the existence, causes and effects of prostitution, and it creates a background in understanding the preferences of the region's leading opinion-among prostitution policies.

Daily newspapers, read by tens of thousands every day, significantly influence public opinion on issues. They want to present serious journalism that analyzes social problems and to be an alternative to tabloid journalism. Readers gain an understanding of social problems, including the extent of prostitution, its causes and effects, through them. At the same time,

the dailies play a role in the opinions readers form about prostitution policies.

It is noteworthy that the media not only reacts to issues, but also creates them. The media selects the issues to highlight, chooses the writers for the articles, and decides the columns in which they appear. It focuses attention and expends resources on some issues, leaving others aside. Certain facts are amplified, giving them a more intense quality, while others are left to wallow in greater obscurity than they actually deserve (Lamesoo 2003: 32).

This chapter consists of two complementary studies. The first one is a comparative content analysis. The other is a qualitative analysis of the main discussions held in the Baltic states and north-western Russia on prostitution, presenting both the discussions and the prevalent rhetorical contrivances used in them.

3.1 Content analysis of articles concerning prostitution in Baltic states dailies from 01.01.1999-01.04.2003

3.1.1 Method of Analysis and sample

Newspapers that appeared regularly during the whole period, were popular and had a wide circulation were chosen for analysis.

Content analysis⁶ was used to study the articles,

which were found on the newspapers' websites by entering the word "prostitution" into their search engines. Those articles that fell into the 1 January 1999 to 1 April 2003 period were chosen. The samples included articles in all newspaper columns that featured the

⁶ The analysis used as its model the methodology used by Mikko Lagerspetz in *Social Problems in Estonian Mass Media 1975-1991* (1993) *Acta Sociologica*, 36: 361-367.

searched word. As a consequence, few articles containing, for example, the phrase “political prostitution” – not relevant to this study – fell into the sample. Due to technical reasons, the study material in Lithuania was compiled without Internet assistance, but according to the same principle as the samples in the other Baltic states.

Both the study categories and the response versions coming under them were prepared before the articles were coded. In the interest of flexibility, the response version “other” came under each category. Whenever a sufficient number of similar responses were gathered under “other”, a new response version was formed from it. The aim was to have to use “other” as little as possible after codifying.

In the case of some study categories – for example references to the causes of prostitution – several references or positions would appear in the same article, but in another article references to it would be completely missing. In such cases, the analysis unit was the position and not the article.

118 articles featured in the Estonian sample, 264 in the Latvian, and 125 in the Lithuanian. References placed under the different categories could be greater or lesser in number than the articles themselves.

3.1.2 Analyzed variables

The articles were coded according to the following variables and categories:

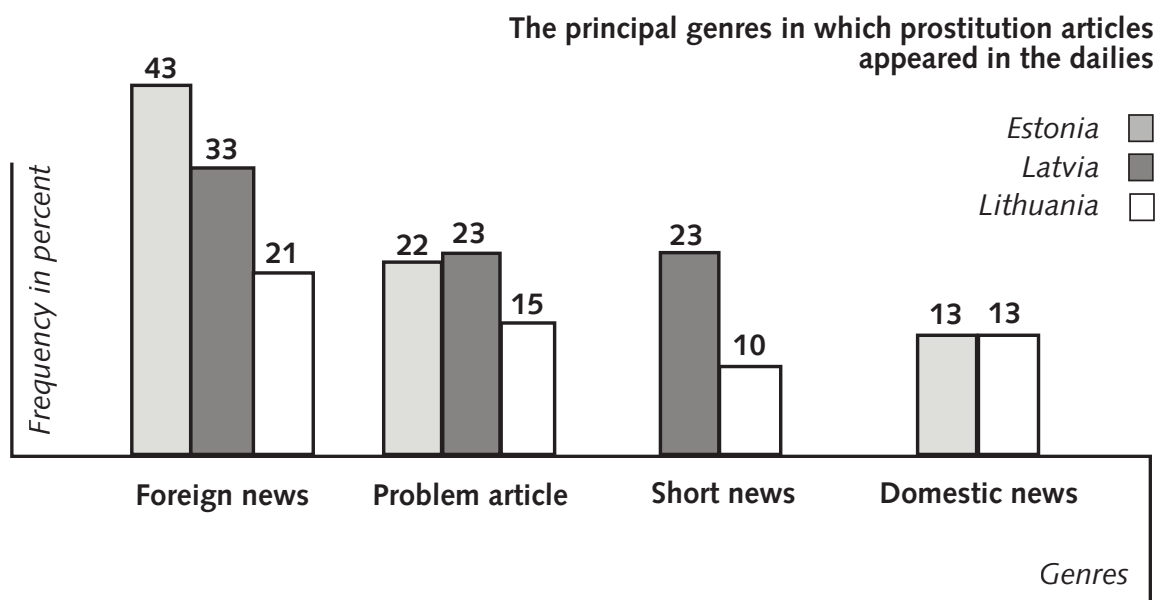
- *Genre*: problem addressing article (1a)/ foreign news (1b)/ domestic news (1c)/ news brief (1d)/ interview (1e)/ reader's letter (1f)/ editorial (1g)/ other (1x);

- *Participating in the social claims presentation process*: prostitution is referred to as a social problem (2a)/ reference to prostitution as a social problem missing (2b)/ demand is presented that something should be done (2c)/ demand that something should be done missing (2d);

- *Reference to the causes of prostitution*: alcohol abuse (3a)/ drug abuse (3b)/ poverty and unemployment (3c)/ government's regional policy (3d)/ traditional gender roles (3e)/ psychological trauma (3f)/ trafficking in persons and deception (3g)/ insufficient education and awareness (3h)/ poor public morals (3i)/ prostitute's poor morals (3j)/ client's poor morals (3k)/ market demand and client's sexual needs (3l)/ prostitute's freedom of choice (3m)/ open borders and globalization (3n)/ other (3x)/ missing (3y);

- *References to the effects of prostitution*: alcohol abuse (4a)/ drug abuse (4b)/ sexually transmitted diseases and HIV (4c)/ unemployment (4d)/ violence (4e)/ deteriorating public morals (4f)/ Estonia's deteriorating image (4g)/ restoration of traditional gender roles (4h)/ growth of illegal business (4i) marred neighborhood (4j)/ other (4x)/ missing (4y);

- *Reference to possible solutions for the situation*: legalizing prostitution (5a)/ criminalizing prostitution (5b)/ criminalizing buying of sex (5c)/ greater allocation of funds



to the police for combating prostitution (5d)/ negative treatment of prostitution by the educational system (5e)/ negative treatment of prostitution by the family circle (5f)/ negative treatment of prostitution by foreign states (5g)/ negative treatment of prostitution by the media (5h)/ improve women's economic situation (5i) change government's regional policy (5j)/ change public attitudes (5k)/ other (5x)/ missing (5y);

- *References to the nationality of the parties involved in prostitution:* prostitute presented as of foreign nationality (6a)/ reference to the prostitute's ethnicity missing (6b)/ client presented as of foreign nationality (6c)/ client's ethnicity missing (6d)/ procurer presented as of foreign nationality (6e)/ procurer's ethnicity missing (6f);

- *Sources of stated positions:* municipal government official (7a)/ politician (7b)/ police

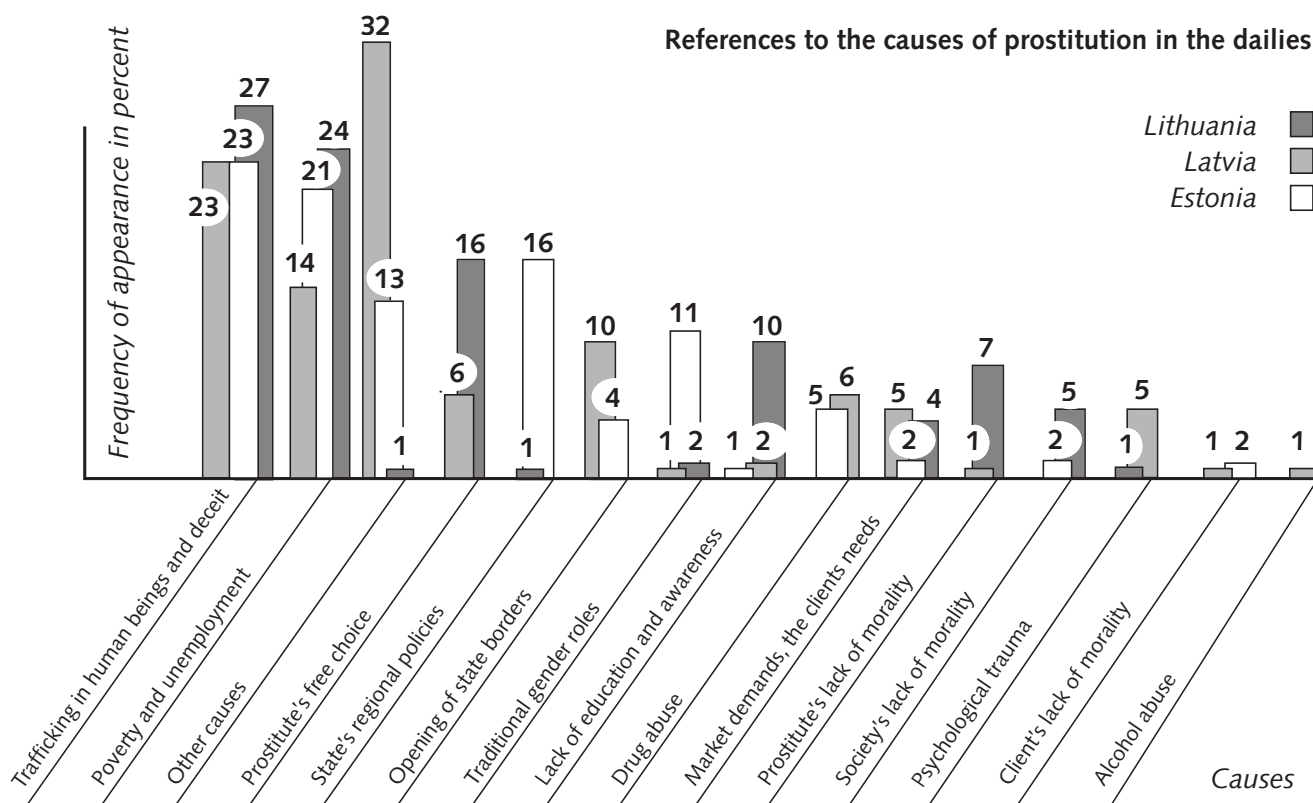
officer (7c)/ social worker (7d)/ medic (7e)/ specialist (7f)/ private individual (7g)/ journalist (7h)/ other (7x)/ missing (7y).

3.1.3 Analysis results

Article genre

During the period under study, prostitution received coverage in the three countries' dailies mostly under "foreign news".⁷ The subject then appeared considerably less under problem articles, and thirdly, even more infrequently, under "domestic news". Almost a quarter of the articles containing the word "prostitution" appeared in Latvia under "news in brief". In those sections giving brief coverage, such as "news in brief" and "domestic news", activities tied to crime were often given laconic and dry phrasing.

⁷ *Allpool naba* ("Below the belt") column articles, which mostly contain news outside Estonia, were coded under foreign news.



The fact that the dailies in all three Baltic states most frequently had prostitution under “foreign news” is noteworthy. Articles in this section contained changes in law and funny or scandalous events in foreign countries. Relatively short articles were written from news agency reports and they lacked analysis. Reporting prostitution under foreign news gives the reader the feeling that the sex industry is located somewhere far away and not in her/his homeland. The reader can relax and feel good that life around her/him is peaceful.

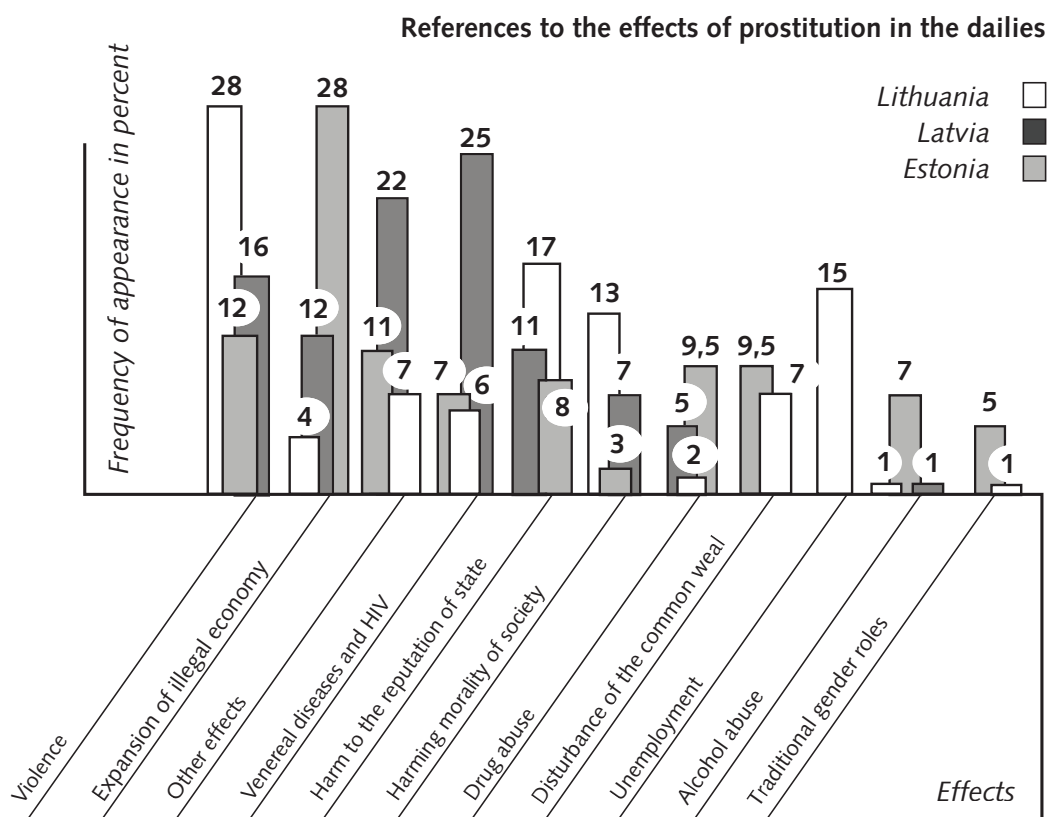
Participating in the social claims making process

Articles that contained public demands did not have to contain phrases like: “prostitution is a problem” or “the country’s prostitution policy

needs to be changed immediately”. Less resolute opinions were also considered as participants in the social claims presentation process. An example of claims presentation is the following, from the article “Jaana Padrik would penalize buyers of intimate service”: “Both Padrik and her party colleague criticized Estonia’s failure to combat pimping although it is forbidden by law and punishable as crime” (EPL 14.06.2002). Whether an article participates in the public demands presentation process or not does not only depend on the direct phrasing, but also on the context in which it is presented.

Prostitution is treated as a social problem in less than half of the articles in the sample of all three Baltic states’ dailies.

Lithuanian and Latvian dailies contain few references to the need to somehow improve



the situation. The Estonian daily *Eesti Päevaleht* differs from those in neighboring countries in that prostitution is rarely considered a serious problem (only 31% of the articles in the sample), but in comparison to Latvia's *Diena* and especially Lithuania's *Lietuvos Rytas*, demands for addressing the situation appear quite frequently.

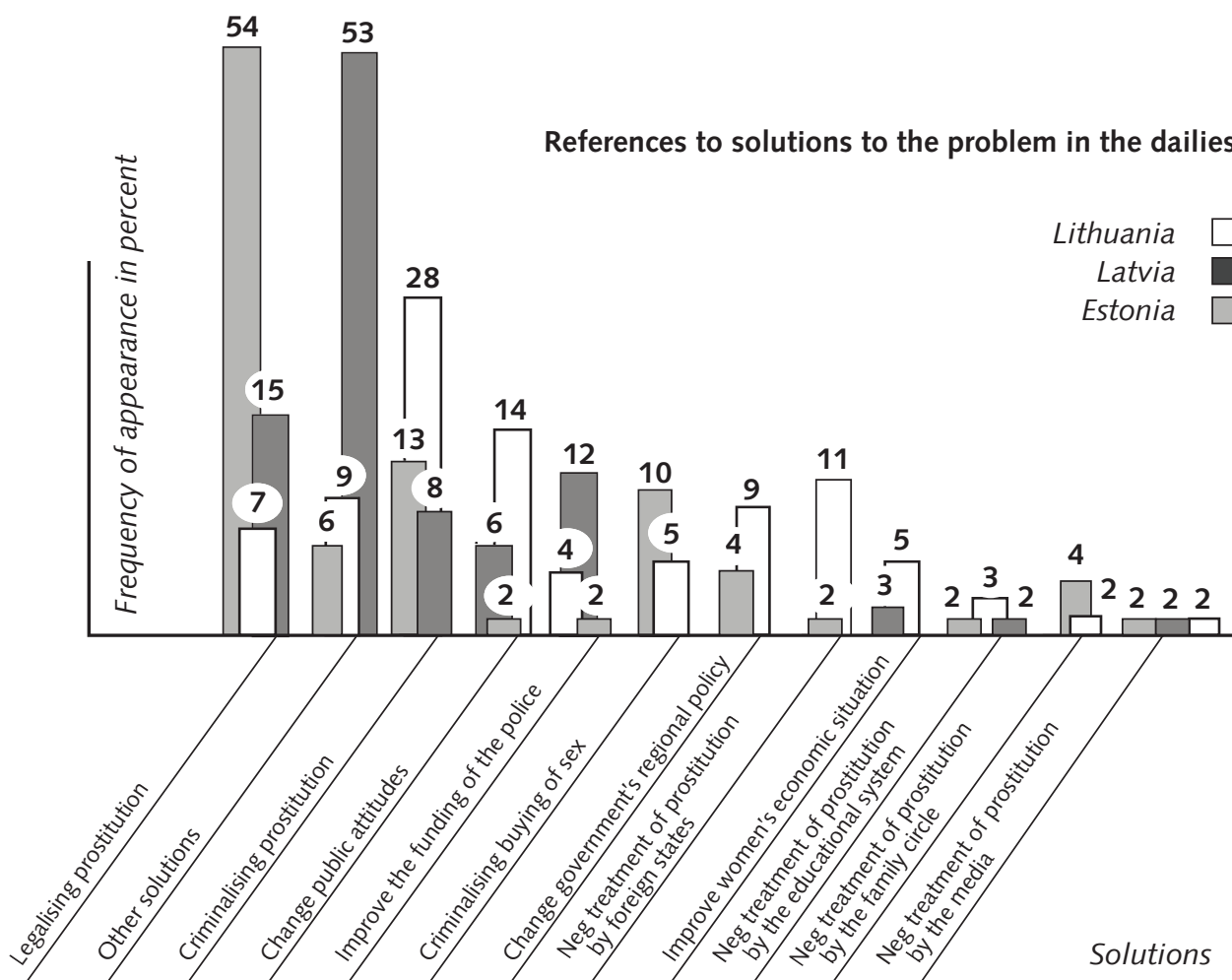
Reference to the causes of prostitution

Falling victim to trafficking and deception⁸, poverty and unemployment were considered significant causes of prostitution in the dailies of all three countries. In the Estonian articles, the sex industry was strongly tied to the country's regional policies (16% of references) and to

traditional gender roles (11% of references). References in the Latvian and Lithuanian dailies to prostitution being tied to mostly external, often economic necessity, differed from *Eesti Päevaleht's* in that prostitution was explained as the prostitutes' own free choice (6% of references in Lithuania, 16% of references in Latvia). In *Lietuvos Rytas* articles it is quite common to cite a lack of morals in prostitutes (7% of references) and in society (5% of references) as a cause.

None of the three dailies considered market demand or the role of the sex buyer as significant. Neither was prostitution tied during the period under study to the need to earn money for drugs or alcohol.

⁸ The influence of the Nordic-Baltic campaign against trafficking in women, which began in 2002, is apparent here. For more information: <http://www.nordicbalticcampaign.org>.



References to the effects of prostitution

According to references in the three Baltic states, violence against prostitutes was considered the most serious effect. Such a perception was especially high in Lithuania (28% of references). Similarly, sexually transmitted diseases and the spread of HIV received a high rating in all dailies. A quarter of the references in Latvia's *Diena* belonged to this group.

The decline of the country's image was a concern in the three countries (8% in the Estonian sample, 11% in the Latvian and 17% in the Lithuanian). In the Latvian and Lithuanian

dailies, a decline in public morality was added to the previously mentioned effects.

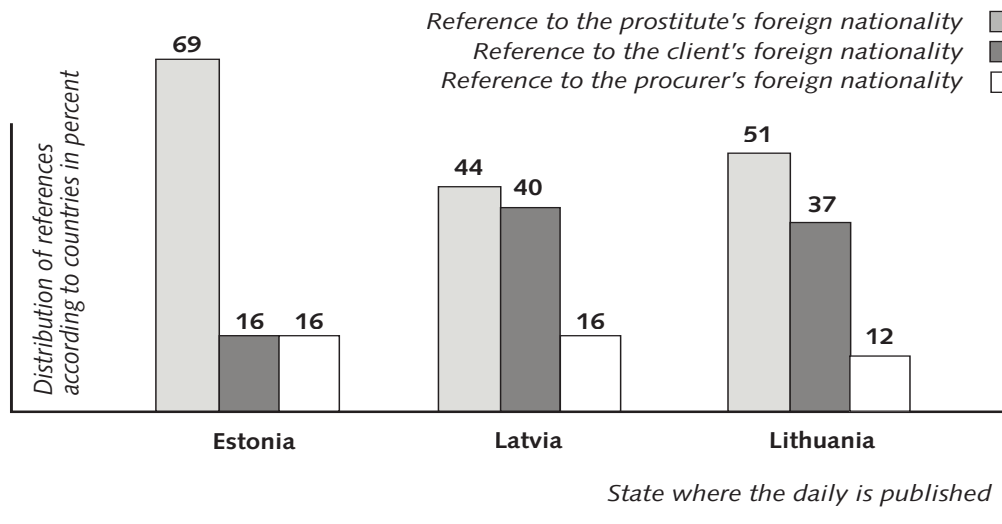
Prostitution is not tied so much to moral questions in *Eesti Päevaleht* as to the growth of illegal business and the concomitant economic harm.

Reference to possible solutions to the situation

Legalizing the sex industry was most often treated in the Latvian and Estonian dailies as

⁹ See also Chapter 4.4 "Attitudes towards different prostitution policies".

Distribution of references containing the prostitute's, client's and procurer's nationality



the solution to the prostitution situation (15% and 54% respectively).⁹ Noteworthy is *Eesti Päevaleht's* leaning towards such a solution.

More than a quarter of references in *Lietuvos Rytas* saw improvement in the situation through the criminalization of the sex industry. It needs to be borne in mind that prostitution was quite frequently reported in the daily under "domestic news" or "news in brief", where sex business and shadow economy branches were typically associated with a few words. The tying of prostitution with organized crime makes it understandable why banning prostitution is favored over other models. In the Estonian and Latvian dailies, less hope was placed on the banning of sex business than in Lithuania. Two opposing solutions – legalizing and criminalizing prostitution – dominated the

sample. Other possibilities received a rather modest amount of references.

References to the nationality of the parties involved in prostitution – the prostitute, client and procurer

Most of the time, the ethnicity of parties involved in sex business was mentioned in the dailies when it involved an ethnic minority member or a foreigner. In the context of the Baltic states, most references were to those of Slavic origin.¹⁰

In all the dailies in the study, the most frequent references were to the differences between the sex seller and the reader or "normal" people. It should be noted that often it is not necessary to cite the ethnicity of the parties involved in the prostitution, as it is sufficient to mention their names.

¹⁰ Regrettably, it cannot be shown how often references were made to prostitution parties' ethnicity in non-foreign news articles. At the time of codifying the articles, we did not anticipate such nuances and the other articles were not differentiated from the ones under foreign news.

3.2 Analysis of rhetoric in major discussions about prostitution in the dailies of the Baltic states and north-western Russia between 01.01.1999-01.04.2003

The major discussions concerning prostitution printed in the Estonian *Eesti Päevaleht*, Latvian *Diena*, Lithuanian *Lietuvos Rytas*, and Russian weekly in St. Petersburg, *Argumenty i Fauty*, were analyzed in this project. Analysis of rhetoric was the methodology. How the articles were found has been described in chapter 3.1.1 "Method of analysis and sample".

Several groups of articles were used from the dailies in all Baltic states. Here is presented but one principal discussion out of many from each newspaper. In making selections, the purpose was to see different prostitution questions represented.

The following is a presentation of one discussion from all four newspapers used in this analysis. The texts are presented in the form prepared by the country's analyst.¹¹

3.2.1 Reports on the legalization of brothels in the Netherlands in the Estonian daily Eesti Päevaleht

Nine articles on this topic appeared in the "Foreign news" and "Below the belt" group. The articles were compiled chiefly from news wire services. It is not possible to read Estonian journalists' opinions in them. The content is not deliberative, but serves as a vehicle for the conveyance of information released by others. Nevertheless it is important to consider how the Netherlands' legalization of brothels was presented to the Estonian reader. The way the events in the Netherlands were reported could have influenced Estonians' attitudes toward prostitution, especially when one bears in mind that the reporting occurred quite frequently.

Basically four rhetorical contrivances¹² easily combined were used in the *Eesti Päevaleht* articles to support the legalization of brothels. The first was the rhetoric of entitlement, using key phrases like "**liberalization of prostitution**",

¹¹ Estonia's report was prepared by Marion Pajumets from the Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre; north-western Russia's report by Natalia Khodyreva from the Institute of Non-Discriminative Gender Interrelations Crisis Center for Women; Latvia's by Sandra Sebre and Ieva Bite from the *Skalbes* crisis centre; and Lithuania's by Raimonda Mikalajunaite and Raminta Razgute from *Spinter Tyrimai Ltd*.

¹² The parts of this report's text in the studies of the opinion-leaders and the newspapers are distinguished as follows:

- *rhetorical idioms and counterrhetorical strategies*;
- „*motifs*“;
- *claims-making styles*;;
- „*terms with double meaning*“ and „*figurative terms*“;
- *citations*;
- *parts of citations emphasized by the analyzers*

“the world’s oldest profession”, and **“free spirited Netherlanders”**. Prostitution was presented as a normal vocation next to being a hair stylist (Kopli, M. 05.02.1999). The articles explained:

“Brothels would become leisure time centres, listing themselves on the stock market, and the prostitutes would register themselves as private businesses, which naturally also pay taxes” (Kopli, M. 05.02.1999).

Visiting a prostitute was offered as a modern solution to a modern man in a fast-paced world:

“Yab Yum Caviar Club is meant principally for the transit traveler who has to wait a long time between planes, and the weary traveler who needs to get rid of the stress caused by air travel. They can stop in before going home to their wives” (Reuters - Baltic News Service 16.12.1999).

The country’s prostitution policies were presented in a positive tone, using the word “liberal”. Indubitably, elements of the rhetoric of economic gain are present in the use of such a term to describe the situation (Kopli, M. 05.02.1999).

While emphasizing the need for tolerance and the right to different lifestyles in the rhetoric of entitlement, the rhetoric of endangerment was often used in addition. The latter talked about the need to protect the health of the prostitute, her clients and their other partners. This was to be ensured by legalizing brothels (STT-ETA 02.10.2000).

In addition to the rhetoric of entitlement and the rhetoric of economic gain, the third basic rhetoric, the rhetoric of unreason, was used to argue that prostitutes would be exploited in a situation where brothels are not under the regulation of the state. Allegedly new legislation would combat the use of slave, illegal and child workers in brothels (Kopli, M. 05.02.1999; Kopli, K. 28.10.199; Reuters-Baltic News Service 28.12.1999).

The fourth rhetorical strategy that was often used was the rhetoric of calamity. Prostitution was tied to numerous illegal businesses and it was suggested that in order to bring the latter under state control, it was necessary to do the same with the former (Reuters-Baltic News Service 27.10.1999).

While the legalization of brothels was still being discussed in the Dutch government, *Eesti Päevaleht* did not print any counter-rhetoric. The articles normalized the sex industry as a natural part of the contemporary world. Very often emphasis was given to the need for **“a realistic view”**, which was synonymous with legalized brothels.

After the law was passed in the Netherlands, the optimistic tone took a back seat, under strong criticism, to both moral values and the administrative difficulties of the law’s implementation.

The articles also used the rhetoric of loss and began to mention lawmakers’ moral corruption in comparison with other institutions and citizens:

“/.../ it's become apparent that the Dutch are not as tolerant as the media has painted them. Prostitutes that have wanted to register themselves as private businesses have discovered that officials, banks, and insurance companies don't want to do business with them” (Murre 16.08.2001).

In addition, the articles continued the use of the rhetoric of unreason of prostitutes:

“Many experts fear also that the new law will force many prostitutes underground, weakening supervision of them even more” (Murre 16.08.2001).

Furthermore, the *counter-rhetoric of tactical criticism* appeared, which ridiculed the law by suggesting that for the achievement of the right goals the wrong means had been chosen:

“Holland's prostitutes have to launder their lace underwear in a washer with hot water, soak vibrators in alcohol for 10 minutes, and take showers separately from their male clients /.../ - Bureaucrats demand order in sex life” (AFB/BNS/SLOL 29.06.2001).

3.2.2 Reports concerning the “paedophile scandal” and child sexual abuse in the Latvian daily *Diena*

As mentioned above, during the period September 1999 to July 2002, 32 articles appeared in *Diena* concerning the “paedophile scandal” and related issues of child sexual abuse. The series of events reported began with a Sunday evening newscast in which an in-depth report appeared concerning a modelling agency that had involved a large number of minors in the making of pornographic photos,

videos and films. Furthermore, this agency had provided some of these minors for sexual services to paedophiles. The news report also accused several high-ranking government officials, including two ministers, of procuring such sexual services from minors.

The first article in *Diena* in which child prostitution is referred to in relation to this newscast is on 28 September 1999. Written by two staff journalists, it reports some general facts concerning child sexual abuse, and that there have been no major studies on the number of incidences of child sexual abuse in Latvia, but reports from other countries indicate that 10-15% of children are sexually abused. The focus of the article is on the comments made by the President of Latvia, Vaira Vike-Freiberga. In the President's opinion, “paedophilia has existed since ancient times and it is a widely spread disease which is a fundamental problem of humankind,” thereby evoking a rhetoric of endangerment.

The article also cites the President's view that advantage should be taken of the paedophile scandal in order to strengthen the children's rights protection system in Latvia and to save those children who live on the streets and engage in prostitution, thereby evoking a rhetoric of social good.

Several articles also address causes of child sexual abuse and exploitation. An article on 30 September 1999 includes segments from an interview with paediatrician Egils Zalitis, who formerly worked in the USA. Dr. Zalitis talks of the necessity to acknowledge and to speak about child sexual abuse, and to recognize the potential factors:

“ E. Zalitis believes that in the future there will not just be this one incident in Latvia, because we have all the stress factors

which encourage sexual and physical abuse – unemployment, alcoholism, drug abuse and others."

This article by two staff journalists seems to evoke the rhetoric of calamity in leading the reader to fantasize about the likely degree of escalation of this problem.

An article deserving particular mention, in that it triggered other articles in response, contained a statement by the archbishop of the Lutheran Church of Latvia, Janis Vanags. Published on 8 October 1999, in it the archbishop addresses paedophilia and homosexuality as if they were one and the same. Furthermore, he presents the argument that the situation in Latvia is similar to that of the Fall of Rome:

"We could study the reasons for the downfall of Greek and Roman times and ask: is it merely a coincidence that they collapsed when prostitution, homosexuality and paedophilia were not only widespread, but also accepted by society? Yet there is a clear reference in the Bible to a society in which homosexuality had become a part of daily life. The name of this city was Sodom, and its fate is known to this day."

The statement by the archbishop certainly contains the rhetoric of calamity, implying that the fate of Latvia could be likened to the collapse of Sodom.

The counter-rhetoric to this claim was provided by psychologist Kristine Maslovska in an article "Cross-sections of paedophilia" on 26 October 1999, in which she analyses the difference between paedophilia and homosexuality: "Paedophilia is the desire for sexual contact with a child." In this extensive analytical article Maslovska also speaks of the potential causes

and effects of paedophilia.

"Those who abuse children have often themselves been abused as a child: approximately one in five boys who are sexually abused will later go on to abuse other children. The experienced sexual abuse leaves a serious impact upon the development of the child. With time the emotions which are not expressed, which are even denied – fear, shame, sorrow, despair – will turn to anger which then become the basis for perversion."

This psychological analysis makes use of the *rhetoric of endangerment*, pointing to the intergenerational cycle of abuse, which includes psychological damage at each turn.

Another example of very extensive, in-depth reporting is an interview with Attorney-General Janis Skrastins, carried out by several of the major editors and staff writers of *Diena* on 16 December 1999. This article includes not only Skrastins' comments, but also a well-structured analysis of the sequence of events beginning with the September 19th newscast, the involvement of the Attorney-General's office, and the course of the criminal investigation. The focus of the Attorney-General's comments concern his opinion that he is being wrongly accused by the media for not properly handling the investigation:

"One thing has been certain from the very beginning – the main goal of the media is to achieve a lack of trust in the prosecutor's office."

The Attorney-General seems to be evoking the *rhetoric of personal tragedy*, i.e., tragedy has befallen him and he is being unjustly accused by the media. In contrast to this personal tragedy which he claims for himself, the Attorney-General argues that the adolescents involved

in this situation are not victims of personal tragedy, but seekers of personal gain:

"Most of them are teenagers who know very well what sex is. It wasn't the modelling agency which taught them this. They saw in the modelling agency a place where they could gain some benefit."

Most significant is the way in which the interview is framed by the article itself. The culminating effect is that the Attorney-General has indeed mishandled several very important aspects of the investigation, and that the "tragedy" is his own incompetence, which did eventually lead to his resignation.

Other subsequent articles mainly involve more "factual" information regarding the course of the criminal investigation, the criminal allegations, the investigation by the parliamentary committee, and eventually the sentences handed down by the judges.

3.2.3 Reports on prostitution and trafficking in women in the Lithuanian daily Lietuvos Rytas

The majority of such reports are about poor women from Belarus or other countries in Eastern Europe. They describe women who were sold as prostitutes in Lithuania or in other countries in Western Europe. As is usual, they made contact with some person who helped them get into the business. The articles' authors claim that most of the girls were not aware of what kind of business it was. While writing about women and young girls becoming prostitutes, the daily uses the rhetoric of

economic need and rhetoric of unreason. The headings of such articles are supposed to be attractive for readers and make it interesting to continue reading the whole article, for example "Dupes and volunteers are involved in modern slavery".

The rhetoric of economic gain is used to explain the motives of those who act in the criminal world, especially of those who act in the business of trafficking in women. The articles describe the situation in western countries. It is noted that girls sold to work as prostitutes are brought from Eastern Europe, and it is very cheap to bring girls, for example, from Lithuania or Belarus. It becomes a more and more profitable business, even if illegal, to sell women. Business is growing so fast that even special institutions created to protect women or to control illegal businesses are not able to help. These illegal activities are a very well organised system which is very difficult to place under control.

Forecasts for the prostitution business after joining the EU appear in the latest articles. Mostly it is noted that the flow of women coming, or being sold, to work as prostitutes will definitely increase.

At the same time the rhetoric of tradition is used to explain why brothels should be legalized. This rhetoric is actually used in reports on prostitution in western European countries.

3.2.4 Discussions about the legalization of prostitution in the Russian weekly Argumenty i Fakty

One major discussion on the subject of prostitution can be identified in the period under analysis. It is a claim-making for the legalization of prostitution made by several articles between 2000–2001 such as: “Prostitutes in Law” (5.11.2000), “Deputy of Russian Federation State Duma Aleksey Mitrofanov: Prostitutes must be legalized” (23.11.2000), and “One night butterfly for 30 bucks” (men – N.Kh.) (23.05.2001).

The authors of these articles (two women and one man) used the motifs “world’s oldest profession”, “the goddess of love” and “night butterfly”. Some of the authors used historical rhetoric, mentioning the historical roots of the legalization of brothels in ancient times, medieval Europe, and Tsarist Russia:

“The issue of the legalization of prostitution is as old as prostitution itself”; “Historically the main consumers of prostitutes were young men going through a period of sexual initiation; they were brought to brothels by their fathers”; “In Russia the problem of medical and police control of prostitution was raised as early as the onset of the century”; “One should remember that there were specially trained goddesses of love in Hindu temples, and the parishioners had sex with them – that was considered to be prestigious. At the time of the Roman Empire the courtesans had licenses and paid taxes”.

They also used the rhetoric of entitlement: “prostitutes became a universal element of the

city lifestyle”; endangerment (social danger of prostitution, criminal sources, corruption in law enforcement structures); calamity (epidemic of HIV), and **naturalizing** of men’s needs.

The article “Prostitutes in Law” (5.11.2000) criticized the socialist way of claim-making, using tactical criticism:

“Socialists from all eras and nations have been sure that the industry of vice is a class-society problem, so the only reliable way to eradicate prostitution is to eliminate social inequality and the exploitation of women and grant them emancipation rights (however, we know that emancipation resulted in women coming to use prostitutes’ services in a similar way to men).”

As an alternative, the claim-making of legalization is offered using the example of democratic countries, mentioning Germany and Denmark in particular:

“ All other practicing democracies have at least turned the brothels into training centers. For example in Germany, a person (a male) who decides to sell his body comes to this place and goes through a professional training course: he is instructed in the physiological and venereal specificity of his future profession and the ways of psychological and legal self-protection to avoid any menace from clients”.

It is interesting that in the above quote the female prostitute is transformed into a male. Legalization is deemed to be a way to protect the population from venereal diseases, criminal offence and corruption in law-enforcement bodies:

"Illegal prostitution favors corruption in internal authorities; the number of crimes committed by prostitutes grows steadily" (One night butterfly for 30 bucks) (men-N.Kh.) (23.05.2001).

The articles' authors strive to prove that legalization is the only acceptable solution for eliminating the problems of street and teenage prostitution:

"The problems of street prostitution may only be solved by legalizing this part of the city's lifestyle".

Some broadly interpreted examples from worldwide statistics on sexual crime are used as an argument to support legalization:

"Legalized prostitution in Denmark resulted in a drop of registered rapes in the country by 70%, whereas in Australia rape grew by 149% after prostitution was banned." ("Prostitutes in Law", 5.11.2000).

Said article also refers to the public opinion of people who visited the newspaper's web site. In fact, the published data and the graph of visitors' replies show that 71% of the population supports the legalization of prostitution in Moscow. Thus, references to international and Russian sociological studies are using *scientific style*.

The Deputy of the Russian Federation State Duma Aleksey Mitrofanov claimed zone prostitutes and receipt of tax from sex business. He especially stands up for the criminalization of teenagers engaged in prostitution, referring to the example of the West:

"In the West... professional prostitutes have forced minors out of this business".

The journalists, citing the deputy, refer as well to the authority of city officials who tacitly agree to the prostitutes' presence next to themselves.

The legalization looked like a *"step to purify society from negative phenomena"*.

Thus, taking the three articles under analysis, only one way was chosen out of different means of legal solutions to prostitution-related problems – the policy of legalization of prostitution, while mentioning the German experience of legalized brothels and the results of decreased rape in the Netherlands after legalization. No other democratic countries with different approaches to prostitution were mentioned.

Summarizing the three articles, it is apparent that of the possible prostitution policies, only one enjoyed support. References were often made to the legalization of brothels in Germany and to the drop in rapes after prostitution was legalized in Denmark. Attention was not paid to other democratic countries' prostitution policies.

Four different discussions from each newspaper in each country were presented above. The same themes prevailed throughout. For example, during the period under study three of the participating states had discussions about the state regulation of prostitution serving no purpose. It was a popular view in Latvia, where

prostitution is legal, in abolitionist Estonia, and in the Russian Federation, where sex selling is banned.

The second prevalent theme in the articles is the prostitution policy in well-developed European countries. Both Estonian and Latvian researchers picked up on this. At the end of the 1990s and for some years after that, the newspapers in the Baltic states gave considerable coverage to western European countries' policies on prostitution and how they had developed. It is noteworthy that in Estonia, unlike the other participating countries, references were frequently to the Nordic countries, especially Finland and Sweden where, in the latter case, the selling of sex was tolerated and buying prohibited. At the same time, *Eesti Päevaleht* gave strong coverage to the prostitution policies of the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. In the other countries participating in the study, the so-called Swedish model received little notice, and coverage given to legalized prostitution in central European countries and Denmark used language which implied that the situation was ordinary, or it was even extolled in some instances.

Two opposing views emerge here about prostitutes' and human rights. On the one hand is the understanding in the Nordic countries, and to some extent in the Estonian media, that selling sex is always in conflict with a woman's human rights and dignity, and it doesn't have

a place in humane society. In such a view, a prostitute is seen as a *victim of a patriarchal society*, which is inevitably unequal. On the other hand, a widely held view in several central European countries and the Baltic states is that a prostitute is an entrepreneur and prostitution a business which anyone has a right to pursue. The two opposing views bring with them the use of different rhetorical contrivances. If, for example in Latvia's *Diena*, legalization of prostitution was often justified for reasons of *increasing the prostitute's rights* and economic gain, then *Eesti Päevaleht* also had many references, in addition to those made in Latvia, to the unreason of prostitutes and rhetoric of economic need that are presented in the Nordic countries.

The threat of governmental power being corrupted by the presence of prostitution should also be noted. It was mentioned in more or less all newspapers in the study.

Finally, a conspicuous practice seems to be surfacing as evidenced by writings in four of the newspapers, in more or less elaborated form, and that is descriptive reporting of prostitution. In the Russian weekly *Argumenty i Fakty*, almost half of the articles focused on the prostitutes and on detailed accounts of their services ("The oldest profession in the Internet", "Wild sex with Orgasm-Santa Claus", "St. Petersburg's sex marathon", "What is escort service"). These articles are not about the causes and effects of prostitution, but, rather, they advertise the sex industry itself.

4. OPINION-MAKERS VIEWS ON PROSTITUTION AND DIFFERENT PROSTITUTION POLICIES

This comparative study of Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers' views on prostitution, its causes and effects tries to explain to what extent "significant others", molders of public opinion, see prostitution as a problem and what their views are on solutions. Peripherally, understanding of gender roles by these leading opinion-makers and their thoughts on the development of the sex industry in connection with EU enlargement are also considered. For the purposes of this study, opinion-makers

are members of society who influence views taken on social matters, including prostitution, and the policies that affect such matters, by virtue of their office or institutional position. The opinion-makers included in this group need not have publicly raised the question of prostitution. Secondly, the study regards as opinion-makers those members of society who need not have direct influence or institutional position to affect prostitution policy, but whose position on the sex industry is known and directly influences public opinion.

4.1. Method of analysis

The aim of the study is to find out what the views or positions of leading opinion-makers in the Baltic states and St. Petersburg are on the flourishing phenomenon – prostitution – that came into being after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The terms of the study – explaining the positions and modes of argumentation – led to the use of the semi-structured individual interview in order to gather the material for study and apply the qualitative analysis method. Qualitative methods are suitable for the interpretation of individual interviews because they help to analyze the meaning people give to their society's diverse phenomena, and, in addition, to how they form that meaning. Qualitative methods help to explain the

cultural and subjective meanings of society's phenomena (Lagerspetz 2000).

In order to comparatively analyse the findings, researchers in all the participating countries used the same methods for gathering the material and analysis, and applied the same principles in the compiling of the samples.

4.1.1 Semi-structured in-depth interview

The semi-structured in-depth interview is characterized by an individual approach to the interview setting. Questions are prepared in advance, but the sequence and the depth of digging into the respondent's opinions can

be changed according to the respondent's statements. The advantage of this method of gathering material is that the interviewees can introduce relevant themes into the discussion which are important to them but outside the interviewer's plans. Therefore, it can be said that the form of interview allows room for surprise. The researcher does not set out to get confirmation for those findings that s/he already considers factual (Pajumets 2001: 126).

The guideline for the conduct of the interviews was drafted on the principle of moving from simpler and more general questions to the more analytical and personal.

Discussions started with introductory questions that could be answered quite easily. The interviewees were asked to express their opinion on prostitution in their country. Then they were asked what they thought of the phenomenon and its causes. In this part of the discussion, most of the respondents mentioned the different effects of prostitution. Next, the discussion was steered towards the seller and buyer of sex, i.e. the prostitute's, client's and procurer's motives for their activities or, to put it another way, to find out what the respondent thought to be the causes of prostitution.

The interviewees were also asked how they would explain the fact that it is mostly women who offer a prostitute's services and mostly men who buy them. This question gave the opinion-makers an opening to express what they thought of gender roles in general if they held views about the social expectations and limitations placed on women and men.

The interview then proceeded with the question of whether the interviewee and those close to her/him had had personal contact with prostitution.

In the last part of the discussion, the opinion-makers were asked what they thought would make a good prostitution policy, and whether and how the institution s/he represented could help to improve the situation.

The interviews were conducted in a morally neutral atmosphere. The interviewer did not make any value judgments of the opinion-makers' positions, argue over the presented statements or contradict them.

Before the end of the interview, the opinion-leaders had the opportunity to repeat the views they thought were most important.

4.1.2 Samples and conditions for conducting interviews

The original objective was to have relative balance in gender and age, so that the opinions of men and women from different age categories would be as equally represented as possible. It was also hoped to interview people with different levels of income.

While compiling the Estonian sample, it became evident that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to meet the conditions we had set for the sample. It was relatively easy to get a range of incomes represented in the sample. Difficulties occurred with gender and age. Most of the leading Estonian opinion-makers were

men between the ages of 35 and 45. Therefore, their views are those mostly heard and they have the greatest influence over attitudes formed by members of society. Their representation was greater in the Estonian sample than women's and young people's.

The Latvian, Lithuanian and north-western Russian researchers had greater success in getting a more balanced gender and age representation in their samples.

Samples from all countries included the following:

- Three leaders from parliamentary fractions (both government and opposition)
- Three analysts/media figures (with previously expressed opinions on prostitution and related questions)
- Two city mayors (one from a large metropolis, one from a resort town)
- Two businessmen (from businesses connected to prostitution or having a measurable influence on political parties)
- One Social Affairs Ministry official (under whose jurisdiction prostitution falls)
- One law enforcement official (under whose jurisdiction prostitution falls)
- One Head of a women's rights NGO
- One leading specialist from the tax office

Interviewees were sent an e-mail and a regular letter containing the proposal to interview them. The communication explained the aims of the study and they were promised anonymity. The place and time of the interview was agreed upon by telephone. The main condition with regard to the room in which the interview was to take place was that it would be free of noise and other distractions. The interviews took

place either at the workplace of the interviewee or a quiet, comfortable room elsewhere.

Depending on the conversational style of the interviewee and interest in the topic, the discussions lasted from one hour to two and a half hours.

4.1.3 Data analysis

The material obtained from the semi-structured individual interview was analyzed qualitatively according to the following criteria:

The most clearly stated positions in the study were adduced.

The analysis determined whether the opinion-makers consider the phenomenon a social problem or not, and, also, identified their understanding of the phenomenon's existence, causes and effects.

The major rhetorical contrivances used by the opinion-makers with relation to their position were identified.

The analysis identified the opinion-makers' prostitution policy preferences, the rhetorical contrivances for these preferences, and the arguments against alternatives.

It was also analyzed whether the main positions of the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers contained unique or unexpected components which would stand in contrast to the findings in the other participating countries' studies.

Whenever diverse groups appeared in a sample, they were identified. The single respondent was the analysis unit, and not an interviewee group formed from an identical indicator. The positions of two businessmen could form a group, but not necessarily. On that basis, a group could be formed, for example, according to an opinion of

a businessman, a representative of a women's rights NGO and a politician.

A group could also be formed from the opinions of respondents originating from different regions.

According to the rules of anonymity in the study, the people behind the included quotes are identified by three characteristics. The first

identifies the respondent by sector: public sector (RPS), private sector (RBS), third sector (RTS)¹³ or media sector (RFE).

The second assigns the respondent's gender: female (F) or male (M).

Finally, the respondent's geographic origin is noted: Estonia (EE), Latvia (LV), Lithuania (LT) or north-western Russian (NW-RU).

4.2 Prostitution – a social problem?

As previously mentioned, the aim of the study was to find out to what extent leading opinion-makers in the Baltic states and north-western Russia consider prostitution to be a problem, and for what reasons. The researchers were also interested to find out what kinds of arguments are used to justify sex business as natural or normal.

By using the flexibility of the semi-structured individual interview, we let the opinion-makers talk about the meaning of prostitution to them and how prostitution may be connected with such phenomena as economic hardship, organized crime, traditional gender roles, violence, exploitation of minors and so on.

In this chapter, the principal reasons given by the opinion-makers for either making a problem out of, or normalizing, the sex industry are introduced. In doing so, attention is given to

the rhetorical contrivances used to explain their positions.

4.2.1 Prostitution as a rare or functional phenomenon

What became apparent in the interviews was what had already been learned from the newspapers - not all opinion-makers see prostitution as a problem.¹⁴ The opinion that surfaced in the Estonian and the north-western Russian study material did not see prostitution as a national concern comparable to "real" problems - economic hardship, murder and theft – to such a degree that the government should spend time on it. In these cases, the opinion-makers talked of prostitution being marginal to "actual" social problems. They repeatedly

¹³ Otherwise known as the NGO sector.

¹⁴ See also chapter 3.1.3 "Analysis results" about newspaper articles in the public demands presentation process.

alleged that by dealing with “huge” problems, the “secondary” problem of prostitution would disappear by itself and, therefore, it was not necessary to get involved with it.

RFE(M)NW-RU: We have lots of other problems in the city that are really a great problem for the residents. For example, we have many unsolved contract-killings. There are other things causing concern – trade in drugs that has ties to prostitution. This involves streetwalkers who earn enough for a drug dose without committing a public offence. If we solve the problem of drugs we would not have such prostitutes.

RPS(M)EE: There are bigger crimes, such as killing, stealing - those direct hits. /-- -/ Where does procuring begin, what can be called a crime? The lines are blurred. Estonia is a very tolerant society. If you appear to behave silently and peacefully and do not indulge in all those excesses - drugs, alcohol, illegal tobacco, fighting and disturbing the peace - you are left alone.

Naturalizing of prostitution was a more common attitude in the study material than the insignificance attributed to it as a problem. This was a characteristic of every country's opinion-makers, but perhaps most of all in the Latvian interview group. The representatives of this group did not even see prostitution as a small problem, but rather saw in it a social function component. They thought that it was wiser to accept prostitution as “the world's oldest profession”. ‘Prostitution is not a problem because it has always existed in different societies since time immemorial’ was the general and typical logic in the study material.

RBS(M)EE: If a person likes to sell herself then you cannot forbid it. It would be ridiculous if someone said that prostitution in general, both selling and buying, was prohibited. It would sound something like: “I order the sun not to shine!” There have constantly been two oldest professions - one is the prostitute and the other is the builder.

RPS(M)LV: Prostitution is not a problem – prostitution will always exist, it is not for naught that it is the oldest profession in the world.

RFE(M)LV: My associations with prostitution are of girls who provide sexual services for money – it is Caka Street, it is some literature which I read in childhood about poor girls who end up in brothels – in Hamburg or Amsterdam -- that's all. /---/ Prostitution is acceptable. It is 'inscribed' in the model of how society functions – as I mentioned before, as seen in the literature I read in childhood.

The opinion-makers considering prostitution as natural, often referring to its long tradition from which also derive its function and inevitability. In the last quote, the sex industry is even romanticized - tied to a childhood fairyland. It is significant to note many respondents' logic, which did not see the phenomenon as problematic if it has existed for a long time. Here is hidden an optimistic conviction that problems are temporary; they disappear. Those emphasizing the functionality of sex business avoid contrary logic, according to which the sex industry's long history shows the extent and seriousness of the problem, and not evidence of its normality. It is interesting to draw a parallel here, showing

how diverse reactions to society's different problems can be. Prostitution is "the world's [so-called] oldest profession", which can never be completely eradicated. The same is true for theft and killing. The sex industry, theft and killing have always existed and differences only exist in the degree or levels of security in society. But great variety is evidenced in the way people relate to these phenomena. In the case of theft and killing, unanimous agreement exists that they are serious problems which the police and courts must deal with. Theft is not naturalized, not treated as a function of society, and killing is not justified because of Cain, whose actions laid the foundations for the traditional style of behavior. But in the case of prostitution, such unanimity has not been reached. On the contrary, several social groups talk about the normality, tradition and function of the sex industry, the reason being that sex business has never disappeared and it cannot be hoped that it will. Regrettably, neither will killing nor theft disappear, albeit that great effort is expended on their reduction, at high cost and with difficult work.

Some of the opinion-makers who regarded prostitution as a function of society alleged that prostitution itself is not the problem, but the very fact of its being turned into a problem by conservative forces. Some of the opinion-makers had an unexpectedly constructionist attitude towards prostitution and social problems – the problem is whatever people in positions of power declare it to be and treat

it as such. In the latter arguments, making prostitution out to be a problem gained a slant: the sex industry is only a problem when looked at from a certain perspective.

RFE(M)LT: *Prostitution has always existed. I think it becomes a problem when conservative moods and forces prevail in society. It was here, in Lithuania, in pre-war times, when the Catholic Church seemed to be stronger than it is now, and now that it is weaker there's no such thing. It depends on those who make decisions.*

RBS(M)LT: *I would only associate prostitution with a completely natural phenomenon. I don't think it's a problem. The only problem is that police chase them. I don't get it at all – why should they be punished?*

At this point it needs to be noted that considerable disagreement existed among the opinion-makers about what constitutes social conservatism. Some said that prostitution would not be a problem if conservative forces did not label it as such, while others alleged that prostitution is a problem due to conservative and patriarchal attitudes that marginalize women both politically and economically.

Finally, one more way of normalizing prostitution needs to be mentioned, for it was quite prevalent among these leading opinion-makers. It has to do with the liberal position that selling sex is the seller's right. They used prostitute's entitlement rhetoric and stressed the sex seller's "freedom of choice".

RFE(M)LV: *I must admit that I am not completely certain about my position with regard to these issues. But one side of the*

argument is that prostitution belongs in the private sphere – a person should have the right to decide about her own body. If a woman wants to use her body in this way, then why not, if she wants to sell it for money. If this does not create a risk for her and does not create a risk for others, then on what basis can we say that she does not have the right?

RPS(F)NW-RU: On the other hand this is her free choice, like in any other normal profession. If the woman prefers this way of earning money, she has a right to it.

RFE(M)NW-RU: I don't think that prostitution is something abnormal. Just that everything should be within a reasonable framework. /---/ I have a right to relations where no money is involved, but if someone prefers to pay, let him do that. In general, I see things liberally. The only thing we shouldn't do is infringe upon the rights of the people who do not wish to come across it (sex business).

It should be pointed out that the main effect of prostitute's entitlement rhetoric is to justify and preserve the present situation. In order to make prostitution more acceptable to society and the sex seller, it is treated as a liberal profession with an equal footing that should be conducted sensibly, so that infections do not spread and values held by certain social groups are not offended. Prostitute's entitlement rhetoric treats prostitution as a **"human right"** and not as a tragedy or a result of unfortunate events/circumstances coinciding.

Here again it is interesting to note the very different understandings of human rights. In the study material, the human right was seen as the right to change one's body and sexuality into merchandise as well as the right to human dignity without having to sell one's body.¹⁵

4.2.2 Prostitution – a problem because of accompanying phenomena

Quite frequently, instead of thinking that the government should concentrate on more important problems than expend the country's limited resources on combating prostitution, the opinion-makers thought that putting reins on prostitution would also rein in many other social problems. They did not see a problem in prostitution so much for reasons of commercializing sex and human relations, but rather they were concerned with other problems which they "packaged" with prostitution. Prostitution was seen as a link in a larger chain of problems which enhanced the criminal order, and the reduction of prostitution would help to break down this cluster.

RPS(M)EE: I consider it prostitution when a procurer is involved, /---/ where someone hires workers. And this is also a problem not because of sex, but for the issues that are fellow travelers - illegal alcohol, drugs, the spread of venereal

¹⁵ See also Chapter 4.2.3 "Prostitution – a substantive problem".

diseases - accompanying problems, not the sex. I don't see a problem in that (sex) personally. Forgive me, people have had sex for very many years and abundantly, and nothing bad has come of it.

Two distinct prostitution-accompanying results can be identified in the study material. The first – prostitution's connection to organized crime – is economic, and thereby also touches upon the state's security. The second most often named problem concerns national health. Prostitution is seen as problematic because it could endanger the health of sellers, buyers and the latter's regular partners, and could also see violence carried out towards the prostitutes. Organized crime was often described by the participating countries' leading opinion-makers as a "parallel" or "alternative system" to the legitimate governmental structure. Very often a warning appears in the interviews that if the government does not have control over prostitution, the latter could provide opportunities for other illegitimate structures to develop, and as a result a situation could arise where the legitimate structure is seriously threatened.

RPS(M)EE: Those are the black holes in society that the state doesn't regulate and someone else does. It makes profits somewhere else, the shadow economy, and all uncontrolled flow of money represents a threat to state security. A parallel structure forms. The more black holes there are, the stronger the parallel structure. And finally, it begins to influence public authority.

In addition to economic and state security perspectives, the opinion-makers in Estonia,

Latvia, Lithuania and north-western Russia used people-centered arguments: if the government does not get prostitution under its control fast, drug and alcohol abuse and disease will spread explosively – a combination of calamity and endangerment rhetorics.

RPS(F)NW-RU: This (prostitution) is connected with such things as smoking, drinking alcohol, these being the least harmful things; some of them (prostitutes) use drugs. The organism is worn out.

RFE(F)EE: And through that the children who are born may be infected: all this second generation theme. The children of prostitutes are infected with AIDS in many cases. And what will it cost the state?

This rendering of prostitution as a state and people-centered problem turns it into the cause of other more pressing or difficult problems. The sex industry must be curbed not because it is harmful to society or the individual, but because organized crime could overpower legitimate government, or it could cause an epidemic.

4.2.3 Prostitution – a substantive problem

In this section, the position that sees prostitution as a big problem in itself and not because the sex industry can increase society's shadowy aspects is introduced.

At first, the sex industry was considered a substantive problem in that it harmed society's moral fibre and young people's value systems. References to prostitutes' immorality and young

women's "parasitism" were typical. These references were often made in cases where economic hardship was acknowledged, where selling one's body was seen as a necessity. This is an interesting and not at all rare contradiction in the study material – in a situation where a woman lacks, or almost lacks, choice rests an expectation to make a "correct", "suitable for women", moral "choice".

RPS(F)LT: *Prostitution is clearly associated with certain kinds of people - a group of women who create a job for themselves that needs no special skills, who create their own workplace. I haven't thought about this before, but I still denounce it. I'm also for the idea that people should get a specialty and shouldn't sell their bodies. It will not serve them long.*

RBS(F)LV: *The problem is if many young girls begin to think that this is the best way to earn money. /---/ And even worse if their children begin to think that this is a self-evident and natural way to live.*

RPS(F)NW-RU: *If prostitution appears openly on the street and catches one's eye, the situation seems to be dangerous - we have to raise the alarm, like in the case of a rat invasion. I apologize for the comparison, maybe it's not proper for the girls, but in both cases we have the problem of sanitation norms. In the case of the girls we have ethical and moral problems as well. To my mind, it is this that really starts catching your eye.*

It should be noted that unlike the accusations levied against the seller of sex for money, the sex buyer was rarely accused of corrupting society's moral fibre – the rhetoric of loss. Their activities were not described as those of a "parasite" or "rat". Apparently, less moral conviction is expected from men than women.

RPS(F)EE: *It is just as if the state doesn't do a thing to help the family to stay together. /---/ If an open road is provided, and temptations – exactly, temptations – that everything is free, then perhaps holding it (family) together may prove to be harder. /---/ I think that if there are temptations (commercial sex) then people very often give in . When something is offered (sex for money), it is used.*

Again, attention needs to be drawn to the allowances that were made for the different sexes by many respondents. By finding that too many "temptations" make fools of men, they excused men's behavior and defended their choices. Many of the opinion-makers who regarded men as irresponsible or weak did not tolerate similar characteristics or behavior in women, despite the feminization of poverty.¹⁶

The opinion-makers treating prostitution as a substantive problem assigned altogether different causes to it than the aforementioned opinion-makers. The former saw the prostitute, and not the social moral fibre, as a victim of prostitution. The perception is that sex business seriously harms a prostitute's physical and mental health. It is a case of victim-centered opinion.

¹⁶ See also Vöormann, R. (2000) *Mehed ja naised tööturul: palgasuhted*, in the collection *Teel tasakaalustatud ühiskonda: Naised ja mehed Eestis* (Maimik, P.; Mänd, K.; Papp, Ü-M. ed.) Social Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Estonia, UN Development Program, pp. 50-52 and Khodyreva, N. (2002) "How women in prostitution see themselves and explain their motivations", NIKK magazine, No. 1, 2002, pp. 26-29.

Prostitution's substantive critique was also represented by interviewees who criticized traditional gender roles and defended women's equal rights. In the opinion of a number of them, prostitution does not make prostitutes happy. Instead, it violates women's human rights and dignity. They used the rhetoric of unreason and the motifs of "violence" and "victim".

RFE(F)LV: *Prostitution is when you sell something which is very intimate, because the body is part of your personality – the soul, the body, how one looks, who one is. It is selling part of your personality – part of your identity; something which is one's right to have protected, something which one has the right to rule over. With prostitution you give up a part of your identity, you sell a part – others can use it, others have privilege over it, because you have sold it. If I sell my house, then I don't have any rights to it anymore. If I sell my body, then I don't have the right to decide over it.*

RPS(F)EE: *Prostitutes are victims – victims of violence against women. Prostitutes are victims according to all international documents. /---/ Basically, there are two causes. One is economic and the other is gender inequality. /---/ I must be the last person who thinks that it is a free choice. It can never be a free choice. These people are after all products of their society, in some sense. I think it is a choice of last resort.*

RTS(F)LT: *To me this is a kind of violence. /---/ It is associated with the assertive man who seeks these services, and who doesn't see that she is underage. He abuses that woman by giving her money, and*

sometimes not even paying for the service – and such cases are not rare.

In the above quotations, references were made to both social and men's, or sex buyers', "violence". I would emphasize that in this opinion group, women – whether in the sex industry as a result of deception or of their own volition, were seen as "victims". The respondents considered women from regions with high poverty, unemployment and social and linguistic isolation as a risk group . Several opinion-makers said that unjust regional policies and economic levers knowingly direct women and children towards the sex industry, adding that "knowingly" and "voluntarily" are not synonymous. The interviewees defending women's rights repeatedly said that an 'only choice' is no choice at all.

RPS(F)LT: *I'd link prostitution to social problems. It is a problem in the sense that, let's say, about 90 percent of girls go there because they are desperate. Girls and guys go there because of the money and social problems.*

Estonian opinion-makers said that ethnic Russian women in East-Viru county, who do not speak Estonian, are faced with a situation where, practically speaking, they see no other solution but prostitution. Referring to economic need, they repeatedly said that the government's unjust policies have placed women in "forced choice" or "no choice at all" situation.

RFE(F)EE: *There are still minors and comers from East-Viru county, and problems of minority people. /----/ And everything that is connected with poverty, lack of choices, life itself in East-Viru county or in other regions as well, the high unemployment.*

In addition to not solving economic problems, opinion-makers from all participating countries criticized their governments for liberalizing policies on education and the media. The respondents said that the media and the educational system manipulate youth and women in order to make sure that the sex industry has new raw material. In making these assertions, they used a combination of rhetorics: social and young women's loss and unreason, and the motif of "moral brainwashing".

RPS(F)LT: *It has to do with human rights. Society is mised. It's a profitable business, more profitable than weapons trade. Disinformation is spread in order to make females interested.*

RFE(M)EE: *The way sexual morals are presented to youngsters is in my estimation really criminal... /---/ If it is explained to very young people – kids – that everything is very nice and very good, that it is so cool*

and you can do it, and there is nothing to be afraid of, then in my opinion the same market preparation is now going on in schools that drug dealers do with lower class strong drug consumers by handing out ecstasy-pills with a dwarf on it. /---/ The same children's brainwashing took place four, five, six years ago under the sexual enlightenment label.

The leading opinion-makers from north-western Russia were conspicuous because they tended, more than others, to accuse young people of being interested in economic gain and of too readily accepting this new mentality.

RBS(M)NW-RU: *You just try to bring up your child when all around her she hears that selling sex is smart, that it is the only way to earn, quite a normal way. You will, on the contrary, be respected for that. And all this results in a situation where no one wishes to work or create, they just want to shag and get money for it.*

4.3 Causes and effects of prostitution

This chapter introduces the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers' understandings about the causes and effects of prostitution from the perspective of sex seller, sex buyer and the society and state. I would add the comment that the interviewees often returned, without noticing, to opposing concepts – social and individual responsibility – in their discussions about prostitution's causes and effects. Often the discussion revolved around the question: to what extent can a member of society make free choices; how

much are decisions determined by society - i.e. are the causes for selling and buying of sex within the individual, and therefore, would they have to be accountable for their choices, or does society lead individuals and groups towards certain activities and should one, therefore, talk about society's responsibility? I would underline here that whenever talking about prostitutes, opinion-makers overwhelmingly had women in mind, and with respect to the buyers, it was men.

4.3.1 Causes and effects of selling sex

Very often the opinion-makers mentioned that the reasons for selling sex could be many, not just one. Most of the reasons cited by these Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers was the extremely difficult economic situation that caused sex selling. It was seen as a way out of economic misery. It was often thought that a prostitute did not have alternatives for meeting her economic needs. The interviewees had a perception of the prostitute as a person starting from a very poor position; one who has been placed in a hopeless situation. In describing the women's motives for their activities, the respondents constructed a no-choice condition-category. Instead of choice, circumstances forced them into prostitution.

The disadvantages of the ethnic, linguistic and geographical origins of the young women were seen as negative factors that prevented them from being able to compete in the labor market for decent jobs. In the following quotes, the rhetorics of economic need and unreason with respect to women were combined. The latter emphasized that policies which have ignored national solidarity, but pursued unjust regional, labor and social policies instead, have led women onto the path of prostitution.

RPS(M)LT: *Prostitution is caused by unemployment. They come to big cities, go abroad. Women leave regions when they do not have a job. New jobs should be created, but first of all they should be given a profession so they could be*

employed in Lithuania, make good money, and not go abroad.

RTS(M)EE: *Social causes exist as well. I can see that half of these girls are from East-Viru county, half from Tallinn. Now actually more than half are from East-Viru county. And it is evident that they don't have much choice. When you start questioning them you learn that some of them are already second generation unemployed. Their parents are unemployed. They themselves have never worked legally somewhere. /---/ They need some way out when their husband is unemployed, when their parents are retired and... and often these women are the only ones earning money in the family. Often this problem is connected to responsibilities towards other people. /---/ About 20-30 percent were single mothers. /---/ This is a person's own choice. But when you start to look into it, you find that there were few opportunities or that there were no other choices.*

It was repeated several times that it may be that the woman is a "single mother" or someone who is either the lone breadwinner or has a lot of responsibility within the family. This was followed by comments about a prostitute's feelings of solidarity with the weakest members of society, and the government's indifference towards certain social groups.

RFE(F)NW-RU: *Women are less protected by society. I interviewed a woman who told me that her motive for becoming a prostitute was her child's illness: "There are no ways to earn normal money. Where else can I earn?"*

RPS(M)EE: *Most become prostitutes because a big financial problem has developed suddenly. Whether it is a debt,*

a single mother – a situation develops where they do not have alternatives and they need to earn money fast in order to survive. Unfortunately, her level of education is such that she cannot get a good job right away. You cannot live on the minimum wage and raise your child with the high costs today. And that's when they usually go.

The rhetoric of unreason came into use in discussions about human trafficking, to which women who are “forced into a corner” fall prey. Women and children's lack of information was considered the reason behind trafficking, and “victim of violence” – rarely “victim of violence against women” - was the motif used. Trafficking in persons was not a dominant topic in the study material. Possibly, these opinion-makers see it as quite independent of prostitution.

The second largest group of opinion-makers did not regard the sex seller as a victim of society's indifference. Instead, they thought that women who sell sex earn easy money, exploiting the opportunities that the present transition period provides. Two kinds of opinions prevailed in this group. For one, it was thought that selling sex and thereby experiencing economic gain was a function of the present early capitalistic stage and was thus justified as a strategy for earning a living.

***RPS(M)EE:** And the other part is the economic situation. Our wages are ten times lower than in Finland. Now, an eighteen year old girl asks herself: should I stand for a whole month in a supermarket, putting up with aching feet in the evenings*

and receiving 3000 kroons for it, or should I use the same good, attractive legs on one, two or three evenings and get the same 3000 kroons for it?

Secondly, some of the opinion-makers used the rhetoric of pleasure. Male respondents said more frequently that there are women for whom prostitution is a “lifestyle” or “hobby”.

***RTS(M)EE:** There are some women for whom this (being a prostitute) is like a lifestyle - the order of life. There are discussions in the media that all prostitutes are forced into it, that they are victims, but there is a portion that does it consciously, not to earn money but because of their attitude in life, it is their lifestyle. /---/ There are not many of them, but certainly in the 10-15 % range. There are women whom this work suits, who like it.*

***RPS(M)LT:** The third motive is adventure. Research on why women work as prostitutes shows that they do it because their bodies lack adrenaline, so to speak.*

Many of the leading Baltic opinion-makers put an original spin on the rhetorics of economic gain and economic need by combining them. They spoke about contemporary young women who do not in any sense belong within the margins of society, but who are nevertheless forced to become prostitutes due to the lack of equal access to alternative pursuits. It was noted that prostitutes have not remained untouched by Western “consumer culture” and expensive lifestyles. Such an explanation is not a contrast to “normal people”, but instead sees in prostitutes a reflection of society. The following quotes do not contain references to profit, but to the need to make a living.

However, the minimum standard is quite high and creates "dependence".

RPS(M)EE: *Very many (prostitutes) have already admitted publicly on television that their income is so high that they cannot quit - because they become addicted to it. They don't have anything else to do than to keep offering their services. /---/ Addiction to a standard of life you don't want to fall below. You want to go everywhere, you want to buy these clothes, you want to consume. In some ways consumption addiction is the same as addiction to drugs.*

RPS(M)LT: *The second motive is money - to make money, to have a good life, to make a lot of money in a short time, to buy a car, an apartment.*

Liberal and tolerant attitudes toward sex selling were accompanied quite frequently by opinions that prostitution as a means of meeting high consumer desires is an indication of society's moral crisis – the rhetoric of loss. Public opinion-makers in north-western Russia in particular cited society's and young women's moral deprivation. They said with regret that prostitution is becoming "normal work" in the attitudes of young women and other groups in society. In their opinion, today's young women sell themselves because society tolerates it more and more, and because the women are indifferent and lazy. In this context, the deprecating motifs of "convenient choice", "new mentality" and "parasitic lifestyle" were used. I would mention here again that the moral character and responsibility of the sex buyer were spoken of in considerably less disparaging terms.

RPS(F)NW-RU: *The general atmosphere is like this: no one is responsible for anything. /---/ When young girls make up their minds to take up prostitution they do it, other reasons aside, because society's attitude to this way of earning is more than tolerant.*

RPS(M)NW-RU: *About one third of them are people who have been raised according to the new mentality – the parasitic attitude.*

RPS(M)NW-RU: *This is probably an indication of the present intellectual state of both individuals and society. The low level of intellect among young people is conditioned by advertising, fashion and school. This is characteristic both of those who consume these services and who provide them... Really, one should fall so low to sell oneself.*

As the final reason for selling sex, I would cite the most common conviction among Latvian interviewees: it was suggested that one of the reasons for selling sex may be childhood trauma and sexual abuse. Such personal tragedy rhetoric was, however, not prevalent.

The opinion-makers considered the deterioration of the prostitute's spiritual and physical health as the most serious effect of their work. The rhetoric of endangerment dominated this view.

RPS(F)NW-RU: *Life loses its meaning. Well, their well-being improves to some extent, but the prostitutes become ill, lose their good health. Trying to take care of themselves, they get some infection. The losses they experience exceed the gain, and the psychological trauma will haunt them their whole life. Recollecting their disgusting clients, they*

get the shakes. They have abortions, lose their reproductive function and deprive themselves of the joy of motherhood. If they become streetwalkers at 14 they will not have children after about eight years. They are punished for their sins. They might get cured, but they cannot get rid of residual effects.

RPS(F)EE: On an individual level, it means the end for the prostitute. There are very few who come out of it all right. I think that the person is so destroyed that a former prostitute can hardly become a minister, prime minister or president. For the most part, such a person cannot manage a job well, because psychologically the load is too heavy.

The prostitute's difficulties with returning to society and becoming marginal were much less frequently mentioned than loss of health. Interviewees also made references to the costs to the taxpayer of rehabilitating prostitutes.

RPS(M)EE: A woman gets frustrated there - she loses her social 'me'. Returning to society is practically impossible because she has had so many affairs. One might as well attach a label to her, because even sociologists say that one third of her clients are Estonian.

RPS(F)NW-RU: /---/ and then there's social isolation. Even if a woman wanted to leave the business, society would cut off her way back.

4.3.2 Causes and effects of buying sex

When speaking of the reasons why people use prostitutes, several were often combined by the opinion-makers. Topping the list were the

existence of such a service and accessibility. 'Supply creates demand' was the logic most often supplied by respondents.

RPS(M)NW-RU: They visit prostitutes because prostitutes exist.

RFE(M)NW-RU: Men have this demand. This is because prices are low or because of the dissolution of morals. But, alternatively, we live in a free country, so why not?

It was quite typical to add that visiting a prostitute is preceded by either alcohol or drug taking. With regard to the male, the matter is deterministic and discriminative. He does not have much choice: it is offered and he must accept. Men's social behavior is treated in an extremely behaviorist manner. Just as in the case of children, they are not held accountable.

The other typical explanation for buying sex was men's "loneliness", "complexes" and "difficulties with relationships". The opinion-makers assumed that there are men who lack alternatives altogether and who suffer from an "inferiority complex". In these instances, men's personal tragedy rhetoric was used.

RPS(M)LV: Some who seek prostitutes are simply young people who are afraid, who haven't had anyone, and they go to find out what it is. There are also people who are not sympathetic, who are ugly-looking, and therefore cannot find a sexual partner.

RPS(F)NW-RU: The reason for some men is their inferiority complex, which they do not feel while spending time with a prostitute. A man relaxes, he feels more important, stronger etc.

Quite often it was thought that “difficulties with relating” to one’s partner and the partner’s inability to meet the needs and desires of the man led him to a prostitute, where he would be warmly met and his special desires gratified without resistance. Problems with relationships were mentioned, incidentally, as being prevalent not only among men that turn to prostitutes, but in society as a whole.

RPS(F)LV: *I think that these people have complexes: they don't consider themselves to be good-looking, maybe they don't have as much potency, or maybe their girlfriend or boyfriend made some demeaning comment about them.*

RBS(M)LT: *There are psychological reasons too, because there's some percentage of people who are not satisfied, they lack certain things and do not dare tell their partner what they want. But he can ask a prostitute to do whatever he wants for the money he pays.*

There were opinion-makers in all participating countries who thought that sex buyers were men who suffered from an “inferiority complex” and had difficulties with intimate relationships. Consequently, they found an outlet for their problems by this means. It was assumed that having power over prostitutes, or abusing prostitutes, provided some men with the means to put women in their place or retaliate against some offence.¹⁷

RPS(F)EE: *I think that buyers are people who cannot, or are not in a position to, create emphatic, emotional relationships with the opposite sex. And I believe that*

this (buying of sex) is the easiest means of showing power.

RPS(M)LV: *Maybe those who make use of prostitutes do it for the sense of power – your mother has always commanded you, but at least with the prostitute you are able to command her.*

The last big motif for buying sex expressed in the interview material was the successful man’s prerogative. Very often the opinion-makers alleged that a certain group of men want to convey to the public their enviable socio-economic position – wealth, self-confidence and an accelerated career - by using lovely young women as consumer products.

RPS(M)EE: *The thing that also happens is that when a person reaches a certain high level of living, he starts imitating others. /- -/ At first he'll buy a good car, then a good house. Having possessed these, he'll start looking for examples from films to follow. He'll cause scenes in nightclubs, women and cocaine enter the game, just to prove to himself that he has reached the heights where he can allow himself everything he wants. It is a need to imitate and to prove to oneself that you can afford it.*

RFE(M)LV: *You go to a club, dance, have a few drinks, swallow some pills – it doesn't matter. You are young, and well situated –it doesn't matter to you if the bunny you have caught and been dancing with for the past half hour says that it's for free -that's great – or that it's for 20 lats - that's great too. If it is a lifestyle, it is part of having a good time.*

¹⁷ See also Millet, K. (1975) *The Prostitution Papers*, Paladin Books, St. Albans, Herts, p. 56.

RTS(F)LT: *Who is a real man these days? He should own a business, have a good car, a wife who doesn't work, a bunch of kids, because now that is very fashionable, and lots of women - the kind of women he can visit anytime, as if stopping at a bar for a beer, and then go home and say to his wife – "I already got some somewhere else". This is a real man, who needs all these things to maintain his status.*

RPS(F)NW-RU: *The same way as they squander money, buying expensive cars and ties, they throw money around in buying a girl for the night. This is one of the elements that shows they belong to high society.*

An imposing style of consumption, not the man's difficulties with relationships or unmet sexual needs, is the popular reason in these discussions. Neither did having power over a woman play much of a role here. The woman, for this kind of consumer, is a part of the image that includes a big gold chain, cocaine and an expensive car. In their explanations, opinion-makers used the rhetoric of pleasure and the following motifs: "lifestyle", "status indicator" and "real man". In addition to being a source of pleasure, the possibility of having expensive women demonstrated the man's capacity to buy.

By comparing opinion-makers' understandings of the effects of prostitution on the sex seller and the sex buyer, it is evident that it is considerably less advantageous to the prostitute. It was often mentioned that the man gets to satisfy his need or has a change from the routine and returns refreshed to either daily life or his family's

bosom. Generally speaking, prostitution was seen as a sure winner for the client.

RFE(M)LT: *An important thing is the simplicity of these relationships – you don't have to exert yourself for these women. There's no responsibility. You pay and that's it. And safe sex is the prostitute's problem, although sometimes it happens that you're a little drunk.*

RBS(M)NW-RU: *Men want women, don't they? It is easier to get them for money. It can be done in a car, at the drop of a hat. The girls provide immediate gratification. The effect is achieved right on the spot.*

The only frequently mentioned negative effect was the spread of infections from the sex seller to the sex buyer and from the latter to his wife or partner – the rhetoric of endangerment. In their references to the health risks to the client, interviewees often thought that the problem would be addressed by legalizing prostitution, which would reduce the danger to clients. Below are two quotes from Lithuania demonstrating this view.

RBS(M)LT: *I---/ Secondly, healthcare: we don't take taxes from them, but have to pay for their healthcare. Even for the healthcare of their clients, when these matters are not properly arranged.*

RFE(M)LT: *To tell the truth, a lot of men wouldn't mind using these services if they were clean, reliable, if they had a choice of certain institutions. To spend their time there and to have a little party with drinks prior to it. Why not?*

4.3.3 Causes and effects of prostitution from society's and the state's perspective

Some interviewees explained the causes of prostitution as being in the prevailing values, norms and behavioral models in society rather than individual or group transgressions. Their position was that people see their role in society through "social glasses" and they behave in the way that they have been "socialized".

RPS(F)EE: *A person acquires a sense of himself from society – society gives us the means of seeing ourselves. It is a product of socialization. /---/ The problem is also when it (prostitution) is not defined. Somebody should be able to define it.*

RFE(M)EE: *Generally a very degenerated understanding of liberalism exists in Estonia. It is Friedmanesque neoliberalism which creates... illusive freedom of choice as a criterion for social freedom. If a person's real economical situation, his preferences, his educational level or his opportunities do not give him any options, then the assertion that for him everything is allowed, that the state does not impose limits on him, that all undertakings are unregulated, in my opinion, is a degenerated understanding of liberalism. /---/ By removing many regulations, society is ravaged. /---/ The reduction in totalitarianism has brought with it an understanding that unlimited freedom assumes no-one protects you, that you are yourself responsible for everything. In my opinion, the state exists to protect its citizens and residents.*

Emphasis on sexuality quickly gained popularity after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had suppressed sexuality and prohibited

commerce in sex. Opinion-makers in all countries participating in the study found in their references to the breakdown in public morals (rhetoric of loss) that the media played a big role in the former Soviet republics – and continues to do so to this day – by promoting sexuality as a modern and Western style of behavior.

RPS(M)LV: *Unfortunately, this phenomenon (prostitution) is becoming increasingly globalized. And society is becoming more and more tolerant. I'm talking about the business of a woman or man selling her or his body to earn big money. Moral values fade and an amorphous consumer society appears. /---/ As a result of the national awakening (late 1980s and early 1990s) people's values began to get cloudy and evaporate. They began to think that prostitution is normal. But in the end, it will turn against society –government officials become corrupt in order to achieve more and more material gain.*

RTS(F)LT: *Values have changed – and in only 10 years. Sexuality is emphasized everywhere, even in advertising. Woman is merchandise. And automobile advertisements are directed at men, because the buyer is a man, the consumer is a man – men have more money. And who is standing naked at the auto salesrooms next to those cars? Women. If you are not merchandise, you are nothing. Just some pot-bellied little housewife who makes pancakes and has greasy hair.*

In the study material it was quite typical to find opposing views ascribed to the same behavior. On one hand, the prostitute's poor economic, political and social standing and language skills

and her responsibility as a family breadwinner were acknowledged, but on the other hand, contempt was meted out simultaneously for the prostitute's "choice", which had caused her to fall so low. The rhetorics of society's abuse of women (rhetoric of unreason) and the prostitute's moral degeneration (rhetoric of loss) collide in such explanations. Despite the depressing descriptions of the situations, the assumption in these conflicting views is that the selling or not selling of one's body is still a woman's "free choice" among a range of alternatives. The opinion-makers used deprecating motifs, such as "convenient solution" and "easier way", when referring to the selling of sex.

RFE(F)EE: *One can say that mainly they need money badly to care for their illegitimate child, or their parents, or they live in a place where there is no work. But alternatives always exist. /---/ The art of living is the art of making choices. I dare to believe that a situation where only one choice exists, and that choice is to become a prostitute, does not really exist. It is a sufficiently convenient solution.*

RPS(F)LT: *The main motive is poverty - not being able to buy even the basic things. There's a need, and you satisfy it by increasing your income. Otherwise you would have to review your situation and decrease the need. And it's not possible to decrease them (the family's needs). They find it (prostitution) the easiest way, because they want it... There's no need to go to the employment agency.*

RFE(M)NW-RU: *People are in a situation where they do not know how to survive. Sometimes, in order to make ends meet, one has to do God knows what. I*

remember my mother, how tired she was... However, people had principles before, their upbringing did not let them do things like this...

Changes in values and the expansion of market economy-based human relations were quite strongly tied to the breakdown of family values and the nuclear family in the perceptions found in the study material. It was common to blame women and prostitutes for the decline in the role of the family. Less responsibility was placed on the man. It was usually assumed that it is more the woman's, and not the man's, responsibility to keep the family together.

Next to the degeneration of public morals, the other results of prostitution were drugs, illegal alcohol and the spread of infectious diseases. The opinion-makers pointed to the health risks and the danger of epidemics to which those on the periphery can fall victim – the children of prostitutes and the client's family members (rhetoric of endangerment).

RTS(F)LT: *First of all, prostitution endangers the sex buyer's health. That's why it is necessary to make these services safe. Physical security should be ensured for the client's wife and children.*

Side by side with moral loss and health endangerment, the opinion-makers warned against the growth of organized crime. They said that people involved with prostitution are also part of the drugs, illegal alcohol and tobacco network. Estonian and north-western Russian opinion-makers in particular noted that prostitution thrives as part of organized crime's free rein and that it is a serious threat to the country's internal security.

RFE(M)LV: *There is an interactive effect. Prostitution supports organized crime and organized crime supports prostitution.*

Prostitution is part of this larger system.

RPS(F)EE: At a social level, I think it is dangerous economically. If organized crime has huge sums of money and large networks, it isn't only a question of prostitutes and clients, but an expansive service personnel. More and more people are drawn into it without them knowing it's a threat to the country's economy.

RPS(F)NW-RU: This ignoble business has become one of the most profitable. Let us assume that 100 or 200 or 300 people engage in prostitution, but a huge army of people make a living from it – from prostitution.

Russian and Lithuanian opinion-makers who would issue administrative penalties to prostitutes also used the rhetoric of loss, repeatedly referring to government officials' "corruption" in connection with prostitution.

RPS(M)LT: Law enforcement – the police – are very much connected to it, too. The police benefit greatly from it, I'm sure of

that. They only catch those who don't pay their "fees" or "taxes". There could be more order. There are laws – the only thing we need is their enforcement.

RPS(M)LT: This is also corruption-related. When they go abroad to work as prostitutes, then bribery of officials is related to organized crime, because more than 60-70 percent of the contracts, business, and transportation are arranged by organized crime groups. In the case of transportation it is a well-established chain – here it is arranged, the documents are signed, and in Germany they take girls, provide them with accommodation. This is international organized crime.

A few opinion-makers mentioned the bad international image of their homeland in connection with prostitution, but it was not among their principal fears. Greater problems were seen in the waves of laundered money and the threat of epidemics than in the damage to the country's image internationally.

4.4 Attitudes towards different prostitution policies

In this chapter we look at the attitudes opinion-makers in the Baltic states and north-western Russia have towards different prostitution policies: prohibition, regulation, abolition and neoabolition. Respondents' opinions of their own country's prostitution policies emerge at the same time.

But first, a short review of current policies in effect in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia.¹⁸

The Republic of Estonia has an abolitionist prostitution policy. The state does not interfere in the activities of adult prostitutes nor does it regulate the buying of sex. It is against the law to entice anyone into prostitution, to be

¹⁸ See also Chapter 2, "Present prostitution situation and policies in the Baltic states and north-western Russia".

an agent for prostitution, to rent rooms for prostitution, and to advertise prostitution.

The Republic of Latvia has a neoregulationist policy – the selling of sex is regulated, but not the buying. Brothels, procuring and enticing into prostitution are prohibited. Prostitutes have to be of or above the age of consent and possess a document which certifies by a physician that they have received a clean bill of health for the month. Since prostitutes in Latvia do not pay state income and social security taxes, they are not eligible for national health insurance. In addition, all municipalities in excess of 20 000 inhabitants have to designate a certain area for the conduct of sex business.

The Russian Federation and the Republic of Lithuania prohibit prostitution, the procuring of sex, and enticement into prostitution, but do not have statutes on the buying of sex. The selling of sex is prohibited in the Russian Federation and Lithuania. Prostitutes are fined.

4.4.1 Criminalizing models

Lithuania and Russia are the two countries participating in the study that prohibit prostitution. It is worth noting that both states penalize the seller and the procurer, but the buyer remains untouched. Hence, prostitution policies in Lithuania and Russia are two-faced – different rules for sex-sellers and sex-buyers. These are gender-biased models. The state has different moral expectations of men as clients

than of prostitutes, who are for the most part women. According to this prostitution policy, the two parties involved in the money transaction perform absolutely different acts from ethical and legal points of view. The prostitute is in violation of the law despite the fact that in the absence of a buyer there would be no-one to sell sex to. The buyer's activity is placed by law in the private sphere where the man seeks satisfaction for his biological needs. By treating the prostitute as a lawbreaker, the state ignores the fact that, conceivably, an unavoidable need motivates her behavior – to obtain the basic necessities of life: food and shelter.

Neither the Lithuanian nor the north-western Russian opinion-makers considered the prostitution policies in their respective countries to be very strong or just. They thought that, due to administrative gaps, the government had been unable to bring prostitution under control. Prostitutes operate without fines.

The following quote from a Lithuanian businessman adds an original nuance to prostitutes remaining unpunished – it's not right to penalize the procurers and not the prostitutes. It's also noteworthy that the respondent did not require the third party – the client - to be punished. Apparently he thought that, unlike the prostitute, the client does not have freedom of choice – he is a slave to his biological needs.

RBS(M)LT: *I don't think that only the pimps should bear the responsibility.*

Pimps are punished; prostitutes sort of stay unpunished, as far as I know. But if she's doing it voluntarily and isn't forced into it, why should we punish the pimps? If prostitution is prohibited, then all parties should be punished. But at the moment it seems that some are punished and others are left unpunished.

Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers said that the laws are not being enforced and, rather than fining prostitutes, unethical state officials are working with them. The result is the moral degeneration of state officials and prostitutes (rhetoric of loss). Very often, opinion-makers talked about the “corruption” of state officials and police, and their ties with organized crime.

RFE(M)LT: *People say they (prostitutes) all have a police “roof” – those who pay a certain fee are allowed to work, and the police only pick on those who do not pay. And they are being raided. I feel this is true. What's the use of such laws? They prohibit, but we all know that it (prostitution) exists.*

RPS(M)NW-RU: *They (organised crime) may provide coverage for this business. The drug market is controlled by them as well. The police are, naturally, interested in its existence – they can collect levies from it.*

RFE(M)NW-RU: *If all the girls are taken off the streets, the cops would lose their profit and that would cut police numbers. They would never work for the official salary, while working like this is profitable – without doing anything. /---/ However, the state is the key in this matter. If this*

were not profitable to them, they would have stopped putting up with it long ago. It is just that the state or, rather, some officials, profit from such a situation.

Another matter which arose several times among Lithuanian respondents, but more often with Russian respondents, was extreme skepticism about the enforcement of laws – not only on prostitution – in their respective countries. Russian interviewees regarded their country as being significantly different from European countries. They saw it as an unpredictable state where no new norm can be implemented as expected, and where one should not expect worthwhile results to plans.

RFE(M)LT: *The laws in Lithuania are ridiculous. A law is only paper. Someone should ensure their implementation.*

RFE(F)NW-RU: *Laws are hardly followed in this country, just like in everything else. This applies not only to prostitution, but to all other things too.*

RBS(M)NW-RU: *All the laws in this area are rubbish. I don't know if our laws are good or bad. I don't care. The people who can do something about it will be paid-off under the new laws the same way they are paid-off now. No one pays taxes.*

On the whole, opinion-leaders in all the participating countries agreed, with only a few exceptions, that the sex-banning system is fundamentally headed for failure, because prostitution cannot be eradicated. They naturalized the sex industry and often used the “world's oldest business” motif. They often applied the rhetoric of entitlement to prostitutes, according to which each person has

a “right” to use her or his body as s/he sees fit, and others should respect that “choice”.

RTS(F)LV: It is an adult's human right to work as a prostitute. I am against strict prohibition and I am against legalization. My opinion is that an adult has the right to decide for her/himself.

RPS(F)LT: *We can't apply only Christian morals, saying that one shouldn't sell one's body. Prostitution shouldn't exist, but if there's such a demand, if someone needs it, you can prohibit it as much as you want - it's going to exist anyway, just as it has existed since ancient times.*

In addition to having the conviction that prostitution cannot be eradicated, opinion-makers were also sure that prohibiting it would force the sex industry “underground”, which would make it even more difficult to control. In such cases, prostitutes would be abused more brutally (rhetoric of unreason) and subjected to more serious health risks (rhetoric of endangerment). They assumed that a prohibition policy would result in reduced incomes to women who make a living as prostitutes and an even greater possibility of violence to their persons. Being branded as criminals, sex sellers would have little hope of help from the police and judges.

RFE(F)LV: Because even if it is forbidden, prostitution will exist anyway and will become even more criminal – fewer rights for the prostitute, more disease. /---/ The prostitute has a right to request certain support or protection from society.

RPS(M)EE: *I think that criminalization of all parties would bring the appearance of*

it (prostitution) disappearing very deep into society, but in reality it would still exist. /---/ We have forgotten that we would have to give them (prostitutes) some preventative work, because they are criminals.

RFE(F)LV: You cannot get rid of prostitution, never. There will be a segment of society who will continue prostitution in spite of everything – only they will become even more desperate and be in a situation of even less protection.

Estonian and Latvian opinion-makers also thought that the prohibition of the sex industry was destined to fail. They pointed to the price that the state and prostitutes would have to pay if sex business were banned (counter-rhetoric of the costs involved).

Several Estonian opinion-makers argued against prohibition using humanitarian language: if the state is not sufficiently wealthy to ensure the complete rehabilitation of the prostitute, starting with psychological and physiological treatments and ending with lodging and vocational training, adding language lessons where needed, it is not ethical to deprive a hard-up person the opportunity to earn a living as she knows how. In such discussions, reference was made to a minimum program¹⁹ i.e. if the state cannot give public assistance to one in need, then the minimum it should do is to ensure that the person can help her- or himself.

RPS(M)EE: *Should we lock up those who offer massages? I don't think that would be sensible in the present stage of social development. /---/ If society cannot provide for those girls from East-Viru*

¹⁹ The term “minimum program” is not the opinion-leaders’.

county, what are they meant to do? /---/
We don't like how they earn money, but
how else are they meant to get their daily
bread?

Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers, who were unhappy with the ineffectiveness of the laws prohibiting prostitution, said that the state should place greater emphasis on the "prevention" of prostitution, in addition to prohibition, and the "sexual morals" of young people, which have suffered during the transition to a liberal market economy. They hoped to change the attitudes and understandings of young women and of a society that has been permeated by an early capitalist mentality.

RFE(F)NW-RU: *This is what our Committee for Education opposes so aggressively - building obstacles to the introduction of sexual education programs at school.*

RPS(M)NW-RU: *We should influence young people through an efficient education, in order to change this way of life – the role of the parasite.*

Two different views and concomitant policy preferences evolved. Opinion-makers in the St. Petersburg region and Lithuania often associated the selling of sex with society's and young's people's unethical attitudes. Estonians emphasized the need to improve economic opportunities for women rather than correct young people's attitudes. The former saw in prostitution a problem with education, while in the latter the problem stemmed from great economic hardships.

The background to the wide difference in

opinion could be partially due to how much a country or its opinion-makers would be prepared to invest in addressing the prostitution problem. Educational and informational campaigns would be less expensive for the state than reducing poverty and economic inequality.

4.4.2 Attitudes towards regulationist models

Among the states involved in the study, the Republic of Latvia regulates prostitution. Latvia has an neo-regulationist model. A ban on brothels is the characteristic which mainly differentiates it from classical prostitution policies. The laws in Latvia coordinate individual prostitutes' activities.

Latvian opinion-makers had a more approving attitude towards their country's prostitution policies than their counterparts' attitudes in Estonia, Lithuania and the St. Petersburg region. It is true that some respondents thought that Latvia's prostitution policies were inadequate, but they were in a minority. Most Latvians found small, but correctable, problems with existing policies.

Secondly, it was typical among Latvian respondents to sharply separate Latvia's prostitution policies from classical prostitution regulation. They regarded their country's prostitution policies as neutral; a nonpartisan tactic that, on the one hand, does not obstruct, but on the other, does not propagate the sex industry. For Latvian respondents, the political shift has been from an abolitionist model to prostitution regulation. Although abolitionist

policies are in effect in Latvia's neighboring countries – Estonia and Finland – Latvian opinion-makers were totally unaware of them. In an effort to appeal to a middle-of-the-road position, the Latvians used the rhetoric of political balance and combined it with prostitute's entitlement rhetoric, according to which it would be unethical to take from an adult the "freedom of choice" to earn a living as a prostitute. Latvian opinion-makers often referred to selling one's body as the "right" of an adult person.

RFE(F)LV: *I think that this issue is similar to the issue of abortion – if it is forbidden, then the damage which results can be far greater. At present, the way I understand it, prostitution is half-legalized in Latvia. I think that is the correct middle path – the procurer is punished, but there is no punishment for the person who is engaged in prostitution, if it is taking place in a registered and understandable manner.*

RFE(M)LV: *This legal issue is related to fundamental questions. On the one hand exists the human right to have the freedom of choice to do as one wants, and on the other hand there is the feeling that this (selling of sex) is not morally acceptable. And where do we find a balance? I don't know. Maybe it is necessary to find a way whereby it is possible to engage in prostitution, but not to encourage it.*

Some Latvian opinion-makers and a large share of the other countries' opinion-makers thought that the most sensible prostitution policy would be classical legalization of prostitution where brothels are also permitted. That model found the greatest support among opinion-leaders. The different countries' opinion-leaders often

valued legalization for different reasons.

Quite often they stated that the problem of prostitution is due to it not being regulated by the state and being under the control of organized crime. In the opinion of several respondents, it is high time that the sex industry is brought under state control, and thereby "internal security" would be assured. Using the rhetoric of calamity, it was argued that state control of the industry would help to combat the other branches of the shadow economy in which large sums of untaxed money circulates.

RPS(M)EE: *Every field of action should be regulated, even so negative a field as prostitution, and let's say legalized. /---/ Those are the black holes in society that the state doesn't regulate and someone else does. It makes profits somewhere else - the shadow economy - and every uncontrolled flow of money represents a threat to state security. A parallel structure forms. The more black holes there are, the stronger the parallel structure. And finally, it begins to influence public authority.*

The hope of reining in sexually transmitted diseases by legalizing prostitution was also prevalent among all the countries' opinion-makers. Whereas Estonian and north-western Russian female respondents often referred to the need to protect the health of sex sellers, Latvian and Lithuanian respondents saw a serious threat in non-legalized prostitution to sex buyers and their families (rhetoric of endangerment of the client and his family). The former were more concerned about the health risks to prostitutes (rhetoric of endangerment of prostitutes) and the latter about the risks

to clients and society in a sex industry that is not legalized. Those referring to the health risks for clients naturalized the buying of sex and saw the problem as being concerned with prostitutes' 'dirty ways' rather than in men's sexual and family morals.

RPS(F)LV: *There should be specific rights and responsibilities for the owners, for the prostitutes and for the people who go there – so that it is totally certain that he will not become infected with some disease; that he will not carry it home. It could always happen that at home there is a major argument and the husband goes off to the brothel. Then it would be certain that he doesn't carry any disease back home. Because life is life and one must look at things realistically.*

RPS(F)LT: *I'm of the opinion that brothels are necessary. I'm against prostitution in general, but I'm for it if someone needs it. /---/ There will always be people who would never go roaming in certain secret places...But those who would will at least be sure it's safe, and that there's only a tiny possibility they're going to bring their family, their wives, something back from there – thank God. It is a matter of safety.*

RPS(F)LT: *At present, we don't have specific information on how many people contract these diseases from prostitutes.*

Basic differences in attitudes about the victim appear in the above quotes. In the first instance, the prostitute is the victim of prostitution. Her activity is generally explained as due to lack of opportunities. In the second case, it is the client who suffers principally from prostitution. It is assumed that due to his problems in relationships with the opposite sex, or his

biological needs, he is forced into a situation where he solves them by buying a woman's services.

An additional quote, this time from a male opinion-maker in north-western Russia, in which the need to protect a wounded client and to legalize prostitution is emphasized:

RPS(M)NW-RU: *Having state control, the victims (clients) could get protection - in case they get an infection, are blackmailed or threatened - by appealing to law. Well, the prostitutes themselves could apply if they are assaulted, injured or raped.*

Leading opinion-makers from different countries used the rhetoric of the state's economic gain in diverse ways in their discussions about legalizing prostitution.

Not a single Estonian opinion-maker said that prostitution should be regulated in order to collect state or municipal taxes. They saw, instead, that with luck, the financial situation would be restored to that which existed before paying for the state's prostitution prevention and rehabilitation programs.

Several respondents from other countries, on the other hand, saw in the legalization of prostitution and the taxation of brothels a here-to-fore unused source of revenue for the state. Lithuanian opinion-makers in particular often used the rhetoric of state economic gain. As a reminder, I would note that in Catholic Lithuania, the selling of sex is currently in violation of the law.

RBS(F)LV: *In all big cities – Hamburg, Amsterdam – there are such places, such streets. This could be good for attracting*

tourists – everyone travels to those big cities to look at those streets.

RPS(F)LT: /---/ the revenues would be considerable. Currently the money goes to the pimps, and if prostitution were legalized, we – the taxpayers - would get some of this money too.

RBS(M)LT: *If this happens in society voluntarily, one party gets pleasure, the other gets money, and the third one gets the interest. Why not? It is business, only now the state doesn't tax it.*

RBS(M)LT: *It (prostitution) should be legalized... After a few years we finally realised that casinos should be legalized. Now, those people who have never been to casinos still don't go there, and those who have still do. It's just that the state now gets some income from this, and gamblers don't have to hide or be afraid anymore.*

In connection with the legalization of prostitution, Estonian and (female) north-western Russian respondents referred to the need to improve prostitutes' standards of living (rhetoric of entitlement). Among Estonian and Latvian opinion-makers, it was a rather widely held conviction that "society's tolerance" should be increased and a "false sense of morals" destroyed. They thought that this would increase prostitution's "prestige", the self-respect of the sex-sellers and pride in their profession as a necessary service. The need to legalize the sex industry was justified by the rhetoric of social good. Several interviewees treated the regulation of prostitution as a sign of the state feeling responsible.

RBS(M)EE: *False morals would disappear, and the head-in-the-sand attitude that we don't have this problem. We don't call things by their real name. False morals would disappear in society.*

RPS(M)LV: *I think that prostitution should be legalized. /---/ But this can develop when people develop a greater sense of inner freedom – then this person will also respect the freedom of others, the freedom of choice. That is tolerance.*

RBS(F)LV: *When they operate on the street they don't have any professional prestige. If it were legalized, their prestige would be enhanced – then they would take greater care of themselves.*

The typical view of legalization of prostitution as a humanitarian measure among opinion-makers could possibly be summarized as a "minimum program". By supporting legalization it is understood that neither politicians nor the majority of the population are ready to increase investment into programs - such as gender equality, regional development and welfare - that do not produce tangible results. Therefore, a cheaper solution is promoted. The government does not set fighting against the major causes of prostitution – gender, economic and geographic segregation – as a goal, but allows people to "help" themselves. For the latter, it provides a relatively safe and regulated environment.

Negative assessments of state regulation of prostitution could be found in the study material also. Some opinion-makers whose work brings them into contact with prostitutes challenged

the tactics of legalization supporters (counter-rhetoric of tactical criticism). They pointed out that prostitution must not be legalized, because unlike supportive citizens, the prostitutes themselves do not see their work as equal to other professions or something that should be done in the open.

RPS(M)EE: *When we asked the women whether they were ready to do their work legally, 90 percent said that under no circumstances would they agree. Why? For the simple reason that they want to do it for a short time. They have their own objectives, such as "I'm earning money to pay for an apartment" or "I've got to pay a loan", or the idea that she comes and goes. However, the problem is that it's difficult later on to leave it behind. /---/ And they don't want the public to know what they do. They don't want to be known. They want a situation where they can call it quits after half a year of activity, and where nobody knows what work they have done. They would like to get married if they're not already married, have children, and live an absolutely normal life.*

RPS(M)NW-RU: /---/ *a woman will not agree to have an entry in her work-book like: "14th grade prostitute". If we legalise them only because of the taxes they still won't pay.*

The other argument against legalization contained the fear that such a policy would send a message of moral decadence to young people, foreign countries and sex tourists. It would say that prostitution is a normal profession and a human being is an object that can be bought and sold like any other commodity.

RFE(M)NW-RU: *In our country, however, this (legalization) would take colossal form, like everything else. The whole sex industry would expand instantly to an unseemly extent. /---/ A number of children would be trained from childhood to work in brothels or as pimps. It seems to me to be pathological.*

RPS(M)NW-RU: *I don't know to what extent that might harm Russia's prestige: I can't judge. Looking at the present situation, only the United States can afford not to care about anything.*

RPS(M)LV: *I have been in Amsterdam and have walked through the red light district – it was something that had to be seen, and it was interesting. /---/ I know that it is not right to speak this way – but then (if prostitution were legalized) the 'dregs of society' from all over the world would come here in order to take advantage of these pleasures.*

I would note that it becomes apparent in the last quote that the regulation of prostitution in Latvia has become an "official" preference.

4.4.3 Attitudes towards abolitionist models

Among the countries participating in the study, an abolitionist prostitution policy is only in effect in the Republic of Estonia.

To begin, it should be stated that the abolitionist model is unfamiliar to the opinion-makers of Latvia, Lithuania and north-western Russia. They never mentioned to interviewers the advantages of non-interference in the selling and buying of sex, but favoured banning

the procuring of sex over other models. Furthermore, it appeared that these countries knew nothing about the abolitionist prostitution policies in effect in neighboring Estonia and Finland. Unlike the prohibition, regulation and neoabolitionist (Swedish) models, it was never treated analytically. Total silence reigned over the model. Apparently, it wasn't considered a realistic policy.

A somewhat similar apathy existed among Estonian opinion-makers when they evaluated their country's prostitution policy. About a third of them knew nothing or only vague details of it. Their knowledge was often limited to the assumption that procuring is probably prohibited.

This low awareness suggests, on the one hand, that the opinion-makers were indifferent about the question individually, and, on the other, that Estonia's government and people do not consider prostitution to be a disturbing phenomenon.

The opinions of those respondents who were aware of the basics of Estonia's prostitution policy split into two main groups that differed in size. The smaller group favored, in principle, the policy in effect in Estonia, but thought that the law and police work with regard to procurers should be made more effective. They said that the pertinent statutes were not sufficiently detailed in order for them to be effectively implemented.

RPS(F)EE: *If the statute does not clearly define what a brothel is, it is very difficult to prove that a business is not an agency.*

If the statute does not state that under procuring, which is a crime, is also included advertising, for example, and the selling and ordering of merchandise, then it is very difficult to do anything. But I believe it can be corrected.

Estonian opinion-makers who supported the prostitution policy saw a need to create a preventative structure, so that the need to sell one's body would not occur. Emphasis was placed on the responsibility of the state in meeting the risk group's economic need in an acceptable way.

RPS(M)EE: *I think we have to help women acquire a sense of security. /---/ If we could provide equal opportunities for women to work, to be independent, and to make decisions for themselves by not having to sell their bodies, but doing something else, that should be the state's policy. /---/ A housing program (should) be drafted to build apartments for those people who are financially not so well heeled, and to provide job opportunities. A legitimate job is not going to happen unless the prostitute can clear 15 000 kroons in pay.*

RPS(M)EE: *But if we want a positive program then we won't bother with prostitutes and pimps, because the police attend to them within the scope of their responsibilities. We won't solve anything. Problems are solved by holding family life in esteem, strengthening it, and having the state support families. /---/ A third of prostitutes are single mothers. /---/ The state gives them child support payments. /---/ If we remove, along with state financial support, all the other inducements for prostitution and only ... lust for sex, craziness, and whatever else remain, then the resulting five percent would be manageable by our laws and*

police. /---/ The prostitute has to be certain that her future is secure within a family.

The suggestion to prevent prostitution via financial support for women and families was classified as a “positive program”. The leading motif was protection, not prohibition or punishment. It was stated that in the interest of the country and the nation's future, it is essential to support the weaker links and to encourage solidarity.

Estonian opinion-makers more frequently thought that the current prostitution policy is the result of the absence of real policies and political will. In their opinion, the abolitionist model does not improve the situation. It is a temporary measure between the Soviet Union's criminalized sex industry and the establishment of a much-needed prostitution policy for an independent country. They said that the time has arrived to take a stand on the matter. Both the regulation and prohibition of sex business were advanced as realistic prostitution policies.

RPS(M)EE: *This has to be fixed by law. Two possibilities exist. Either you say that such activity does not exist in Estonia, or if it does, then it should be legal. That's the only solution. But to pretend that we do not see it will just bring misfortune in the future.*

At the same time, several Estonian opinion-makers maintained that the Republic of Estonia is still in a cultural and economic transition where “realistic” or “substantive” prostitution policies cannot be implemented and that abolitionist

statutes, albeit poor, remain adequate for the time being.

RBS(M)EE: *In order to solve the problem substantially, society has to be more mature. Most of the other problems should be regulated already. /---/ We have economic growth. I think we need to establish a balanced system of support. /---/ I don't think any real changes will happen for another five years.*

It is believed that while Estonia today is a society in transition, the Estonian Republic of the future will be a solid country that will treat her less fortunate humanely, including those active in the sex industry. The absence of a prostitution policy was regarded as a possible humane expression of the moment.

4.4.4 Attitudes towards neoabolitionist model

Leading opinion-makers from the Baltic countries and north-western Russia knew considerably more about neoabolitionist prostitution policies in more remote Sweden than they did of the abolitionist system in their neighboring country Estonia. They had also considered the model's positive and negative aspects quite closely. It could be said that the so-called Swedish model stirred passions in the opinion-makers. Based on the findings in the study material, this type of policy found little acceptance among these opinion-makers. Only a few of them in Estonia, Lithuania and the St. Petersburg region, who were of the same gender, considered it a good model to be followed. Latvian opinion-makers were unanimously against the model.

The supporters of the Swedish model valued its message that the state does not recognize trade in persons, and upholds the dignity of its less fortunate citizens and moral code. Social good and unreason rhetorics were combined in these opinions.

RFE(F)EE: *It has been said that Estonian society is not ready for it (the neoabolitionist model), that it would be too great a contrast and would become laughable. But I think it is very good, because it would send a clear message that it (the buying of sex) is not acceptable behavior; that you're not allowed to do it. It's always possible to do it, of course, but the message would reduce the presumptuousness of a certain segment of society who think that buying sex is a normal activity.*

RPS(F)LT: *In my opinion there should be prohibition: punishing of pimps in the first place, and secondly clients. Because a prostitute is a victim, just like in Sweden, unless she organizes her business herself. Those who profit from it should be punished. Prostitutes need education.*

Whereas Estonian and Lithuanian opinion-makers in favor of the neoabolitionist model thought that serious work should be done in their countries to change social values and to lobby political leaders in order to prepare for the adoption of the model, the north-western Russian respondent did not believe that his country's parliament would adopt such a law.

RPS(F)NW-RU: *I wish we had the Swedish law. A man must bear responsibility. If men do not demand this activity... who shall I offer myself to? If it is punishable, he will think twice. But we have a long way to go*

to get what they have in Sweden. I look at our Duma and doubt that these people will adopt such a law.

But most references to the neoabolitionist model in the study material pointed out its great and fundamental mistakes, and didn't praise it. Typical motifs used in its discussing were: "dumb law", "illogical law", "two-faced Swedes" and "Swedes' egoistic experiment".

The different countries' respondents referred to a wide variety of deficiencies in the model. One of the main ones among all respondents was that it considered the prostitute to be a victim and the client to be guilty. It was remarked that two parties are involved in the act of prostitution and the guilt should be evenly distributed. As an alternative, the opinion-makers suggested that there should be an absence of guilt. Somewhat unexpectedly, the paid sexual act was here compared to marriage.

RBS(M)LT: *In my opinion, the Swedish law sounds ridiculous. If this is violence, then the client, the pimp and the prostitute are all responsible for it.*

RPS(M)EE: *Both parties' activities must, therefore, be outlawed. /---/ This talk about dissolute and sex-hungry men oppressing innocent and home-loving women is nonsense! Forgive me, but the oppression would have to be mutual. /-- -/ Both sides would have to acknowledge their responsibility in these matters.*

RFE(F)EE: *I can't imagine that only one party can be guilty. It's the same as in marriage. If it fails, then two parties are responsible. If you go to bed with*

someone, there are two people involved. That woman has gone to bed either due to circumstances, or as she becomes older, then her own responsibility is more involved. After all, she gets paid quite well, doesn't she?

RFE(M)LV: Well, that is a little bit strange – how can you say that one side is allowed to engage in prostitution and the other side is not?. That is not very even-handed.

Latvian, Lithuanian, and north-western Russian opinion-makers considered the Swedish model to be unjust from the client's point of view. They said that men have biological needs which may not be able to be met by means other than using a prostitute. It was even alleged that if society does not provide men a legal channel for gratifying their biological needs then “they will go crazy” and be forced “to rape”. The rhetorics of the client's entitlement and the client's personal tragedy were used by both male and female respondents. These rhetorical contrivances were buttressed by the costs involved that both men and society would have to be pay if the buying of sex were prohibited.

RPS(M)LV: It (the Swedish policy) is stupid. There is definitely a proportion of clients who are very ugly who go to prostitutes. If you are not very good looking it is possible to visit a prostitute – everyone wants sex, and such people can go and buy it. Otherwise such a person might go 'haywire' – he might start raping. Would that be better?

RPS(F)LV: It is not right to penalize the client – maybe this person has some problems which he cannot resolve, problems which need serious medical treatment. Maybe there are psychological

problems. And if you prohibit prostitution, these people will be even more unhappy.

RBS(M)NW-RU: Here we oppose nature – the nature of a man who wants a woman. He may achieve his aim in a simple way, by just flirting with her. But this is a man's physical need for a new woman, and he is ready to pay for it. I don't think it is right to regard it as criminal.

Here I would like to present Lithuanian opinion-makers' views, which assert that the Swedish model is askew due to its emphasis on gender and discrimination against men as clients. Ignoring the gender-specific reality of the activities of society's members, they thought that statutes regulating these activities should be gender- neutral.

RPS(M)LT: What are the shortcomings of the Swedish law? That it focuses on men, while women are exempt from moral and other kinds of responsibilities. /---/ But it shouldn't be gender-related. A person who harasses, pleads, insists or cheats in order to render sexual services should bear the responsibility, and not the man or the woman. Gender distinctions shouldn't be made.

Estonian opinion-makers showed considerably less understanding towards the sex buyer. The Estonians in the sample saw the Swedish law presenting greater harm to the Estonian nation than being an unjust treatment of the client. In connection with Estonia's geographic location and the heavy traffic between both Estonia and Finland and Estonia and Sweden, they said that wealthy Sweden's “egoistic experiment” had brought many Swedish “sex tourists” to Estonia. They were especially concerned about the prospect of the Republic of Finland, only 80 km away from the Estonian capital, adopting

the Swedish model. They used the motifs “Thai paradise” and “sex tourism paradise” to describe the possible situation that would follow in Estonia. At the same time, they said that Estonia would not be wealthy enough in the near future to follow her northern neighbors’ example and thereby deflect sex tourism.

RPS(F)EE: *Estonia’s law will only do until the buying of sex is prohibited all around us. Then a beautiful Thai paradise - sex tourism paradise – will develop here.*

RPS(M)EE: *Our masseuses are drooling because of the law in Sweden. It’s comparable to the situation in the 20s when Finland banned alcohol and our alcohol barons started to build new houses in Viinistu and Käsmu.*

RPS(M)EE: *Such well-off societies can afford to experiment – let’s try it and see how it goes. I think they might re-think it in a few years, because they’re not going to solve the problem of prostitution with it; it is not going to make prostitution disappear in Sweden. Something else will develop. It is egocentric of Sweden. People who want these services will go to Estonia, Denmark or wherever. /---/ And if Finland does the same thing, then the tourists from those two countries will head for Estonia on the first ship. In that sense, it is a selfish solution, not a real solution.*

Respondents from all the participating countries said that it would be extremely complicated and expensive to implement the neoabolitionist model and to prove the guilt of the sex buyer. The opinion-makers were convinced that the police work in verifying violations of the law would become too costly for taxpayers in poor transitional countries.

RPS(M)EE: *I would need examples of evidence-gathering. How can you prove that someone is a sex buyer? There’s a brothel, the doors are open, the sign hangs at the entrance – brothel. I walk in and the police grab me, because I’m supposed to be a sex buyer? What nonsense!*

RPS(F)LT: *How is it possible to know who the buyer was, how much he paid, and whether he paid by check or not? There’s some practical stuff that is difficult to do. We can write the law, but... In general we should discuss all the pros and cons with reference to Scandinavians. /---/ I reckon we’ve had such discussions too, but the men themselves wooed them.*

RFE(M)LT: *... in this case it means a denial of what exists. It (prostitution) exists, you can use it, but if you use it, you’ll be punished...I’m not raping her or something, am I? Everything is happening by mutual agreement. If I were caught, I’d say I never promised to pay her for, she is my mistress, we both wanted it, so we went and did it.*

Finally, I would highlight one more negative point that many of the respondents mentioned about the Swedish model: the Swedes themselves have not had much luck with the implementation of the law. Arguing against the tactics used for solving the problem of prostitution, the opinion-makers said that prostitution has not disappeared in Sweden, it has been only reorganized (counterrhetoric of tactical criticism).

RTS(M)EE: *They are happily talking in Sweden that prostitution has disappeared off the streets with this new law. It has not disappeared anywhere. I have been to*

Sweden and looked at the situation. The business has been slightly reorganized. Now they're working with the client on the street. The client comes in a car, the pimp gets in, they talk, and money changes hands. He shows pictures, a woman is ordered and they drive to her apartment. And now the police have many more difficulties finding all this out. Prostitution is no longer that apparent. I think it would go the same way here. /--- / I think the Swedish model is absolutely impossible for us right now.

RPS(M)LV: The Swedes – they are a hypocritical nation. They say that they don't have prostitution. Our police officers went there last summer. The prostitutes aren't on the streets any more, but there are massage parlours and escort services – and they pretend that they don't see this. If they pay taxes, then everything is OK. This (law) is by male haters – they don't know what they want or what they have achieved. Now Swedish men are becoming paedophiles. To approach a woman is dangerous – that is sexual abuse. If they invite someone on a date they can be tried in court. Thus it is better to join a gay alliance and begin abusing children. I am just repeating what a Swedish police officer said – that the law is stupid.

Respondents sceptical of the Swedish model argued against the tactic of the prohibition of buying (counterrhetoric of tactical criticism) and emphasized the costs involved in lawful interference. The neoabolitionist policy has allegedly turned Swedish men into “paedophiles” and “gays”. But more frequently, it was stated that the law has pushed the sex industry “underground”

where the women's situation is worse than it was before 1999 when the “two-faced law” did not exist. By emphasizing the prostitutes' greater difficulties, the opinion-makers mainly used the rhetoric of unreason. The prostitutes were seen more as victims of a superficial policy than of unjust and violent clients and procurers.

Referring to the unreasonable situation for the women (rhetoric of unreason), north-western Russian and Estonian opinion-leaders said that with respect to the sellers of sex, it is not feasible to adopt a neoabolitionist model in areas of the former Soviet Union, because the new democracies are not wealthy enough to provide the women with an alternative way of life and income.

RFE(M)NW-RU: Sweden can afford it. I believe all these women can be provided with proper workplaces there, and they will live rather comfortably.

RPS(M)NW-RU: Those women who have the opportunity to get child support, subsistence and unemployment benefits, enjoy a high level of social protection in Scandinavian countries. In Sweden, women join the path of prostitution voluntarily. /---/ Currently, the situation in Russia is very different.

In summary, I would draw attention to several things. In this study it became clear that knowledge of their own country's prostitution policies, not to mention the basics of their neighboring countries' policies, was very limited for many of the opinion-makers. The typical position was that the question of

prostitution was not ripe enough for people or politicians to place it seriously on the agenda. Estonian respondents said that as long as the government waits for social pressure, or pressure from below, to catch the procurers, and as long as the ordinary person is not aware of the dark side of the sex industry (the state rarely spends money on public information), prostitution will not be regarded as a problem.

Many of the opinion-makers emphasized, to different degrees, that the government is not interested in reining in the procurers. They thought that policies were drafted under pressure from financially influential interest groups and for the benefit of the politicians' own ambitions.

4.5 Presumed changes in the sex industry due to EU enlargement

Opinion-makers from all participating countries except north-western Russia were convinced that their countries would soon become members of the European Union.²⁰ Several leading opinion-makers from the St. Petersburg region also believed that at some point the Russian Federation would be part of the EU.

It therefore becomes a question of whether, and what kind of, changes are anticipated in the prostitution industry in the expanded economic area of the European Union. Some Baltic and north-western Russian interviewees thought that no significant changes for the better or worse would take place during the transition. They said that, traffic between the former Soviet countries around the Baltic Sea and the present members of the European Union has basically been open for some time.

Among Russian interviewees, the opinion was pretty strong that historic Russia is so unique

culturally and economically that no institution, no matter how large or wealthy, can easily transform the country. Using the rhetoric of tradition, St. Petersburg opinion-makers thought that the vastly different European Union would not bring about significant changes in Russian values.

RFE(M)NW-RU: *I do not believe in principle that Russia will enter the European Union. Nothing will change. Russia has always lived according to her own laws. One should not think that we will see some indications of civilized relations, that prostitution will stop having a criminal character. Our system will not work if we join it with some other system.*

RBS(M)NW-RU: *In fact, the world has not changed since old times. The Eastern Slavs failed to learn how to live a comfortable life, and they have a different way of solving problems which is not similar to the West. We have totalitarianism; ideas of liberalism do not suit our mentality.*

²⁰ The interviews were conducted in the spring and summer of 2003.

The majority of opinion-makers thought, however, that developments in Europe would bring about big changes. They thought it realistic that the free market as an institution would generate growth and expedite trade among the old and new member states as well as between the new member states and third parties. It was often stated in the study material that if open borders existed, then labor, including sex workers, would move where money existed in greater quantity. Citing market forces, respondents said that this traffic would include clients going to regions where services were cheaper.

It was evident in the study material that the opinion-makers were quite well informed about the heterogeneity of prostitution policies in the European Union, which helps to proliferate sex business and sex tourism despite the efforts of some states to arrest it. While discussing the power of market forces over moral codes, they referred to the economic need of the prostitutes and to the economic gain of the sex sellers, sex buyers and the states that have legalized prostitution.

RPS(F)EE: *I don't think it's going to get any better. I think that it's a supply and demand situation.*

It is interesting to note how two aspects of the growth of the sex industry in an enlarging Europe are seen in the study material. First, the expansion of prostitution was mostly seen as a regrettable, but inevitable, phenomenon. Secondly, I would point out some of the differences among the participating countries' opinion-makers' perceptions with respect to the victims of the ever-growing sex industry.

I attempted to find out whether EU accession countries' opinion-makers saw their fellow countrymen as barbaric invaders bent on subjugating morals to free market rules, or whether the citizens of "old" Europe were the threat. Respondents from different countries gave somewhat different answers to the question.

The dominating opinion in all participating countries, especially in prostitution-banning Catholic Lithuania, was that prostitutes and procurers tend to go en masse to the older and richer member states of the European Union. In that context, the invasion of foreign countries by one's own countrymen and the criminal world were blamed rather than sex business of Western origin entering the European Union's new market – one's own countrymen were seen as causing harm, exploiting the situation, and as barbarians.

RPS(M)EE: *One of the objectives of the EU is that all economic enterprises, which includes prostitution unfortunately, find better conditions for partnerships and trade, and free movement of people, information and labor. Nothing can be done about it. Prostitution belongs there as an economic branch. /---/ You are not a refugee from China. You are a citizen of the EU. You can have sex wherever you want – Spain, Barcelona, wherever. Right now it is more difficult to do that.*

RPS(F)LT: *After joining the EU the situation is going to become considerably rougher, because they have those three principles – free movement of capital, goods and people. Women from Lithuania may start leaving - migrating somewhere else to work as prostitutes. Though that's more or less possible already.*

RPS(F)LT: *They (Lithuanian women) are going to travel without any borders. A lot more of them are going to leave the country. Now they are taken abroad illegally, but later they are going to become a bigger problem for Western Europe than for us.*

Baltic opinion-makers did not regard Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as developed countries offering economic interest to prostitutes. They pointed out, however, that men from the West could begin to travel to the Baltic countries as “sex tourists” in even greater numbers than at present. Several opinion-makers felt that there is a danger of these countries becoming “sex paradises”, or the “Thailand of the Baltic Sea”. They referred to Baltic women’s low prices for Western European men.

RPS(M)EE: *I think it's going to become simply more international. More clients of all sorts will come here.*

RPS(M)LT: *More clients will be coming here, and maybe also more prostitutes from Belarus.*

An invasion of sex workers from neighboring poorer countries was seen as a threat from abroad, especially after European Union accession, in the Estonian and Lithuanian study material. Several Estonian opinion-makers said that due to her geographic location, Estonia’s role as a transit country for prostitutes from the East would grow.

RPS(M)EE: *Estonia has already become such a filter. Girls come here from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. Estonia is a land of opportunity. Quality is tested here and the better ones move abroad. /---/ Most*

of the girls are fully aware of this. They come to Estonia in order to get work in a better house and to catch the eye of an international pimp.

Hope was expressed that the European Union would improve the prostitution situation in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and north-western Russia. Some respondents, significantly the representatives of Latvia’s public sector, hoped that with membership would come improvements for those groups at economic risk and the quality of life. Optimistic respondents assumed that social and economic improvements would reduce prostitution, for nobody would need to sell her body due to extreme economic need. In the Latvian and north-western Russian interviews the hope was expressed that in the European Union sexual mores and awareness would be quickly raised for younger people. A few respondents placed their hope in the internal policies of the EU, which combat organized crime and trafficking in persons, and the drafting of a unified prostitution policy within the Union.

RPS(F)LV: *But after joining, Latvia will have greater opportunities to receive assistance. The European Union is already giving money to help put these issues (prostitution related) in order, and after joining this support will increase. It will also be more efficient to work together on an international level to minimize human trafficking. So in my opinion there will be both – prostitution will increase, but there will be also increased opportunities to address the problems.*

RPS(M)LV: *I think that with respect to the European Union the situation regarding prostitution in Latvia could be improved only if there is an increase in economic well-being – if there is greater opportunity for education. And the legal aspects could also be put in order so that it would become more difficult, not easier (to engage in prostitution).*

RPS(F)LV: *And with an increase in economic well-being there would be greater opportunity for education, and this problem (of prostitution) would lessen. Just as it is with crime and contraband – no nation has been able to completely rid itself of this problem, but lessen it. All of the nations who have joined the European Union have only gained. The standard of living has gone up and, I think, the problem of prostitution will lessen.*

RPS(M)EE: *It is a collective matter. We don't exist in a closed room. When you adopt a law in your own country you have to see what is being done in the neighboring country, because a plane flies here from Stockholm in 45 minutes. That is what an open Europe means. Most likely, uniformity in legislation would be sought in Europe.*

Positive beliefs in the study material with respect to the enlargement of the European Union were marginal. With regard to the future, the views were mostly pessimistic. Opinion-makers repeatedly referred to the conflicting prostitution policies in Europe that have failed to put the breaks on the proliferation of sex in a mobile Union, and have created a situation where free market logic stifles moral values. In

pessimistic descriptions, the costs involved in joining the European Union for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and north-western Russia were underlined.

RTS(M)EE: *I honestly don't know how they will be able to solve these problems in the EU in the future, because there is no unanimity whatsoever on this issue. Germany and Sweden have very different systems. What you'll get is massive sex tourism from one place to another – from the country that prohibits to the country that permits. And that is very strange when speaking about European unity.*

RTS(F)LT: *Joining the European Union will worsen the moral atmosphere in general, because the joining countries are so different. /---/ This is going to increase migration problems. Migration will increase to countries where prostitution is legalized – market laws are going to do their job.*

MSE(M)EE: *I don't see any assurances in the European Union that we would be rescued from prostitution, because it includes countries with booming prostitution. All the big German cities have a street lined only with brothels. And quite naturally the workers are brought there from poor Eastern Europe. /---/ If we are not prepared for it, the situation could actually become worse, because migration to, and employment in, European Union countries will become easier and controls weaker. That is not a bright future.*

5. SUMMATION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Prostitution of sex and normalization of prostitution in post-Soviet countries

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, an emphasis on sexuality in the new free market transitional countries became the norm. Whereas the previous regime had prohibited prostitution and pornography, both phenomena burst onto the scene at the beginning of the 1990s. With the screening of Hollywood films, the local media began to promote ultra-liberal sexual behavior and prostitution. Opinion-makers in the Baltic states and north-western Russia also said that new, open-minded sex education in schools supported this development, in which they saw a decline in sexual mores and family values. They made references to moral degeneration in the new democracies (rhetoric of loss), the foolishness and unawareness of young women, and their exploitation by the sex industry (rhetoric of unreason). The north-western Russian respondents in particular talked about the moral degeneration of women and young people, using such motifs as "parasite" and "rat".

In less than ten years, intimate sexual relations have become a commodity among other goods on the market. The great economic decline following the collapse of the superpower helped to make sex into a consumer good. Borders were open to tourists and businesses while people employed by the huge, inefficient and amortized state enterprises lost their jobs and become impoverished. The desperate poverty of the post-socialist societies and the

wealth of the developed Western countries met under the conditions of a free market economy and the circulation of capital. Several opinion-makers bitterly commented that everything was for sale and anything that could be dreamt of could be bought. The buying and selling of sex began to be treated as a "free choice" by open-minded contemporary people in a world providing a plethora of opportunities. Several opinion-makers added that such an attitude left women, the hardest hit group, to fend for themselves. Opinion-makers of an equality and feminist persuasion mentioned the socially unacknowledged, yet increasing, "violence against women" and "gender inequality" in the new economic situation. The international market economy has been depoliticizing discussions of women's rights and prostitution, emptying the analysis of power relations from discourse on sexuality. /---/ The options offered are that we either normalize prostitution, treating sex as a marketed thing, or we are consigned to sexual repression (Barry 1996: 33).

Some of the newspaper articles and some opinion-makers acknowledged the normalization of the sex industry in post-socialist countries and saw in it real harm to women and to society as a whole. However, a larger number of articles' writers and opinion-makers had adjusted to society's rapid development so comfortably that they saw the situation as

normal, with no questions asked. The latter group saw a problem with prostitution not due to its commercialization, but with associated activities – the spread of drug abuse, sexually transmitted diseases and violence against women – which would disappear were the state to regulate prostitution. In their comments, the members of this group often combined “the world’s oldest profession” with the rhetorics of tradition and the entitlement of prostitutes and clients. They even romanticized prostitution by using the motifs “little Paris”, “love goddess” and “night butterfly”.

In order to explain the liberal attitudes towards sexuality in the Baltic states and north-western Russia, I would add that several opinion-makers that were critical of prostitution normalization stated that they even approved of sexual revolution and sexual freedom. Such acceptance marks association with the developed and free western world, which had been a forbidden dream and ideal for many citizens of the Soviet Union.

5.2 Conflicting views of the government’s role – agent for commercial markets or guardian of morals

Many of the opinion-makers considered it self-evident that the sex industry was, is and shall remain. They did not see it as a moral problem. In their view, the government’s role is to ensure, with the aid of laws and other such means, that prostitution is free, as much as possible, of the “real” problems which tend to accompany it. This functional approach, which declares the selling of sex to be “part of the social tapestry”, considers prostitution the “free choice” of rationally active adults and something that takes place “between them”. It should not be of moral concern to the state.

A minority in the study thought that the state should not tolerate, as a matter of principle, the commercialization of sex and the sex industry’s invasion of sexual morality. Prostitution was

perceived as a manifestation of gender and economic inequality, and of the degeneration of the moral code.

Thus two conflicting understandings of the contemporary state’s role collided in the study material. The first, and more popular, view maintained that the government was an ethically neutral coordinator of economic activity. It is the government’s responsibility to accept the functioning business activity (prostitution) and to start regulating it. To view the act of selling one’s sexual services, as well as the act of buying such services, strictly as a rational individual choice is to ignore the economic interests grounded in the institution at a state, community and enterprise level (Truong 1990: 28).

The opposing view holds that the state has the role of a moral watchdog for citizens and residents, or of parental responsibilities and accountability. A government has to set itself moral standards and see how close reality comes to them. The concept of a moral state

does not view the buying and selling of sex as a private matter between individuals, but it takes into consideration the economic and political implications and turns in fight against them into a goal.²¹

5.3 Support for legalization in order to combat the problems caused by prostitution

Supporters of functional prostitution - the dominant opinion in the study – held that it was time to end “playing the ostrich” and “false morals”, and to legalize the “world’s oldest profession”. Estonian, Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers overwhelmingly felt that governments should “look reality in the face” and bring clear regulations for prostitution and brothels into force.

By appealing to common sense, these arguments used the civic style.

Latvian respondents using political balance rhetoric were an exception. They gave considerable approval to their country’s “middle of the road” prostitution policy. The Latvian “compromise version” regulates prostitutes’ activities, and bans procuring and the running of brothels.

I would note here that the Lithuanian opinion-makers’ rather strong support for legalization of prostitution was in conflict with the dominant

view in the Lithuanian daily *Lietuvos Rytas*, which held that the best prostitution policy would be to outlaw it.²²

By favoring classical prostitution legalization over other models, opinion-makers hoped to prevent the existence of many phenomena associated with the sex industry that are “real” social problems.

An important expectation from the legalization of prostitution was the reduction of health risks to the prostitute, client and society. Respondents from all countries in the study acknowledged that prostitution was an activity that wore out the sex seller fast, both spiritually and physically. They agreed that sex-selling is connected with violence for the seller as well as the buyer, and also the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The opinion-makers hoped that the legalization of prostitution would reduce these regrettable effects. They alleged that prostitutes are made “victims” of

²¹ See also chapter 3.2.4 “Discussions about the legalization of prostitution in the Russian weekly *Argumenty i Fakty*”.

²² See also the results of prostitution studies in dailies in the *possible solutions for the situation* section of chapter 3.1.3 “Analysis results”.

prostitution in situations where prostitution is not legalized, and indirectly accused the state of abusing women because it had adopted the “wrong” policy towards them.

I would mention here the Estonian respondents’ singularity in comparison to the other opinion-makers in the study. While others said that “deficiencies” in prostitution policies put the health of sex buyers at risk, as well as that of their regular partners, and through them society, it was not characteristic of Estonian opinion-makers to see the client as a victim of prostitution. Instead, the Estonians saw a need to legalize prostitution so that the “double standard” stigmatizing prostitutes and turning them into social deviants would disappear. Their functional arguments alleged that it was the government’s responsibility to protect prostitutes, and to raise their “prestige” and “dignity as sex workers” so that they could be proud of doing such historic and traditional work in society.

According to researchers, the legalization of prostitution does not bring self-awareness and a better life for prostitutes. A prostitute works at her trade for an average of five years and it is understandable that she would not want to register herself as a sex worker, for which she would be stigmatized for the rest of her life. Considering also that married women, minors and university students work as prostitutes, how realistic is it for them to register as sex workers? Typically, someone turned to prostitution in the hope of earning a large sum of money to meet some goal, and then leave it behind. Legalization would not change the situation for

the prostitute, but it could make it better for the client who would no longer have to seek the service underground, but could use official and professional services (Lamesoo 2003: 61).

While the Estonians focused on the prostitutes’ entitlements, the other countries’ opinion-makers often made references to the need for clients’ entitlements.

In addition to reducing the health risks for prostitutes, clients and society, all opinion-makers hoped to “gain control of organized crime” through the legalization of prostitution. Assuming legal control of prostitution was seen as a way of getting state control over a critically expanding underworld and shadow economy. Legalization of the sex industry was a way for the government to care for the state’s “internal security”. It is interesting to note that the opinion-makers did not expand on their logic to include other organized crime activities, such as illegal drugs. To be consistent, the latter should be considered for legalization in order to protect the state’s internal security.

As for containing prostitution by legalization, experiences in other countries show that the opposite – the expansion of the sex industry – is the outcome. Prostitution as a business grew in the Netherlands by twenty-five percent in ten years after its legalization (Daley 2001: 4). Additionally, state regulation of sex business contributes to the growth in the variety offered by the service, namely in foreign workers – most likely in the share of trafficked women and minors. According to the Children’s Rights organization in Amsterdam, the number of minors engaged in prostitution grew from 4000

in 1996 to 15000 in 2001 (Tiggeloven: 2001). In the state of Victoria in Australia, the number of legal brothels grew after the legalization of prostitution in 1984 from 40 to 94 in ten years, to which 84 escort services have to be added. And the sex industry grew especially quickly in the illegal sector. Unlicensed brothels were the majority in 1999, and in the following year the number tripled, reaching several hundred (Sullivan, Jeffreys 2001).

Lithuanian and Russian opinion-makers often mentioned the state's internal security problems and state officials' ties with organized crime. They highly doubted the government's readiness to change the situation, referring to corrupt institutions and state officials in whose interests the present disorder and bribery exist.

5.4 Contrasting coerced and willingly pursued prostitution

An important difference in the findings of the studies made by the dailies and the opinion-makers has to be noted. Whereas in the former the causes of prostitution were most frequently seen as falling victim to trafficking and deceit,²³ in the latter the two phenomena had a lesser role. The opinion-makers knew that the interview concerned prostitution and, except in some cases, they touched upon trafficking in persons very rarely. It cannot be explained as the result of the interview's rigidity, because the open structure of the interview provided plenty

I would, also, mention a reason for legalization offered by Latvian and Lithuanian interviewees. Unlike Estonian opinion-makers, who avoided such references, the former referred to the economic gain that the state would make by taxing prostitution. The Estonian respondents saw in legalization the prevention of long-term harm to the state rather than securing large revenues quickly. Possibly, the widely held view in the Nordic countries that prostitutes are victims whose rights should be protected has had greater influence in Estonia than in the other Baltic countries and north-western Russia.

of opportunities for the respondent to add related social phenomena to her/his answers. Although the interview concerned prostitution, it did not prevent the respondents from talking about many other matters.

In the interviews, the opinion that "normal" prostitution exists and has to be socially accepted, while the opposite must not prevail under any circumstances, was often stated. Support for this functional attitude results in differentiating coerced prostitution from that which is "voluntary" and "normal". The

²³ See also the results of prostitution studies in dailies in the *causes of prostitution* section of the chapter "Analysis results".

opinion-makers mostly supported the latter. Unlike trafficking, prostitution is seen as a conscious choice among rational economic activities undertaken by an adult. The opinion-makers naturalized prostitution as something that does not feed organized crime, and is not tied to illegal business or violence. While the rhetoric of unreason was principally used with reference to trafficking in persons, references with regard to prostitution were made to

women's economic need, women's economic gain and entitlement to women's rights.

The position that selling one's body is never voluntary, not even when the prostitute herself declares it to be, and is always directly or indirectly forced on the prostitute by the power structures (Jeffreys 1997: 135-139), is still relatively alien to opinion-makers. Violence was viewed within an extremely narrow – i.e. limited to physical force – definition.

5.5 Prostitution as a violation of human rights

The international debate on the phenomenon of trafficking in persons has shown a fundamental difference of opinion between those who see prostitution *per se* as a violation of human rights and those who find human rights violated when a woman is subjected to force, but who at the same time emphasize the right of adult women to self-determination (Månsson 1996: 25).

Such differences of opinion about human rights and their violation also clearly emerged during the study under consideration. It should be noted that the active adult prostitute's right to sell her body safely and profitably was seen as a human right rather than the right to earn a living without having to turn her sexuality into an income. Such a value system would make prostitution a morally acceptable institution in a state that legalized it, presumably to take care of its less fortunate citizens. This was a surprising opinion. One would have expected

the view that the state legalizes prostitution and collects taxes as a morally neutral entity – simply an agent for economic activity.

Very few leading opinion-makers took the position of the state having the role of the moral protector of its citizens' and residents' right to the dignified treatment of their bodies and to earn a living without selling sex.

In addition to the rights of prostitutes, the clients' rights were addressed. Here the opinions of the north-western Russian respondents, using the rhetoric of entitlement for clients, reflect most characteristically the prevailing view that men have a traditional and eternal right to buy a woman whenever they have a physical need for it. Such a biologically deterministic understanding would cause a war between the sexes if sex-buying were banned, because the latter would be contrary to "natural division of roles" and could turn men into "gays" and "pedophiles".

5.6 Hiding the responsibility of the sex buyer

In the newspapers and the interviews, the same views appeared that earlier studies had shown – prostitution is principally associated with prostitutes and women.²⁴ 'He' is anonymous or entirely invisible. If there is an image of the client, it mainly builds upon a very rigid and one-dimensional view of men's sexuality. It is a biologically deterministic view of men's sexual desires as being constantly high and never changing. This view disregards the fact that sexuality is socially and culturally constructed (Månsson 1996: 28).

The participation of the sex buyer in the business of prostitution was regarded as depending very little on will, and therefore as being unchangeable. The tradition of using prostitutes and men's natural biological needs were mentioned many times, thus ascribing inevitability to the buying of sex. It became evident that the authors of the newspaper articles, as well as many of the interviewees, interpreted the client's role in patriarchal terms, even when not using the rhetoric of client's entitlement. The use of prostitutes was explained as totally objective reality, originating in the distant past, which cannot be changed according to the desires of society's members. The placing of little emphasis on policies affecting the client can be seen as exempting men from sexually moral will and responsibility.

Such an opinion makes purely physical creatures of men.

The fact that the opinion-makers often regarded prostitution as a woman's problem could explain why the term 'prostitution' is completely focused on the prostitute and does not in any way make reference to the other party – the buyer, without whom the sale of sex could not, in fact, take place (Jeffreys 1997: 141).

Setting aside one rather unanimous opinion, according to which the sex buyer is not accountable for his behavior, the positions of the different countries' opinion-makers differed to some extent. With regard to moral loss and prostitution, the Estonians primarily blamed the media and films for marketing sex, and the government for not seizing control of organized crime and diseases and for spreading extremely liberal messages via young people's sex education that prepare them for the sex market.

In addition to blaming a society preoccupied with sex and immorality, and a corrupt government, opinion-makers from other countries also blamed today's lazy and greedy young women whose lifestyle can be described by the "parasitic" motif.

²⁴ See also the results of prostitution studies in dailies in the *causes of prostitution* and *the parties involved in prostitution – the prostitute, client, and procurer* sections of chapter 3.1.3 "Analysis results".

5.7 Failure to see links between gender roles, gender segregation in the labor market and prostitution

Most opinion-makers thought it self-evident that women sell sex and men buy it. Yet many did not connect that with gender roles and gender segregation within the labor market. It was characteristic of many of them to treat connected phenomena as self-sufficient and independent units. Again, one should bear in mind that in discussing prostitution, the respondents hardly ever mentioned trafficking in human beings. Just as it was not seen that trafficking in persons supplied prostitution with new women and children, it was often ignored that gender segregation in the labor market has left many women without the skills needed for paid jobs. Likewise, it was seldom stated that traditional gender roles have internalized an understanding that women are there for the gratification of men's needs within male and female members of society.

Many of the respondents considered the selling of sex to be a "free choice" for women with limited opportunities and traditional upbringing in order to "survive". Some female respondents even said that in their homeland, women have the same opportunities as men in public and sex is sold as one's choice.

Focusing on prostitution as a woman's "choice" is just an updated version of victim-blaming. It is a clever one, because it masquerades as an

explanation for prostitution which attributes agency to women and fulfils feminist aims of seeing women as strong, powerful and capable. But it obscures entirely the role of men (Jeffreys 1997: 142).

In discussions why men are mostly the buyers of sex and women the sellers, several male Latvian and Lithuanian opinion-makers reached less than traditional conclusions tied to gender roles, but which were totally anatomy-centered and economically "blind". By combining comical and scientific styles, they maintained that men were not physically capable of having sex with every woman, while a woman's anatomy makes it possible for her to "choose" prostitution as a profitable profession, due to her innate ability to have sex with many personally unattractive partners in a short period of time. They even underlined men's biological discrimination.

However, some leading opinion-makers who did not see the selling of sex as a modern and profitable opportunity to earn a living in a world full of choices perceived the prostitute more as a victim of personal tragedy than of economic and political processes. Choice and concomitant accountability were very often placed on the prostitute.

5.8 Attitudes towards different prostitution policy models in the West and EU enlargement

Most opinion-makers in the study deprecated or ridiculed the idea of following the neoabolitionist, or so-called Swedish, model. They considered it “biased” against the sex buyer, and that it would force prostitution “underground”. Estonian opinion-makers especially alleged that it was an “egoistic experiment” which would result in the growth of “sex tourism” in neighboring countries where the girls were cheap and sex-buying permitted. Although the opinion-makers mostly used the civic style, they used the comical style and the counter-rhetoric of tactical criticism of Swedes and the costs involved in sex buying when it came to the neoabolitionist policy. The Estonian opinion-makers were particularly concerned about the possibility of Finland, only 80 km from Tallinn, adopting the neoabolitionist model. At present, the pertinent laws in Estonia and Finland are similar, but after sex buying is banned in Finland, Estonia would most likely become a “Thai paradise” or “sex paradise”. In the opinion of Baltic states and north-western Russian respondents, Sweden’s prostitution policy did not merit following. As a matter of comparison, it should be noted that *Eesti Päevaleht* articles concerning prostitution quite often viewed the model banning the buying of sex in a positive light.

Looking at the study results of both the dailies and the opinion-makers, it is evident that both

favor the legalization of prostitution, i.e. the German or Dutch – Central European – models. At the same time, it cannot be said that the opinion-makers or writers²⁵ of the articles made diligent references to the great and meritorious practical results in these countries. If at the beginning of the restored independence period it was the norm in Estonia²⁶ to refer to the “Western practice” and “Euro-standard”, then ten years later the opinion-makers are not trying to include Estonia in the group of countries with this high standard of living. Instead, one senses euro-scepticism.

Also in the north-western Russian study material, the state’s and people’s mental, cultural and economic differences from other countries were emphasized. It is a common conviction that it is not right to transport a prostitution model from one country to another with different socioeconomic conditions. It is argued that each country has to develop at its own pace, taking into account its internal social and economic situation. Otherwise, the new laws would remain “blank sheets of paper”.

The same pessimistic, euro-sceptical attitude dominated the European Union enlargement question. The role of the Baltic states and north-western Russia as countries of origin, transit and destination for prostitution could grow when they are in an economic area with heterogeneous prostitution policies and soft

²⁵ *Eesti Päevaleht* is an exception. Between February 1999 and August 2001, the legalization of brothels in the Netherlands was quite well reported. See chapter 3.2.1 “Reports on the legalization of brothels in the Netherlands (February 1999- August 2001)”.

²⁶ See also Lagerspetz, M. (1996) *Constructing post-communism. A study in Estonian social problems discourse*. Turun Yliopisto. p. 23.

borders, because “sex tourism” would grow in an open market.²⁷

This rather arrogant and indifferent attitude towards Western policies and customs reflects the fact that only a few of the opinion-makers were concerned with the negative impression that their countries’ prostitution situation and policies could make on foreign countries. The relative self-centeredness of the interviewees is in contrast to the tone in the prostitution articles of the dailies, which mentioned the harm that could come to the country’s image abroad as a result of sex business or the development of a “sex paradise”.²⁸ The differences between the

two study materials could be explained to some extent by the fact that the opinion-makers were interviewed in the spring and summer of 2003, and the studied newspaper articles appeared between 01.01.1999 and 01.01.2003. Hence, the relative indifference of the opinion-makers towards Western prostitution policy models and the country’s image abroad could be a trend of recent times. Another explanation could be the differences in people’s self-control and levels of relaxation when writing their opinions on a piece of paper underscored by a signature and express them freely and anonymously during the course of a discussion.

5.9 Placing the question of prostitution among politically marginal items

Opinion-makers often stated that rapid changes in their country’s prostitution policies were not likely, and cited different reasons for their opinions.

Estonian respondents said that a “vicious circle” was preventing change: citizens had not recognized prostitution as a problem and, therefore, the government was not getting an “order” from below. From “above”, attention and resources were not being directed to investigating the extent, causes and effects of the sex industry and, therefore, citizens didn’t know about the problem. The Estonians’ attention is focused on illegal alcohol, drugs and software piracy business, not prostitution. That the republic is not economically and culturally ready for a comprehensive discussion on prostitution was a position that appeared

quite often in the Estonian study material. By predicting political marginality for the question of prostitution, the opinion-makers expressed the government’s and citizen’s mutual weakness.

Prostitution-banning Lithuanian and north-western Russian opinion-makers did not talk as often about the risk of raising the question of prostitution among voters and combative politicians, or that citizen’s knowledge of the sex industry was still too low. Using the rhetoric of loss with reference to state officials, they said that the present laws and powerful people in executive offices made such a profit from the existing situation that they were not interested in changing the prostitution policy. These opinion-makers made frequent reference to the “corruption” of officials.

²⁷ See also Kristiina Aruvee’s poster, “Estonia a whore of Europe”, *Eesti Ekspress*, Areen, Europlakat '03, August 14, 2003.

²⁸ See also the results of prostitution studies in dailies in the *effects of prostitution* section of chapter 3.1.3 “Analysis results”.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barry, K. L. (1995) *The Prostitution of Sexuality*, New York University Press, New York
- Barry, K. L. (1996) *The Prostitution of Sexuality, Changing Faces of Prostitution: Conference Book* (Jyrkinen, M. ed.), Unioni – the League of Finnish Feminists
- Daley, S. (2001) *New Rights for Dutch Prostitutes, but No Gain*, New York Times, August 12
- Durkheim, E. (1968) *Suicide*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, London
- Ibarra, P. R. ; Kitsuse, J. I. (1993) "Vernacular Constituents of Moral Discourse: An Interactionist Proposal for the Study of Social Problems" in *Reconsidering Social Constructionism. Debates in Social Problem Theory*, (Holstein, J. A.; Miller, G. ed.). Aldine de Gruyter, New York
- Inimkaubandus Eestis: 500 naist aastas*, (<http://www.uno.ee/onsight/arhiiv/535/5462>); 15.10.2003 [*Human commodities in Estonia: 500 women per year*]
- Jeffreys, S. (1997) *The idea of prostitution*, Spinifex Press Pty Ltd, North Melbourne, Australia
- Kalikov, J. (2001) *Expert view. Situation with prostitution and trafficking of women and girls in Estonia*
- (http://www.childcentre.baltinfo.org/uploaded/SITUATION_WITH_PROSTITUTION.doc); 15.10.2003
- Kase, H.; Pettai, I. (2002) *Prostitutsioon ja naistega kauplemine kui lahendamata probleem Eestis*, Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, avaldamata raport [*Prostitution and trafficking in women as an unresolved problem in Estonia, Open Estonia Institute, unpublished report*]
- Khodyreva, N. (2002) – *How women in prostitution see themselves and explain their motivations*, NIKK magasin, NO.1
- Lagerspetz, M. (1993) *Social Problems in Estonian Mass Media 1975-1991*, Acta Sociologica
- Lagerspetz, M (1996) *Constructing post-communism. A study in Estonian social problems discourse*. University of Turu
- Lagerspetz, M. (2000) *Kvalitatiivsete meetodite väljakutse Eesti sotsioloogiale*, ettekanne Eesti Sotsiaalteadlaste 1. Aastakonverentsil, 24-25.11.200, (<http://www.ehi.ee/publikatsioonid/Mlesak.doc>); 15.10.2003 [*The challenge of qualitative methods for Estonian sociology. Presentation at the Estonian Social Sciences I Annual Conference, November 24-25, 2000*]
- Lamesoo, K. (2003) *Prostitutsiooni meediadiskursus*, avaldamata bakalaureusetöö, Tartu Ülikool, Sotsiaalteaduskond, Sotsioloogia ja sotsiaalpoliitika osakond [*Prostitution discussion in the media. Unpublished bachelor's thesis, University of Tartu, Social Sciences Faculty, Department of Sociology and social policy*]
- Månsson, S.-A. (1995) *International Prostitution and Traffic in Persons in Relation to Costs and Benefits of Europeanization*, Changing Faces of Prostitution: Conference Book (Jyrkinen, M. ed.), Unioni – the League of Finnish Feminists
- Meimane, I. (2003) *Meitenes ar dzelteno pasi, Santa, 7/133* [Meimane, I., *Girls with the yellow passport, Santa, 7/133*]
- Miko, F., T.; Park, G. (2002) *Trafficking in Women and Children: The U.S. and International Response*, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress
- Millett, K. (1975) *The Prostitution Papers*, Paladin Books, St Albans, Herts
- Naiskauppa ja pakkoprostituutio* (1993/1), Raportti Euroopan Neuvoston seminaarista, Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden ministeriö, Tasa-arvovaliokunta, Helsinki [*Trafficking in Women and Forced Prostitution (1993/1), report of the seminar organised by Council of Europe, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Tasa-arvovaliokunta, Helsinki*]

Offe, C (1996) *Varieties of Transition. The East European and East German Experience*. Polity Press, Cambridge

Pajumets, M. (2001) *Kas uus mehelikkus jõuab Eestisse?*, Eesti Naisuurimus- ja Teabekeskus, "Ariadne Lõng" 1/2. [Will new masculinity reach Estonia? Ariadne's Clew 1/2, Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre]

Põhja- ja Baltimaade naistega kauplemise vastane ühiskampaania (<http://www.nordicbalticcampaign.org>) [Nordic and Baltic countries joint campaign against trafficking in women]; 03.05.2003

Terk, E. (1999) *Eesti majandusareng: saavutused, vastuolud, perspektiivid*, kogumikust Eesti inimarengu aruanne 1999 (ed. Vetik, R.), ÜRO Arenguprogramm, Eesti. [Estonia's economic development: achievements, dissention, perspectives. Report on Estonia's human resources 1999 (ed. Vetik, R.) UNDP, Estonia]

Tiggeloven, C. (2001) *Child Prostitution in the Netherlands*, December 18, (www.nw.nl/hotspots/html/netherlands011218.html); 15.10.2003

Truong, T.-D. (1990) *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in Southeast Asia*, Zed Books Ltd, London

Turunen, M.-M., ed. (1996) *Kun kaikki on kaupan*, prostituution asiantuntijatyöryhmän raportti, Sosiaali- ja Terveysalan Tutkimus- ja Kehittämiskeskus STAKES, Helsinki [When Everything is for Sale, report of expert group on prostitution, STAKES, Helsinki]

Vöörmann, R. (2000) *Mehed ja naised tööturul: palgasuhted*, kogumikust Teel tasakaalustatud ühiskonda: Naised ja mehed Eestis (Maimik, P.; Mänd, K.; Papp, Ü-M. ed.) Eesti Vabariigi Sotsiaalministeerium, ÜRO Arenguprogramm, Tallinn. [Men and women on the labor market: wages. From the collection "Toward a balanced society: women and men in Estonia" (Maimik, P.; Mänd, K.; Papp, Ü-M. ed.) Republic of Estonia Social Affairs Ministry, UNDP, Tallinn]

Aruvee, K. "Estonia a whore of Europe", Eesti Ekspress, Areen, Europlakat'03, 14. 07.2003.

AFB/BNS/SLÕL, *Bürokraadid ahistavad Hollandis prostituute*, EPL, 29.06.2001 [AFB/BNS/SLÕL, *Bureaucrats harass the prostitutes in Holland*, EPL, 29.06.2001]

Бычкова, Е., *Проститутки в законе*, АиФ, 5.11.2002 [Botchkova, E., *Prostitutes in Law*, АИФ, 5.11.2002]

Ермаков, Е., *Депутат Государственной Думы РФ Алексей Митрофанов: «Проституток надо легализовать»*, АиФ, 23.11.2000 [Ermakov, E., *Deputy of Russian Federation State Duma Aleksey Mitrofanov: Prostitution must be legalized*, АИФ, 23.11.2000]

Kopli, K., *Lõbumajad on nüüd lubatud*, EPL, 28.10.1999 [Kopli, K., *Brothels are now legal*, EPL, 28.10.1999]

Kopli, M., *Hollandi bordellid puhkekeskusteks*, EPL, 05.02.1999 [Kopli, M., *Holland's brothels into vacation centers*, EPL, 05.02.1999]

Murre, T., *Hollandi bordellid hädas bürokraatia ja maksudega*, EPL, 16.08.2001 [Murre, T., *Holland's brothels pestered by bureaucracy and taxes*, EPL, 16.08.2001]

Reuters – Baltic News Service, *Hollandi bordellid oktoobris seaduslikuks*, EPL, 28.12.1999 [Reuters – Baltic News Service, *Holland's brothels legal in October*, EPL, 28.12.1999]

Reuters – Baltic News Service, *Hollandi lõbumajakett avab filiaali lennuväljal*, EPL, 16.12.1999 [Reuters - Baltic News Service, *Holland's brothel chain opens affiliate at airport*, EPL, 16.12.1999]

Reuters – Baltic News Service, *Holland näitas punastele laternatele rohelist tuld*, EPL, 27.10.1999 [Reuters – Baltic News Service, *Holland gives green light to red-light district*, EPL, 27.10.1999]

STT-ETA, *Hollandi bordellid muutusid legaalseks*, EPL, 02.10.2000 [STT-ETA, *Holland's brothels became legal*, EPL, 02.10.2000]

Торгова, М., *Одна ночная бабочка на 30 мужиков*, АиФ, 23.05.2001 [Torgova, M., *One night butterfly for 30 bucks*, АИФ, 23.05.2001]

