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Role of the NGOs in the formation of social
policy against commercial sexual exploitation of
children in Russia and Italy

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Abstract

Over the past decade of XXI century, the roles, functions and impacts of NGOs on societal problems, economic, and political issues has grown both in Russia and Italy. At the present moment, Russian and Italian governments quite often cannot give an adequate response to the problems of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) without qualified opinion of NGOs. This qualitative study examines the influence and contribution of NGOs to the formation of social policy against CSEC in Russia, compare to Italian situation. The research was designed to assess the 'social origins' theory by Salamon and Anheier and to review some of the conceptualizations of NGOs, social policy, welfare state, and CSEC. The empirical part of the present work based on the case studies of St. Petersburg and Rome, particularly on the analysis of expert interviews with representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations. The findings demonstrated that the 'social origins' theory by Salamon and Anheier needs its' further theoretical development while other results of our study revealed that first, there is a lack of the integration of Russian NGOs into institutional system of cooperation to combat CSEC compare to Italian ones. Second, Russian NGOs appeared to be characterized as the primary service providers while in Italy advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role. Third, 'conflicting' type of the NGO-state relationships appeared to be common in Russia, whereas 'interdependent' or 'partnership' type corresponds to Italian case. Forth, Italy was found to represent a mix of social-democratic and corporatist models of non-profit regimes, while Russia revealed by the combination of statist, liberal and corporatist types of non-profit regimes. Finally, a set of directions for further research were elaborated, focusing on main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy against CSEC drawing on each others' experiences.

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Abbreviations

- CICLOPE – Inter-ministerial Committee for the Coordination of the Fight against Pedophilia
- CRC – United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
- CSE – Commercial Sexual Exploitation
- CSEC – Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children
- ECPAT – End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
- ILO – International Labour Organization
- INGO – International Non-Governmental Organization
- MoU – Memorandum of Understanding
- NGOs – Non-Governmental Organizations
- NPA – National Plan of Actions
- UN – United Nations

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Introduction

Practical significance

Political and economic changes at the beginning of XXI century including privatization, liberalization of market economy, decreasing of the state's protective role and other changes have increased the significance of the third sector in most European countries. The non-profit or third sector has become significantly bigger in recent years. It has started to play more significant role in many different areas like education, social services, culture, in the sphere of health and the environment. Non-profit organizations are increasingly becoming a part of private-public partnerships which enrolls the voluntary sector in a «network of responsibilities, financial obligations and accountability requirements» (Anheier, 2000: 22) together with various stakeholders like «governments, members, clients, and competitors» (Ibid: 22). Emergence of NGOs is seen as a response to government or market failure to help to deal with a vast variety of social needs and to meet unsatisfied demand for public goods in society like health care, social work or education services. James (1987) argues that «the more a society is heterogeneous» (Sama, 2006: 3), the more number of the NGOs appear.

NGOs' activities are usually directed towards such groups of population who are in difficult life situations: homeless, abandoned, poor children, etc. The children are recognized as the most vulnerable group and the extension of commercial sexual exploitation of children is considered as the most challenging issue in globalize societies. For example, in most European countries minors are not registered at birth. As a result they do not receive any legal identity which leads to the fact that it becomes easier for criminals to "hide" and to exploit these children. In addition, it is difficult to pursue these children when they disappear and is it difficult to define their age. Thus, these children have a large risk to become victim of sexual exploitation. Moreover, poverty is one of the major causes of sexual exploitation of children in Russia as well as in Italy. Because of the adverse economic circumstances children find themselves in a desperate situation, where prostitution appears to become a way to survive. In most cases such children feel responsibly for their family and take every opportunity to earn money.

Since the First World Congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children was held in 1996 in Stockholm, Sweden, it marked the first public recognition by governments of the existence of CSEC and resulted in a commitment to the global Declaration and Agenda for Action, it was a general agreement among countries to follow specific measures to combat CSEC (ECPAT International, 2009: 4). As far as the Stockholm Agenda for Action concerns,

issues related to CSEC were mostly recognized as a government matter, but since coordinated participation of all actors, including the state and a public sector, is thought to be one of the very effective and comprehensive ways to fight with CSEC, in my research we would like to focus on studying of the key actors which contribute to social policy formation in Russia and Italy. These key actors are - the state and non-governmental organizations. According to the definition accepted by the World Congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children in Sweden, Stockholm in 1996 *commercial sexual exploitation of children* is defined as «sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons. ... (It) constitutes a form of coercion and violence against children and amounts to forced labour and a contemporary form of slavery»¹. There are several basic forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children which are most relevant for Russia and countries of the EU in present time: child prostitution, child pornography, children's sexual trafficking, and children's sexual tourism. All of them are interconnected. Since the problem of CSEC is considered to be quite new and very specific due to its' psychological, sociological and legal characteristics, a role of NGOs in this sphere appears to be very specific too.

Our main argument is that childhood has to become a universal value of a nation and be protected by the state, and that non-governmental organizations are the main actors who play an important role in preventing the use of this value in economic interests of a market as well as in political interests of the state. Despite the fact that we can always suppose without any hesitations and additional research that NGOs do play an important role in the formation of social policy against CSEC, it is still interesting to study the factors of the effective promotion of childhood as the universal value, or to understand how political and economic changes influence the role of NGOs or what roles of NGOs will play in the future, etc.

Hugh Cunningham (1991: 204), when talking about Britain, raises the problem of «where to draw the line between state and parental responsibility» (Cunningham, 1991: 205) and what are the «respective roles of voluntary organizations and of the state» (Ibid: 205) on the political agenda. One of the author's strong arguments against state interferences is that once the state starts «to play a larger role in the lives of children» (Ibid: 205), the integrity of the family can be put at risk, because in this case parental responsibilities and care of the state can be treated at the same level and therefore it can lead to the destruction of family as an institute. Moreover, we can assume that in the developed European countries, the rates of sexual exploitation of children within the family is higher than in Russia, because the state takes too much care of

¹http://csecworldcongress.org/PDF/en/Stockholm/Reports/Stockholm%20Congress%20General%20Rapporteur's%20Final%20Report%201996_EN.pdf (see p. 3) – last update in 25.05.2010

those children (Ibid: 205). In other words, the more effective NGOs are in the promotion the value of childhood at the national level, the better the state elaborates its policy against CSEC, the higher probability of destruction of the family institute, the more cases of deviational behavior of the parents and children (alcohol consumption, parent separation, drug addictions, etc.) and the higher probability of child sexual abuses in the family. In terms of the author's view it is very important for the state to intervene only when parents neglect their parental duties towards children, otherwise there is a risk of receiving a reverse effect of such intervention: the higher the state intervention to protect children from abuses, the more cases of commercial sexual abuses of children. Hence, however important the role of NGOs in promotion of childhood as a national value is, there has to be always a balance between the challenges of environment and the state response to such challenges. Thus, our research demonstrates that NGOs have to be very careful when playing a role which implies an impact on the state activities and legislation to promote the value of childhood.

The results of our study may also define the direction of further development of the NGO sector to combat CSEC. For instance, Moreno (2006: 4) predicts that both for-profit private and third sector welfare suppliers might substitute the role the family by the well-being of people. It supposes greater interference of state public institutions in welfare arrangements, however not always in the way of direct policy supply.

Scientific significance

The research on the contribution of NGOs in the formation of social policy against CSEC is the topical analytical issue. It highlights the mechanisms of interaction between the markets, states, households and NGOs. Nevertheless, it still remains the underdeveloped area of research. The category of 'NGO' and its roles in the formation of social policy to protect children's rights varies and depends on the features of different welfare state regimes. None of the theories of welfare state regimes can give us a comprehensive explanation of all significant aspects of NGOs. For example, since traditional approach of Esping-Andersen stresses the role of a market and its level of de-commodification of social policy, it does not distinguish the characteristics of the third sector in Russian and Italian models of welfare state. Thus, present research is intended to develop classical theory of welfare state regimes in a way which would allow us to consider not only the role of the state but also the role of non-governmental sector in the formation of social policy against CSEC in modern Russia and Italy. Our research, therefore, may offer us some guidelines to define a role of NGOs in the process of de-commodification, to distinguish different ways of the NGOs' development and its' involvement into formation of social

policy in Russian and Italian types of welfare state, drawing on the scale of the third sector and level of social spending of the state.

Research goal

The goal of the project is to study the influence and contribution of NGOs to the formation of social policy against CSEC in Russia, compare to Italian situation.

Objectives

To achieve the goal of the study we should point out following objectives:

1) To elaborate the concept of role of NGOs in the formation of social policy against CSEC and to formulate theoretical expectations concerning roles of NGOs in Russian and Italian models of welfare state regime.

2) To conduct analytical overview of literature about recognition the problem of CSEC and role of NGOs to combat CSEC by global community.

3) To conduct comparative analysis of Italian and Russian NGOs' and state-owned organizations' contemporary experiences of working with children – victims of CSE, drawing on empirical evidences.

- a. To define the place of Russian and Italian NGOs in the system of institutions who help children in difficult life situations.
- b. To define general features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities towards a help to the children - victims of CSE.
- c. To distinguish the level of cooperation between the state and NGOs in Russia and Italy (conflicting or partnership type of cooperation).
- d. To define main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy against CSEC drawing on each others' experiences.

Object

The objects of the study are NGOs and state-owned organizations in Russia and Italy. As a case study of Russia we took NGOs and state-owned organizations in St. Petersburg and as a case study of Italy we took NGOs and state-owned organizations in Rome. Specialists in Russia are representatives of state-owned public organizations of Saint-Petersburg (children's home, orphan-asylum, hospitals, colleges, etc.) and non-governmental and public organizations of Saint-Petersburg (Garmoniya, Korchakovskij Centre, Everychild, Red cross, etc.). In Italy we studied such non-governmental organizations as Bambini nel Tempo and Save the Children,

together with state-owned and public organizations of Rome, including hospital for children (ASL di Roma B), rehabilitation center for drug addicts (Comunita' of Association SAMAN), the Observatory for the fight against pedophilia and child pornography (Ministerio pari Opportunita), Italian Postal and Communication Police.

Subjects

The subjects of the study are roles and functions of Russian and Italian non-governmental organizations in the formation of social policy against CSEC. Roles and functions of non-governmental organizations lie in the range of four aspects: 1) prevention, 2) care, 3) monitoring and 4) penalization. In our research we divide all social roles of NGOs into two main groups:

1) Service roles of NGOs (activities and social services implying direct help to children, trainings for specialists, information campaigns etc.) as indicators of social participation. NGOs can be expected to play an important service-providing role. Such goods and services can't be provided by the private market (Salamon, Lester and others, 2000: 5).

2) Advocacy roles of NGOs (activities and advocacy which promote improvements and changes on the state level, like establishing organizational networks and networks with the state, elaborating guidelines for specialists working on the state and international level, strengthening legislation etc.) as indicators of the state participation (Ibid: 6).

These two role extremes help us to assume about the contribution of NGOs to social policy formation about CSEC. More influential NGOs are supposed to have both service and advocacy range of roles, while less significant and less influential NGOs may provide people only with social services.

Research questions

To achieve the goal of the study we should study following questions: How much different the roles of NGOs are in different types of welfare state?; What are general features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities towards help to the children - victims of CSE (main goals, interests, way of achievements, level of state control, role in social policy formation)?

Hypotheses

In Russia, which is mostly seen as *liberal type* of non-profit regime, the role of NGO's is minimized in favor of the state participation in social policy formation to combat CSEC and where NGO rely less on public sector payments and more on private sector. Italy belongs to the

social democratic model of non-profit regime, where state-sponsored and state-delivered social welfare protections are big and the space for service-providing non-profit organizations is limited, and where the role of non-profit organizations in service provision is characterized by the close co-operation with government.

- a. There is a lack of integration of Russian NGOs into institutional system of cooperation to combat CSEC in contrast to Italian NGOs.
- b. Russia NGOs are expected to be the primary service role providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role.
- c. In Russia the state and NGOs are thought to be alternatives while in Italian welfare state – partners (Russian model of welfare state is characterized by the ‘conflicting’ type of relationships between the state and non-governmental sector while in Italian model of welfare state the state and non-governmental sector are thought to be partners).

Research methodology: theoretical part

As far as the problem of interaction between the state and NGOs is a very complex, diverse, constantly changing and still not clear issue, present study examines the range of the roles and activities of NGOs in different models of welfare state. To formulate theoretical expectations concerning roles of NGOs in Russian and Italian models of welfare state regimes, we clarify such concepts as ‘role’, ‘non-governmental organization’, ‘welfare state’, ‘social policy’ and apply following approaches of welfare state regimes: theory of welfare state regimes by Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990) and theory of four types of ‘non-profit regimes’ by Salamon and Anheier (1998).

T. Parsons understood by the category of ‘*social role*’ an instrument to maintain the existing structure of society, preventing change and limiting choices. Generally speaking, by the category ‘role’ we understand a pattern of activities which are expected to perform NGOs.

In spite the fact that some authors (Speaker, Flora) understand the concept of ‘*social policy*’ in broad sense, implying the whole sphere of social policy while other authors narrow it down up to certain models of welfare state, nevertheless the majority of authors tend to notice in their definitions of welfare state one common feature which is the state responsibility for the provision of its’ society with basic level of welfare. In present research by the term ‘*social policy*’ we understand a set of «social services and the welfare state» (Speaker, 2008). Thus, on the one hand, we address to social policy (welfare state) as a factor which determines the roles and

functions of non-governmental sector and, on the other hand, we address to social policy (welfare state) as a result of development of non-governmental sector.

As a theoretical base of our study we took one main approach - typology of welfare state regimes. More specifically, we refer to the *social origins theory* of four types of 'non-profit regimes' by Salamon and Anheier (1998) which is known as a developed version of traditional and classic approach of Esping-Andersen (1990). We decided to choose this approach as a theoretical base for our study, because it gives us an opportunity to detect four models of 'non-profit regimes' which are characterized not only by a certain state role, but also by a particular status of NGOs. Such analysis of four regime types corresponds to non-profit sector scale and revenue structure.

Thus, Salamon and Anheier (1998) claim that there are four types 'non-profit regimes': 1) *Liberal model* (the US, the UK), where a lower level of government social welfare spending is associated with a relatively large nonprofit sector; 2) *Social Democratic model* (Sweden), where state-sponsored and state-delivered social welfare protections are big and the space remained for service-providing non-profit organizations are limited; 3) *Corporatist model* (France, Germany), characterized by the strong state which is forced to have common affairs with non-profit institutions, which, in turn, function as "pre-modern" structure which is protected by the state in its efforts to keep the support of major social elites while asking for more radical requirements to social welfare protections; 4) *Statist model* (Japan), where both government social welfare protection and nonprofit activity are highly limited. These outcomes are explained by the historical approach, drawing on «past social constellations and policy-making» (Anheier, 2005: 11). Within this theory, in the liberal and social democratic welfare models the state and NGOs are thought to be alternatives while in corporatist model – partners. In the statist model of welfare there is no anticipation between the government and non-profit sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1996: 20).

Moreover, within the framework of this approach Salamon and Anheier (1992a; 1996a, 1997) define *5 major characteristics of NGO*, which are following: organized, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing and voluntary. These are theoretical guidelines of our study which we also put as a theoretical basis of our study.

Since the roles of NGOs thought to vary in terms of their relationships with the state, we would like to study these relationships. With this purpose we apply the *theory of partnership or interdependence* by Salamon and Anheier (1998) which determines two types of cooperation between the state and NGOs: 'conflicting', 'interdependent' or a 'partnership': 1) In 'conflicting'

type NGOs claim for freedom from the state or reject of basic social protections which leads to inequality; 2) In an 'interdependent' or a 'partnership' type NGOs focus on mobilization of political support to provoke the state concern and that this support normally used to confirm the role of NGO in the sphere where the state is convinced to enter.

Research methodology: empirical part

To study the influence and contribution of state-owned and non-governmental organizations on social policy formation to combat CSEC in Russia and Italy we took a case study of St. Petersburg and Rome. Comparison of these two cases gives us an opportunity to understand how much different the role of NGOs is in different types of welfare state, drawing on practical experiences of state-owned and non-governmental organizations in St. Petersburg and Rome to combat CSEC. In spite the fact that Russian and Italian cases are considered by many authors as two completely different welfare state regimes, they still share common principles, activities and problems in terms of work of non-governmental organizations to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children. These common features might be determined by a number of factors, like common culture, values, political, economic, social changes and other factors, which we intend to study in our further work.

Empirical data in St. Petersburg and Rome were collected through two different sources: my work in the St. Petersburg NGO of social projects called 'Stellit' and internship in ONLUS Association called 'Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo' in Rome. Within the framework of my work in St. Petersburg NGO of social projects called 'Stellit' I had a chance to participate in the project 'Prevention and assistance to the children – victims of commercial sexual exploitation in Russia' supported by OSCE and Principaute de Monaco. It was implemented in 2007-2010. The aim of the project was: to create possibilities for rehabilitation of children - victims of CSE; to raise qualification of specialists and law enforcement staff working in the field of prevention of CSEC; to create a chain of rehabilitation organizations which will provide comprehensive follow-through assistance to the victims of CSEC. In particular, the project involved the research of the situation and the elaboration of recommendations for the state authorities' representatives and for the state and public organizations in order to increase efficiency of their work in the field of identification of children – victims of CSE and providing timely assistance to such children. Within the framework of this project I personally took part in the stages of collecting and analyzing empirical data. In the period of October – November 2009 I and my colleagues from "Stellit" were able to conduct 68 expert interviews, among them 15 interviews were conducted with high level experts (experts who are involved in the decision-making process, government

representatives) and 53 – with local level experts (specialists who have an experience of work directly with children). I personally collected 26 expert interviews with representatives of non-governmental and state-owned public organizations. The duration of each interview on average was 1 hour and 30 minutes. The interviews were transcribed and put into a single electronic database of ‘Stellit’. The list of participants and organizations of our research in St. Petersburg with whom I had a chance to talk to about the problem of CSEC is presented in Appendix 1 (see p. 104). Among them, for the purposes of our present study, I choose only 7 expert interviews in a way that the type of Russian organizations corresponds to the type of Italian organizations.

As far as I got very interested in the topic of CSEC, I have decided to develop the project of ‘Stellit’, by putting it into a wider context – studying not only the situation with CSEC in Russia but also in Italy, where I was offered a position of an intern for the period of January – April 2010 in ONLUS Association called ‘Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo’ in Rome. Using contacts of the ‘Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo’ with other organizations, I conducted 7 expert interviews with representatives from NGO ‘Save the Children’, Hospital for children ‘ASL di Roma B’, Rehabilitation Center for drug addicts ‘Comunita’ SAMAN’, including ‘Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo’. Apart from that, I received some information about CSEC in Italy by e-mail from Ministero pari Opportunita and Polizia di Stato.

During the internship, I participated in staff meetings of Bambini nel Tempo and Prof. Luigi Cancrini’s supervision meetings. I had access to bibliography of the organization, history of clinical cases and research materials. I also had a chance to visit Casa de la Familia and Tribunale per i Minorenni di Roma and to participate as a visitor in the legal procedure of studying the case. In this period, I worked on my project dealing with the role of non-governmental organizations in the social policy formation regarding commercial sexual exploitation of children in Russia and Europe.

In the first month of my internship (1/02/2010 – 28/02/2010) I got acquainted with the staff of the organization, participated in their meetings supervised by Prof. Luigi Cancrini – director of Bambini nel Tempo. At these meetings, specialists made brief reports about the results of their work and gave recommendations for further improvements, difficult cases were discussed in more detail together with other specialists. There were several meeting rooms in the Centre specifically equipped for conducting psychotherapy and psycho-diagnostics of children and their families. While the psychologist was working with a child (or adult), other experts were observing and estimating the situation behind the mirror in another room so that the child (or adult) could not see them. Every meeting with clients lasted usually for 1 hour and 30 minutes; it was video recorded and registered in writing by experts who were sitting behind

the mirror. Before and after every meeting with clients there were discussions about the case in a small group of specialists who are dealing with this particular case. Each specialist of the Centre had their own number of cases they were working with. Within the framework of these discussions experts revised all materials from the previous meetings by carefully studying written records, children's pictures, results of psychological tests, history of the case and other documents provided by social workers and legal request from the Court. The work of experts' group on each case was always supervised by one of the most experienced psychologists of *Bambini nel Tempo*. I had a chance to participate in each stage of this procedure. Apart from meetings, experts had to talk with clients by phone to agree about meetings or to inform about further steps in the work of the Centre. In February 2010, I was invited to the conference with representatives from different institutions which are involved in different kinds of procedures and activities helping children who found themselves in difficult life situations. During the conference psychologists, social workers, judges and other experts made reports about the current situation in social policy in Rome. On the 15th of February I also had a chance to present my own project at another conference organized by the agency called *Differenza Donna*² (Association against women abuses). The goal of the conference was to improve collaboration between Russian and Italian NGOs and social services.

As for the work on my research, I spent this period (1/02/2010 – 28/02/2010) looking for contacts with experts – representatives of different Italian NGOs and institutions who agreed to give me an interview in English for 1 hour and 30 minutes and to share their experience of working with children – victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation. In February 2010 I managed to arrange 2 meetings with Prof. Luigi Cancrini to talk about my project in more detail. Meetings with Prof. Luigi Cancrini usually took place in another Centre where he usually had meetings with his clients - *Centro Studi Di Terapia Familiare E Relazionale*³. As a result of our meetings, Prof. Luigi Cancrini recommended me a number of contact people who might be useful in terms of my study. Moreover, in the first month of my internship I conducted two interviews with the experts from *Bambini nel Tempo*. The rest of the time in February 2010 I spend calling experts from different organizations which collaborate with *Bambini nel Tempo* to present them my project and to arrange meetings for the interview. The process of searching for the experts who could give me an interview turned out to be quite difficult for me. First, - not all of the experts I was interested in were able to speak English fluently, and my skills of Italian were not good enough to conduct an interview. Second, those experts who could speak English occupy quite

² <http://www.differenzadonna.it/>

³ <http://www.cstfr.org/>

high positions in their organizations and therefore, even in spite their obvious interest in our project, it was always a problem for them to spare time for an interview with me. Nevertheless, everybody who I had a possibility to talk to were very friendly and helpful.

In the second month of my internship (01.03.2010 – 31.03.2010) I visited following organizations and conducted interviews with experts and specialists from Bambini bel Tempo, Comunita' of Association SAMAN⁴, Save the Children⁵, ASL di Roma B⁶, Ministero pari Opportunita'⁷, Ministero dell Interno⁸ – Dipartimento della Pubblica Sicurezza Servizio Polizia e delle Comunicazioni (Seconda Divisione) and other organizations. Sometimes I met with the same experts twice to be able to get more detailed information and to finish the interview. In March 2010 I also had another two meetings with Prof. Luigi Cancrini to talk about results and first findings in my work. In March 2010 I visited Casa de la Familia and Tribunale per i Minorenni di Roma to participate (as a visitor) in legal procedure of studying the case of child abuse. Also in this period Prof. Luigi Cancrini invited me on the conference of Consiglio Superiore Della Magistratura which was devoted to the topic of «Weak Testimony: testimony against victims of crime» («La testimonianza “debole”: la testimonianza della vittima di reato»). As a whole, I managed to collect 7 interviews with experts representing different Italian organizations and get some data valuable for my investigation.

Thus, my work as an intern at Bambini nel Tempo for the period from 1.02.2010 until 31.03.2010 helped me a great deal to develop our research project, widen my experience in the sphere of social work, social assistance and psychology.

In Appendix 2 there is a list of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations and their representatives which we use as a source of empirical data for our study (see p. 108). More detailed information about the process of selection of respondents and organizations for our research is presented in the third chapter of present work.

The structure of interviews corresponds to our main objectives. The research agenda was explained to all respondents in advance. The preparation took quite a long period of time. On the one hand, the directors of organizations are rather demanding and expect the interviewer to be well-informed about their company. On the other hand, they have very busy schedules and, thus, it took a lot of time to find a convenient time for a meeting and to get prepared for interviews. According to Kincaid and Bright (1957), the interviewing of the chief

⁴ <http://en.saman.it/>

⁵ <http://savethechildren.it/>

⁶ <http://www.aslromab.it/>

⁷ <http://www.pariopportunita.gov.it/>

⁸ <http://www.interno.it/>

executives of the business company must be flexible, because this group of respondents mostly refused to be bound by a given sequence of questions. Moreover, in Italy it was hard to find such specialists who could speak good English. Despite that fact, all respondents asked to send them the questionnaires before the interview. However, their answers quite often went beyond the scope of the guiding questionnaire.

In present research we applied the method of semi-structured interviews with experts (see Appendix 3), who are considered to be qualified specialists experienced in the sphere of CSEC in St. Petersburg and Rome. It is expected that some parts of the interview are anonymous. The duration of each interview on average is 1 hour and 30 minutes. The questionnaire consists of 5 blocks and 30 questions. There are 3 types of questions: questions for everybody; questions for experts who have experience of working directly with children/victims of CSE; and questions for experts who don't have such experience. Five blocks represent following groups of questions: 1) General characteristics of working with children/victims of commercial sexual exploitation; 2) Professional experience of working with children, victims of commercial sexual exploitation; 3) Professional experience of working with children – potential victims of commercial sexual exploitation; 4) Potential availability of services for children/victims of commercial sexual exploitation; 5) Organizational and methodological aspects in the work with children/ victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

To analyze the data in terms of the main goal of research, we formed 6 categories of questions (see Appendix 3), which are: 1) Responsibilities of experts (how valid expert's judgments about the problem of CSEC could be?). 2) General information about the organization (main goals, interests and activities of the organization towards protection of children's rights; common problems of children they are working with; statistics – how much the organization is specialised and experienced in the sphere of dealing with the problem of CSEC; what kind of organization it is; how much it is dependent/independent on/of the state; what are the differences between Russian and European organizations in mechanisms of identifying and discovering the situation of CSEC?). 3) Awareness of experts of how to deal with and help children-victims of CSEC (needs of children, awareness of a specific approach to children/victims of CSE; awareness of organizations where one can send a child in case of CSE to provide him/her with comprehensive help – level of competence of experts; if there is a need for improving the qualification of experts by organizing additional training etc.). 4) Availability of resources and materials about CSEC (needs of organizations in terms of resources, labor, methods and equipment to improve effectiveness of work with children/victims of CSE – is there enough material and available information about CSEC; what kind of materials are used most

often: own materials or materials published by other organizations or from foreign companies? Is there a need for providing organizations with additional labor force to work on this particular topic?). 5) Effectiveness of organization networks in terms of working with cases of CSEC. A) Cooperation within the organization, self-esteem. B) Cooperation with state-owned organizations. C) Cooperation with NGOs and other organizations from the public sector. 6) General questions about social policy concerning the problem of CSEC (is it current; attitudes of society; legislation; politics; practical recommendations to improve social policy towards combating CSEC).

The use of the questions that were targeted to explore different issues helped to gather basic information, while openness to providing time for additional questions and readiness to collect unexpected data allowed us to gather valuable complementary information.

Structure of the paper

Our work consists of three main chapters. The first chapter offers a contextualizing of the role of NGOs in social policy formation addressing commercial sexual exploitation of children, and contextualizing welfare state regimes. It is aimed at elaborating the concept of the role of NGOs in the formation of social policy about CSEC and at formulation of theoretical expectations concerning the roles of NGOs in Russian and Italian models of the welfare state regime. With this purpose in view, the first part of our work sheds light on the following concepts and terms: role, role theories, 'non-governmental organization', 'commercial sexual exploitation of children' (CSEC), 'welfare state', 'social policy', and defines a range of roles of NGOs in the sphere of combating CSEC in terms of the report developed by the International Labour Organization (2007). Moreover, the first part presents classical theories of welfare state regimes by Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990) and theory of four types of 'non-profit regimes' by Salamon and Anheier (1998).

In the second chapter we consider global actions to confront CSEC as one of the indicators of recognition of the problem of CSEC itself and significance of the role of NGOs in the protection of children's rights by global and national communities. In this chapter we briefly describe important facts about the Congress and Declarations their important outcome – an agreement among countries about specific measures that must be taken to combat CSEC more effectively - National Plans of Actions (NPA). Drawing on a number of resources and on the official on-line database of ECPAT International, information about commitments of the Russian Federation and Italy to the Stockholm Agenda for Action is presented. These commitments are useful in making preliminary conclusions about the role of NGOs and nation states in the sphere

of global social policy of protection of children's rights. It also helps us to understand if the state response to the problem of CSEC on international and national levels is adequate and if the importance of the role of NGOs is recognized by the state.

The third chapter, followed by theoretical contextualizing, focuses on the empirical case studies of Russian and Italian NGOs' activities against CSEC. It defines common features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities aimed to help children - victims of CSE. Apart from that, it clarifies the place of Russian and Italian NGOs in the system of institutions who help children in difficult life situations. Theoretical expectations that are described in the previous parts are partly verified in the third part. Finally, a set of directions for further research are elaborated, focusing on the main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy with regard to CSEC, drawing on each others' experiences.

1. Contextualizing the role of NGOs in social policy formation about commercial sexual exploitation of children

After elaborating the framework of our research by means of stating the problem, defining the goals, objectives, object, subjects, hypotheses and research methodology presented in the introduction, in this chapter we would like to focus on the theoretical part of our research methodology. On the basis of literature overview we try to contextualize the role of NGOs in social policy formation regarding commercial sexual exploitation of children, which is aimed at elaborating and better understanding the main concepts and theoretical background of our research. More specifically, the present chapter is supposed to develop the concept of the role of NGOs in the formation of social policy about commercial sexual exploitation of children and to formulate theoretical expectations concerning these roles in the Russian and Italian models of welfare state regimes. For this purpose, the first part of the chapter deals with defining the following concepts: 'role', role theories, 'non-governmental organization', 'commercial sexual exploitation of children' (CSEC) and define the range of roles of NGOs in the sphere of combating CSEC in terms of report developed by International Labour Organization (2007). The second part proceeds to clarify such concepts as 'welfare state', 'social policy' and factors which are important to take into account when speaking about different roles of NGOs in different countries. Moreover, the second part will present classical theories of welfare state regimes by Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990), theory of four types of 'non-profit regimes' by Salamon and Anheier (1998) and eventually the roles of NGOs in Italian and Russian models of welfare state regimes.

1.1. Category of the NGOs' role in the formation of social policy against CSEC

The category of a '*role*' itself is understood differently by different authors within different role theories and approaches. In particular, we would like to shed light on such questions as: What does NGO actually mean? When NGOs usually emerge and which roles do they play on global and national level? What objectives and role NGOs have in the sphere of combating Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children?

For the purpose of this research some terms existing to denote non-governmental organizations should be mentioned, which are explored in the relevant literature and will be used in this paper. Such concepts as 'non-governmental organizations', 'NGOs', 'nonprofit

organizations', 'non-commercial organizations' as well as 'the third sector organizations' will predominantly be used for describing NGOs.

According to sociologist Bruce Biddle (1986), there are the five major models of role theory: 1) Functional Role Theory, which examines role development as shared social norms for a given social position; 2) Symbolic Interactionists Role Theory, which examines role development as the outcome of individual interpretation of responses to behavior; 3) Structural Role Theory, which emphasizes the influence of society rather than the individual in roles and utilizes mathematical models; 4) Organizational Role Theory, which examines role development in organizations, and 5) Cognitive Role Theory, which is summarized by Flynn and Lemay as the «relationship between expectations and behaviors» (Biddle, 1979: 58). Various theoretical approaches to role theory can explain only part of the differences in how roles are conceptualized. As such, Biddle (1979) defined role as: «those actions or performances that may be observed and that characterize the persons observed» (Ibid: 58). As for traditional sociological school, T. Parsons understood by the category of a '*social role*' an instrument to maintain the existing structure of society, preventing change and limiting choices (Ibid: 59).

The definitions of the category of '*non-governmental organization*' are usually not clear, unsystematic and confusing (Hossain and Myllyla, 1998). Hossain and Myllyla (1998) explain it by the fact that the use of different and often incompatible concept systems may result in a lack of understanding of the nature, types and roles of various NGOs. Moreover, the theoretical definitions which are applied to conceptualize NGOs are usually refer to the suppositions about the differences between the public and private sector, instead of considering what does NGOs actually mean (Sama, 2006: 11).

In 1970s non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged as the third sector in achieving decentralized development (Fowler, 1992). The notion of the third sector was introduced to distinguish the nongovernmental nonprofit noncommercial organizations from the first (the state) and the second sectors (the business). «The third-sector organizations are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations, whose mission is to provide a service for the greater good» (Hasan and Onyx, 2008). The development of NGOs over the years leads to the expansion and changes concerning their roles (Hossain and Myllyla, 1998).

Salamon and Anheier (1992a; 1996a, 1997) proposed a '*structural / operational definition*' which focuses on following five organizational features of NGOs:

- 1) Organized – institutionalized to some extent – with organizational structure, goals, mission, activities, etc. (Salamon and Anheier, 1992a; 1996a, 1997);
- 2) Private – separated from the state (Ibid);
- 3) Self-governing – control of their activities, with internal governance structure, and a significant level of autonomy (Ibid);
- 4) Non-profit-distributing – NGOs can have profits, but it has to remain within the basic mission of the organization and not given to the agencies' staff (Ibid);
- 5) Voluntary – engagement of volunteers preserving the meaning of 'non-compulsory'. Organizations where the membership is required do not respond to the requirements of non-profit sector (Ibid).

In fact, there is no generally accepted definition of the term non-governmental organization. The meaning of this concept usually varies, because it depends on the features of different welfare state regimes, their concept of civil society, it also depends on the objectives and scale of activities of every NGO. In our research by NGO we will understand an organization characterized by 5 major features: organized, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing, voluntary, which were marked out by Salamon and Anheier (1992a; 1996a, 1997).

1.1.1. Emergence of NGOs and their roles at global and national level

According to Stephen Heintz (2006: 3), the history of the 20th century showed the inability of the welfare state to maintain just and sustainable societies. As a result of inadequacies of the state and the market, citizens all over the world established organizations of civil society – NGOs – to help to deal with a big variety of social needs. Let's consider two theories which explain the emergence of NGOs in society: 1) *the public goods or the performance failure theory*; 2) *the theory of partnership or interdependence*.

In terms of 1) *the public goods or the performance failure theory*, NGOs appeared to meet unsatisfied demand for public goods in society. Weisbrod (1977) and other authors suppose that people established NGOs in the situation when the state or market could not provide public goods for everybody or serve the general interests of all people. Brown and Korten (1991) as well as Weisbrod (1977) point out that state failure promotes such situation when NGOs appear as innovative responses to different challenges of the environment. However, Anheier (1990) mentions that NGOs are able to provide services more economically than the state. Moreover, NGOs do not look for profits in return for their services and they conduct their projects at lower labour costs than entrepreneurs «because they rely on voluntary

local inputs that do not include transaction costs». Following this argument, failures with NGO-led projects in comparison to those of the government can have less influence on the whole economy, because almost all NGO-led projects are implemented at the micro-level. But in the situation of government or market failure, the unsatisfied demand for public goods leads to the emergence of NGOs and NGOs might, hence, meet unsatisfied needs like healthcare, social work or education services. James (1987) argues that «the more a society is heterogeneous», the more favorable «it becomes towards the creation of many NGOs» (Ibid: 3).

In terms of 2) *the theory of partnership or interdependence*, the relationship between the state and NGOs could be ‘conflicting’, ‘interdependent’ or a ‘partnership’. In this case, they need to share «experiences, resources and expertise, the relationship might be one of complementing each other». According to this theory, NGOs emerge as partners (Salamon and Anheier, 1997). From the political point of view, Anheier (1990) thinks that NGOs are quite unaffected by political actions, while government policies and agencies, on the contrary, are vulnerable to unexpected change. In addition, the state may politicize its services if we assume these services as political in global politics. But if NGOs are used as local and international actors, the difficulties with politicization or hidden agenda can be better resolved. Hence, in general, NGOs are considered to be more reliable and less influenced by political considerations. It is known that NGOs founded in the local culture become «more sensitive to local needs and adaptation». Thus, instead of replacing native social culture with large-scale organizations, NGOs try to train the local organizations in their own cultural area (Sama, 2006: 4). It can be expected that large scale of NGOs is seen as a desperate claim for freedom or as a result of rejecting basic social protections, which leads to inequality. Cooperative NGOs–state relationships can be expressed through focusing on public problems: “since government is most likely to turn to the non-profit sector for assistance in delivering basic human services, we would expect this relationship to hold strongly in the fields of health and social services”. Moreover, in partnership relations the state share of NGOs’ income is higher if the state spending is higher (Ibid: 16).

Considering the roles of NGOs on the local level, Stephen Heintz (2006: 3) believes that NGOs have three main roles in advancing modern societies:

- 1) NGOs create conditions for the *self-organization of society*. NGOs promote citizens to work together voluntarily to encourage promotion of social values and civic goals that are important to them. By means of their work in a wide range of fields, NGOs therefore

reflect the variety of society. Thus, NGOs both represent and advance the pluralism and diversity that are features of successful modern societies.

- 2) NGOs *preserve a unique space between the for-profit sector and government*. The third sector standing in between of for-profit sector and the state, serves as a key actor which balances the state and the free market. Only independent organizations can be «watchdogs of both government and business» (Stephen Heintz, 2006: 3). Moreover, NGOs can set up «creative and productive partnerships across and among the three sectors – partnerships that draw on the unique strengths of each to advance the common good» (Ibid: 3).
- 3) NGOs *promote experimentation and social change by responding to challenges to which the public and private sectors can't react*. «Civil society organizations are able to take risks that are economically unacceptable to business and politically unacceptable to government» (Ibid: 3). A lot of models of service delivery that are known as “best practice” nowadays were tested and improved with the help of experimentation by NGOs. Moreover, NGO advocacy campaigns prompt unwilling governments to adopt policy reforms and promote improvements in business practices.

Considering the roles of NGOs on the global level, Stephen Heintz (2006: 4) believes that NGOs must constantly fight to meet the highest standards of good governance: «transparency, accountability, sound management, and ethical behavior» (Ibid: 4). NGOs can only work as «credible advocates and watchdogs» (Ibid: 4) of the state and business if they manage to keep «the very standards they expect the public and private sectors to meet» (Ibid: 4). Greater transparency and accountability are also challenges for the NGOs in terms of relationship between civil society and government. Stephen Heintz (2006: 5) also argues that good governance will prove to be the best insurance policy for the long-term work of the non-governmental sector.

1.1.2. Objectives and roles of NGOs in the sphere of combating CSEC (according to ILO report, 2007)

It is known that NGOs used to be pioneers in recognizing and investigating the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children and promoting it on the public agenda. According to the definition accepted by the World Congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children in Sweden, Stockholm in 1996 *commercial sexual exploitation of children* is defined as «serious violation of child's rights when the child is regarded as a sex object or an object of trade. This includes sexual violence or sexual exploitation by an adult and payment in money or

in kind to the child or to a third person. Being a form of consumption and violence against the children it is equated to compulsory labor and modern form of slavery. There are several basic forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children which are most relevant for Russia and countries of the EU in present time: child prostitution, child pornography, children's sexual trafficking, and children's sexual tourism. All of them are interconnected»⁹. Since the problem of CSEC is considered to be quite new and very specific due to its' psychological, sociological and legal characteristics, a role of NGOs in this sphere appears to be very specific too. Moreover, in the literature there is no clear definition of the concept of role of NGOs in the system of working with children – victims of CSEC. The significant part of literature about this problem is presented in reports and guidelines of international non-governmental organizations, such as ECPAT, ILO, etc.

There is only one document which clearly represents a certain number of roles of non-governmental organization to combat CSEC. According to this report NGOs play very important role to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children. All roles of NGOs are considered within four main spheres of addressing NGOs' activities: 1) prevention, 2) care, 3) monitoring and 4) penalization (The role of non governmental organizations in the fight against commercial sexual exploitation, ILO, 2007: 1-2). It is worth to mention that presented there number of roles is not restricted and encourages any recommendations to be improved.

I. Prevention

- 1) "Include dealing with the issue *as part of the organizational agenda*" (Ibid: 1).
- 2) "Support the *development of subject matter related to* commercial sexual exploitation, such as: gender equality, intra-family violence, sexuality, masculinity, and the human rights of the underage persons, among others" (Ibid: 1).
- 3) "Develop *mass media campaigns* for informing the public of the problem and contribute to encouraging intolerance towards sexual violence against underage persons" (Ibid: 1).
- 4) "Carry out a process of *training and awareness of the issue* aimed at officials in charge of dealing with the problem and civil society in general" (Ibid: 1).
- 5) "*Promote a cultural change* towards social intolerance of cases of exploitation, by influencing adult-centric cultural standards that treat underage persons as objects" (Ibid: 1).

⁹ According to the report on the World Congress against CSEC in Sweden, Stockholm in 1996

- 6) “If there is only slight recognition of the problem and a weak institutional response, the organizations may *include the issue on the political and public agenda*” (Ibid: 1).
- 7) “*Influence public policymaking* with a view to ensuring the existence of *universal social policies*. These policies should combat the risk factors that increase the vulnerability of the underage persons such as: extreme poverty, sexual and intra-family violence, child labour and exclusion from school” (Ibid: 1).
- 8) “*Actively participate in local and national coordination spaces* (commissions, work groups, committees, institutional networks, etc.) that tackle the problem” (Ibid: 1).

II. Care

- 1) “Develop *general care programmes* aimed at underage persons at risk or underage victims of sexual exploitation, and their respective support networks. These programmes should take into account that *it is the State that is chiefly responsible for guaranteeing the welfare and protection of the underage persons*” (Ibid: 2).
- 2) “Work in conjunction with the community *to set up networks* for watching over and protecting those at risk” (Ibid: 2).
- 3) “The *care model developed* should be based on the following principles:
 - (1) Protecting the victims
 - (2) Working together with their support networks (families, friends, etc.)
 - (3) Reinstating the exercising of all the victims’ rights, in particular those of family protection, health and education.
 - (4) Reporting exploiters whether they are client-exploiters, pimps or intermediaries.
 - (5) Institutionalization of the victim as a last resort.
 - (6) Following up on cases” (Ibid: 2).

III. Monitoring

- 1) “*Watching over and following up on the commitments* made by *government authorities* as well as the *institutional response* to combating the problem: if they take action or not in this respect, and *its quality and effectiveness*” (Ibid: 2).

IV. Penalization

- 1) “Promote the *strengthening of national legislation* by supporting the enactment of laws and rules that guarantee the underage persons’ rights are exercised, and demanded and restored in cases where they have been violated” (Ibid: 2).
- 2) “*Report the exploiters as criminals*” (Ibid: 2).
- 3) “*Collaborate with the legal authorities* in charge of investigating commercial sexual exploitation crimes. This support is exemplified in the *training and awareness workshops held for the staff of these authorities* on issues of commercial sexual exploitation, child and adolescent rights, how to prevent re-victimization in legal processes, etc” (Ibid: 2).

Thus, we can see from this report that role of NGOs to combat CSEC is represented as very comprehensive and multi-dimensional complex of activities which requires a lot of efforts in the work on different institutional levels at the same time: international and national level; work with governments, specialists, children and mass media. Major part of roles, generally speaking, refers to advocacy campaigns, including trainings, policymaking, establishing organizational networks, developing care model and recommendations, strengthening legislation, etc. In our research we divide all social roles of NGOs into two main groups:

1) Service roles of NGOs (activities and social services implying direct help to children, trainings for specialists, information campaigns etc.) as indicators of social participation. NGOs can be expected to play an important service-providing role. Such services include some “public” or collective character. Due to the fact that they are available to everyone no matter if people are able to pay for it or not, such goods and services can’t be provided by the private market (Salamon, Lester and others, 2000: 5).

2) Advocacy roles of NGOs (activities and advocacy which promote improvements and changes on the state level, like establishing organizational networks and networks with the state, elaborating guidelines for specialists working on the state and international level, strengthening legislation etc.) as indicators of the state participation. As far as NGOs are not influenced by the market and don’t represent a part of government structure, nonprofit organizations can be expected to promote changes in government policy or in societal conditions. In other words, NGOs serve as a «link between individuals and the broader political process» (Ibid: 6), by bringing group concerns to broader public attention and by promoting policy or broader social change, not only on behalf of a small group but also on behalf of the whole public (Ibid: 6).

These two role extremes help us to assume about the contribution of NGOs to social policy formation about CSEC. More influential NGOs are supposed to have both service and advocacy range of roles, while less significant and less influential NGOs may provide people only with social services, for example. We can expect that in Russia NGOs are expected to be the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role.

To summarize, the concept of role is understood differently by different authors within different role theories and approaches. For example, T. Parsons understood by the concept of social role an instrument to maintain the existing structure of society, preventing change and limiting choices. In theoretical literature, the notions of NGOs are usually not clear, unsystematic and confusing. Moreover, the theoretical definitions which are applied to conceptualize NGOs usually refer to assumptions about the differences between the public and private sectors, instead of considering what NGOs actually mean. The meanings of the concept of 'NGO' usually vary, because it depends on the features of different welfare state regimes, their concept of civil society; it also depends on the objectives and scale of activities performed in every NGO. In our research, however, we will follow 5 major characteristics of an NGO presented by Salamon and Anheier 1992a; 1996a, 1997 and other sociologists, which are the following: organized, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing and voluntary.

The main concept of the role of NGO, as we may assume, derives from its' reasons of emerging in the society. Due to big changes, in the 20th century the welfare state had already shown its inability to preserve sustainable societies. As a response to such inadequacies of the state and the market, citizens all over the world established organizations of civil society – NGOs – to help to deal with a big variety of social needs. In terms of the public goods or the performance failure theory, NGOs emerge when there is the state failure to meet unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society. And the more the society is heterogeneous, the more likely the emergence of many different NGOs. As for the theory of partnership or interdependence, the relationship between the state and NGOs could be 'conflicting', 'interdependent' or a 'partnership'. NGOs in this theory emerge as partners.

Since the problem of CSEC is considered to be quite new and very specific due to its' psychological, sociological and legal characteristics, a role of NGOs in this sphere appears to be very specific too. The significant part of literature about this problem is presented in reports and guidelines of international non-governmental organizations, such as ECPAT, ILO, etc. All roles of NGOs in the report of ILO were considered within four main spheres of addressing NGOs' activities: 1) prevention, 2) care, 3) monitoring and 4) penalization. Major part of roles

referred to advocacy campaigns, including trainings, policymaking, establishing organizational networks, developing care model and recommendations, strengthening legislation, etc. In our research we divide all social roles of NGOs into two main groups: 1) Service roles of NGOs; 2) Advocacy roles of NGOs. These two role extremes help us to assume about the contribution of NGOs to social policy formation about CSEC. More influential NGOs are supposed to have both service and advocacy range of roles, while less significant and less influential NGOs may provide people only with social services, for example. We can expect that in Russia NGOs are expected to be the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role.

1.2. Contextualizing welfare state regimes

Since the Stockholm Congress in 1996, a lot of policies, programs and other activities have been implemented to protect, prevent, recover and reintegrate children – victims of CSEC (Analysis of the situation of SEC in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region, 2001). Nevertheless, the NGOs tend to take the leading role in this sphere, whereas in most countries the role of government is appeared to be minimal and mostly restricted to legislation. It is a role which still lies ahead for most governments of welfare states and which they have to deal with effectively in the near future. In this part we will try to examine possible differences in roles and activities of NGOs about social policy formation to protect children's rights within the framework of different social welfare state regimes. More specifically, we analyze and compare welfare state regimes in the Russian Federation and Italy to examine how they may influence on activities of NGOs sector.

Referring to such authors as P. Spicker (1995; 2008), I. Gough (1996), Flora (1981), Esping-Andersen (1990; 1994) and others, we would like to define key categories which are directly refer to the category of welfare state, that is 'social policy', 'social services', 'social welfare', 'social protection' and the term of 'welfare state' itself. In spite the fact that some authors (like Spicker, Flora) understand the concept of '*social policy*' in broad sense, implying the whole sphere of social policy while other authors narrow it down to certain models of welfare state, nevertheless the majority of authors tend to notice in their definitions of welfare state one common feature which is the state responsibility for the provision of its' society with basic level of welfare.

According to P. Spicker (2008), the category of 'social policy' is a set of «social services and the welfare state» (P. Spicker, 2008). Policies are established in terms of national vision, where every actor who works on the protection of children from CSEC, for example, has to

agree and support these measures. Speaker (2008) argues that social policy is applied in two contexts – narrow and broad one: 1) «to the policies which governments use for welfare and social protection» (Ibid: social policy) and 2) «to the ways in which welfare is developed in a society» (Ibid: social policy).

In the first case which is narrower context (1), social policy is connected with social services and the welfare state (Ibid: social policy). So, here social policy maybe also defined as «a form of state intervention in the sphere of reproduction of the labour force and the household» (Gough, 1996: 212). It is characterized mostly by the provision of social services within the framework of different welfare state regimes. Social services include public goods such as housing, health care, education etc. which have to be secured and provided for the citizens in accordance to their needs and demands (Flora, 1981: 25f). The notion 'welfare state' has different definitions in different countries. Drawing on general definition presented in vocabulary on politics (2001), welfare state is a political system where the state's primary activities are focused mainly on social policy, and where the state is responsible for the well-being of its' citizens (Политика, 2001: 114). According to Esping-Andersen (1994: 712), welfare state grants citizens «social rights and claims on government, guaranteeing that it would uphold the welfare of the entire community» (Esping-Andersen, 1994: 712). P. Spicker (2008) outlines three key differences in common tradition to define «welfare state»: a) An ideal model - welfare state is responsible for the ideal provision of full and universal welfare for its citizens; b) State welfare - meaning «welfare provided by the state» (Spicker, 2008: the welfare state); c) Social protection – when it is not provided by the state, but by a group of «independent, voluntary and government services» (Ibid: the welfare state), these countries are still perceived as welfare states (Ibid: the welfare state).

In the second (2), more broad sense, social policy is seen as a main source, basis or background of welfare state formation. It means a number of issues which go beyond government actions – it is the means which promote welfare state, social and economic factors which form the development of welfare (Ibid: social policy). As an example of this kind of understanding of social policy, we can take the process of welfare state formation in The Soviet Union. Some sources say that in 1977 there were 433 NGOs in The Soviet Union, in 1990 - this number increased up to 822 NGOs in Russia, which means that further raise in number of NGOs might be connected with the process of formation of the Russian Federation as a sovereign state along with other economic and political changes occurred in the country (International Encyclopedia of Public Politic and Administration, 2001: 322).

If we continue considering social policy in a broader sense (2) and address to social policy against CSEC, it has to be mentioned that this problem should be considered as a result of continuing existence and possible neglect of drawbacks and gaps in social policy on protection of children's rights, which, as we all know, forms under the conditions of globalization processes and on-going development of the social world. It is important to understand that children do not choose themselves such life situations as «exclusion, discrimination, violence and other different violations of human rights» (IPEC, 2007: 19). Children's vulnerability in the face of sexual exploiters is a process which is gradually built since their birth. Different investigations have shown that commercial sexual exploitation is the result of a chain of violations of the rights that children have in terms of their underage status. Such violations may occur under the conditions of indifference and the evasion of duties on the part of society as a whole, and the state in particular. Considering the problem of commercial sexual exploitation from this point of view may help us to outline the factors that put a child under potential risk of being sexually exploited (Ibid: 19). In brief, we assume that once there is a lack of state protection of children's rights, the role of NGOs activities has becoming of a paramount importance in social policy development.

Thus, many authors understand the category of 'social policy' in broad sense, implying the whole sphere of social policy while other authors narrow it down up to certain models of welfare state, nevertheless the majority of authors tend to notice in their definitions of welfare state one common feature which is the state responsibility for the provision of its' society with basic level of welfare. In present research by the term 'social policy' we understand a set of «social services and the welfare state» (Speaker, 2008). In other words, we focus on the idea of social welfare and its relationship to politics and society. Speaker (2008) argues that social policy have a broad and narrow sense of understanding: In narrow sense social policy imply the provision of social services within the framework of different welfare state regimes (public goods such as housing, health care, education etc. which have to be secured and provided for the citizens in accordance to their needs and demands); In broad sense social policy is seen as a main source, basis or background of welfare state formation. It is the means which promote welfare state, social and economic factors which form the development of welfare (for ex., CSEC is a result of continuing existence and possible neglect of drawbacks and gaps in social policy on protection of children's rights, which forms under the conditions of globalization processes and on-going development of the social world).

Hence, in our study, on the one hand, we address to social policy (welfare state) as a factor which determines the roles and functions of non-governmental sector and, on the other hand, we address to social policy (welfare state) as a result of development of non-governmental sector.

1.2.1. Factors of variety of roles and functions of NGOs in welfare state regimes

Roles and functions of non-governmental organizations in social policy formation are very much depended on two main factors: 1) *on features of different welfare state regimes* and 2) *on international relations*. In other words, it is important for our study to understand how different welfare state regimes and their government policies affect the NGO sector, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, how different welfare state regimes and their government policies promote an enabling environment for NGOs.

To explain briefly the first issue (1) by showing what is meant by *features of different welfare state*, we will give a following example of totalitarian state and its' affect on NGOs activities. It is known that in totalitarian state main party could have a will to set up a control over not only economic and political activities, but also over other activities in the social, religious and family spheres. Governments of this kind of states usually didn't support the initiatives to form new independent non-governmental organizations (International Encyclopedia of Public Politic and Administration, 2001: 319). Analyzing this example, we may assume that here non-governmental organizations didn't play a considerable role in social policy formation since any initiatives concerning NGO's sector development used to be constrained by the state. But as we will see later this is not always the case, since NGOs, on the contrary, may play a significant role in such kind of state. In some countries, for instance, activities to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children is not seen as a priority task for governments, whereas NGOs start playing a very important role in the sphere of social policy towards protection of children's rights. Such NGOs' activities could be seen as a measure to fulfill this lack of state attention to the problem. So, while, for example, the state is fighting with political instability, debts, wars and unemployment, children who are the victims of CSEC, have to accept more informal services to get legal protection and rehabilitation. It may take a long time until there will be an appropriate state social welfare system developed, but until that time, under-resourced NGOs will still keep playing an important role in providing means of survival for children rather than a therapeutic intervention. These independent and often isolated NGOs have to leave so-called «self-regulatory practices» (Thompstone, 2002: 75) and start acting in collaboration with other

institutes to establish comprehensive system of standardized and effective care of children (Ibid: 75).

As it was already mentioned above, roles and functions of non-governmental organizations are also depended on how much influential and significant status the state occupies on the *international arena* (2). The more international relations are governed by the nation state, the less a role of International non-governmental organizations would be recognized as significant one (International Encyclopedia of Public Politic and Administration, 2001: 321). In other words, the control upon international relations by the separate nation states may lead to lessening of the value of International NGOs' activities. Thus, we can argue that there are very tight interdependent relations between the state initiatives and roles or activities of NGOs in social policy formation. The state, on the one hand, may put some limits on NGOs activities and, on the other hand, it may create good conditions for their further development and their further extension of influence in terms of collaboration of social policy.

To sum up, roles and functions of non-governmental organizations in social policy formation are very much depended on two main factors: 1) on features of different welfare state regimes and 2) on international relations. In our research the factor of features of different welfare state regimes (1) we consider by referring to classical theories of welfare state regimes by Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990) and theory of four types of 'non-profit regimes' by Salamon and Anheier (1998). The second factor (2) is considered in more details in the second chapter of our work, which includes theoretical overview about state actions to combat CSEC on international and national level which is also seen as a result of NGO's work and promotion activities of CSEC as a problem on the state level.

1.2.2. Classical theories of welfare state regimes: Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990)

A lot of theories were proposed to explain the process of welfare state formation, but, from Giddens' (2001) point of view, the most significant contribution to the development of welfare state theory were made by works of Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990). We will first consider the theory by Marshall and then switch to the more classical approach, proposed by Esping-Andersen. In current paragraph we focus mostly on the theory by Esping-Andersen (1990), who describes three main types of welfare sate regimes.

In the works of 1960th by Marshall, social policy is seen as the result of rapid and intensive development of citizens' rights due to the evolution of industrial societies. Applying historical approach, Marshall analyzed the evolution of citizens' rights in the United Kingdom

and outlined three main stages in citizens' rights evolution: 1) civil rights; 2) political rights; 3) social rights. Civil rights were granted in XVIII century and included the rights of freedom in thoughts, words, religious preferences, the right to have private property, etc. In XIX century political rights were gained: a right to vote, the right to occupy state position on the labour market and take part in political processes. Social rights were developed only in XX century and they meant the rights to have economic and social provision by means of education, health care, pensions and other social services. Inclusion of social rights into the concept of citizenship automatically elaborated the right, which is equal for all citizens, to have full and active life, a right to get sufficient for normal life income, no matter which social status one has. In this context, the rights associated by Marshall with social citizenship promoted the idea of equality among citizens; however he was criticized by his too much concentrated approach to citizens' rights based only on the perspective of welfare state theory developed in the United Kingdom. The experience which is gained in terms of welfare state formation in the United Kingdom, as many of his opponents notice, couldn't be really applied in the context of the other countries (Giddens, 2001: 297).

Works by Esping-Andersen (1990) demonstrate classical modern theories of European welfare state regimes. The author compared different social welfare regimes of Western countries and created a new typology of «welfare state regimes», which contains three main types of welfare state. In the construction of his classification he examines a de-commodification level in social policy (Giddens, 2001: 297) and kind of stratification they produce in the society. De-commodification «refers to the degree to which individuals, or families can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation» (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 37) and de-commodity labor is seen as a main goal of social democracy. In other words, de-commodification means a degree to which social policy remains independent on the market. «The variability of welfare-state evolution reflects competing responses to pressures for de-commodification» (Ibid: 37). Stratification means intensity of redistribution and the level of universality which is set by the welfare state (Fenger, 2007: 6). In welfare states with high level of de-commodification social services are provided by the society and they are not connected with a person's level of income or with any other economic resources. In commodification systems social services are considered simply as an object of consumption, implying that social services are to be sold on the market like all other common goods and products.

As it was mentioned above, Esping-Andersen outlines three types of social welfare state regimes by means of comparing of social policies in different countries with regard to pensions, unemployment benefits and low-income benefits (Giddens, 2001: 297). In other words, he outlines following indicators which define three types of the welfare state regime: labor market flexibility / employment friendliness - benefits; income maintenance; de-commodification (low degree of social protection).

- 1) Social-Democratic Scandinavian Welfare Regime (The Netherlands)
- 2) Corporatist (Continental) Welfare State Regime (Austria, France, Germany, and Italy)
- 3) Liberal (Anglo-Saxon) Welfare State Regime (Australia, Canada, Japan, Switzerland and the United States)

1) Social-Democratic Scandinavian Welfare State Regime (The Netherlands)

Social-Democratic system of social policy is completely separated from market relations. Social services are subsidized by the state and available for all citizens (universal system of social benefits) (Giddens, 2001: 297). «It is rooted in socialist economic premises and assigns a welfare state a powerfully redistributive role» (Goodin, 1999: 39). The fundamental value which characterizes Social-Democratic Welfare State Regime is social equality. Social-democratic ideal is usually described by social citizenship, according to which everyone has a right to «fully participate» in the life of the group of individuals (Ibid: 46).

The 'institutional-redistributive' model offers care provided by institutions for all citizens, it is 'universal minima' to its citizens and includes the principles of 'social provision' with 'egalitarianism'. Social protection is usually associated here with equality which is sometimes identified with «solidarity», in terms of well-organized collaboration. «The model of this is the solidaristic wage policy advocated by the labor movement, which emphasized improving standards, limited differentials, and redistribution» (Spicker, 1995: 21).

The best way to follow redistributive goals of social democrats via the welfare state is to do it by focusing on de-commodification process. In their approach to the welfare state social democrats accept the world of commodities with better realizing of realities of capitalist economic relations. «Health care, education, housing and income security» (Goodin, 1999: 49), which were previously bought by social democrats as commodities in the market, are now substituted and represent state benefits and services. «No longer bought and sold, their distribution is no longer dictated by the underlying distribution of income and wealth within the community. That opens the way, in turn, for those things to be distributed more equally across

the community than is income or wealth itself» (Ibid: 49). According to social democrats, the goal of the welfare state in narrow sense is to allocate resources (goods, services, income, etc.) by putting it «from the richer to the poorer members of society» (Ibid: 50).

Gronningster A. (2001: 56), describing classic sociological model which divide the public sector into two - the state and the municipal/regional sector, says that the Scandinavian model is often described as a state-oriented, while it would be better to look at it as a municipal model. The author notices the importance of the municipalities which has risen in recent years. It was a development towards more focus on 'community-based services' and 'local responsibility' (Gronningster, 2001: 56). Main services are the duties of the municipalities, «and the movement out of the institutions has led to a new division of labour between the state and the municipalities. It seems to be an almost unanimous support in these countries for this development. Critics are less concerned with the development itself, than with the financial responsibility the state leaves with the municipalities» (Ibid: 56).

2) Corporatist (Continental) Welfare State Regime (Austria, France, Germany, and Italy)

The idea of economic development is considered to be the best way to achieve social welfare served as the main principle of Corporatist Welfare State Regime (Spicker, 1995: 19f). The markets play an important role of «a provider of the welfare» (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). In conservative-corporatist states like France and Germany, social services can be fully separated from the market, but these social benefits are given not to everybody. The level of social benefits that a citizen has a right to claim to, fully depends on his/her social status or position in the labor market (Giddens, 2001: 297). Social benefits are mostly «earnings-related», and those who don't have any work records may face the fact that they are not covered for important accidental issues (Spicker, 1995: 19f). Therefore, social rights of citizens were connected with class and status (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). In terms of Corporatist Welfare State Regime, it is important to check if the «public expenditure on welfare» corresponds to the «need for economic development and growth» (Spicker, 1995: 19f).

It is known that Corporatist Welfare System as well as German economy was developed through a corporatist structure, which is «rooted in communitarian "social market" economics and sees the welfare state regime as a facilitator of group-based mutual aid and risk» (Goodin, 1999: 39). «This principle was developed by Bismarck on the basis of existing mutual aid associations, and remained the basis for social protection subsequently. Social insurance, which covers the costs of health, some social care and much of the income maintenance

system, is managed by a system of independent funds» (Spicker, 1995: 19f). In the German model the foundations and NGOs, therefore, play a significant role as service providers (Gronningster, 2001: 56).

The goal of this type of social welfare state regime lies not in the removal of inequality, but in maintenance of social stability, strengthening family institution and consolidating subordinate feeling towards the nation state (Giddens, 2001: 297). There is a strong accent on the principle of 'subsidiarity', which means that social services should be «decentralized or independently managed» (Spicker, 1995: 19f), and that the state's intervention has to take place only in urgent or no-way-out situations, for example, when family's ability to look after its members is exhausted. Social insurance system in Corporatist Welfare State doesn't cover those citizens, who tend to earn a lot, since they can make their own arrangements (Ibid: 19f) and it also excludes non-working wives while family benefits create good conditions to stimulate motherhood (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). This principle of subsidiarity in the German welfare model draws the basic responsibility on the family. «The income transfers are often insufficient and not all the needs are eligible for transfers» (Gronningster, 2001: 57).

The fundamental value of corporatists is for individual to get integrated into a community and then in turn – to become integrated into more larger community, and experiencing the feeling of unity and solidarity with a person and small group, with people of the small groups and people from the larger community, with them and a whole society (Goodin, 1999: 52).

3) Liberal (Anglo-Saxon) Welfare State Regime (Australia, Canada, Japan, Switzerland and the United States)

«It is rooted in capitalist economic premises and confines the state to a merely residual social welfare role» (Goodin, 1999: 39). The United States of America is one of the bright examples of liberal welfare state regime. Social policy here almost equals to the concept of public good or product, it is highly commodified and sold on the market. Those people who really need to gain social benefits have to go through difficult procedure of proving their need in these social benefits. But receiving social benefits is considered to be very humiliating act by most citizens, because the majority of the population buy their social welfare on the market (Giddens, 2001: 298). Throughout the history of the US, NGOs have played an important role. As Claire Gaudiani (2001: 6) argues in his book, «if it hadn't been for the work of the nonprofit sector in the United States, our country would not enjoy the high standard of living we now know. Citizens generosity in the form of philanthropy and citizen engagement through NGOs,

she says, have created an environment where private enterprise could flourish without destroying the social fabric of our society» (Gaudiani, 2001: 6).

«Asa Briggs, in a classic essay on the British welfare state, identified three principal elements. These were a guarantee of minimum standards, including a minimum income; social protection in the event of insecurity; and the provision of services at the best level possible. This has become identified, in practice, with the ‘institutional’ model of welfare: the key elements are social protection and the provision of welfare services on the basis of right» (Spicker, 1995: 19).

In fact, social welfare in the United Kingdom is very different from an ideal one. Coverage is extensive, but social benefits and services are provided at a low level. ‘The social protection is patchy’ (Spicker, 1995), and services are very limited (Ibid).

In regard to the United Kingdom case, as Giddens (2001) argues, none of the mentioned above type of welfare state regime can be fully consistent with this state. The United Kingdom used to be closer to Social-Democratic Welfare State Regime, but after social policy reforms of 1970th it has become closer Liberal Welfare State Regime with a higher degree of commodification (Giddens, 2001: 298).

Thus, according to Esping-Andersen (1990) and other writers, liberal welfare states are mainly characterized by means-tested services, small universal transfers, or modest social insurance plans. Benefits are provided mostly to a clientele of low-income, usually working-class, state dependants. There is small redistribution of incomes here. The conservative-corporatist type is known for a moderate level of de-commodification. The direct impact of the state is limited to the provision of income maintenance benefits which are related to occupational status. Labour market participation of married woman usually is not considered as a good thing, and the principle of subsidiary means that the state will interfere only when the family loses its’ capacity to serve their members. In the social-democratic type, the level of de-commodification is high. The generous universal and highly redistributive benefits are not depended on any individual contributions (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Fenger, 2007: 6).

As we have already mentioned above, the United States is as a typical example of the liberal welfare regime. This is said in almost all alternative classifications, except those which focus only on the European welfare states. Germany can be seen as the country that resembles the conservative welfare state, and Norway and Sweden can be basic examples for the social-democratic type. Of course, there are also countries that show mixed characteristics or only partially resemble one of the categories. For instance, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Denmark are examples of countries which are classified in different categories by different

writers, depending on the peculiarities that are outlined in the typology (Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Fenger, 2007: 11-12).

In spite the fact that the theory of welfare state regimes presented by Esping-Andersen is normally recognized by most of the scientists as a traditional approach, there are still a number of critical reviews concerning its' methodological position. For instance, Esping-Andersen's theory tend to be criticized by the absence of theoretical evidences which may show the role of non-governmental sector in the process of de-commodification which leads to some difficulties in correct interpretation of the concept 'de-commodification'. Bonoli (1997), for example, put his classification in terms of extensiveness of the welfare state (indicated by social expenditures as a proportion of GDP) and in terms of the way the welfare state is financed (indicated by the percentage of social expenditures financed through contributions). Studying European countries only, he names the resulting types as the British, Continental European, Nordic and Southern countries. The first three types to some extent confirm Esping-Andersen's typology. There are differences between Bonoli's typology and Esping-Andersen's classification because of the addition of the Southern type (Arts and Gelissen 2002; Bonoli 1997: 51).

From Esping-Andersen's perspective, social politics need to adapt to some structural changes: «low fertility and rising longevity; the revolution in women's roles; increased knowledge intensity of economic activity» (Esping-Andersen, 2006: 143). Thus, to keep «the solvency of social security schemes» and to preserve European competitiveness, there have to be given more money to human capital. Investment to human capital would improve effectiveness of work of employees. Moreover, as far as life chances depend on special skills which were got before even the school age, according to Esping-Andersen, we have to look for such a strategy of social investment which would be with more amount of days care and which would also improve «educational opportunities in early childhood» (Ibid: 143). If we manage to combine motherhood and employment then such kind of investment strategy for children will not only increase life chances of children and mothers, but it will also promote keeping the level of solvency of pension schemes stable (Ibid: 143). But how to do it and how much money does the society is ready to pay to support role of families?

Since the interaction between «the state, markets and families make up for what is known as a welfare regime» (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999). Moreover, «a welfare regime is the intersection of a risk production structure and a market, family and state architecture of social protection against risks» (Filgueria, 2002: 7). As welfare regimes confront these risks and problems, so that there could be four ways out: «1) market solutions to care and protection, 2)

state provided solutions to care and protection, 3) redistribution of care burdens and protection among males and females and generations in families and 4) collective non-state solutions (third sector and community solutions)» (Ibit: 7).

To sum up, we may argue that an application of Esping-Andersen's approach seems to be more favorable in case of analysis of extension of employees' social rights rather than in case of analysis of such social rights which are not connected with the sphere of employment. Moreover, when there is a necessity to adapt to new structural changes (like low fertility, etc.), as Esping-Andersen believes, that role of families and social security become important in the context of responding to the new challenges of environment by welfare state. In further work we focus not on the role family but on the role of NGOs in two different welfare state regimes: Italian and Russian. NGOs as well as other social initiatives can be considered as a response to the structural change reflecting also the specifics of welfare state regime.

1.2.3. Social origins theory with four types of 'non-profit regimes' by Salamon and Anheier (1998)

If Esping-Andersen's theory of the welfare state (1990) is developed to include the non-profit sector, as Salamon and Anheier did, there could be identified four models of non-profit development, four types of 'non-profit regimes' (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Each of these types characterized not only by a particular state role, but also by a particular position for the third sector; and, most importantly, each reflecting a particular constellation of social forces. Table (1) shows these regimes in accordance with two key dimensions - first, the extent of government social welfare spending; and second, the scale of the non-profit sector (Anheier, 2005: 8). Such theory is useful in determining of various ways of NGOs' development. One can expect some correlation between «the level of Government welfare expenditure and nonprofit activity (for example liberal and social democratic countries), extensive co-operation between Government and the non-profit sector (in corporatist countries), and non-profit support being derived from commercial activities in the absence of private philanthropy or state involvement (in the statist countries)» (Hradesky, 2008: 179).

In the *liberal model*, represented by the US and the UK, a lower level of government social welfare spending is associated with a relatively large nonprofit sector. Such situation is most likely when a middle class element dominates, and when there is no protest or opposition from working class movements. That's why the provisions of government social welfare protections are not welcomed and people instead of it prefer voluntary approaches. As a result we have a relatively restricted level of government social welfare spending and a big nonprofit

sector (Anheier, 2005: 8). In this regime non-profit organizations rely less on public sector payments, «the pressures to seek additional and alternative revenue in the “private market” are strongest» (Salamon, 1995).

Table 1. Third sector models according to social origins theory by Salamon und Anheier (1998)

PUBLIC SECTOR SOCIAL WELFARE SPENDING	THIRD SECTOR SIZE (ECONOMIC)	
	Small	Large
Low	<i>Statist</i> (for ex., Japan)	<i>Liberal</i> (for ex., the US and the UK)
HIGH	<i>Social Democratic</i> (for ex., Sweden)	<i>Corporatist</i> (for ex., France and Germany)

Source: Salamon and Anheier, 1998

The *social democratic model* lies at the opposite extreme. In this model, like in Sweden, state-sponsored and state-delivered social welfare protections are big and the space remained for service-providing non-profit organizations are limited. From historical point of view, this type appeared more likely when working class had an influence on promoting effective political power usually together with other social classes. In spite the fact that there is limited service-providing nonprofit sector, it is not necessarily that a limited nonprofit sector overall. The nonprofit sector plays a different function in social democratic regimes which is an advocacy and personal expression, but not a service-providing role. In Sweden, for example, a very strong network of volunteer-based advocacy and entertainment organizations appears to demonstrate at the same time highly developed welfare state. Actually, here the non-profit sector may get close to the ideal of a “civil society” sector which functions to facilitate individual and group expression (Anheier, 2005: 9). The role of non-profit organizations in service provision is characterized by the close co-operation with government. It leads to the appearance of public-private partnerships and innovative organizational models to lessen the burden of the welfare state. However, these expansions into service delivery can put the sector away from public sector funding and non-profit organizations, therefore, are normally encouraged to look for commercial forms of income, keeping in mind that giving is already fairly high with 14% for those working in health and social services (Anheier, 2005: 13).

Between these two models there are two additional ones, which are known to have strong states. But, in one, the *corporatist* model which is in France and Germany, the state is usually forced to have common affairs with non-profit institutions. As a result, non-profit

organizations function as “pre-modern” structure which is protected by the state in its efforts to keep the support of major social elites while «pre-empting more radical demands for social welfare protections» (Anheier and Seibel 1998, Seibel 1990). It was in late nineteenth century in Germany, when the state, fighting radical demands from below, began to set up alliances with the main churches and the landed elites to establish a system of state-sponsored welfare provision that over time included a role for non-profit sectors (Ibid). The state spends big sums of public sector funds on the non-profit sector to reduce youth unemployment, «while keeping some restrictive laws in place that make it difficult for non-profit organizations to operate more independently from government finances» (Anheier, 2005: 13). The non-profit sector is a close tool of government policies, not only in the area of unemployment policies but also in the process of unification. There is a shift of subsidiarity away from the provider of the service to the individual as a consumer. Nowadays there are first moves toward this direction and German non-profit sector will likely depend on private fees and charges in the future. But growth in volunteering and private giving will remain modest. Like in France, current tax laws prevent non-profit organizations to utilize their full potential in raising private funds (Ibid: 13).

The *statist model* is the fourth possible model. In this model, the state can control a wide range of social policies, but it is not a tool of an organized working class, like in the social democratic regimes. The state has the power on its own behalf, or on behalf of business and economic elites, but with a clear level of autonomy maintained by long traditions of deference and religious order. An example of this model is Japan, where restricted government social welfare protection does not mean high levels of nonprofit action, as in the liberal regimes. In this case, both government social welfare protection and nonprofit activity are highly limited (Anheier, 2005: 9).

Such theory would lead us to conclude that «in liberal and social democratic regimes the size of the nonprofit sector will vary inversely with the scale of government social welfare spending whereas in corporatist and statist regimes this relationship will be direct, with nonprofit organizations growing as government grows» (Salamon and Anheier, 1996: 20). It is this way, because within this theory, in the liberal and social democratic welfare models the state and NGOs are thought to be alternatives while in corporatist model – partners. «In the corporatist model, by contrast, extensive cooperation between government and the nonprofit sector is anticipated, so that governmental sources are likely to be far more important» (Ibid: 20). At the end, in the statist model of welfare there is no anticipation between the government and non-profit sector (Ibid: 20).

Thus, as we could see from Salamon' and Anheier's analysis (1998), regime types correspond to non-profit sector scale and revenue structure. These outcomes are explained by the historical approach, drawing on «past social constellations and policy-making» (Anheier, 2005: 11). The theory of non-profit regimes by Salamon and Anheier (1998) we put as a major theoretical background of present study because it better corresponds to our problem, compare to classical theory of welfare state regimes by Esping-Andersen.

1.2.4. Role of NGOs in Italian model of welfare state regime

Drawing on classical modern theories of European welfare state regimes by Esping-Andersen (1990), *Italy belongs to the «Corporatist (Continental) model» of welfare state*, likewise other countries such as France, Germany, etc. Many authors focus their attention on different sides of this model. For example, Castles (1994) and Gough (1996) outline the role of Catholicism and traditional family institute to protect systems of southern Europe. Other writers such as Saraceno (2000), underlines the gender relationships in the south and its effects on social policy. But we will consider Italian Welfare State in more details to understand the significance of NGOs in social policy of Italy.

In opposition to Esping-Andersen, Salamon and Anheier put Italy not as a 'corporatist' system but as a '*social democratic*' model of welfare. The problem is that Italy has too small non-governmental sector to be considered as a 'corporatist' system. «Likewise, the percentage of public funding of Italy's nonprofit education, health, and social service organizations is also much lower than either Germany's or France's. On this measure, Italy again looks more like Sweden than its two continental neighbors. Still, it is a mistake to force-fit Italy into the social democratic type, when in causal terms it looks much more like a corporatist regime» (Ragin, 1998: 268). Salamon and Anheier also try to claim that Italy is social democratic, but it still sounds as corporatist: «with Church-dominated social welfare institutions placed firmly under state control beginning in the 19th century as part of the effort to achieve national unification, the Fascist regime was able to move in the 1920s to establish a state-centered system of social welfare protections that was then extended by the democratic governments of the postwar era» (Ibid: 268).

It is known that Italy, as well as other industrialized countries, is experiencing social and demographic changes: *growth of elderly, decrease of the birth rate, «fragmentation of family models»* (Kazepov / Sabatinelli, 2003: 239). These changes influence Italian welfare balance and also partly define the role of non-governmental sector in social policy.

Ferrera (1998: 123-126) stresses seven main important traits of the Southern (Italian) welfare model: 1) *'transfer-centered model'* – on the one hand, it provides protection of the major sectors where people work in regular market and, on the other hand, it poorly finance workers from irregular or non-institutionalized market; 2) *imbalance of various functions of social policy* (for ex., overprotection of old aged social group); 3) *universalistic approach in health care*; 4) *collusion of public and private actors* (for ex., low degree of state penetration especially into in health care); 5) *'institutional particularism'* – public institutions are vulnerably to partisan pressures, because the power of state is low and there is no formal institutionalization; 6) *low efficiency of services*; 7) *unbalanced distribution of burdens across the occupational groups* because of normative disparities or black economy and therefore tax evasion.

In brief, drawing on what was already mentioned above, this model is characterized by *two connected features*:

1. Social protection which has an impact on the *individual position on the labour market*, where there is a strict discrimination of *insiders* («benefiting social protection, though with difference due to categorization»)(Kazepov, 2006: 4) and *outsiders* («left out from services» (Ibid: 4);

2. *Families play an important role* in supporting people in need, «supplementing state intervention - principle of subsidiary» (Ibid: 4).

The Italian welfare system is characterized by the *strong link between social protection and the position on the labour market* (and payment of contributions) by claimants. This criterion is shared by the countries of the 'Continental welfare model' (Esping-Andersen, 1990; 2000) – except for the Health System, which in Italy is covering all citizens in a universalistic way. It is an arrangement that gives a high protection to people in a labour position, especially for «adult male bread-winners» (Ibid: 7), and their households. But at the same time this model denies support for those who don't belong to clear labour categories (e.g. «irregular workers or workers with inconstant contribution payments» (Ibid: 7), etc.). Means tested social assistance policies are usually established for them. However, means tested social assistance policies are in the Italian welfare system normally marginal and «characterized by a category-based approach (i.e. they usually target some categories of need: the elderly, the disabled, etc.) and by an impressive fragmentation in the implementation, both from an institutional (diverse access criteria, diverse amounts and durations) and territorial (local diversities in a weak state coordination) point of view» (Ibid: 7). Measures towards specific categories (elderly, disabled, etc.) were excluded and since 1977 (decree 616/77), social assistance measures have been

granted to Local Authority, «without any national coordination frame» (Ibid: 7). Consequently, «assistance system is differentiated territorially» (Ibid: 7), having an impact on «fairness and equality of re-distribution» (Ibid: 7).

As a result the public production of services is limited and *non-profit organizations play a major role in widening the supply of services*. Anyway, also in this case the regulation of the relationship between State and non-profit organizations is based in the passive subsidiary, i.e. «*non-profit organizations are very important in supplying services, but they are weakly supported and funded by public authorities*» (Ranci, 2003a: 53). In terms of Ranci (2003a), who studied European comparative analysis of welfare combinations, Italy takes place among countries with a leading role of non-profit organizations (Ibid: 53-60), which are «characterized by many private suppliers and by limited state subsidies, covering only partially non-profit organizations' budgets and needs» (Kazepov, 2006: 7).

Since the early 1990s, *horizontal subsidiary in Italy becomes basic principle which frames «the relationship between public and private (especially non-profit) actors in the field of social policy»* (Ibid: 28). Ascolti (2003: 156) argues that «the recognition of the legal status of non-profit organizations within the Italian welfare system» (Ascolti, 2003: 156) was the first important step. Non-profit organizations are managed by law 266/91 and law 381/91, however only when it is connected with volunteering organization and social cooperative societies, so that «they are allowed to provide services to public institutions» (Kazepov, 2006: 28).

The next stage was the acceptance of NGOs «*as partners for public organizations in the planning and management of social measures*» (Ibid: 28). Such change happened firstly thanks to some innovative sectorial policies (e.g. 285/97), «72 and then it was generalized by the frame law on social policies - law 328/00» (Ibid: 28).

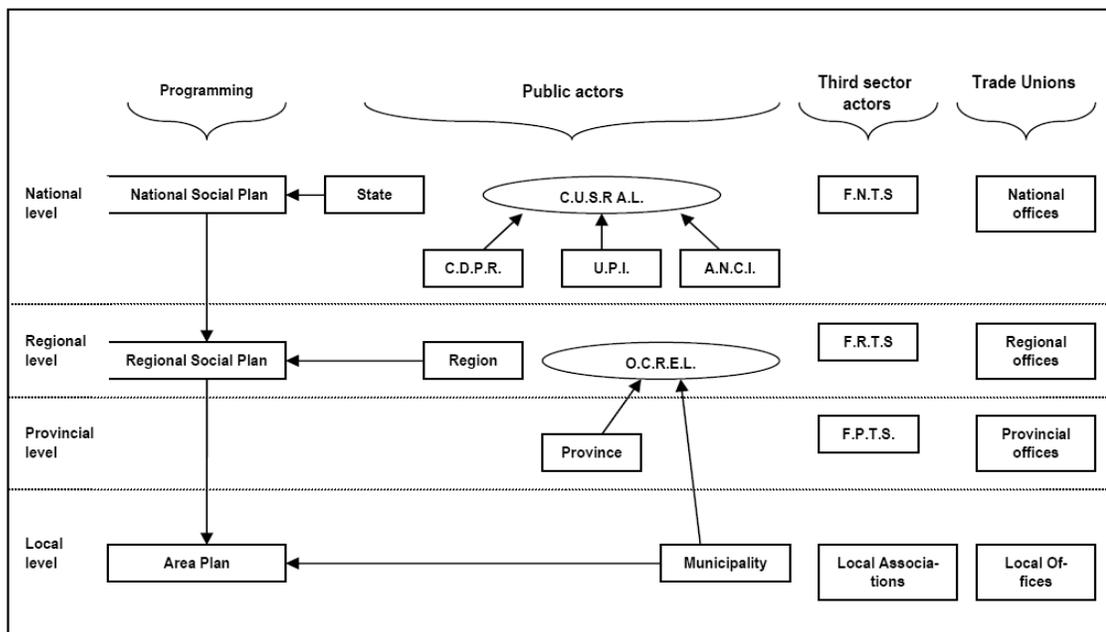
As Kazepov and Genova (2005) notice, «law 328/00 gets rid of the traditional subaltern role of private actors in front of public ones, building up a new institutional pattern where Italian welfare system is considered plural and mixed: *public and private agencies have an equal rank in planning and managing social measures*» (Kazepov and Genova, 2005).

Speaking about planning of social policies, «law 328/00 is based on a *multilevel governance system* (Ferrera and Sacchi, 2004: 14), *where Regions and Municipalities interact in a two-sided vertical relationship (both bottom-up and top-down), but also in a horizontal relationship with the main stakeholders they can find at their scale*» (see Chart 1). This is why horizontal subsidiarity has a particular meaning, where «many actors can take part into the welfare system, but the final accountability and liability is up to representative elected bodies,

who are responsible, from a political point of view, in front of the population» (Kazepov, 2006: 28).

In terms of the law 328/00, leading and coordination of social matters is the State's responsibility. *The State, in turn, performs its role through a three-year National Plan, which was worked out after a «bargaining with Third sector organizations and Trade Unions and an agreement with Regions and Municipalities. Regions must adopt regional Social Plans, which – in compliance of the National Plan – itemizes and prioritises a specific set of measures, agreed with Local Authorities and the main stakeholders at their level»* (Kazepov, 2006: 29).

Chart 1 Vertical and horizontal system of relationships according to law 328/00



Acronyms. C.U.S.R.A.L.: Joint Board State-Regions-Cities-Local Authorities; C.D.P.R.: Board of the Regional Governors; A.N.C.I.: National Association of Italian Municipalities; U.P.I.: Association of Italian Provinces; O.C.R.E.L.: Region-Local Authorities bargaining bodies; F.N.T.S.: National Forum of Third Sector associations; F.R.T.S.: Regional Forums of Third Sector associations; F.P.T.S.: Provincial Forums of Third Sector associations.

Late reforms of Italian social policy (especially law 328/00) take networking as a main «regulation criteria for actors at different scales» (see Chart 1). Cooperation includes vertical and horizontal regulation. Thus, there is a 'multilevel governance system' (Kazepov/Barberis, 2005). Moreover, these reforms initiated *decentralization of social policies, giving Municipalities «a major liability not only on the delivery but also on the planning of social policies (bottom-up approach), through a networked governance involving many actors at the local level.* However, the development and the implementation of new governance practices

supposedly is not happening in a homogeneous way, due to a path-dependent territorial segmentation of the institutional setting» (Ibid).

Referring to the typology established by Di Gaetano and Strom (2003), the researches discovered that in Italy ideal-typically «Northern Regions and cities adopt managerial (relationship formally ruled by contracts or bureaucratic norms) or pluralist (relationship based on the mediation and management of private conflicts) governance patterns. In the Regions in Central Italy, regulation is mainly corporative (i.e. based on the bargaining between public and private actors), while in Southern Italy governance is mainly based on patronage (give-and-take particularistic relationship) or populist (relationship as consensus-building) patterns. There are of course exceptions but this is mainstreaming» (Kazepov, 2006: 32).

Thus, to summarize, third Sector development is closely connected with the practice of «public local bodies to externalize social services, in order to reduce public expenditures» (Moreno, 2006: 4). As long as Third Sector actors become more important actors in the coordination of social services, a lot of tension start to appear among the «distribution of responsibilities in each step of social intervention» (Ibid: 4) and «local administrations wanting a mere top-down transfer of management responsibilities as opposed to local administrations pursuing more horizontal participatory coordination models» (Ibid: 4). There are various situations not only in different Municipalities, but «also within the same city in different policy sector or – within the same sector – for different specific interventions» (Ibid: 4). As the result, with the increasing significance of the Third Sector in welfare state, the Mediterranean welfare mix seems more alike to that of other countries. This is a consequence of high level of co-operation with different welfare providers under the conditions of regulation by public authorities. *«It may well be that both for-profit private and Third Sector welfare providers could gradually replace the role the family has traditionally devoted to the well-being of South Europeans. Both developments are expected to be accompanied by a greater involvement of state public institutions in welfare arrangements, although not always in the form of direct policy provision»* (Ibid: 4).

In addition to our summary about the role of NGOs in Italian model of Welfare State regime, we would like to address *Salamon' and Anheier's analysis* (1998) of regime types which are corresponded to non-profit sector scale and revenue structure. Drawing on their analysis, we can assume that Italy belongs to such welfare state regime, alongside with France and Germany, where the *state is usually forced to have common affairs with non-profit institutions*. In other words, *the state spends big sums of public sector funds on the non-profit sector to*

reduce youth unemployment, «while keeping some restrictive laws in place that make it difficult for non-profit organizations to operate more independently from government finances» (Anheier, 2005: 13). The non-profit sector is a close tool of government policies, not only in the area of unemployment policies but also in the process of unification. There is a shift of subsidiarity away from the provider of the service to the individual as a consumer, there nowadays Italy is likely depended on private fees and charges while the growth in volunteering and private giving will remain modest. Moreover, current tax laws prevent Italian non-profit organizations to utilize their full potential in raising private funds (Ibid: 13). Thus, Anheier (2000: 20) argues that Italy demonstrates «a statist revenue structure, its dimensions a mixture of all other types. Italy's complex historical course with pronounced statist, corporatist and social democratic elements makes it a mixed type that seems difficult to locate» (Anheier, 2000: 20).

1.2.5. Role of NGOs in Russian model of welfare state regime

In contrast to Italian case, it is almost impossible to choose right Esping-Anderson's model of welfare state regime complemented to Russia. Russian specialist, Boiko (2003: 3) believes that *Esping-Anderson's typology and therefore Salamon' and Anheier's (1998) theory of non-profit regimes are not applicable to our case, because during Soviet times there was no market economy in Russia. As far as there is no clear model of welfare state which would correspond to traditional approaches to welfare regimes and which would also correspond adequately to Russian situation, I would like to make an overview of some data and literature concerning this problem which would be helpful to clarify the role of NGOs in Russian model of Welfare State. This paragraph is devoted to consideration of works of the following Russian and European authors: Tihonova (2006), Dr. Fenger (2007), Cerami (2007: 1), Linda J. Cook (2008: 1), James G. McGann (2006: 10), etc.*

Manning and Tihonova (2006: 5-21) think that it is results of work maintained during realization of international project called 'Restructuring the Welfare State: East and West compare' which played a crucial role in understanding of social policy formation problems in Russia in 1990s. The project was supported by INTAS (International Association for the Promotion of the Cooperation with Scientists from the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union). The goal of this project was to conduct the analysis of social politics development in the conditions of transformation of the society. The authors supposed that the state, regions and other political actors are not really aware of the concept of social politics and therefore none of the leading political organization of Russia is ready to take a role of social politics' leader. Political actors, representatives of a new Russian political environment, who were subjects of

the study, were appeared not to be ready for active interventions into dealing with social policy problems. But for new Russian welfare state it is important to define which type of welfare state it is. It is necessary to satisfy needs of modern Russian society and new level of market economy. Results of the project showed that there is a strong resemblance of Soviet social policy to Western welfare state policy – they both give a priority to social protection of the society. However, employees were considered to be under strong domination of the Soviet Union which obviously contradicted to the final model of social policy in Western countries. *Up to 1990s the state was still seen as a major actor in social politics* (Manning and Tihonova 2006: 5-21).

Transition to market economy has shown, on the one hand, the significance of social support of people appeared in difficult life situation and, on the other hand, - impossibility of keeping the same scale and level of social services provision. It is worth to mention that initially the necessity of having new reforms was perceived not because of claims within social sphere, but because of necessity of increasing the productivity of agricultural structures. Thus, Manning and Tihonova (2006: 21) assumes that they can consider *social policy of post-soviet Russia as a mix of gradually weaken democratic tendency together with gradually strengthen neo-liberal tendency*.

Now I would like to shed light on the study of Dr. Fenger (2007) of welfare regimes which was realized in more broader context (not only in Russian context) – in Central and Eastern Europe. Dr. Fenger has demonstrated that at the beginning of the 21st century, there are clear differences in the governmental programmes and the social situation among Western welfare states and post-communist welfare states. In his article Dr. Fenger (2007) says that the countries of East Asia are a challenge to Esping-Andersen's original typology, because it is very difficult to define them in accordance to his three ideal models of welfare state. It is obvious that they have clearly different characteristics and a distinct way of development, but Esping-Andersen believes that these welfare states are still in the process of formation and therefore still getting close to one or other of the main types. Dr. Fenger (2007) in his work tried to apply the classification which goes far beyond the framework of traditional European countries. *State socialism was a solid and stable model where the state was a monopolist employer* (Standing, 1999b).

Dr. Fenger applied hierarchical cluster analysis for the investigation of Central and Eastern Europe models of welfare state. Results of the study demonstrated that Eastern European welfare states can be clearly distinguished from the traditional European welfare

states. As Dr. Fenger argues, there are two dominant groups of countries. In the traditional European countries, there is «replication of Esping-Andersen's welfare regimes, supplemented with the Southern-European or Latin type». For example, some of the former Soviet states (Belarus, Ukraine, Russia) are appeared to have a lot of similar characteristics with Baltic states. Moreover, in accordance to total government expenditures *former Soviet type of welfare state goes well with the conservative-corporatist type*, but speaking about all other governmental programmes variables – they are below the three famous Western European types. Nevertheless, the major differences take place in the social situation and the level of trust in these countries (Fenger, 2007: 22).

Finally, the study showed that the differences among the groups of post-communist countries and the traditional Western welfare states are bigger than the differences among the countries within any of those groups. As the result, for now the «*post-communist welfare states can not be reduced to any of Esping-Andersen's or any other well-known types of welfare states*» (Fenger, 2007: 26). *Although, the empirical analysis doesn't allow us to define distinct type of post-communist welfare states*. Post-communist welfare states are just described in terms of lower levels of their governmental programmes and the social situation. What it can mean for further developments, - remains an open question (Ibid: 26-27).

Another description of the main systemic problem of post-communist states is presented in the article of Cerami (2007: 1). He puts stress on changes of social structure and emergence of new social risks which occurred in post-communist societies. Main argument of Cerami is that «*the welfare states in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Russian Federation are called to face a double burden of responsibilities: they must ensure protection against old and new social risks for a larger proportion of citizens than those in the West, while, simultaneously, dealing with the most serious social, economic and political challenges stemming from the transition*» (Cerami, 2007: 1).

According to Linda J. Cook (2008: 1), «the post-communist Russian state inherited a large social sector» (Linda J. Cook, 2008: 1) and a lot of people are depended on the «sector for social services and subsidies, while state-bureaucratic welfare stakeholders relied on public expenditures and administration for their resources and roles» (Ibid: 1). Linda J. Cook argues that when Putin was a president of Russia, «the Duma and societal interests were marginalized» (Ibid: 1), while statist-bureaucratic actors carried on performing of the main role. Statist-bureaucratic actors such as central social ministries and social funds produced an elite-dominated politics which at once promoted a reform concerning pension and education

(«January 2005, Social Benefits Reform, the subject of “Reforming the L’goty System” by Michael Russell and Susanne Wengle, was a major exception to this characterization of welfare policy, an area in which popular pressure and protest played a large role in moderating reform» (Ibid: 1).

Russia as well as Italy is experiencing political and economic changes connected with the *post-industrial development, global marketization and decreasing of state-protective role*, in Russia it also includes *transition from the Soviet times to more democratic regime*. As the result, civil society has to face all appeared with it problems and *NGOs activities about it can be considered as the responses of civil society to new challenges of the state*. Domestic NGOs’ linked to foreign donors and institutions lead to the fact that governments become *«more and more wary of these organizations and their increasing autonomy»* (James G. McGann, 2006: 10). Governments, in turn, have done some restrictions for the voices of politically oriented NGOs whose activities may become threatening to the legitimacy of less democratic regimes (for ex., «law of 2006 – ‘double taxation’ regime, no legal distinction between NGO and for-profit organizations; law of 2006 requires registration of NGO through Federal Registration Service; law and other restrictions led to closure of multiple human rights NGOs in southwest Russia; regulations of funding and non-profit work are vague» (Ibid: 10). To sum up, the conclusion which is done by the researcher is following: *«while extralegal measures have always been at governmental disposal, the legal restrictions on NGO operations have intensified, particularly with regard to funding and taxation. Governments have also erected restrictive NGO registration and operation requirements»* (Ibid: 10).

According to the survey of the Donors Forum (2004), Russian citizens have a vague idea of what nonprofit organizations are: 55% of respondents know nothing about charity organizations; half of the respondents in Russian regions have never heard the expression “non-profit organization”. On the one hand, the low awareness of the population of social activities of charity organization in Russia is due to the lack of transparency of the donors activity (few publications in mass media, lack of printed and electronic editions). On the other hand, almost all the respondents of the Donors Forum survey (2004) believe that the *Russian legislation still does not welcome NGOs development in Russia. This might be a reason for a small number of Russian NGOs in comparison with Europe and for their unknown status among the society*. Thus, step-by-step changes in the legislation are required.

Kuvikova and Kačirkova admit that Eastern European countries present a *mix of the statist and social-democratic tendencies*. “The implementation of the communist regime after

the World War II resulted in a substantial increase in the welfare services directly provided by the state. At the same time, the governments of these countries supported only few private organizations that were instrumental to their official policies, while suppressing those that might challenge the government's hegemony. In relatively recent time, also governments in the CEE countries have allowed the nonprofit organizations to provide public welfare services. *The right conditions for the development of the non-profit sector in CEE were built only after the breakdown of the communist regime.* Our analysis shows the Central and Eastern European countries to occupy a *borderline between the corporatist and social-democratic regimes.* Indeed, for the CEE countries a high share of non-profit organizations perform mostly expressive functions as in the social-democratic regime and the workforce employed is generally paid as in the corporatist regime. This is likely a consequence of the social welfare policies of the Soviet-era, which relied on direct provision of the most important welfare services by the state and tolerated only a limited private non-profit sector but largely for recreational and professional purposes" (Kuvikova, 2004; Kačirkova, 2006).

One of the features of NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe is the *"high level of reliance on membership fees and services charges on the part of the non-profit organizations.* Paradoxically, despite its socialist past, the commercial income constitutes a larger share of the revenues of the non-profit sector in these countries than in any other European countries. One explanation for this may be that when state enterprises were transformed into private firms, they turn off into non-profit organizations and continued to provide many of the health and social services that they previously provided to their workers. At the same time, also their workers continued some degree of financial support to those activities and this support shows up in our data as own income" (Raguseo and Kuvikova, 2002: 35-36).

In conclusion we can assume that Russia among other states with transition economy remains as a unique example of the state model combining contradicted types of social provision (Deacon, 2000). Indicators of this Russian state specifics are high regional differentiation, impossibility (as a result of absence of tax inpayments) to pay off salaries and provide benefits in time, not realized promises of Federal state to provide poor and occupied people with social benefits (Boiko, 2003: 3). Moreover, in contrast to Italy, it is almost impossible to define right traditional model of welfare state regime complemented to Russia, not speaking about application of Esping-Anderson's typology. Since Russia as well as Italy is experiencing political and economic changes, as the result, civil society has to face all appeared problems and NGOs activities and therefore will serve as the responses of civil society to new challenges

of the state. Italy, according to classical modern theories of European welfare state regimes by Esping-Andersen (1990), belongs to the «Corporatist (Continental) model» of welfare state, likewise other countries such as France, Germany, etc. What is also interesting about Italy is that NGOs are very important in supplying services, but they are weakly supported and funded by public authorities. Almost the same tendency we observe in Russia: «while extralegal measures have always been at governmental disposal, the legal restrictions on NGO operations have intensified, particularly with regard to funding and taxation. Governments have also erected restrictive NGO registration and operation requirements» (James G. McGann, 2006: 10).

Speaking about roles of NGOs in Russian and Italian welfare states, it is important to understand that political and economic changes have increased the significance of the voluntary or non-profit sector. «Privatization efforts, the use of new public management, the need for innovations in social service delivery» (Anheier, 2000: 22) contains a number of main challenges for the third sector. As we already know, the non-profit or third sector has become significantly bigger in recent years. It is obvious that the voluntary sector will play more significant role in many different areas like «education, health and social services, community development, employment and training, culture, the arts, recreation, and the environment» (Ibid: 22). Non-profit organizations are increasingly becoming a part of private-public partnerships which enroll the voluntary sector in a «network of responsibilities, financial obligations and accountability requirements» (Ibid: 22) together with various stakeholders like «governments, members, clients, and competitors» (Ibid: 22).

1.3. Conclusions to the 1st chapter

As far as the present chapter was aimed at elaborating main concepts and theoretical background of our research, more specifically at defining the category of role of NGOs in the formation of social policy against CSEC, based on our theoretical overview, we can outline following conclusions:

- Main category of 'role' of NGO also derives from its' reasons of emerging in the society: range of roles of NGOs is seen as a response to political and economic changes to help to deal with a big variety of social needs and to meet unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society, while the state due to certain reasons is not able to give an adequate response to these changes.

- Since the problem of CSEC is considered to be quite new and very specific due to its' psychological, sociological and legal characteristics, a role of NGOs in this sphere appears to be very specific too. In terms of the report of International Labour Organization (2007), all roles of NGOs were considered within four main spheres of addressing NGOs' activities: 1) prevention, 2) care, 3) monitoring and 4) penalization. In our research all roles of NGOs we divide into two main types: 1) *Service roles* of NGOs (activities and social services implying direct help to children, trainings for specialists, information campaigns etc.); 2) *Advocacy roles* of NGOs (activities and advocacy which promote improvements and changes on the state level, like strengthening legislation etc.) as indicators of the state participation. These two role extremes help us to assume about the contribution of NGOs to social policy formation about CSEC. More influential NGOs are supposed to have both service and advocacy range of roles, while less significant and less influential NGOs may provide people only with social services, for example. We can expect that in Russia NGOs are expected to be the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role.
- The category of '*social policy*' can be understood in broad and narrow senses, nevertheless the majority of authors tend to notice one common feature of welfare state which is the state responsibility for the provision of its' society with basic level of welfare. In present research by the term '*social policy*' we understand a set of «social services and the welfare state» (Speaker, 2008). In our study, on the one hand, we address to social policy (welfare state) as a factor which determines the roles and functions of non-governmental sector and, on the other hand, we address to social policy (welfare state) as a result of development of non-governmental sector.
- Literature overview showed that roles and functions of non-governmental organizations in social policy formation are very much depended on *two main factors*: 1) on features of different welfare state regimes and 2) on international relations. In current research the factor of features of different welfare state regimes (1) we considered through classical theories of welfare state regimes by Marshall (1973) and Esping-Andersen (1990) and theory of four types of 'non-profit regimes' by Salamon and Anheier (1998). The second factor (2) implies theoretical overview about the state actions to combat CSEC on international and national level which is perceived as a result of NGO's work and promotion activities of CSEC as a problem on the state and global level (see 2nd Chapter).

Following other objective of the current chapter, we would like to stress some conclusions which would reflect theoretical expectations concerning roles of NGOs in Russian and Italian models of welfare state regimes:

- In terms of typology of Esping-Andersen (1990) Italy belongs to the «*Corporatist (Continental) model*», but in terms of Salamon' and Anheier's theory of 'non-profit regimes' (1998), Italy belongs to the «*Social Democratic model*». Likewise, in Italian case, it is almost impossible to choose right Esping-Anderson's model of welfare state regime complemented to Russia. Russian specialist, Boiko (2003: 3) believes that Esping-Anderson's typology as well as Salamon' and Anheier's (1998) theory of non-profit regimes are not applicable to our case, because during Soviet times there was no market economy in Russia. Russia, thus, remains a *unique example of the state model* combining contradicted types of social provision (Deacon, 2000). But since nowadays market economy is developing in Russia, we can assume that in terms of Salamon' and Anheier's (1998) typology, Russia is characterized by a *mix of the statist and social-democratic tendencies* or *corporatist and social-democratic regimes* (Kuvikova, 2004; Kačirkova, 2006).
- In the liberal and social democratic welfare models the state and NGOs are thought to be alternatives while in corporatist model – partners. In the statist model of welfare there is no anticipation between the government and non-profit sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1996: 20)
- Italian welfare state is characterized by two main features: 1) social protection which has an impact on the individual position on the labour market, where there is a strict discrimination of insiders («benefiting social protection, though with difference due to categorization») and outsiders («left out from services»); 2) families play an important role in supporting people in need, «supplementing state intervention - principle of subsidiary» (Kazepov, 2006: 4). Features of Russian type of welfare state are: 1) high regional differentiation; 2) impossibility (as a result of absence of tax inpayments) to pay off salaries and provide benefits in time; 3) not realized promises of Federal state to provide poor and occupied people with social benefits (Boiko, 2003: 3).
- Another feature of Italian welfare state is that role of NGOs is seen as very significant one in provision of services, but they are «weakly supported and funded by public authorities» (Kazepov, 2006: 7). In other words, Italy has many private sponsors and limited financial support of the state (Ibid: 7). Almost the same tendency we observe in Russia: «legal restrictions on NGO operations have intensified, particularly with regard to funding

and taxation. Governments have also erected restrictive NGO registration and operation requirements» (James G. McGann, 2006: 10). Russian legislation still does not welcome NGOs development in Russia. This might be a reason for a small number of Russian NGOs in comparison with Europe and for their unknown status among the society.

- Russia as well as Italy is experiencing political, economic and demographic changes, such as post-industrial development, global marketization and decreasing of state-protective role. In Italy there is the growth of elderly, decrease of the birth rate, «fragmentation of family models» (Kazepov and Sabatinelli, 2003: 239), in Russia - transition from the Soviet times to more democratic regime. As the result, civil society has to face all appeared with it problems and NGOs activities about it can be considered as the responses of civil society to new challenges of the state. These changes also increased the importance of the voluntary or non-profit sector and therefore this sector is becoming bigger.
- Nowadays Italy is likely depended on private fees and charges while the growth in volunteering and private giving will remain modest (Anheier, 2005: 13). Italy is also characterized by decentralization of social policies and multilevel governance system (networking is both vertical - involving different territorial public bodies, i.e. the State, Regions and Local Authorities, and horizontal - involving public bodies themselves and relevant stakeholders), where Municipalities are responsible not only not only for the supply but also for the planning of social policies (bottom-up approach). It is known that decentralized system bases on lateral relationships to reduce reliability on command or force, where governance is getting closer to people or citizens (Ibid: 13).
- Another key feature of Italian welfare state regime is high level of territorial segmentation (differences between the south, north and central Italy, diversity of state control).
- Moreno (2006: 4) predicts that both for-profit private and the third sector welfare suppliers in Italy might substitute the role of the family, while state public institutions would become more involved in welfare issues, but not always in the way of direct policy supply (Moreno, 2006: 4). Non-profit organizations, thus, both, in Russia and Italy, are increasingly becoming a part of private-public partnerships which enroll the voluntary sector in a «network of responsibilities, financial obligations and accountability requirements» (Anheier, 2000: 22) together with various stakeholders like «governments, members, clients, and competitors» (Ibid: 22).

2. Recognition the problem of CSEC and role of NGOs to combat CSEC by global community

In the previous chapter we elaborated main concepts and theoretical background of our research. We considered roles and functions of NGOs to combat CSEC as being very much depended on two main factors: 1) on features of different welfare state regimes and 2) on international relations. In both cases there is a complicated scheme of interdependent relations between the state and non-governmental sector in terms of combating CSEC. Present chapter addresses mostly to the second factor – international relations – which have an impact on diversity of roles and functions of NGOs within the framework of state-NGO cooperation to combat CSEC. It is known that the major role of non-governmental organizations is based on effective promotion of their activities, campaigns and advocacy towards combating CSEC on the national and international arena. So, nowadays NGOs are becoming more involved in the processes of global politics. For example, «non-governmental organizations and advocates have become a significant part of political landscape in a growing number of countries in the Third World and former Soviet bloc» (Donnelly, 1998: 15). Moreover, the end of Cold War discovered great opportunities for NGO activities on the global level (Martens, 2000: 115). Thus, in this chapter we consider global actions to confront CSEC as one of the indicators of recognition the problem of CSEC itself and significance of role of NGOs in protection of children's rights by global and national communities.

In the following paragraph we will briefly describe important facts about the Congress and Declarations there important outcome – an agreement among countries about specific measures that must be taken for counteraction to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children more effectively, it is called National Plans of Actions. At the end of this paragraph, drawing on a number of resources and on an official on-line database of ECPAT International, which is a global network of organizations and people working together to combat child prostitution, child pornography and the trafficking of children for sexual purposes, we will present an information about commitments of the Russian Federation and Italy to the Stockholm Agenda for Action. These commitments can help us to make preliminary judgments about role of NGOs and nation states in the sphere of global social policy of protection of children's rights. It also helps us to understand if the state response to the problem of CSEC on international and national level is adequate and if the importance of role of NGOs is recognized by the state.

Before considering the declarations we would like to make a short remark. It is known that there are two stages of accepting of international agreements: 1) subscription stage, 2) ratification stage.

- 1) Subscription stage – it means that the state supports the goals of the agreement and intends to meet its' further commitments. However, an agreement doesn't have any legal force for the state until a head of the government or Minister of foreign affairs signs a document about its' ratification.
- 2) Ratification stage – it is a process of giving legal force to agreement by the state supreme power. Ratification of international agreement, therefore, means that the state is agree to confirm and accept the obligatoriness of this agreement.

In last two decades there were three main global initiatives aimed at improving of social policy in the sphere of protection of children's rights: the First, the Second and the Third World Congress. The fact of having these three Congresses might be considered as the indicators of the first public acceptance by authorities (promoted by NGOs) of the existence of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children as a problem on the international arena. As the result of these meetings two main global Declarations to protect children from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse were adopted: Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action (1996) and The Rio de Janeiro Declaration and Call for Action to Prevent and Stop Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents (2008).

The first public recognition by the state of the existence of CSEC was first made by 122 countries at the *First World Congress against CSEC* in 1996, through their adoption of the *Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action*. «Every child is entitled to full protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse... States are required to protect the child from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and promote physical and psychological recovery and social integration of the child victim» (Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action, 1996: 1). The Congress of 2001 consolidated international partnerships made during the First World Congress, and promoted global commitment to protect children from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (Report of the world Congress III, ECPAT International, 2009: 9-24). The number of governments represented (134) was bigger than at the First World Congress, (122) and the number of participants (over 3,000) was almost double that for Stockholm¹⁰.

¹⁰ http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Global_worldCongressII.asp - last update 25.05.2010

In 2006 the commitment to the Agenda for Action was confirmed by 159 countries at the *Second World Congress against CSEC* in Yokohama, Japan and in 2007 this number increased to 161 countries (Report of the world Congress III, ECPAT International, 2009: 9-24).

More recently in November 2008, delegations from 140 countries representing all regions of the world and over 3,500 participants gathered in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, for the *World Congress III against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents*. «The WCIII resulted in the Rio de Janeiro Declaration and Call for Action to Prevent and Stop Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents, it outlines targeted strategies for counteracting CSEC and in particular emphasizes the needs for integrated cross-sectoral strategies and comprehensive *National Plans of Action*, which is a priority task for governments to implement the Agenda for Action» (Report of the world Congress III, ECPAT International, 2009: 9-24).

Declarations and National Plan of Actions, accepted at the World Congress against CSEC gave general definition of commercial sexual exploitation of children. According to the definition accepted by the World Congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children in Sweden, Stockholm in 1996 *commercial sexual exploitation of children* (CSEC) is defined as «serious violation of child's rights when the child is regarded as a sex object or an object of trade. This includes sexual violence or sexual exploitation by an adult and payment in money or in kind to the child or to a third person. Being a form of consumption and violence against the children it is equated to compulsory labor and modern form of slavery»¹¹. There are several basic forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children which are most relevant for Russia and countries of the EU in present time: child prostitution, child pornography, children's sexual trafficking, and children's sexual tourism. All of them are interconnected.

Thus, governments of 159 countries together with non-governmental organizations, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and other institutions of United Nations agreed to combat CSEC by cooperation of these institutions on a global level. *Nevertheless the Declarations and National Plan of Actions considered above are not the documents which are supposed to have a legal force to become obligatory for the state to meet commitments.* However, there are several international agreements which contain certain issues about providing protection for children – victims of commercial sexual exploitation. Governments who ratify these agreements are legally obliged to fulfill their requirements. For instance, well known and widely ratified agreement is *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC) and its *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children*,

¹¹ World Congress report against CSEC in Sweden, Stockholm in 1996

child prostitution and child pornography which is accepted in 25.05.2000 by Resolution 54/263 at 97th plenary session of 54th session of UN General Assembly as additional document to United Nations Convention. Among them the most important international commitments regarding care for victims of commercial sexual exploitation are following:

1. The Convention on the Rights of the Child.
2. The International Labour Organization's Convention 182.
3. Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.
4. The Commitment for a strategy against commercial sexual exploitation and other forms of sexual violence against children and adolescents in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean, signed in Uruguay, 2001.

The content of most international commitments usually covers the same range of social, psychological, legal and other aspects connected with commercial sexual exploitation of children. According to Article 45(a) of the CRC, the Committee can invite NGOs to give expert advice on the implementation of the CRC. *The CRC is the only international document that defines a role of NGOs as monitoring its implementation.* NGOs can be asked by their state to cooperate with the state in elaborating the State report. But in most cases it is not possible and NGOs normally work together to establish an alternative report which would be the basis for comments on the State report, provision of new data, outlines drawbacks and develop recommendations.

The *Stockholm Agenda for Action* is considered to be the main document about «integrated measures to counteract the commercial sexual exploitation of children and calls upon governments, NGOs and other stakeholders at local, national and international levels to collaborate and analyze the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children in each specific country, to assess priorities for action and to design strategies to fill existing needs. It aims to highlight existing international commitments and to assist in the implementation of relevant international instruments such as the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* and its *Optional Protocols*» (Report of the world Congress III, ECPAT International, 2009: 9-24). Actions are mainly focused on: 1) Coordination and Cooperation; 2) Prevention; 3) Protection; 4) Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reintegration; and 5) Child Participation. «The Agenda for Action is thus the formal and guiding structure used by governments that have adopted it and committed to work against CSEC. As such, the Agenda for Action is also the

main organizing framework for reporting on the status of implementation of the Agenda as seen in the World Congress of 2001 and in the Mid-Term Review meetings held between 2004 and 2005» (Report on the status of action against CSEC, the Russian Federation, ECPAT International, 2006: 8).

National Plans of Action (NPAs) is known as the indicator of a «country's commitment to ending the sexual exploitation of children and in adopting the Stockholm Agenda for Action, governments have committed to adopting national plans of action on commercial sexual exploitation of children. NPAs are multidisciplinary documents intended to provide a working plan to augment action against commercial sexual exploitation of children on all levels of society» (Report of the world Congress III, ECPAT International, 2009: 9-24). ECPAT International elaborated a [Model National Plan of Action](#), which is useful for governments who promised to implement Agenda of Actions. It is also useful for NGOs when they try to influence the governments in terms of implementing NPA. Moreover, it identifies gaps between governmental programmes and initiatives. «Support and cooperation in all activities are required by all government agencies, IGOs, NGOs, CBOs and the communities in order to achieve the full implementation of the Plan and the end of commercial sexual exploitation of children»¹².

Thus, the Declarations and National Plan of Actions (NPA) do not have legal force to become obligatory for the state and other institutional actors to meet commitments, but they are still seen as the first step towards recognizing CSEC as a problem on the global level initiated by international NGOs - ECPAT. A main goal of ECPAT is to promote the development and implementation of NPA against CSEC. NPA focuses mostly on the activities of the governments as a most influential actor to improve the situation in the sphere of protection of children's rights. The role of NGOs in NPA is not clearly stated. Moreover, NPA doesn't distinguish roles for each institutional actor. It rather outlines the necessity of effective cooperation between all actors, such as governments, international agencies, non-governmental organizations and other related institutions to combat CSEC. NPA normally addresses to the improvement of cooperation and coordination, provision of health and educational programmes, law enforcement and legislation, adaptation of non-punitive rehabilitation and encourages child participation.

Nevertheless, there are several international agreements which refer to the issues about providing protection for children – victims of commercial sexual exploitation, like United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), who have legal force if governments ratify this agreement. In this case the role of NGOs to combat CSEC is defined by the law. For instance,

¹² http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Global_npaModel.asp#npa – last update 25.05.2010

according to Article 45(a), the CRC is the only international document that defines a role of NGOs as monitoring its implementation. NGOs can be asked by their state to cooperate with the state in elaborating the State report. But in most cases it is not possible and NGOs normally work together to establish an alternative report which would be the basis for comments on the State report, provision of new data, outlines drawbacks and develop recommendations.

2.1. Commitment of the Russian Federation to the Stockholm Agenda for Action (according to ECPAT online database about NPA, last update: 7/08/2008)

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, we intend to make an overview of commitments of the Russian Federation and Italy to the Stockholm Agenda for Action, which is based mostly on country reports of ECPAT International and some other resources. This overview is organized in a way which corresponds to the structure of the Agenda for Action. In terms of this structure, first, we will give some information about country's National Plan of Action against CSEC and its implementation (or the absence of an NPA). Then we will mention coordination, cooperation and prevention efforts. At the end we will consider priority actions required for each country. This overview will let us make preliminary judgments about contribution of nation states to global social policy of protection of rights of children.

National Plan of Action

Russia adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996 and reconsidered its commitment in Yokohama in 2001. The Russian Federation does not have NPA against CSEC. «An Expert Council is being formed in St. Petersburg, which will bring together Government representatives and NGOs, and may coordinate the development of such an NPA. An Expert Group on Counteraction against CSEC has also been formed, and is currently designing a model for cooperation and coordination, to be implemented initially at local level and then reproduced nationally or on a larger scale»¹³. It is the first indicators towards formation of NPA with a strong stress on coordination. The Russian Federation still has no NPA concerning human trafficking or child trafficking. The future NPA against CSEC has to take it into consideration, including child pornography and the prostitution of children¹⁴. In Russia UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified in 15.09.2001 and its Optional Protocol was signed in 8.05.2001 but not ratified.

¹³ http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Csec_onlineDatabase.asp

¹⁴ http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Csec_onlineDatabase.asp

Coordination and cooperation efforts

The government of Russia, together with a number of NGOs, was involved in different activities towards improvement of coordination against the CSEC. A lot has been done through the establishment of a national coalition in 2004: the Russian Alliance against CSEC. Such organizations collaborate with the government in a way as some NGOs do. However, because of the country's size, these coalitions and networks are not able to work with the whole Russian territory, because it needs a lot of time and money. So, significant attempts are necessary to cover the excluded areas. Activities have to be orientated on the strengthening of the multi-stakeholder enrollment when dealing with CSEC (Report on the status of action against CSEC, the Russian Federation, ECPAT International, 2006: 14).

Russia has demonstrated some progress in the sphere of international cooperation against CSEC. It includes a number of international conferences, seminars, projects with other countries, etc. Links with foreign authorities and law bodies have been strengthened. The exchange of information about CSEC with foreign specialists still needs an improvement, because most of the Russian state-owned and NGOs do not have links with them (Ibid: 15).

The conference on 'Child Trafficking and Internet Pornography' took place in Moscow in September 2005, and was attended «by the Committee on Criminal, Civil and Arbitrage Legislation under the State Duma (Parliament); deputies of the State Duma; investigators from Moscow's General Police Department; representatives of the US Justice Department and the Ministry of National Security from the Service of Immigration and Customs Control, the United States Embassy in Russia; officers and federal prosecutors from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)» (Ibid: 15). Such event aimed at increasing of awareness and knowledge about CSEC. American legal bodies shared their experience with Russian colleagues, particularly concerning common activities against child abuses through the Internet. Russian legal bodies reported about the situation in Russia on CSEC, describing the problems they have because of inadequate legislation and other practices at the national level (Ibid: 15).

An international conference aimed at cyber crime took place in April 2006 and organized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as a part of the G8 programme, and then in May ECPAT International set up a 'Regional Seminar on Child Pornography' together with Stellit in St. Petersburg, gathering together legal authorities and representatives of NGOs from Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and Russia, in order to increase awareness about CSEC in the region and improve their collaboration (Ibid: 15).

Prevention efforts

Early intervention activities and prevention programmes are not widely used. Those that exist stress on trafficking in children for general goals. A lot of prevention programmes are «one-off» interventions based on a long-term approach. They tend to stress on the bigger cities and girls over 14 years old. On the other hand, most of the general child protection initiatives usually include CSEC prevention aspects (Ibid: 16).

The Criminal Police Service is dealing with trafficking and the Public Security Police Service works on prostitution, pornography and other kinds of crimes. Moreover, local agencies report telling that legal authorities have started to cooperate with NGOs more and more (Ibid: 21).

There is the state's programme «Prevention of Neglect and Criminal Actions Committed by Minors»¹⁵, a part of a larger programme called «Russian Children 2003-2006 (recently updated), aimed at children in difficult life situations, including victims of CSE. It intends to strengthen prevention and rehabilitation programmes, with the provision of technical and financial support for targeted organizations¹⁶.

The state of Sweden has started a project in the area of Barents - including Russia, Norway and Finland - to fight with the trafficking in persons from the Murmansk and Archangelsk oblasts in Russia to the northern parts of these provinces. The project aimed at elaborating measures against CSEC, and to strengthen the cooperation between governmental authorities, NGOs and other public and private institutions (Report on the status of action against CSEC, the Russian Federation, ECPAT International, 2006: 15).

Priority actions required

According to ECPAT International, Russia should sign and ratify «the Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography (Optional Protocol), the Convention on Cyber crime and the Council of Europe's Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings» (Ibid: 24-25). The Russian Federation needs to conduct detailed analysis on the situation in all of the regions because such studies are restricted by only the northwestern and central regions. A NPA is needed to respond adequately to the problem of CSEC. It is required the cooperation between ministry departments at all levels including legal and judicial authorities and the police to combat with CSEC more effectively (Ibid: 24-25).

¹⁵ http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Csec_onlineDatabase.asp

¹⁶ From the same web-site

2.2. Commitment of Italy to the Stockholm Agenda for Action (according to ECPAT online database about NPA, last update: 7/08/2008)

National Plan of Action

Italy accepted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996 and confirmed the commitment in Yokohama in 2001. Italy has not elaborated yet a specific NPA against CSEC. But actions towards various aspects of CSEC have been performed in recent years, unfortunately without any necessary provision of financial resources to implement these actions¹⁷. Italy signed and ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Crime – and also two Additional Protocols: the first is against the illegal trafficking of migrants and the second one is against any criminal form of illegal trafficking of humans, especially women and children (Italian Report in view of the Budapest Conference, 2001, p. 4). In Italy UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified in 12.01.1989 and its Optional Protocol was signed in 06.09.2000 and ratified in 20.05.2002.

The NPA on the Protection of the Rights and Development of Children at a Formative Age adopted since 2000 implies some supply on CSEC. But unfortunately its implementation was restricted because of the lack of money and funds¹⁸. In order to meet the commitment of the NPA for Children and Adolescents, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a special Desk was found in 2001 by the Directorate General of Italian Co-operation. One of the main missions of this Desk was an attention to the specific needs of children in difficult life situation by means of promotion of children's fundamental rights (Italian Report in view of the Budapest Conference, 2001: 4).

The Inter-ministerial Committee for the Coordination of the Fight against Pedophilia (CICLOPE) elaborated a NPA to Prevent and Combat Pedophilia in 2002. The major purpose of this Plan was to improve the coordination among different public and private actors who are involved in the prevention and protection system, and to provide more money in order to reintegrate the victims of CSE. Special measures were undertaken to combat with the CSEC online. Such measures as cooperation with the sphere of IT were applied, including some changes in Italian legislation.¹⁹

¹⁷ http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Csec_onlineDatabase.asp

¹⁸ From the same web-site

¹⁹ From the same web-site

Coordination and cooperation efforts

Italy get involved into bilateral cooperation actions towards trafficking in human beings with some countries, with the main stress on law enforcement cooperation. There was also a collaboration concerning issues about child pornography. In 2003 a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was adopted between Italy and Nigeria in order to strengthen the cooperation on legal issues in the area of anti-trafficking. Another MoU was accepted in 2005 with Macedonia (Report on the status of action against CSEC, Italy, ECPAT International, 2006: 14).

Prevention efforts

Special focus was given to prevent child pornography online. A number of some preventive activities included the acceptance by the private sector the self-regulatory codes of conduct, particularly the tourism and the (IT) industries. However such kinds of codes of conduct tend to fail in the phase implementation. The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism is the accepted by the many countries and the most exhaustive (Ibid: 14).

Priority actions required

The Committee recommends to Italian state to implement a NPA for children including the provision with a specific budget as an appropriate mechanism for its implementation. The Committee also recommends for the Italian authorities to address their attention at covering all spheres of the Optional Protocol in the NPA, taking into consideration the Declaration and Agenda for Action and the Global Commitment accepted at the First and Second World Congresses against CSEC.²⁰

The cooperation to combat with the CSEC at the national level is still very weak. Resources should be provided to enforce the work of CICLOPE or any other institute which is able to fight with CSEC efficiently. The priority action is to ratify the Trafficking Protocol, the Convention on Cyber crime and the Council of Europe's Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings. Moreover, it is necessary to improve the coordination and cooperation and follow-up cases of the victims of CSEC. The support must be improved by means of training to shelter staff, social workers, psychologists and other specialists who work with children (Report on the status of action against CSEC, Italy, ECPAT International,

²⁰ http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Csec_onlineDatabase.asp

2006: 27). An overview of main characteristics concerning commitments of the Russian Federation and Italy to the Stockholm Agenda for Actions is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Overview of Commitments of the Russian Federation and Italy to the Stockholm Agenda for Actions

N	Commitment to the Stockholm Agenda for Action	
	The Russian Federation	Italy
1	Actions towards adoption of the Stockholm Agenda for Action	
	“Adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996. Russia still <i>does not have a national plan of action against CSEC</i> ”.	“Adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996. <i>Italy has not developed a specific national plan of action against CSEC</i> ”.
	“United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified in 15.09.2001 and its Optional Protocol was signed in 8.05.2001 <i>but not ratified</i> ”.	“United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified in 12.01.1989 and its Optional Protocol was signed in 06.09.2000 and <i>ratified in 20.05.2002</i> ”.
	“An <i>Expert Group on Counteraction against CSEC</i> has also been formed, and is currently designing a model for <i>cooperation and coordination</i> , to be implemented initially at local level and then reproduced nationally or on a larger scale”.	“Signed and ratified the <i>United Nations Convention against Transnational Crime</i> - together with the two Additional Protocols: one against the illegal trafficking of migrants and the other against any criminal form of illegal trafficking of human beings, particularly women and children”.
		“The <i>National Plan of Action on the Protection of the Rights and Development of Children at a Formative Age</i> , operational since 2000, includes some provisions on CSEC. However, its implementation has been limited by a <i>lack of sufficient funds</i> ”.
		“A specific <i>Desk</i> was established in 2001 by the Directorate General of Italian Co-operation”.
2	Characteristics of coordination and cooperation efforts	
	“The Government, along with several NGOs, has engaged in <i>various initiatives</i> to improve coordination against the commercial sexual exploitation of children”.	“ <i>Bilateral cooperation initiatives</i> on trafficking in human beings with several countries, the main focus being on law enforcement cooperation”.
	“Formation of a national coalition in 2004 - the <i>Russian Alliance against CSEC</i> (the ECPAT affiliate in the country), and other networks that address related issues, such as the Angel Coalition, which deals with human and child trafficking”.	“In 2003, a <i>Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)</i> was signed between Italy and Nigeria to improve cooperation on judicial issues in the anti-trafficking field”.
	“ <i>International conferences and seminars</i> , for example, «Child Trafficking and Internet Pornography» which was held in Moscow in September 2005”.	“ <i>International conferences and seminars</i> ”.

N	Commitment to the Stockholm Agenda for Action	
	The Russian Federation	Italy
3	Characteristics of prevention efforts	
	“Early intervention initiatives and prevention programmes are <i>not widespread</i> . Those that exist <i>focus on trafficking in children for general purposes</i> ”.	“Special emphasis on <i>preventing child pornography online</i> ”.
	“The Government’s programme « <i>Prevention of Neglect and Criminal Actions Committed by Minors</i> », which is part of a larger programme called « <i>Russian Children 2003-2006</i> » (recently updated), targets <i>children in difficult situations</i> , including those victimized through commercial sexual exploitation”.	“Adoption of <i>self-regulatory codes of conduct</i> by the private sector, especially the tourism and the information technology (IT) industries. <i>The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism</i> is the most widely adopted and comprehensive”.
4	Priority actions required	
	“Russia must <i>sign and ratify important child protection instruments</i> such as the Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, the Convention on Cybercrime and the Council of Europe’s Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings”.	“The Committee recommends that the State party strengthen its efforts to finalize, adopt and implement, in consultation and <i>cooperation with relevant stakeholders</i> , including civil society, a national plan of action for children and <i>provide a specific budget allocation</i> and adequate follow-up mechanisms for its full implementation”.
	“Detailed situational analysis studies are required to <i>guide action throughout all the regions of the Russian Federation</i> as such studies are currently limited to northwestern and central regions and are still needed in other regions”.	“It also recommends that the State party pay attention to <i>covering all areas of the Optional Protocol in the national plan of action</i> , taking into account the Declaration and Agenda for Action and the Global Commitment adopted at the First and Second World Congresses against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children”.
	“A national plan of action is required to <i>adequately address the commercial sexual exploitation of children</i> ”.	“National coordination and cooperation against CSEC remains weak. <i>Resources must be allocated to enable the work of CICLOPE</i> or any future bodies that may fulfill the functions of a national focal point on CSEC efficiently”.
	“ <i>Coordination among relevant ministry departments at all levels</i> and with legal and judicial bodies, as well as the police, is essential for effective action against CSEC”.	“ <i>Ratification of the Trafficking Protocol, the Convention on Cybercrime and the Council of Europe’s Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings</i> is also a priority”.
		“There is a need to increase <i>cooperation and follow-up cases of CSEC victims</i> . The existing support should also be enhanced through specialist training to shelter staff, social workers, psychologists, etc”.

Sources: on-line data base of ECPAT International²¹. Report on the status of action against CSEC in the Russian Federation²² and Italy²³

²¹ <http://www.ecpat.net/>

²² Report on the status of action against CSEC, the Russian Federation, ECPAT International, 2006

²³ Report on the status of action against CSEC, Italy, ECPAT International, 2006

To sum up, we can assume that in spite the fact that both Russian and Italian governments adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996 and renewed its commitment in Yokohama in 2001, they still do not seem to recognize fully the CSEC as a problem, because they are still remain countries without specifically developed National Plan of Action against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and consequently they can be perceived as having not a very high status in terms of effective and full implementation of the Agenda as seen in the World Congress. The Russian Federation and Italy still have a lot of drawbacks and weak sides in terms of social policy of protection of children's rights to achieve a proper status of implementation of the Agenda. In other words, considered countries seem to be not eligible enough to global requirements concerning effective organization of work in terms of social policy to combat CSEC.

It is worth to mention that Russia ratified United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child more than 10 years later, compare to Italy. Moreover, Optional Protocol in Russia hasn't been ratified yet, in contrast to Italy. With such data we can suppose that the role of NGOs in combating CSEC is recognized by the state as more significant in Italy, than in Russia.

Recommendations of international organizations mostly focused on the need of an integrated multilevel approach to develop effective measures towards combating CSEC. It involves conceptual, ideological, research, creative, methodological, organizational, technical, training and other activities for specialists of all levels and departments who work which children - victims of CSEC. The key aspect is recognizing the problem of CSEC as a subject for different organizations and agencies who work with children. Such integrated approach is possible in Russia today, because of the increased concern by the state of the rights and interests of each child. Nowadays the characteristics of the system combating CSEC are not effective enough in terms of help children - victims of commercial sexual exploitation and it obviously needs some improvements. First of all it concerns the mechanisms of institutional cooperation.

To analyze the situation concerning the commitment of the Russian Federation and Italy to Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action, in our further work we will focus on our own empirical data acquired by expert interviews with representatives of NGOs and state-owned organizations on their social practices towards combating CSEC. With this data we may try to draw a picture which would describe experts' awareness of global actions or any other international initiatives to protect children from commercial sexual exploitation in the Russian Federation and Italy. Drawing on this data it would be interesting to analyze the role of NGOs in Russia and Italy in recognition and dealing with the problem in terms of their contribution to the

national implementation of Stockholm Agenda of Actions declared on a global level as an agreement among countries about specific measures that must be taken to prevent and combat CSEC.

2.3. Conclusions to the 2nd chapter

Drawing on data about global actions to combat CSEC presented in the literature, global and national reports, we would like to make the following conclusions concerning recognition of CSEC as a problem and the role of NGOs in combatting CSEC by global and national communities:

- The Declarations and National Plan of Actions do not have legal force to become obligatory for the state and other institutional actors to meet commitments, but they are still seen as the first step towards recognizing CSEC as a problem by global communities initiated by international NGOs - ECPAT. The main goal of ECPAT is to promote the development and implementation of NPA against CSEC.
- According to contemporary view of the global community, to effectively fight the problem of CSEC it is important to focus not on the roles of institutions as separate actors, but on the interactive system of institutional cooperation, including governments, international agencies, non-governmental organizations and other related institutions to combat CSEC. NPA normally addresses the improvement of cooperation and coordination, provision of health and educational programmes, law enforcement and legislation, adaptation of non-punitive rehabilitation and encourages child participation.
- There are some international agreements about protection of children – victims of commercial sexual exploitation, like the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which have legal force if governments ratify this agreement. In this case the role of NGOs to combat CSEC is defined by the law. For instance, according to Article 45(a), the CRC is the only international document that defines a role of NGOs as monitoring its implementation. NGOs can be asked by their state to cooperate with the state in elaborating the State report. But in most cases it is not possible and NGOs normally work together to establish an alternative report which would be the basis for comments on the State report, provision of new data, outlines drawbacks and develop recommendations.
- In spite of the fact that both Russian and Italian governments accepted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996 and reconsidered its commitment in

Yokohama in 2001, they still do not seem to recognize fully the CSEC as a problem, because they still remain countries without specifically developed NPA against CSEC. The Russian Federation and Italy still have a lot of drawbacks and weak sides in terms of social policy of protection of children's rights to achieve a proper status of implementation of the Agenda. Considered countries seem to be not eligible enough to global requirements concerning effective organization of work in terms of social policy to combat CSEC.

- It is worth mentioning that Russia ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child about 10 years later than Italy did. Moreover, the Optional Protocol in Russia hasn't been ratified yet, in contrast to Italy. With such data we can suppose that the role of NGOs in combating CSEC is recognized by the state as more significant in Italy than in Russia.
- Recommendations of international organizations mostly focused on the need for an integrated multilevel approach to develop effective measures towards combating CSEC. It involves conceptual, ideological, research, creative, methodological, organizational, technical, training and other activities for specialists of all levels and departments who work with children - victims of CSEC. The key aspect is recognizing the problem of CSEC as a subject for different organizations and agencies who work with children. Such integrated approach is possible in Russia today, because of the increased concern expressed by the state about the rights and interests of each child.
- Nowadays the characteristics of the system of combating CSEC are not effective enough in terms of helping children - victims of commercial sexual exploitation and it obviously needs some improvements. First of all, it concerns the mechanisms of institutional cooperation.

3. Empirical Evidences: comparative analysis of Italian and Russian NGOs' and state-owned organizations' experiences of working with children – victims of CSE

As a result of theoretical contextualizing presented in the previous chapters, we elaborated the concept of the role of NGOs in the formation of social policy about CSEC, formulated theoretical expectations concerning roles of NGOs in the Russian and Italian models of welfare state regime and conducted an overview of literature about the recognition the problem of CSEC and role of NGOs in combatting CSEC by the global community. Now we need to make comparative analysis of Italian and Russian NGOs' and state-owned organizations' contemporary experiences of working with children – victims of CSE, drawing on empirical evidences. This chapter determines common features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities towards help to the children - victims of CSE. Moreover, it clarifies the place of Russian and Italian NGOs in the system of institutions who help children in difficult life situations. Empirical evidence also shows the way the state and NGOs in Russia and Italy cooperate with each other. Analysis of results of expert interviews demonstrates the effectiveness of work of NGOs in social policy against CSEC in Russia and Italy. In the current chapter theoretical suppositions that were formulated in the previous parts of our work are partly verified. Finally, a set of directions for further research are elaborated, focusing on the main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy about CSEC, drawing on each others' experiences.

In order to understand which role NGOs play in social policy formation about CSEC, we need to analyze not only NGOs but also activities of state-owned organizations. By means of qualitative analysis of expert interviews with representatives of Russian and Italian NGOs and state-owned organizations, we can make more comprehensive analysis of NGOs activities against CSEC by comparing them with activities of state-owned organizations of the same kind. Such comparison is necessary because it allows us to reduce the level of subjectivity of specialists from NGOs when they speak about the contribution of their organizations to the system of help to children – victims of CSEC. Therefore, to create a more independent and wider picture of the roles and functions of NGOs in social policy about CSEC, we should take into account the views of representatives of state-owned organizations. But the main focus of the present analysis of results is still made on the replies of the respondents' who work in the NGOs studied.

In Appendix 2 (see p. 108) there is a detailed list of respondents from St. Petersburg and Rome. As we can see, there are 5 respondents who represent NGOs and 2 respondents who

represent state-owned organizations both in St. Petersburg and Rome. The criterion employed to select the respondents was the presence of specialist experience of working directly with children who are victims or suspected to have been victims of CSE. The selection of organizations was done according to the following criteria (see Table 3):

- 1) Status;
- 2) Scope of activities;
- 3) Experience of working with children in difficult life situations or who are found to be victims / suspected victims of CSEC (if specialists work directly with children or provide services indirectly, through other specialists or working on advocacy level to improve the whole situation with child abuse);
- 4) Level of public recognition (known and less known organizations) based on the media coverage, analytical social report and web-resources assessed for the current research,
- 5) Country of origin.

Table 3. Criteria for the selection of the organizations for empirical research

Organizations	Status	Scope of activities	Experience of working with children – victims of CSEC	Level of public recognition	Country of origin
Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo	NGO	National	Direct	Medium	Italy
Azienda Sanitaria Locale - ASL di Roma B	State-owned organization (health care institution)	National	Direct	High	Italy
New Vergini – Comunita' of Association SAMAN	State-owned organization (Institute of social protection)	National	Direct	High	Italy
Save the Children	INGO	International	Indirect	High	Italy
Korchakovskij Center (Корчаковский центр)	NGO	National	Direct	Medium	Russia
Institute of counseling and therapy 'Harmony (Институт консультирования и терапии «Гармония»)	NGO	National	Direct	Medium	Russia

Organizations	Status	Scope of activities	Experience of working with children – victims of CSEC	Level of public recognition	Country of origin
Public fund called 'Humanitarian Action' (Фонд «Гуманитарное действие»)	NGO	National	Direct	Medium	Russia
UVENTA (ЮВЕНТА)	State-owned organization (Health care institution)	National	Direct	High	Russia
Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors street girls (Социально-Реабилитационный центр для несовершеннолетних безнадзорных девочек)	State-owned organization (Institute of social protection)	National	Direct	Medium	Russia
Everychild	INGO	International	Indirect	High	Russia

On the whole, all NGOs considered in our study meet the requirements of their status as an NGO according to the theory of Salamon and Anheier (1992a; 1996a, 1997) and other sociologists which we discussed in the previous chapter. As they admit, NGOs have 5 major characteristics: organized, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing and voluntary.

The structure of interviews corresponds to our main objectives. The research agenda was explained to all respondents in advance. A preparation took quite a long period of time. On the one hand, the directors of organizations are rather demanding and expect the interviewer to be well-informed about their company. On the other hand, they have very busy schedules and, thus, it took a lot of time to find a convenient time for a meeting and to get prepared for interviews. According to Kincaid and Bright (1957), the interviewing of the chief executives of the business company must be flexible, because this group of respondents mostly refused to be bound by a given sequence of questions. Moreover, in Italy it was hard to find such specialists who could speak good English. Despite that fact, all respondents asked to send them the questionnaires before the interview. However, their answers quite often went beyond the scope of the guiding questioner.

As all representatives have had unique experiences and stories to tell, the interviews did not proceed with the same questions for each respondent. This explains the semi-structured character of the interviews. The questionnaire with the basic questions and those giving

direction to the discussion was prepared in advance and was divided into five sections. As we have mentioned in introduction, the questionnaire proposes 30 questions (see Appendix 3). The use of the questions that were targeted to explore different issues helped to gather basic information, while openness to providing time for additional questions and readiness to collect unexpected data allowed us to gather valuable complementary information.

3.1. Place of Russian and Italian NGOs in the system of institutions who help children in difficult life situations

The results described in present paragraph are based on two theoretical approaches covered in the first and second chapters of our work. Drawing on Speaker's (2008) definition of 'social policy', it is important to keep in mind that social policies are established in terms of national vision, where every actor who works on the protection of children – victims of CSE has to agree and support these measures. He also admits that policies are closely connected with every country's legal and institutional structure. Hence, to combat effectively with CSEC the cooperation of different institutions is necessary. Moreover, according to the NPA, it focuses on the necessity of effective cooperation between all actors, such as governments, international agencies, non-governmental organizations and other related institutions to combat CSEC by means of improvement of cooperation and coordination, provision of health and educational programmes, law enforcement and legislation, adaptation of non-punitive rehabilitation and encouraging child participation. It is known that the effective provision of care for children – victims of CSEC largely depends on the characteristics of the interaction of actors combating CSEC in all phases of work with the family and minors: 1) identification, report and record of cases of CSEC, and 2) individual outreach work, and 3) further support. Thus, in this paragraph we address to the role of NGOs from the perspective of institutional networks, focusing on the place of NGOs within these networks.

The findings have shown that nowadays, cooperation between different institutes in Russia is perceived as not effective enough, it does not effectively help children who are victims of CSE. Representatives of NGOs argue that "the process of helping children - victims of CSE stops once they transfer the information about the case of CSEC to higher authorities or other state-owned structures with administrative responsibility". Institutional structure in Russia, which is involved in activities towards help children at risk, is presented by following actors:

- 1) Commission on Juvenile and protect their rights,
- 2) Institutes of social protection of population

- 3) Education authorities,
- 4) Bodies of trusteeship and guardianship,
- 6) Health care institutions,
- 7) Employment services,
- 8) Internal affairs bodies (police),
- 9) Other public and NGOs.

Among these organizations there are five key actors which are: police, institutes of social protection of population, education authorities, health care institutions and commission on juvenile and protect their rights. Such involvement of big number of specialists leads to the fact that every expert from different organizations does their own business without any interest of what do other structures which are also a part of this system. As a result, a lot of specialists work with the same family, performing in most cases only coordinative and punitive functions. Commission on Juvenile in Russia is perceived by majority of respondents as a coordinative body of whole institutional system. But along with recognizing of “coordinative actor”, other problems appear, like lack of resources, lack of staff, lack of temporary shelters for children, lack of laws, etc. According to the perspective of representatives of state-owned organizations, government organizations should be given a leading role, since “public organizations aim at cooperation with the government”.

In Russia the case of CSEC goes to the Court only in case of failure of the other measures. Usually the Court decides to deny parents’ rights and give a status of ‘social orphan’ to a child. Initiation of criminal proceedings in St. Petersburg is considered by specialists from various organizations as “a real chance to get the required assistance, since in the work get involved more powerful authorities, compare to situations when the cases are treated on the level of NGOs’ activities”. However, along with the chance to get real help to children - victims of CSE there are also significant risks of secondary traumatization of the child and hence increase of the negative impacts. Secondary traumatization of the child may be explained by incompetent work of specialists from the police and lawyers (those who do not specialize in psychology or social work) in the situation when a child has to confirm the fact that he or she was abused.

All obstacles listed above explains the fact that major work of Russian NGOs and state-owned organizations mostly focused not on prevention activities but on care activities, providing the services for children only after the discovering the case of sexual abuse or exploitation. Moreover, some experts admit that there is a lack of psychological and legal services provision.

Thus, we can conclude that in spite the fact that the majority of respondents admit the significant role of NGOs in Russian institutional structure to combat CSEC NGOs appeared to be not very well integrated into the system of social protection of children's rights.

It is known that in Italy territorial government is organized around four scales: 1) Municipalities, 2) Provinces, 3) Regions, and the State. There are 20 Regions, 102 Provinces and more than 8,000 Municipalities. Municipalities and Provinces are administrative bodies. Normally administrative tasks are in charge of Municipalities, but they manage also to a great extent policies and services implemented at local level, like waste, public transport, social assistance, local police etc. According to qualitative analysis of experts' interviews, in Italy there are following institutions for the child protection:

- 1) Procura Generale (Supreme Court);
- 2) Procura della Repubblica Italiana (Prosecutor's Office, the structure which combines the work of judicial offices investigators and the court);
- 3) Repubblica Italiana Tribunale ordinario di Roma (Italian Trial Court for adults);
- 4) Tribunale per i Minorenni di Roma (Italian Trial Court for minors);
- 5) Servizi Sociale (Social Services);
- 6) Servizio Sanitario Nazionale (National Health Service)
- 7) Third sector organizations.

The work of the Italian Court with the cases of CSEC is perceived by the majority of experts from NGOs as very comprehensive and effective: "Tribunale per i Minorenni is the Juvenile Court, in other words, it is the court for children from 0 till 18 years old. Such institution was established in Italy in 1934. There are two main departments: 1) department for cases when a child committed the crime; 2) department of protection of children rights. Juvenile Court functions differently from Trial Court. There 4 members and 2 social workers, they make the decisions about the case altogether. Here the judge can speak with a child only if he/she is more than 18 years old. With the children speak only psychologists. But there are cases when the judge can speak with a child, but it is allowed only under the condition that a child is 12 years old or older and only in case of deciding with whom a child will leave. The judge has to listen to a child very attentively".

NGOs are more connected with Municipi (Municipalities) and Comune' di Roma (Provinces) who give them money for the realizing the projects (or from National Health Service - Servizio Sanitario Nazionale, but this is more about health care). Moreover, experts from Italian NGOs notice that: "there are no direct payments, they all goes from private social payments, therefore private social payment is very important in Italy".

Social security is very different from the north and the south of Italy. A lot of experts admit that "the northern Italian social system has been much more developed in contrast to the south of Italy. And therefore the proper reaction to the situation from provinces was very important. But every province used to answer the needs of each province in different ways". In the mid of 1990s this phenomenon in Italy was called 'fragmentation of services' that are divided for different types of problems and needs. Specialists suppose that "Provinces would rather prefer not to give enough money to the social organizations because the sphere of social services is the most expensive, which leads to the low level of development of social organizations and social services as well". Provinces prefer giving money directly to the people by studying each case individually, but not to social organizations who can offer more competent and organized help to more people. As specialist of Italian NGOs admits: "As for situation with social care of children, it is always more difficult to meet the requirements of children than adults, because adults can vote. Hence, it is simpler to answer the needs of adults than kids. Private sector supported social welfare system more on the north of Italy and much less in the south, - that is why a lot of specialists wanted a lot the application of the Law n. 328/00 in 2000 which would be a national law that would govern the social security system of many Counties" (see Chart 1). As Chart 1 shows, the law n. 328/00 in 2000 in Italy integrates third sector actors into whole system of social policy in the sphere of protection of children's' rights. It defines the role of NGOs on three levels of governance: on provincial, regional and national level.

The findings have also shown that nowadays cooperation between different institutes in Italy is perceived as effective one, in contrast to Russia. For example, an expert from Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo says: "Collaboration with other services helps to improve our methods. We did small research about the situation in the city of Rome conserving the problem of CSEC. We collaborated with the court, social service, etc. Yes, I think that this collaboration is effective". Moreover, some specialists from NGOs specify the most effectives areas of such cooperation which are prevention activities of CSEC and intervention processes, when NGO involves other institutions to protect children's' rights. Overwhelming majority of respondents

from Italy argue that “for current period NGOs play a very big role in social policy against CSEC”.

Thus, the results of our study demonstrate low level of awareness by Russian experts about functions of different actors to combat CSEC, every expert from different organizations tend to do their own business without any interest of what do other structures which are also a part of this system. Nevertheless, some experts from Russian state-owned and NGOs recognize five key actors in institutional cooperation to protect children’s rights which are: police, institutes of social protection of population, education authorities, health care institutions and commission on juvenile and protect their rights. Commission on Juvenile is perceived by the majority of Russian respondents as a coordinative body of institutional cooperation system. Cooperation between different institutes in Russia is assumed as not effective enough in contrast to Italian one. Thus, we can conclude that in spite the fact that the majority of respondents admit the significant role of NGOs in Russian institutional structure to combat CSEC, NGOs appeared to be not very well integrated into the system of social protection of children’s rights.

Because of the problems with institutional cooperation perceived by representatives of Russian state-owned and non-governmental organizations, the main work of Russian NGOs and state-owned organizations is therefore mostly focused not on prevention activities but on care activities, providing the services for children only after the discovering the case of sexual abuse or exploitation. It again verifies our hypothesis about Russian NGOs characterized as the primary service providers, especially in terms of care activities towards children – victims of CSEC.

In contrast to the case of Russian NGOs, representatives of Italian NGOs and state-owned organizations do not express any hesitations when speaking about the network of institutions aimed at protection of children rights. They have quite clear idea about roles and functions of different actors in the sphere of fighting with CSEC. Such high level of specialists’ awareness about this issue in Italy might be explained by accepting the law n. 328/00 in 2000. Due to this law, third sector actors are integrated into whole system of social policy in the sphere of protection of children’s rights, defining the role of NGOs on three levels of governance: on provincial, regional and national level.

In spite the fact that the majority of experts from Italy recognize the functions of NGOs among other actors of Italian social policy, they still outline the fact that NGOs remain in difficult situation in terms of distribution of funding spent on social services. Because of the limited provision of financial recourses by the state, Italian NGOs appeared to be dependent on private social payments and constrained in terms of social services provision for children – victims of CSE. As some experts argue, due to the state preference of giving money individually to people in need through the Court trial rather than giving it to NGOs that can provide more effective and comprehensive help to children, it is becoming more difficult for Italian NGOs to help children, because to meet needs of children is more difficult than in case of adults who have a right to vote.

The limits of recourses spent on social survives might also explain respondents' expressions about effective cooperation of Italian NGOs with other structures especially within prevention and intervention activities to combat CSEC. In other words, Italian NGOs are characterized by the focus on advocacy roles since services roles are very expensive for them. Hence, we can assume that in order to compensate the lack of services roles provision, Italian NGOs have to cooperate with other institutions. Thus, our hypothesis about prevailing of advocacy roles in Italian NGOs is verified.

The cooperation between the Court and NGOs when dealing with the cases of CSEC differs in Russia as well as in Italy. Analysis of empirical evidences allows us to suppose that such cooperation seems to be more effective in Italy than in Russia, because in Italy it is considered as the only way to receive financial and social support for the children – victims of CSE where NGOs play a role of mediator between a child, their family and the Italian Court. While in Russia cooperation between the Court and NGOs is not considered as a common and necessary practice, because even in case of initiating of the Court procedure about the case of CSEC, what the Russian Court can do is to deny parents' rights and give a status of 'social orphan' to a child. As a result, a lot of specialists work with a child, performing in most cases only coordinative and punitive functions.

Thus our hypothesis about lack of integration of Russian NGOs into institutional system of cooperation to combat CSEC in contrast to Italian NGOs was verified.

3.2. General features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities towards help to the children - victims of CSE

The findings presented in the current session are based on the qualitative analysis of ten selected organizations in St. Petersburg and Rome. According to the theoretical approaches presented in the first part, all social roles of NGOs we divide into two main groups: service and advocacy roles of NGOs. These two role extremes help us to assume about the contribution of NGOs to social policy formation about CSEC. In Russia NGOs are expected to be the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role. Thus, due to this approach we divided all respondents' expressions about activities of their organizations to combat CSEC into two types. Examples of these expressions are presented in the table 4.

Table 4. Examples of respondents' expressions about main activities of their organizations when working with children – victims of CSEC

Status	Organizations	Service roles	Advocacy roles
Italian organizations			
NGOs	Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo	<p>“Activities of protection and child protection, support their families through: psychological work and psychotherapy; conducting trainings”; “Research, documentation and dissemination in collaboration with similar organizations to protect children from abuses”;</p> <p>“The services for victims of CSEC are not effective at the same level all over the country”; “There are big differences between the south and the north of Italy”;</p> <p>“For current period NGOs have a very big role and play a very big role in social policy against CSEC”.</p>	<p>“Cultural activities, panel discussions, debates, exhibitions, seminars, educational activities, establishment of libraries”;</p> <p>“Publishing activities with local law: publishing magazines, newsletters, conference”;</p> <p>“Preventive activities and recreation: recreational and educational context of legislative initiatives to support children and families”.</p>
	Save the Children	<p>“We conduct trainings for specialists who work with children”</p>	<p>“We are working towards full implementation of the rights of children, girls and adolescents, reinforcing the impact of measures implemented in Italy and worldwide, through public outreach (advocacy) through the promoting their positions and advocacy activities at the institutional level (advocacy), often in</p>

Status	Organizations	Service roles	Advocacy roles
			<p>synergy with other organizations”</p> <p>“We are working on advocacy level – for better application of law. Guidelines are promoted by training courses all over the country”;</p> <p>“Awareness rising campaign – it is about working with young people, parents, children”.</p>
State-owned organizations	Azienda Sanitaria Locale - ASL di Roma B	<p>“When there is a child and we think that he is a victim, we work with school teachers, a child and family. We collect data from them and then send it to the Court”;</p> <p>“When a child suffered from CSE, we take him/her out of the harmful environment and hospitalize them. We are legally in charge of that child”; “The main goal for us is to evaluate the social situation at home where a child used to be”;</p> <p>“We are helping children only who have families in the certain 4 regions of Rome”.</p>	
	New Vergini – Comunita’ of Association SAMAN	<p>“Help to children in our Association is organized through the help to mothers who are drug addicts”;</p> <p>“For mothers with children we have different programs. All of the activities are aimed on taking care of a child”.</p>	
Russian organizations			
NGOs	Korchakovskij Center	<p>“Our main mission is prevention of orphanage. We influence on the parents to convict him to change their behavior. We take a child out from a harmful situation. For us it is important that a child is brought up within its’ own family, that’s why if there is a problem, we direct our work to parents and whole family”.</p>	
	Institute of counseling and therapy ‘Harmony’	<p>“Individual help to children, logopedistic help, developing programme called ‘mother and a baby’, we also have a programme for teens – how to communicate</p>	

Status	Organizations	Service roles	Advocacy roles
		with parents”.	
	Public fund called ‘Humanitarian Action’	“We have a programme called ‘Children of the streets’ within which we provide everybody with equal rights to have access to medical and social services”.	
	Everychild	“We help to strengthen families to prevent children from being separated, we protect them with crisis care and support”.	“We try new ways of doing things, and then share what works with communities and governments to bring about lasting, positive change”; “We seek to influence at a local, national and international level, to change policy, legislation and services that will transform the lives of many more children than we can reach directly”.
State-owned organizations	UVENTA	“Our focus is gynecology services for minors, medical services, we also have psychological services – free hot line, where children call us to talk about their problems”	
	Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors street girls	“Medical and psychological help, rehabilitation period takes a lot of time, we are allowed to keep girls only for a year and what happens with them next we have no idea”.	

As we can see from the table 4, both Italian and Russian representatives of NGOs stress service roles to combat CSEC, providing children with psychological and social help. Italian NGOs in contrast to Russian ones appeared to be more active in terms of advocacy roles. These findings confirm our hypothesis that Russian NGOs are characterized as the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role. It is worth to mention that state-owned organizations both in Italy and Russia normally work only on the level of direct service provision for children who are in difficult life situations which seems to be quite reasonable in terms of their status and accountability with the state. The common feature of International NGOs is that they focus on advocacy activities while lacking direct work with children. INGOs can only provide services for children indirectly by working with specialists from different organizations who have an experience of working with children personally. In Russia all NGOs that work on the national level, in contrast to Italian NGOs, play mostly service roles in

the system of help to children – victims of CSEC, where the majority of their activities are normally presented within the framework of certain programs, projects or campaigns.

The similar tendency we observe when classifying the same finding about main activities of NGOs and state-owned organizations to fight with CESC in accordance with typology of roles presented by ILO (2007: 1-2) which we considered in the first chapter. As for this report, all roles of NGOs are considered within four main spheres of addressing NGOs' activities: 1) prevention, 2) care, 3) monitoring and 4) penalization. Accumulated findings demonstrates table 5 (The role of non governmental organizations in the fight against commercial sexual exploitation, ILO, 2007: 1-2).

Thus, table 5 shows that all organization no matter governmental or non-governmental both in Russia and Italy which are somehow connected with work with children provide the care services for victims or potential victims of CSE which imply the development of the care programmes for underage persons at risk, work with support families and friends, the provision suffered children with shelters, etc. Only INGOs and one Italian NGOs meet all four major spheres of addressing NGOs' activities: prevention, care, monitoring and penalization. Russian state-owned organizations as well as Italian tend to concentrate on the care services.

Table 5. Analysis of empirical evidences about roles of NGOs and state-owned organizations in Russia and Italy in terms of typology elaborated by ILO

Status	Organizations	Groups of NGOs' roles in terms of their activities			
		Prevention	Care	Monitoring	Penalization
Italian organizations					
NGOs	Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Save the Children	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-owned organizations	Azienda Sanitaria Locale - ASL di Roma B	No	Yes	No	Yes
	New Vergini – Comunita' of Association SAMAN	No	Yes	No	No
Russian organizations					
NGOs	Korchakovskij Center	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Institute of counseling and therapy 'Harmony'	No	Yes	No	No

Status	Organizations	Groups of NGOs' roles in terms of their activities			
		Prevention	Care	Monitoring	Penalization
State-owned organizations	Public fund called 'Humanitarian Action'	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Everychild	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	UVENTA	No	Yes	No	No
	Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors street girls	No	Yes	No	No

Thus, we confirm our hypothesis that Russian NGOs in contrast to Italian ones are characterized as the primary service providers, especially in terms of care activities towards children – victims of CSEC. The role of Russian NGOs in social policy formation about CESC is characterized therefore by conducting trainings, developing care programmes for underage persons at risk, working with support families and friends, providing suffered children with shelters, etc. In Italy, compare to Russia, advocacy roles of NGOs appeared to be more significant and prevailing. Italian NGOs provide children – victims of CSE not only with high quality services in the sphere of prevention and care, but also perform monitoring and penalization activities, actively stressing following up on the commitments and quality of the institutional response to the problem, strengthening national legislation, collaborating with the legal authorities, etc. Moreover, the results showed that the scale of NGOs activities both in Russia and Italy is wider than the scale of activities of the state-owned organizations.

3.3. Cooperation between the state and NGOs in Russia and Italy to combat CSEC

In present paragraph we apply our findings concerning types of the state - NGOs relationships to the results of experts' interviews with representatives of Russian and Italian NGOs as an attempt to determine the type of non-profit regime of Russia and Italy. With this purpose we apply two theoretical approaches of Salamon and Anheier presented in the previous chapters: the theory of partnership or interdependence and social origins theory. Theoretical overview presented in the first chapter clearly demonstrated that it was very difficult for different authors to determine 'non-profit regime' both in Italy and Russia. Since the authors' perspectives concerning this issue is known to remain still very diverse, we decided to combine theoretical expectations of Salamon and Anheier (1998, 1997) to develop a list of criteria which

would serve us as a guide in the process of identification of ‘non-profit regimes’ of Russia and Italy based on the results of our research.

First, we apply the theory of partnership or interdependence which determines two types of cooperation between the state and NGOs: ‘conflicting’, ‘interdependent’ or a ‘partnership’. ‘Conflicting’ type implies that large scale of NGOs is seen as a desperate claim for freedom from the state or as a result of rejecting of basic social protections which leads to inequality. ‘Interdependent’ or a ‘partnership’ type means that NGOs often aimed at mobilization of political support to provoke the state concern and this support normally used to confirm the role of NGO in the sphere where the state is convinced to enter. Moreover, state relationships here can be expressed through focusing on the public problems: “since government is most likely to turn to the non-profit sector for assistance in delivering basic human services, we would expect this relationship to hold strongly in the fields of health and social services” (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 16). Moreover, in partnership relations the state share of NGOs’ income is higher if the state spending is higher (Ibid: 16).

Second, after determining the type of cooperation between the state and NGOs in Russia and Italy to combat CSEC we apply the findings about the prevailing types of NGOs’ roles to the social origins theory by Salamon and Anheier (1998) to identify type of ‘non-profit regime’ in Russia and Italy. To be more precise in our assumptions concerning types of the ‘non-profit regimes’ in Russia and Italy, analyzing empirical data we should take into account following features of each non-profit regime, developed by Salamon and Anheier (1998): proportion of the government social welfare spending; the scale of NGO sector; character of relationship between government social welfare spending and scale of NGO sector; type of the state-NGO relationship; priority roles of NGOs; dominating type of non-profit finance; additional features of ‘non-profit regimes’ (see Table 6). Thus, on the basis of theoretical background which was already considered in more details in the first chapter, we elaborated some criteria presented in Table 6 which we will follow in our study to determine types of ‘non-profit regimes’ in Russia and Italy. According to social origin theory, ‘interdependent’ or a ‘partnership’ NGOs – state relationships are likely to have corporatist and statist regime (with direct relationship between government social welfare spending and scale of the non-profit sector), while ‘conflicting’ relations - liberal and social democratic regimes (with inverse relationship between government social welfare spending and scale of the non-profit sector). In terms of pattern of non-profit finance, in liberal and social democratic regimes, private giving is likely to dominate;

in corporatist regimes government support is likely to dominate; in statist regimes, fees and service charges are likely to dominate Salamon and Anheier (1998).

Table 6. Criteria to determine types of 'non-profit regimes' in Russia and Italy elaborated on the bases of the theory of partnership or interdependence and social origins theory by Salamon and Anheier

<i>Criteria / Types of 'non-profit regime'</i>	Liberal	Social democratic	Corporatist	Statist
Government social welfare spending	Low	High	High	Low
Scale of NGO sector	Large	Small	Large	Small
Government social welfare spending - scale of NGO sector relationship	Inverse (the lower the state spending, the larger NGO sector)	Inverse (the higher the state spending, the smaller NGO sector)	Direct (the higher the state spending, the larger NGO sector)	Direct (the lower the state spending, the smaller NGO sector)
NGO-state relationships	'Conflicting' (the state is restricted while the role of NGO is growing; the role of NGOs – significant: voluntary approach instead of the state protections)	'Conflicting' (The role of the state is high while the role of NGOs is forced to contract)	'Interdependent' or 'Partnership' (forced type of cooperation, principle of 'subsidiary', where the state should work with or through local institutions, church, social group' to preserve state-sponsored services)	'Interdependent' or 'Partnership' (autonomous power of the state, the state and NGOs don't depend on each other; the role of the state and the role of NGOs is constrained)
Roles of non-profit sector	Service roles as public good or product, that's why the role of NGOs is crucial because people prefer voluntary approach	Advocacy roles, NGOs are still active but as advocacy providers, close to ideal type of NGOs – promotion of individual and group expression, or political, social or recreational interests (social equality); main services are duties of municipalities	Strong state, Advocacy roles, NGOs as a main service providers, the state intervene only in urgent situations; services only for those who have occupational status; a shift to individual as a consumer	Service roles
Non-profit finance	Private giving is likely to	Private giving is likely to dominate (the state	Government support is likely to	Commercial activities: fees and

<i>Criteria / Types of 'non-profit regime'</i>	Liberal	Social democratic	Corporatist	Statist
	dominate (the state and NGO are seen as alternative mechanisms for meeting public goods) – less relay on public sector, more on private sector	and NGO are seen as alternative mechanisms for meeting public goods)	dominate (State-centered system of the welfare protections)	service charges are likely to dominate
Additional features of 'non-profit regimes'	Middle class elements dominate without any opposition from elites or strong working class	Working class fight for political power, as a result we get limited service-providing non-profit sector. The goal of political battles is likely to extend state-provided social protections, where NGOs play not a role of service providers, but an advocacy role.	Strong state; the state is forced to be partners with NGOs; the role of NGOs is kept in safe by the state to get the support from key social elites while the state sets up more radical requirements for social welfare protections.	The state controls on its' own behalf or on behalf of business or economic elites but with a degree of autonomy established by long tradition of difference; the state social protection and NGOs' activities are very constrained.

Addressing to empirical evidences, we would like to consider interviews conducted only with representatives of Russian and Italian NGOs. Results of experts' interviews clearly show that there are obvious differences between Russian and Italian types of NGO – state relationships. Drawing on empirical evidences, we can assume that Italy is characterized by 'interdependent' or 'partnership' NGO-state relationships whereas for Russia 'conflicting' type of NGO – state relationships seems to be more common.

To prove the assumption stated above, there are some examples of respondents' expressions who work in 'Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo': "If there weren't the NGO sector in Italy, the state wouldn't be able to answer to the problem properly. But NGO's sector is very weak because it is very depended on the state's money. They are at high risk of getting into debts and owe the State money. Thus, the NGOs at the end appear to owe the State even more money than they actually receive from Municipi (Municipalities) at the beginning. As a result, it is quite common that such NGOs are getting closed because of the debts to the State. In that way we can see how the system destroys itself from within". The same tendency is observed in the case of respondents, representing 'Save the Children': "Legal initiatives of the government have

a great power and that's why the promotion of children's rights who suffered from CSE would improve democratic status of the state".

Thus, we can see that most of the respondents recognize the significant role of NGOs – state cooperation, which is thought to be equally profitable both for non-profit sector and Italian government. Though the statement about high level of “dependence on the state's money” of Italian NGOs leads to the conclusion that NGOs – state partnership in Italy is rather forced than voluntary. In other words, the state keeps the role of NGOs within the state legal framework which allows the governments to cut the provision of social benefits. As a respondent from ‘Save the children notice’, - “Most of the funds come from the private funds. When it comes to other organizations, government signs annual tenders. *Art. 18* and *Art. 13* are those which should complement to social assistance and promote long-term funding, but they don't correspond to the needs of sustainability, you always have to rely on short-term projects, these laws don't work in reality. We have a very good legal framework, laws, politics, but the problem is that they are not implemented to the social assistance. You can't guarantee the rights to everybody”.

Evidences proving the statement about ‘conflicting’ type of NGO – state relationships as a very common one for Russia are following: “Laws like UN Convention of children's' rights are the last thing that we are intended to apply. First of all, the threat to a child's life is of paramount importance. We always strive for leaving the child in the family and not sending them to other governmental organizations, because their children can suffer, from the work of governmental organizations I could see only measures of control but nothing similar to prevention services”. Overwhelming majority of specialists speak about the low level of services and work of the government and state-owned organizations who are supposed to protect children's' rights. Such tendency is obvious in examples of the respondents' expressions: “The state doesn't provide these children with social services, the state doesn't protect children. Normally, only 1 from 10 cases is worked out, and it is only by NGOs. Effectiveness of work of governmental organizations is 30 %, as the support is massive, and not the individual, these organizations are strongly subjected to reporting, their goal is simply to send a child to the other organization. NGOs - 40-60 % of efficiency, we allow the child to feel a person and experience human relationships”.

Together with characteristics of ‘conflicting’ type of NGO-state relationships we observed additional feature of Russian NGO – state relations, which do not correspond to the theory of partnership or interdependence. Some of the representatives of Russian NGOs do not

characterize the NGO – state relations neither as positive nor as negative, they tend to express neutral type, where NGOs seem to act on behalf of its' own, not taking into account any kind of activities deriving from the state. For example, an expert from 'Korchakovskij Center' claims: "We work with children to enhance their life and personal positions. We try to organize their leisure time, go with them to the theater, so that a child didn't have the thoughts of going to strange and dangerous places".

Thus, the research results based on expert interviews with representatives of Italian and Russian NGOs showed that 'conflicting' type of NGO-state relationships is appeared to be common in Russia, whereas 'interdependent' or 'partnership' type corresponds to Italian case. Such findings, hence, verify our hypothesis that in Russia the state and NGOs are thought to be alternatives while in Italian welfare state – partners. Finally, it is worth to mention that Italian NGOs tend to rely more on the legal structure and on the government when providing services for children – victims of CSE, while the effectiveness of work of Russian NGOs usually depends on personal attempts and interest of the specialists who work with this group of children. Russian specialists tend to rely only on themselves.

In terms of the social origins theory of Salamon and Anheier (1998), 'conflicting' type of NGO-state relationships which is common for Russia corresponds to liberal and social democratic regimes (with inverse relationship between government social welfare spending and scale of the non-profit sector), whereas 'interdependent' or 'partnership' type of Italian NGO-state relationships complies with corporatist and statist regime (with direct relationship between government social welfare spending and scale of the non-profit sector). In previous session the results demonstrated that Russian NGOs in contrast to Italian ones are characterized as the primary service providers, especially in terms of care activities towards children – victims of CSEC, while in Italy, advocacy roles of NGOs appeared to be more significant and prevailing. According to Salamon and Anheier (1998), prevailing advocacy roles of NGOs is typical for social-democratic and corporatist models of 'non-profit regimes', while service roles of NGOs – for liberal and statist models. If to combine both parts of these findings and apply them to the social origins theory of Salamon and Anheier (1998), we can receive following tables (see Table 7, Table 8).

However, if to address to the major characteristics of each model of non-profit regimes, we may come to more detailed conclusions concerning roles of non-profit sector typical for Italian and Russian models of welfare state.

The results showed that Italy represents a *mix of social-democratic and corporatist models of non-profit regimes* (see Table 7). There are following features which correspond to social-democratic type: high level of government social welfare spending and small NGO sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 26); the state and NGOs in Italy appeared to be alternatives; high level of NGOs activity but not in terms of provision of social services but in terms of performance of advocacy roles, including strengthening national legislation, collaborating with the legal authorities, etc. In spite of the recognition of the roles of Italian non-governmental sector as the significant ones, NGOs are still perceived as a very weak sector because of the lack of the state financing and as a result - limited service-providing non-profit sector. Moreover, Italy is known to be dependent on activities of municipalities which provide NGOs with money to realize social services.

Features, corresponding to corporatist model of Italian non-profit regime are: interdependent type of the relationships between the state and NGOs and governmental support as the major source of non-profit finance, which is normally characterized by the state-centered system of welfare protections (see Table 7). Moreover, the NGOs – state partnership in Italy appeared to be rather forced than voluntary: the state keeps the role of NGOs within the state legal framework which allows the governments to cut the provision of social benefits.

Table 7. Characteristics of Italian model of welfare regime based on empirical evidences

Criteria of 'non-profit regime' models		Type of welfare model	Empirical evidences
Government social welfare spending	High	<i>Social-Democratic model</i>	Compare to Japan, U. S., U. K (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 26).
Scale of NGO sector	Low		Low % of non-profit employment of labor force compare to U. S., U. K., Germany and France (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 26).
Government social welfare spending - scale of NGO sector relationship	Inverse (the higher the state spending, the smaller NGO sector)	<i>Social-Democratic model</i>	—
NGO-state relationships	'Interdependent' or 'Partnership' (forced type of cooperation, principle of 'subsidiary', where the state should work with or	<i>Corporatist model</i>	High level of "dependence on the state's money" of Italian NGOs leads to the conclusion that NGOs – state partnership in Italy is rather forced than voluntary. In other words, the state keeps the role of NGOs

Criteria of 'non-profit regime' models		Type of welfare model	Empirical evidences
	through local institutions, church, social group' to preserve state-sponsored services)		within the state legal framework which allows the governments to cut the provision of social benefits.
Roles of non-profit sector	Advocacy roles are prevailing. NGOs are still active but as advocacy providers, close to ideal type of NGOs – promotion of individual and group expression, or political, social or recreational interests (social equality); main services are duties of municipalities.	<i>Social-Democratic model</i>	Italian NGOs provide children – victims of CSE not only with high quality services in the sphere of prevention and care, but also perform monitoring and penalization activities, actively stressing following up on the commitments and quality of the institutional response to the problem, strengthening national legislation, collaborating with the legal authorities, etc. "Municipalities give to the NGOs money to provide social services".
Non-profit finance	Government support is likely to dominate (State-centered system of the welfare protections)	<i>Corporatist model</i>	"If there weren't the NGO sector in Italy, the state wouldn't be able to answer to the problem properly. But NGO's sector is very weak because it is very depended on the state's money. They are at high risk of getting into debts and owe the State money. Thus, the NGOs at the end appear to owe the State even more money than they actually receive from Municipi (Municipalities) at the beginning. As a result, it is quite common that such NGOs are getting closed because of the debts to the State. In that way we can see how the system destroys itself from within".
Additional features of 'non-profit regimes'	Working class fight for political power, as a result we get limited service-providing non-profit sector. The goal of political battles is likely to extend state-provided social protections.	<i>Social-Democratic model</i>	"But NGO's sector is very weak because it is very depended on the state's money"; "We need more money to improve the system of help to children – victims of CSE". Italian NGOs are characterized by the focus on advocacy roles since services roles are very expensive for them. Hence, in order to compensate the lack of services roles provision, Italian NGOs have to cooperate with other institutions.

As far as the findings of the Russian model of welfare state concern, there is a combination of statist, liberal and corporatist types of non-profit regimes (see Table 8). Because of the lack of recourses and available data such criteria as government social welfare spending, the scale of the NGO sector and the character of relationship between the state spending and the scale of NGOs were not been taken into consideration. The results outline following

characteristics of statist model in Russian type of non-profit regime: autonomous power of the state, where the role of the state and the role of NGOs is constrained. In spite the fact that statist model is characterized by the ‘interdependent’ type of the state-NGO relations, while our findings confirm ‘conflicting’ type, in Russia there is still a tendency of decreasing of the state protective role so that most of Russian NGOs prefer acting on behalf of its’ own, for example: “We work with children to enhance their life and personal positions. We try to organize their leisure time, go with them to the theater, so that a child didn’t have the thoughts of going to strange and dangerous places” (see Table 8). In addition to the decrease of the state protective role, Russian governments tend to put some legal restrictions of the NGO’s activities particularly on funding and taxation. As a result, most of the Russian NGOs, in contrast to the state activities, appeared to play a major role in the provision of service roles, like conducting trainings, developing care programmes for underage persons at risk, working with support families and friends.

The main feature which corresponds to the liberal model of Russian welfare state is non-profit financing by private giving (see Table 8). Due to the low level of government social welfare spending, Russian NGOs have started to rely less on the public sector and more on the private sector, extending the tradition of addressing to the foreign donors.

Growing level of separation between the non-profit sector and the state in Russia, hence, leads to the states’ recognition of necessity to become partners with NGOs which corresponds to the characteristic of corporatist model of non-profit regime (see Table 8). Such need in cooperation seems to be important for the state to act through NGOs to preserve the power of the state upon social and public activities and to restore its’ status of state-sponsored services.

Table 8. Characteristics of Russian model of welfare regime based on empirical evidences

Criteria of ‘non-profit regime’ models		Type of welfare model	Empirical evidences
NGO-state relationships	‘Conflicting’ or ‘interdependent’ (autonomous power of the state, the state and NGOs don’t depend on each other; the role of the state and the role of NGOs is constrained)	<i>Statist model</i>	“The state doesn’t provide these children with social services, the state doesn’t protect children. Normally, only 1 from 10 cases is worked out, and it is only by NGOs. Effectiveness of work of governmental organizations is 30 %, as the support is massive, and not the individual, these organizations are strongly subjected to reporting, their goal is simply to send a child to the other organization. NGOs - 40-60 % of efficiency, we allow the child to feel a person and experience

Criteria of 'non-profit regime' models		Type of welfare model	Empirical evidences
			human relationships"; Some of the representatives tend to express neutral type, where NGOs seem to act on behalf of its' own. For example: "We work with children to enhance their life and personal positions. We try to organize their leisure time, go with them to the theater, so that a child didn't have the thoughts of going to strange and dangerous places".
Roles of non-profit sector	Service roles	<i>Statist model</i>	The role of Russian NGOs in social policy formation about CESC is characterized therefore by conducting trainings, developing care programmes for underage persons at risk, working with support families and friends, providing suffered children with shelters, etc.
Non-profit finance	Private giving is likely to dominate (the state and NGO are seen as alternative mechanisms for meeting public goods) – less relay on public sector, more on private sector; Commercial activities: fees and service charges are likely to dominate	<i>Liberal X Statist model</i>	Domestic NGOs' linked to foreign donors and institutions lead to the fact that governments become «more and more wary of these organizations and their increasing autonomy» (James G. McGann, 2006: 10). «While extralegal measures have always been at governmental disposal, the legal restrictions on NGO operations have intensified, particularly with regard to funding and taxation. Governments have also erected restrictive NGO registration and operation requirements» (Ibid: 10).
Additional features of 'non-profit regimes'	Strong state; the state is forced to be partners with NGOs; the role of NGOs is kept in safe by the state to get the support from key social elites while the state sets up more radical requirements for social welfare protections; The state controls on its' own behalf or on behalf of business or economic elites but with a degree of autonomy established by long tradition of difference; the state social protection and NGOs' activities are very constrained.	<i>Corporatist model X Statist model</i>	“Governments have also erected restrictive NGO registration and operation requirements» (James G. McGann, 2006: 10); “We always strive for leaving the child in the family and not sending them to other governmental organizations, because their children can suffer, from the work of governmental organizations I could see only measures of control but nothing similar to prevention services”; Governments, in turn, have done some restrictions for the voices of politically oriented NGOs whose activities may become threatening to the legitimacy of less democratic regimes (for ex., «law of 2006 – ‘double taxation’ regime, no legal distinction between NGO and for-profit organizations; law of 2006 requires registration of NGO through Federal Registration Service; law and other restrictions led to closure of multiple human rights NGOs in southwest Russia; regulations of funding and non-profit work are vague» (James G. McGann, 2006: 10)

Finally, on the basis of theoretical overview of literature, empirical results and other data presented so far in our work we can assume that both Italian and Russian non-profit regimes are represented by a complex mix of different types of non-profit regimes. Hence, our hypothesis about types of non-profit regimes is partly confirmed. According to our hypotheses, Russia is mostly seen as *liberal type* of non-profit regime, the role of NGO's is minimized in favor of the state participation in social policy formation to combat CSEC and where NGO rely less on public sector payments and more on private sector. Italy, on the other hand, belongs to the *social democratic model* of non-profit regime, where state-sponsored and state-delivered social welfare protections are big and the space for service-providing non-profit organizations is limited, and where the role of non-profit organizations in service provision is characterized by the close co-operation with government. The findings, however, demonstrated that Italy represents *a mix of social-democratic and corporatist models of non-profit regimes*, while Russia is characterized by the *combination of statist, liberal and corporatist types of non-profit regimes* (see Table 9).

Table 9. Russian and Italian models of non-profit regimes based on empirical findings about types of NGOs' roles in social policy against CSEC and their relationships with the state

Types of the state-NGO relationships	Types of NGOs' roles	
	Advocacy roles	Service roles
'Interdependent' or 'Partnership' type	Corporatist model	Statist model (Russia)
'Conflicting' type	Social-Democratic model (Italy)	Liberal model
<u>Russia</u> : Liberal model => Statist model => Corporatist model		
<u>Italy</u> : Corporatist model => Social-Democratic model		

Thus, according to our results we may assume that Italy is likely to follow the features of social-democratic model of non-profit regime rather than corporatist one, which is characterized by the predominance of advocacy roles and by the transition from 'interdependent' to 'conflicting' type of the state-NGO relationships (see Table 9). The transition to the 'conflicting' type of relations between the state and non-governmental sector in Italy can be explained by the growing lack of government social welfare spending which leads to the fact that the state and non-profit sector in Italy are likely to become alternatives rather than partners.

Empirical evidences also showed that Russia is likely to fit statist model of non-profit regime with a growing probability of transformation of the 'conflicting' type of the state-NGO

relationships into 'interdependent' one, where the state would act through NGOs to preserve the power of the state upon social and public activities and to restore its' status of state-sponsored services (see Table 9). Generally speaking, the identification of Russian type of non-profit regime appeared to be still very difficult due to the country's specific historical development, constant political and economic changes.

Elaborated criteria to define the type of non-profit regimes in Russia and Italy are appeared to be helpful only in terms of general overview of main characteristics of nonprofit regimes based on combination of two theoretical approaches. Such results basically mean that roles of NGOs to combat CSEC are different in different types of welfare state, but the verification of social origin theory is appeared to be not very appropriate in terms of its' application to Russian and Italian historical and empirical evidences: the identification of the nonprofit regimes in Russia and Italy varies too much both in the literature and the present research. Social origin theory therefore still needs further development and verification.

3.4. Main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy against CSEC drawing on each others' experiences

Since in previous sessions drawing on empirical evidences we defined general features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities towards a help to the children - victims of CSE, clarified the place of Russian and Italian NGOs in the system of institutions who help children in difficult life situations and distinguished the level of cooperation between the state and NGOs in Russia and Italy, in present paragraph we intend to offer some guidelines and recommendations to improve Russian and Italian situation about CSEC drawing on each others' experiences. Our findings could be useful in terms of marking out further tendencies in the development of Russian and Italian NGOs in order to protect children's' rights more effectively.

With the purpose of developing main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy against CSEC we intend to compare how specific measures to combat CSEC outlined by the global community correspond to what representatives of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations offer to improve the situation in the sphere of CSES. Thus, the results described below refer to the theoretical overview of specific measures that must be taken for counteraction to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children, in particular - National Plans of Actions, which was covered in the second chapter of our work.

As we have already noticed, specific measures to combat CSEC outlined by the global community mostly focused on the need of an integrated multilevel approach to develop effective measures towards combating CSEC, and first of all it concerns the mechanisms of institutional cooperation. Moreover, according to contemporary view of global community, for effective fight with the problem of CSEC it is important to focus not on the roles of institutions as separate actors, but on the interactive system of institutional cooperation, including governments, international agencies, non-governmental organizations and other related institutions to combat CSEC. NPA normally addresses to the improvement of cooperation and coordination, provision of health and educational programmes, law enforcement and legislation, adaptation of non-punitive rehabilitation and encourages child participation. According to the report of ECPAT International (2006), actions are mainly focused on: 1) Coordination and Cooperation; 2) Prevention; 3) Protection; 4) Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reintegration; and 5) Child Participation.

The results show that there are different levels of recognition of NPA to combat CSEC by Italian and Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations. Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations in contrast to Italian ones demonstrate low level of recognition of NPA to combat CSEC: specialists never mention NPA as a main government tool to improve social policy in Russia about CSEC. Italian specialists appear to have middle level of awareness about NPA: 4 experts out of 7 admit that there is NPA, according to which specific measures to combat CSEC were elaborated. However, Italian experts from NGOs argue that NPA in Italy goes very slowly and that not all cases of CSEC are recognized by the state to include it into agenda of NPA: "As for NPA, I suppose that it goes very slowly in Italy, but we are on our way. From the perspective of trafficking there is no Plan of Actions, we don't have a national framework of actions. The main problem is that there are different regional practices but there are no national standards. We had a lot of meetings in Brussels but there is still no NPA. Politicians don't put the priority to the problem of CSEC and trafficking, so we are still working on that". Such difference in the level of awareness about NPA between Italian and Russian experts might be explained by the fact that Russia ratified United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 10 years later than Italy did. Moreover, Optional Protocol in Russia hasn't been ratified yet, in contrast to Italy. With such data we can verify our theoretical expectation that the role of NGOs in combating CSEC is likely to be recognized by Italian state as more significant, than in Russia.

Finally, in spite of the fact that both Russian and Italian governments who adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996 and renewed its commitment in Yokohama in 2001, they still remain countries without specifically developed National Plan of Action against CSEC and therefore full recognition of CSEC as a problem by the state. However, the Russian Federation and Italy still have a number of evidences where suggestions offered by the representatives of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations correspond to specific measures to combat CSEC outlined by the global community. In present study we consider empirical evidences about actions perceived by experts as a priority to improve the system of work with children – victims of CSE in terms of five main spheres determined by the global community within the framework of NPA, which are 1) Coordination and Cooperation; 2) Prevention; 3) Protection; 4) Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reintegration; and 5) Child Participation. Examples of expressions admitted by Italian and Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations about recommendations to improve the system of work with children – victims of CSE are presented in Table 10. We consider each of these spheres.

Table 10. Examples of expressions of Italian and Russian representatives of the non-governmental and state-owned organizations about the priority actions to improve the system of work with children – victims of CSE

Sphere of actions (according to NPA)	Italian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations	Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations
Coordination and Cooperation	“If there weren’t the NGO sector in Italy, the state wouldn’t be able to answer to the problem properly”; “Moreover, I think that NGOs in Italy are an answer to people’s needs, Municipality is considered to be less expensive than the State”; “But NGO’s sector is very weak because it is very depended on the state’s money. As a result, it is quite common that such NGOs are getting closed because of the debts to the State”; “I think that there is no structure of where to react in Italy. I don’t think that we will find people who work directly with children – victims of CSE”; “Helping children in the first moment of the crime situation, work in the schools, studying the situation, more money from the state to social initiatives from the organizations”.	“There is no work done to prevent cases of CSEC in Russia, there is no system of effective social support. In the institutions non-professionals with very low salary, there are no criteria of effectiveness of their work. Activities of Russian institutions are inefficient, we should immediately write to the prosecutor, the municipal authorities and social services do not take part in it, while the children are very frightened to talk about it”; “We need universal coordinating body”; “The state doesn’t provide these children with social services, the state doesn’t protect children. Normally, only 1 from 10 cases of CSEC in Russia is worked out, and it is only by NGOs. Effectiveness of work of governmental organizations is 30 %, as the support is massive, and not the individual, these organizations are strongly subjected to reporting, their goal

Sphere of actions (according to NPA)	Italian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations	Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations
		<p>is simply to send a child to the other organization. NGOs – 40-60 % of efficiency, we allow the child to feel a person and experience human relationships”.</p>
Prevention	<p>“To spread guidelines and develop awareness rising campaigns”; “Awareness rising campaign – it is about working with young people, parents, children”; “Professionals and pediatrics should be aware about the risks and behavior of people that they study, they should have special trainings on that. In the universities there are have to be more hours on subjects about children for these specialists”; “In Italy we have projects on advocacy and policy making level to promote changes on the international and European level. Trainings we do directly and projects – to promote policies”.</p>	<p>“I would work in the sphere of prevention with adults”; “We need to change attitudes of the society to the problem”; “Information campaigns for the society”.</p>
Protection	<p>“Social politics is very expensive and therefore the first that you would need is money to do it. And in 1997 there was the first law (285) with the budget about improvement the policy in terms of children rights’. With this law we had a budget to carry on our activities. Thus, I think that it would be good if there would be more laws like this established. These laws should say something like following: «<i>You have to do this and this and here is some money for it</i>»”; “Most of the funds come from the private funds. When it comes to other organizations, government issue annual tenders. <i>Art. 18</i> and <i>Art. 13</i> are those which should complement to social assistance and promote long-term funding, but they don’t correspond to the needs of sustainability, you always have to rely on short-term projects, these laws don’t work in reality”; “Italian NGOs are trying to implement guidelines that would improve that law application process to the reality”; “Legal initiative of the government have a great power and that’s why the promotion of children’s rights who suffered from CSE would</p>	<p>“Criminals should not fall under the amnesty”; “People and professionals should not be indifferent, law enforcement agencies must give punishment for each individual case. I’m personally amazed at those cases when the criminals after sitting in the jail, then go to work as teachers or psychologists in schools, where they continue illegal activities!”; “To change our laws”; “The problem have to be recognized by the state”.</p>

Sphere of actions (according to NPA)	Italian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations	Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations
	improve democratic status of the state".	
Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reintegration	<p>"To give more money. The problem is money for social security and education for universities who prepare specialists; there are not enough hours for subjects about children"; "There is a lack of human and economic resources, so we need to keep level of help to children"; "We think that they are useful, but there is not enough money from the state for any kind of social activity. There is an individual approach of the state to the cases of CSEC, they would rather give money individually to people who suffered from abuses if the provide enough evidences, then giving money to social organizations who do more specialized work for children"; "To conduct long-term therapy".</p>	<p>"It is necessary to improve the system of services, public services should be free. The family should be supported, because parents, who experienced CSE, can start to transfer the violence against their own children. We need to work in the sphere of consolidation of human personality"; "Help has to be long-termed"; "A child has to be put away from harmful situation"; "Psychological and social help is very important for such group of children"; "The specialists have to be very well educated in this sphere".</p>
Child Participation	No examples	No examples

1) Coordination and Cooperation

Experts from both Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations perceive the improvement of the system of coordination and cooperation between different institutions as a priority action to combat effectively with CSEC, because overwhelming majority of institutions tend to deal with 'post-factum' cases of CSEC. In terms of experts' point of view, "There is no structure of where to react in Italy. I don't think that we will find people who work directly with children – victims of CSE" and "There is no work done to prevent cases of CSEC in Russia, there is no system of the effective social support. In the institutions there are non-professionals with very low salary, there are no criteria of effectiveness of their work. Activities of Russian institutions are inefficient". Moreover, non-governmental sector is seen as playing a crucial role in this system of coordination and cooperation to combat CSEC: "If there weren't the NGO sector in Italy, the state wouldn't be able to answer to the problem properly"; "Normally, only 1 from 10 cases of CSEC in Russia is worked out, and it is only by NGOs".

However, experts from Italian organizations admit that since NGOs in Italy are very weak, because they are dependent on the state's financial support, the priority action is

appeared to be connected not with the improvement of institutional system of coordination and cooperation as it is discovered to be typical in the situation of Russia, but with the state provision of the third sector with more money for better performance of its' service roles: "The problem is money for social security".

In contrast to Italian case, development of more comprehensive institutional system of coordination and cooperation is appeared to be the major action to improve the situation in the sphere of CSEC in Russia. As a result of involvement of big number of specialists in this system where every expert from different organizations does their own business not being aware of what do other structures, a lot of specialists admit the necessity of outlining one competent coordinative actor which would be recognized by other organizations involved in the system of help to children – victims of CSE. Moreover, experts from Russian organizations mark out that specialists who work with children have to improve their level of competence in the sphere of CSEC no matter which type of institution they represent, otherwise there is a risk of secondary traumatization of a child and hence increase of the negative impacts.

Despite the fact that the role of non-governmental sector is seen as an important one to combat with CSEC both in Italy and Russia, Russian specialists still tend to give a priority to the actions promoted by the state as a most influential actor in the social policy to protect children's' rights. According to the perspective of representatives of Russian state-owned organizations, government organizations should be given a leading role, since "public organizations aim at cooperation with the government" anyway.

2) Prevention

For better prevention of the cases of CSEC both Russian and Italian specialists agree on development of trainings and awareness rising campaigns about the problem of CSEC among children, their parents, specialists who work with children and the whole society, which are known to be promoted mostly by NGOs within their advocacy roles. Italian experts seem to give more significance to the improvement of prevention actions than Russian specialists: all representatives of Italian organizations mention this type of actions several times in their interviews while in Russia there are only 4 experts out of 7 who admit it. Prevention activities to fight with CSEC perceived by representatives of Russian non-governmental and state-owned organizations appeared to be addressed mostly towards the society and parents while Italian experts focus on multilevel promotion activities: "In Italy we have projects on advocacy and policy making level to promote changes on the international and European level". Such findings might be explained by the fact that Italian NGOs are likely to focus on advocacy functions to

combat CSEC while Russian NGOs – on service functions, that is why Italian NGOs seem to be more active in the sphere of improvement of prevention activities while Russian NGOs – in the sphere of improvement of public and social services.

Both Italian and Russian experts admit that the main obstacles to prevent the cases of CSEC are mainly connected with the difficulties to discover by a child, parents and specialists the fact of CSEC or potential victim who is about to experience CSE. In particular, children due to their age usually do not realize the criminal mode of actions committed by adults or other children towards them; because of psychological specifics, children who are the victims of CSEC do not talk about it, they experience a deep feeling of guilty (“Usually the difference between children – victims of CSE and other children is that these children are very difficult, it’s very difficult to work with them, to talk, to keep in touch, to establish a contact between psychologist and a child, they are very scared and have a deep feeling of guilty and shame”); psychological specific of parents’ behavior is characterized by unconscious denial of the fact that their child was abused (“Mums can’t accept the fact that their child was abused by her sexual partner, for example. Usually mums blame the children, telling that it is their fault that they suffered from CSE”); lack of specialists’ competence and education in the sphere of CSEC makes it difficult to discover the fact that a child suffered from CSEC (“In basic organizations there are not enough specialists who are able to recognize the cases and who know what to do with them. That’s why Bambini nel Tempo was established. Specialists working in the first level organizations are not very well trained and specifically prepared for such work, I think”).

That is why it is important to improve the prevention actions by means of trainings, awareness rising campaigns about the problem of CSEC and mass media among children, their parents, specialists and the whole society in general. For example, Italian and Russian experts argue: “We need more services to educate specialists in this issue”; “When there is a contact between psychologist and a child, children usually speak themselves about abuses. The important technique is the psychotherapeutic competence of the interviewer”; “Professionals and pediatrics should be aware about the risks and behavior of people that they study, they should have special trainings on that”; etc.

The results also showed that both Italian and Russian societies are characterized by a low level of awareness about the problem of CSEC: “I think that in the society there are a lot of misconceptions about these issues in Italy”; “I think that ordinary people in Russia don’t know about the cases of CSEC”. It is interesting to notice that denial of the problem of CSEC is perceived as a great obstacle by Italian experts to improve the system of help to children –

victims of CSE. Since CSEC which takes place within the family is appeared to be typical for Italy in comparison to Russian case, it becomes very difficult to discover the cases of child abuses in the situation when the society denies it. Most of Italian experts explain such denial by the features of Italian culture, in terms of which family is seen as a sacred human value. For example, some experts from Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations admit: “I think that denial by society of it is a very big problem. The society is informed enough, especially about abuses within the family. People can read it in the newspapers but they would never think that it can happen with their own family, everyone thinks that their own family is perfect”; “People are not very informed about it because they don’t accept it since it contradicts to their cultural concept of a family. I think that people have to know about it but in a good way”; “Cases of CSEC are not commonly written in newspapers, it is not very topical, we don’t speak about it too much. We have got a very new law about it, which very strict because of the catholic culture, according to which family is the most important thing so that nobody ever speaks about these horrible things”.

3) Protection

Representatives of both Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations perceive the improvement of national legislation in the sphere of protection of children’s’ rights as one of the important actions that have to be implemented to develop social policy against CSEC. The findings showed that recommendations about the improvement of Italian and Russian legislation activities are appeared to have different focuses: in Italy there is a focus on financial aspects as a main tool to apply the laws while in Russia – on increasing punishment activities as a tool of the state recognition of the problem of CSEC as an important one.

Thus, similar to coordination and cooperation actions, the improvement of Italian legislation activities is appeared to focus on financial aspects. On the one hand, findings demonstrated that within the framework of protection activities, most of the recommendations offered by experts of Italian organizations are connected with establishing of laws which include budget provision for their realization: “Social politics is very expensive and therefore the first that you would need is money to do it. And in 1997 there was the first law (285) with the budget about improvement the policy in terms of children rights’. With this law we had a budget to carry on our activities. Thus, I think that it would be good if there would be more laws like this established. These laws should say something like following: «*You have to do this and this and here is some money for it*»”. On the other hand, financial aspect was found to concern

improvement of application of laws in the sphere of long-term projects by means of increasing the level of money provision to realize these projects: “Art. 18 and Art. 13 are those which should complement to social assistance and promote long-term funding, but they don’t correspond to the needs of sustainability, you always have to rely on short-term projects, these laws don’t work in reality”.

In contrast to the Italian case, the representatives of Russian non-governmental and state-owned organizations stress the improvement of national laws from the perspective of increasing punishment activities, like expanding the duration of criminals’ imprisonment and strengthening legal and social control after them. For example, some experts from Russian organizations argue: “Criminals should not fall under the amnesty”; “People and professionals should not be indifferent, law enforcement agencies must give punishment for each individual case. I’m personally amazed at those cases when the criminals after sitting in the jail, then go to work as teachers or psychologists in schools, where they continue illegal activities”.

It is worth to mention that the majority of experts who represent Italian organizations outline not the lack of legislation in the sphere of CSEC which is appeared to be typical for Russian case, but the problem of their realization. As some experts say, – “It is not a problem of laws – the problem is to apply them”; “We have a very good legal framework, laws, politics, but the problem is that they are not implemented to the social assistance. You can’t guarantee the rights to everybody. This is very Italian, I think, - we have rights, but nobody follows them”; “We have good laws. It is not a problem of laws but a problem of tools”. Therefore, in terms of the improvement of realization of the laws, the role of Italian NGOs is seen in the elaboration of the main guidelines that would be helpful for the specialists and authorities for the better application of national legislation in the sphere of protection of children’s rights: “Italian NGOs are trying to implement guidelines that would improve that law application process to the reality”; “Legal initiative of the government have a great power and that’s why the promotion of children’s rights who suffered from CSE would improve democratic status of the state”. In Russia, the improvement of national legislation is perceived as recognition by the state the significance of the problem of CSEC: “The problem have to be recognized by the state”.

4) Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reintegration

The recommendations in the sphere of recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration are known to concern measurers aimed at the improvement of social services for children who suffered from CSEC. Our findings lead to the assumption that while Italian specialists focus on

the tools of improvement of social policies, Russian experts tend to stress the content of these improvement activities.

Similar to protection and cooperation actions, majority of experts from Italian institutions tend to address to the increasing the level of state financing as a priority action that should be taken in order to better existing conditions in the sphere of recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration services for children – victims of CSE. For instance, Italian specialists argue: “There is not enough money from the state for any kind of social activity”; “To give more money. The problem is money for social security”. Russian experts conversely address to particular service roles that should be improved to combat effectively with CSEC. In other words, development of such services as social and psychological help to children – victims of CSE is appeared to be a major orientation of Russian recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration actions. Following expressions serve as an example to this finding: “Psychological and social help is very important for such group of children”; “A child has to be put away from harmful situation”; “The family should be supported, because parents, who experienced CSE, can start to transfer the violence against their own children. We need to work in the sphere of consolidation of human personality”; etc.

Moreover, the results of the present study demonstrate that both Italian and Russian representatives of different organizations recognize the importance of long-termed psychotherapy and qualified work of specialists in the system of recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration of children – victims of CSE. For example, both of them admit: “The problem is money for social security and education for universities who prepare specialists; there are not enough hours for subjects about children”; “The specialists have to be very well educated in this sphere”; “Help has to be long-termed”; etc.

5) Child Participation

According to ECPAT International, activities aimed at promotion of the child participation imply consideration of the children’s view concerning the elaboration of prevention, protection and reintegration actions towards children – victims of CSE. The findings marked out that the activities aimed at the promotion of child participation to increase the level of the effectiveness in work with children who suffered from CSE appeared to be perceived as priority ones for Russian and Italian social policy: there are no empirical evidences in the context of the promotion of child participation.

As we could see, together with guidelines which are common for both countries there are also diverse ones. Moreover, there could be different combinations within each sphere of

actions. The analysis of empirical data showed that in spite the fact that both Russian and Italian guidelines to improve social policy against CSEC are considered within the promotion of actions in five spheres: 1) cooperation and coordination, 2) prevention, 3) protection, 4) recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration and 5) children participation, a set of recommendations to improve the situation in the sphere of combating CSEC appeared to be different in Italy and the Russian Federation. To increase the level of state financing of social sector appeared to be a major guideline in three spheres of actions to combat CSEC in Italy, which are: 1) cooperation and coordination actions, 2) protection and 3) recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration actions. In contrast to Italian case, to develop comprehensive institutional system with one central competent coordinative actor was found to be the major coordination and cooperation action that should be taken to improve the situation in the sphere of CSEC in Russia. Despite the fact that role of non-governmental sector is seen as an important one to combat with CSEC both in Italy and Russia, Russian specialists tend to give the priority to the actions promoted by the state perceived as a most influential actor in social policy to protect children's' rights.

The results demonstrated that in order to prevent CSEC both in Russia and Italy following actions are needed: conducting trainings and awareness rising campaigns about the problem of CSEC among children, their parents, specialists and the society. Such actions are known to be promoted mostly by NGOs as advocacy roles. It is interesting to notice that the denial of the problem of CSEC is perceived as a great obstacle by Italian experts to improve the system of help to children – victims of CSE. Since CSEC which takes place within the family is appeared to be typical for Italy in comparison to Russian case, it becomes very difficult to discover the cases of child abuses in the situation when the society denies it. Most of the Italian experts explain such denial by the features of Italian culture and religion, in terms of which family is seen as a sacred human value.

The findings also showed that protection guidelines about the improvement of Italian and Russian legislation activities are appeared to have different focuses: in Italy there is a focus on financial aspects as a main tool to apply the laws while in Russia – on increasing punishment activities as a tool of the state recognition of the problem of CSEC as an important one.

Both Italian and Russian representatives of different organizations recognize the importance of long-termed psychotherapy and qualified work of specialists in the system of recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration of children – victims of CSE.

Activities aimed at the promotion of child participation to increase the level of effectiveness in work with children who suffered from CSE are not appeared to be perceived as a priority one for both Russian and Italian social policy.

Thus, the improvement of social policy against CSEC in Russia seems to be possible only on the condition of public awareness about legal issues and effective institutional cooperation. While in Italy the realization of improvement activities aimed at well-timed assistance to the children – victims of CSE appeared to be more probable only under the stipulation of the sufficient government social welfare provision. Italian system of legislation about protection of children's rights may serve as a pattern for further improvement activities in Russian social policy against CSEC. Moreover, Italy can also be a good example of decentralization process for Russian social policy. Growing tendency of addressing to the foreign sponsors among Russian NGOs may also become one of the main guidelines to solve the problem of the lack of financial resources to develop Italian social policy against CSEC.

3.5. Conclusions to the 3rd chapter

Comparative analysis of Italian and Russian NGOs' and state-owned organizations' experiences of working with children – victims of CSE allows us to outline following list of concluding remarks:

- Hypothesis about the lack of the integration of Russian NGOs into institutional system of cooperation to combat CSEC compare to Italian ones was verified. Cooperation between different institutes in Russia, in contrast to Italy, appeared to be not effective enough. Experts from Russian state-owned and NGOs recognize five key actors in institutional cooperation to protect children's' rights which are: police, institutes of social protection of population, education authorities, health care institutions and commission on juvenile and protect their rights. Commission on Juvenile is perceived by the majority of Russian respondents as a coordinative body of institutional cooperation system. According to the law n. 328/00 in 2000, third sector actors are integrated into Italian system of protection of children's' rights, where the role of NGOs is realized at provincial, regional and national levels of governance.
 - The cooperation between the Court and NGOs seems to be more effective in Italy than in Russia, because in Italy NGOs play a role of mediator between a child, their family and the Italian Court. In Russia such cooperation is not seen as

a common and necessary practice, because Russian Court normally deny parents' rights and give a status of 'social orphan' to a child.

- Both Italian and Russian representatives of NGOs stress service roles to combat CSEC, providing children with psychological and social help. Italian NGOs in contrast to Russian ones appeared to be more active in terms of advocacy roles. These findings confirm our hypothesis that Russian NGOs are characterized as the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role. It is worth to mention that state-owned organizations both in Italy and Russia normally work only on the level of direct service provision for children who are in difficult life situations which seems to be quite reasonable in terms of their status and accountability with the state. The common feature of International NGOs is that they focus on advocacy activities while lacking direct work with children. INGOs can only provide services for children indirectly by working with specialists from different organizations who have an experience of working with children personally. In Russia all NGOs that work at the national level, in contrast to Italian NGOs, play mostly service roles in the system of help to children – victims of CSEC, where the majority of their activities are normally presented within the framework of certain programs, projects or campaigns.
 - The role of Russian NGOs in social policy formation about CESC is characterized therefore by conducting trainings, developing care programmes for underage persons at risk, working with support families and friends, providing suffered children with shelters, etc. Italian NGOs provide children – victims of CSE not only with high quality services in the sphere of prevention and care, but also perform monitoring and penalization activities, actively stressing following up on the commitments and quality of the institutional response to the problem, strengthening national legislation, collaborating with the legal authorities, etc. Moreover, the results showed that the scale of NGOs activities both in Russia and Italy is wider than the scale of activities of the state-owned organizations.
- The research results based on expert interviews with representatives of Italian and Russian NGOs verified our hypothesis that in Russia the state and NGOs are thought to be alternatives while in Italian welfare state – partners: 'conflicting' type of NGO-state relationships is appeared to be common in Russia, whereas 'interdependent' or 'partnership' type corresponds to Italian case. Italian NGOs tend to rely more on the legal structure and on the government when providing services for children – victims of

- CSE, while the effectiveness of work of Russian NGOs usually depends on personal attempts and interest of the specialists who work with this group of children. Russian specialists tend to rely only on themselves.
- Our hypothesis about types of non-profit regimes is partly confirmed. Italy represents a *mix of social-democratic and corporatist models of non-profit regimes*, while Russia is characterized by the *combination of statist, liberal and corporatist types of non-profit regimes*.
 - Italy is likely to follow the features of social-democratic model of non-profit regime rather than corporatist one, which is characterized by the predominance of advocacy roles and by the transition from ‘interdependent’ to ‘conflicting’ type of the state-NGO relationships. The transition to the ‘conflicting’ type of relations between the state and non-governmental sector in Italy can be explained by the growing lack of government social welfare spending which leads to the fact that the state and non-profit sector in Italy are likely to become alternatives rather than partners.
 - Russia is likely to fit statist model of non-profit regime with a growing probability of transformation of the ‘conflicting’ type of the state-NGO relationships into ‘interdependent’ one, where the state would act through NGOs to preserve the power of the state upon social and public activities and to restore its’ status of state-sponsored services. The identification of Russian type of non-profit regime appeared to be still very difficult due to the country’s specific historical development, constant political and economic changes.
 - Verification of social origin theory appeared to be not very appropriate in terms of it’s’ application to Russian and Italian historical and empirical evidences: the identification of the nonprofit regimes in Russia and Italy varies too much both in the literature and the present research. Social origin theory therefore still needs further development and verification.
 - Russian representatives of non-governmental and state-owned organizations in contrast to Italian ones demonstrate low level of recognition of NPA to combat CSEC. However, Italian experts argue that NPA in Italy goes very slowly and that not all cases of CSEC are recognized by the state to include it into agenda of NPA. Such difference in the level of awareness about NPA might be explained by the fact that Russia ratified United

- Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 10 years later than Italy did. Moreover, Optional Protocol in Russia hasn't been ratified yet, in contrast to Italy. With such data we can verify our theoretical expectation that the role of NGOs in combating CSEC is likely to be recognized by Italian state as more significant, than in Russia.
- In spite of the fact that both Russian and Italian governments who adopted the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action in 1996 and renewed its commitment in Yokohama in 2001, they still remain countries without specifically developed National Plan of Action against CSEC and therefore full recognition of CSEC as a problem by the state.
 - Russian and Italian guidelines to improve social policy against CSEC are considered within the promotion of actions in five spheres: 1) cooperation and coordination, 2) prevention, 3) protection, 4) recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration and 5) children participation. To increase the level of state financing of social sector appeared to be a major guideline in three spheres of actions to combat CSEC in Italy, which are: 1) cooperation and coordination actions, 2) protection and 3) recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration actions. In contrast to Italian case, to develop comprehensive institutional system with one central competent coordinative actor was found to be the major coordination and cooperation action that should be taken to improve the situation in the sphere of CSEC in Russia. Russian specialists tend to give the priority to the actions promoted by the state as a most influential actor in social policy to protect children's rights.
 - The improvement of social policy against CSEC in Russia seems to be possible only on the condition of public awareness about legal issues and effective institutional cooperation. While in Italy the realization of improvement activities aimed at well-timed assistance to the children – victims of CSE appeared to be more probable only under the stipulation of the sufficient government social welfare provision. Italian system of legislation about protection of children's rights may serve as a pattern for further improvement activities in Russian social policy against CSEC. Moreover, Italy can also be a good example of decentralization process for Russian social policy. Growing tendency of addressing to the foreign sponsors among Russian NGOs may also become one of the main guidelines to solve the problem of the lack of financial resources to develop Italian social policy against CSEC.

Conclusion

It is known that NGOs play a crucial role in society's everyday life, however nowadays a number of problems and obstacles have appeared in NGOs' practices to preserve a traditional approach and understanding of the major idea, mission and functions of NGOs. The development of NGOs over the years has led to the expansion and changes concerning their roles. Since the problem of CSEC appeared to be very specific because of its' psychological, sociological and legal characteristics, a role of NGOs in this sphere appears to be very specific too.

With the purpose to study the influence and contribution of NGOs into the formation of social policy against CSEC in Russia, compare to Italian situation, in current research we elaborated the concept of role of NGOs in the formation of social policy against CSEC and formulated theoretical expectations concerning roles of NGOs in Russian and Italian models of welfare state regime. Moreover, we conducted analytical overview of literature about recognition the problem of CSEC and role of NGOs to combat CSEC by the global community. In empirical part of our study we conducted comparative analysis of Italian and Russian NGOs' and state-owned organizations' contemporary experiences of working with children – victims of CSE, drawing on empirical evidences. Analysis of empirical data allowed us to define the place of Russian and Italian NGOs in the system of institutions who help children in difficult life situations, to define general features of Russian and Italian non-governmental and state-owned organizations' activities towards a help to the children - victims of CSE, to distinguish the level of cooperation between the state and NGOs in Russia and Italy and to define main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy against CSEC drawing on each others' experiences.

It was found out that application of 'social origin' theory of Salamon and Anheier (1998) to Russian and Italian types of welfare state appeared to be not very appropriate: identification of the non-profit regimes in Russia and Italy was found to vary too much both in the literature and the present research. Social origin theory, hence, still needs its' further development and verification. However, it provided us with some guidelines to define a role of NGOs in the process of de-commodification, distinguished different ways of the NGOs' development and its' contribution into the formation of social policy against CSEC in Russia and Italy.

Comparative analysis of Italian and Russian NGOs' and state-owned organizations' experiences of working with children – victims of CSE allowed us to verify most of our hypothesis:

- 1) Hypothesis about the lack of the integration of Russian NGOs into institutional system of cooperation to combat CSEC compare to Italian ones was verified. Cooperation between different institutes in Russia, in contrast to Italy, appeared to be not effective enough. According to the law n. 328/00 in 2000, third sector actors are integrated into Italian system of protection of children's' rights, where the role of NGOs is realized at provincial, regional and national levels of governance.
- 2) The findings confirmed our hypothesis that Russian NGOs are characterized as the primary service providers while in Italy – advocacy roles of NGOs play a major role. The role of Russian NGOs in social policy formation against CESC is characterized by conducting trainings, developing care programmes for underage persons at risk, working with support families and friends, providing suffered children with shelters, etc. Italian NGOs provide children – victims of CSE not only with high quality services in the sphere of prevention and care, but also perform monitoring and penalization activities, actively stressing following up on the commitments and quality of the institutional response to the problem, strengthening national legislation, collaborating with the legal authorities, etc. Moreover, the results showed that the scale of NGOs activities both in Russia and Italy is wider than the scale of activities of the state-owned organizations.
- 3) The research results based on expert interviews with representatives of Italian and Russian NGOs verified our hypothesis concerning types of the relationships between the state and NGOs: 'conflicting' type of NGO-state relationships is appeared to be common in Russia, whereas 'interdependent' or 'partnership' type corresponds to Italian case. Italian NGOs tend to rely more on the legal structure and on the government when providing services for children – victims of CSE, while the effectiveness of work of Russian NGOs usually depends on personal attempts and interest of the specialists who work with this group of children. Russian specialists tend to rely only on themselves.
- 4) Our hypothesis about types of non-profit regimes is partly confirmed. Italy represents a *mix of social-democratic and corporatist models of non-profit regimes*, while Russia is characterized by the *combination of statist, liberal and corporatist types of non-profit regimes*. Italy is likely to follow the features of social-democratic model of non-profit regime rather than corporatist one, which is characterized by the predominance of advocacy roles and by the transition from 'interdependent' to 'conflicting' type of the

state-NGO relationships. The transition to the 'conflicting' type of relations between the state and non-governmental sector in Italy can be explained by the growing lack of government social welfare spending which leads to the fact that the state and non-profit sector in Italy are likely to become alternatives rather than partners. Russia is likely to fit statist model of non-profit regime with a growing probability of transformation of the 'conflicting' type of the state-NGO relationships into 'interdependent' one, where the state would act through NGOs to preserve the power of the state upon social and public activities and to restore its' status of state-sponsored services. The identification of Russian type of non-profit regime appeared to be still very difficult due to the country's specific historical development, constant political and economic changes.

The results of our study may define the direction of further development of the NGO sector in Russia and Italy to combat CSEC. We elaborated a set of directions for further research by focusing on main guidelines to improve Russian and Italian social policy against CSEC. We came to the conclusion that the improvement of social policy against CSEC in Russia seems to be possible only on the condition of public awareness about legal issues and effective institutional cooperation. While in Italy the realization of improvement activities aimed at well-timed assistance to the children – victims of CSE appeared to be more probable only under the stipulation of the sufficient government social welfare provision. Italian system of legislation about protection of children's rights may serve as a pattern for further improvement activities in Russian social policy against CSEC. Moreover, Italy can also be a good example of decentralization process for Russian social policy. Growing tendency of addressing to the foreign sponsors among Russian NGOs may also become one of the main guidelines to solve the problem of the lack of financial resources to develop Italian social policy against CSEC.

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Appendix 1. List of expert interviews conducted by Anna Kolesnichenko in St. Petersburg in July – November 2009 within the project of NGO ‘Stellit’

N	Organizations (in English)	Organizations (in Russian)	Type of organization	Experts	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview
1	20 Police station	20 Отделение милиции	Bodies of Internal Affairs (state-owned organization)	Inspector Juvenile Sharapova Ekaterina	29.07.2009	1 hour 20 mins
2	Youth Consultation of Frunzenskij district	Молодежная Консультация Фрунзенского района	Health care organization (state-owned organization)	Director, gynecologist, Korchagin Natalia	29.07.2009	40 mins
3	Everychild	Эвричайлд	NGO	Psychologist, psychotherapist, Zhuzhueva Mariana	31.07.2009	1 hour 30 mins
4	Everychild	Эвричайлд	NGO	Supervisor, Egorova Elena	31.07.2009	1 hour 10 mins
5	UVENTA	ЮВЕНТА	Health care organization (state-owned organization)	Doctor, therapist, sexologist, Samokhvalov Victor	05.08.2009	2 hours 10 mins
6	Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors street girls	Социально-Реабилитационный центр для несовершеннолетних безнадзорных девочек	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Director, professor, Sereda Vasily	05.08.2009	1 hour
7	Korchakovsky Center	ОО «Корчаковский центр»	NGO	Director, Gahnia Zamaldinova	07.08.09	2 hours 40 mins
8	Red Cross	Санкт-Петербургский Центр Сотрудничества Красного Креста	NGO	Project Coordinator ‘Prevention of human trafficking in the Russian Federation, with special attention to the St. Petersburg region’, Seibert	10.08.09	40 mins

N	Organizations (in English)	Organizations (in Russian)	Type of organization	Experts	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview
				Natalia		
9	Red Cross	Санкт-Петербургский Центр Сотрудничества Красного Креста	NGO	PhD in Law, Lawyer, project 'Information Campaign for the prevention of human trafficking in the Russian Federation, with special attention to the region of St. Petersburg', Kubasova Irina	10.08.09	1 hour 10 mins
10	Youth Consultation of Krasnogvardeiskij area	Молодежная Консультация Красногвардейского района	Health care organization (state-owned organization)	Head of the MC, an obstetrician-gynecologist, Trubetskaya Tatiana	10.08.09	40 mins
11	Orphan-asylum called 'A child is in danger'	«Ребенок в опасности»	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Director, Bondarenko	13.08.09	2 hours
12	Orphan-asylum called 'A child is in danger'	«Ребенок в опасности»	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Leading specialist in social work, Margarita V.	14.08.09	2 hours
13	St. Petersburg Public Charitable Organization 'Child Crisis Center'	Санкт-Петербургская Благотворительная Общественная Организация «Детский кризисный центр»	NGO	Specialist of help-line, Elena	21.09.09	2 hours
14	Regional Public Foundation 'Protecting Children'	Региональный Общественный Фонд «Защита Детей»	Public organization	Social worker, Sergey Ryazanov	24.09.09	1 hour 30 mins
15	Centre for work	Центр по	Public	Head of	28.09.09	30 mins

N	Organizations (in English)	Organizations (in Russian)	Type of organization	Experts	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview
	with children and youth social risk groups 'OSTROV'	работе с детьми и молодежью групп социального риска «ОСТРОВ»	organization	Centre, Klimova Vera		
16	Academy of Postgraduate Pedagogical Education	Академия Пост-дипломного Педагогического Образования	Institute of education (governmental organization)	Academy Officer, Coordinator, Tsygankova Natalya	6.10.09	1 hour
17	Comprehensive social service centers of Kolpinskiy area (KCSO)	Комплексный Центр Социального Обслуживания Населения Колпинского района (КЦСОН)	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Director, Afanasyeva Nina A.	8.10.09	2 hours
18	Comprehensive social service centers of Kolpinskiy area (KCSO)	Комплексный Центр Социального Обслуживания Населения Колпинского района (КЦСОН)	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Head of Department for prevention of neglect of minors, Kvyatyk Anna	8.10.09	2 hours
19	Comprehensive social service centers of Kolpinskiy area (KCSO)	Комплексный Центр Социального Обслуживания Населения Колпинского района (КЦСОН)	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Head of Department support families, Petrova Anna	8.10.09	2 hours
20	Comprehensive social service centers of Kolpinskiy area (KCSO)	Комплексный Центр Социального Обслуживания Населения Колпинского района (КЦСОН)	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Social worker, Nelly	8.10.09	2 hours
21	Children's home - school № 27	Детский дом-школа № 27	Institute of education (state-owned)	Head of educational work, Ivanova	8.10.09	1 hour

N	Organizations (in English)	Organizations (in Russian)	Type of organization	Experts	Date of the interview	Duratio n of the intervie w
			organization)	Olga		
22	Children's home - school № 27	Детский дом-школа № 27	Institute of education (state-owned organization)	Social worker, Irina Volkova	8.10.09	2 hours 30 mins
23	Professional School № 111 'Krasnigvardeec'	Профессиональный лицей №111 «Красногвардеец»	Institute of education (state-owned organization)	Head educational work, Shkolnik Marina	15.10.09	1 hour
24	Public fund called 'Humanitarian Action'	Фонд «Гуманитарное действие»	NGO	Coordinator of 'Children of the street', Tatyana Drozdova	22.10.09	1 hour
25	Institute of counseling and therapy 'Harmony'	Институт консультирования и терапии «Гармония»	NGO	Psychologist, Tatiana	26.10.09	1 hour
26	Rehabilitation Centre for children without parental care on behalf of V.B. Tsimbalin	Центр реабилитации детей, оставшихся без попечения родителей им. В.Б. Цимбалина	Health care organization (state-owned organization)	Chief doctor of the pedagogical work, psychologist, Andrei Zhukov	4.11.09	1 hour 30 mins

Appendix 2: List of expert interviews conducted in St. Petersburg and Rome in July 2009 – March 2010 (empirical base of the study)

N	Organizations	Type of organization	Experts	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview
Italy, Rome					
1	Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo	ONLUS Association - NGO	Social assistant, supervisor, Dott.ssa Daniela Cremasco	23.02.2010; 04.03.2010	11:00 -12:30; 13:00 – 14:00
2	Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo	ONLUS Association - NGO	Clinical supervisor, Dot.ssa Monica Micheli	24.02.2010	9:30-11:00
3	Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo	ONLUS Association - NGO	Director, Professor, psychaetrlist, psychologist, member of Itlaian Government, Prof. Luigi Cancrini	17.02.2010; 25.02.2010; 15.03.2010; 25.03.2010	14:00 -15:00; 19:00 – 20:00; 19.00-19.30; 19:00 – 19:30
4	Azienda Sanitaria Locale - ASL di Roma B	Health care institute - Hospital for children – (state-owned organization)	Director of the child-mother department, child psychiatrist, Dott.ssa Giovanna Todini	23.02.2012; 04.03.2010	11:00 – 12:30; 13:00 – 13:30
5	New Vergini – Comunita' of Association SAMAN	Social protection institute – Center for rehabilitation of drug addicts (state-owned organization)	Director of SAMAN, Dott.ssa Francheska , psychologist Dott.ssa Irena	24.02.2010	15:00 – 18:00
6	Save the Children	International NGO	Responsible for advocacy policy and campaigning unit, Dott.ssa Antonia di Dimaio	05.03.2010	10:00 – 11:30
7	Save the Children Italy	International NGO	Programme Coordinator, child pornography, Dott.ssa Cristiana de Paoli	10.03.2010	16:00 – 19:00
Russia, St. Petersburg					
1	Korchakovskij Center (Корчаковский центр)	NGO	Director, Gahnia Zamaldinova	07.08.2009	2 hours 40 mins
2	Institute of counseling and therapy 'Harmony	NGO	Psychologist, Tatiana	26.10.2009	1 hour

N	Organizations	Type of organization	Experts	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview
	(Институт консультирования и терапии «Гармония»)				
3	Public fund called 'Humanitarian Action' (Фонд «Гуманитарное действие»)	NGO	Coordinator of 'Children of the street', Tatyana Drozdova	22.10.2009	1 hour
4	UVENTA (ЮВЕНТА)	Health care organization (state-owned organization)	Doctor, therapist, sexologist, Samokhvalov Victor	05.08.2009	2 hours 10 mins
5	Social Rehabilitation Center for Minors street girls (Социально-Реабилитационный центр для несовершеннолетних безнадзорных девочек)	Social protection institute (state-owned organization)	Director, professor, Sereda Vasily	05.08.2009	1 hour
6	Everychild	NGO	Psychologist, psychotherapist, Zhuzhueva Mariana	31.07.2009	1 hour 30 mins
7	Everychild	NGO	Supervisor, Egorova Elena	31.07.2009	1 hour 10 mins

Appendix 3: Questionnaire and types of questions

Questions for everybody	
<p>BLOCK 1. General characteristics of working with children/victims of commercial sexual exploitation</p> <p>101. Could you please tell me about the main activities of your organization which are connected with rendering help to children?</p> <p>102. What are your professional responsibilities in this organization?</p> <p>103. What are the most common problems experienced by children who are the clients of your organization?</p> <p>104. How many children received help in your organization over the last year? (any statistical data from annual reports)</p> <p>105. What kind of documents and records are maintained in your organization for each case of working with a child? What parameters and characteristics do you keep record of in these documents?</p> <p>106. Do you have children (clients of your organization's services) who are the victims of CSE? (if «NO» then go to Block 3).</p>	
<p>Questions for experts who have experience of working directly with children - victims of CSE</p>	<p>Questions for experts who don't have experience of working directly with children - victims of CSE</p>

BLOCK 2. Professional experience of working with children, victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

201. Could you please tell me, how you or some of your colleagues usually become aware of the cases of CSEC? (if the info is already provided by police or if children can mention it themselves while in conversation, or smth else)

202. What kind of help do children/victims of CSE, need?

203. Among the needs you mentioned above, could you please specify them in detail? What kinds of needs are specific for children/victims of CSE?

204. What are the differences between working with children/victims of CSE, and working with other clients of your organization?

205. What type of cases of CSEC have you had experience working with? (prostitution, pornography, sexual abuse by adults (with violence), sexual abuse by adults (without violence), sexual abuse by minors).

BLOCK 3. Professional experience of working with children – potential victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

301. Could you please recall the situations when you weren't sure but suspected that a child was a victim of CSE. What guidelines and indicators did you follow to identify the fact that a child was a victim of CSE? (*if «NO» then go to Block 4*).

302. How many children, clients of your organization, did you suspect of being victims of CSE over the last year?

303. How was work with such children organized in your organization? Was it different from the work that you usually do with other children, clients of your organization?

BLOCK 5. Organizational and methodological aspects in the work with children/ victims of commercial sexual exploitation

501. What organizations/bodies do you inform about the revealed cases of CSEC in your organization?

502. What are the basic methodological materials you usually use when helping such children? What do you think are the main advantages and disadvantages of these materials?

503. What laws do you follow/apply when dealing with cases of CSEC?

504. If you had the possibility to correct or establish new laws on CSEC, what exactly would you do?

505. What kind of technological facilities do you need for more effective work with children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer.

506. How would you evaluate the labor supply of specialists in the organizations which are dealing with children/victims of

BLOCK 3. Professional experience of working with children – potential victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

301. Could you please recall the situations when you weren't sure but suspected that a child was a victim of CSE. What guidelines and indicators did you follow to identify the fact that a child was a victim of CSE? (*if «NO» then go to Block 4*).

302. How many children, clients of your organization, did you suspect of being the victims of CSE over the last year?

303. How was the work with such children organized in your organization? Was it different from the work that you usually do with other children, clients of your organization?

BLOCK 4. Potential availability of services for children/victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

401. Why do you think that children, who are victims of CSE, usually don't get to your organization? Why don't you don't have such children? Are there any specific activities in the organization aimed at reducing the chances of working with these children?

402. Imagine a situation when a child, who suffered a form of CSE, did become a client of your organization. In such a situation, what kind of help and services do you think could be provided by your organization for that child? How would you act in this situation?

403. To which organizations would you refer a child with such a problem? Where you can send them for more specialized help?

404. Do you know specialized methods and techniques of working with children, who were sexually abused or who have experience of being exploited in pornography/prostitution? What are they?

405. Could you please list and

<p>CSE? Please comment upon your answer.</p> <p>507. Could you please express your opinion about the effectiveness of services offered by <u>your organization</u> to help children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer. What are the mechanisms of effective help to such children?</p> <p>508. What are the organizations do you cooperate with <u>within your city</u>, when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?</p> <p>509. Which organizations haven't you cooperated with yet, but would like to partner with in order to deal with cases of CSEC?</p> <p>510. Which organizations from <u>other regions of your country</u> do you cooperate with when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?</p> <p>511. Which organizations from <u>other countries</u> do you cooperate with, when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?</p>	<p>evaluate, if possible, the usefulness of sources that you can or could use to get information about specialized methods and techniques of working with such children?</p> <p>406. Could you please evaluate the level of your own awareness about legislative issues concerning children who became victims of CSE? How much are you aware of it?</p> <p>407. Do you consider the problem of CSEC topical for your country/city? Could you explain why?</p>
<p>Questions for everybody</p>	
<p>512. How well enough do you think our society is informed about the problem of CSEC? What do you think ordinary people think about this problem? Comment upon your answer.</p> <p>513. How would you describe and characterize the politics of the country regarding the problem of CSEC? What does the state do to deal with this problem?</p> <p>514. Could you please express your opinion concerning the effectiveness of services and help provided for children/victims of CSE in the city/country? How effective, do you think, these services are in the city/country? Please comment upon your answer.</p> <p>515. What would you recommend to improve the situation in the sphere of treating/helping children/victims of CSE? What mechanisms do you think would be necessary and useful to use in order to increase the effectiveness of help for children/victims of CSE?</p>	

Types of questions

- 1) Responsibilities of experts (how valid expert's judgments about the problem of CSEC could be?).
- 102.** What are your professional responsibilities in this organization?
- 205.** What type of CSEC you have had an experience to work with? (Prostitution, pornography, sexual abuse by adults - with violence, sexual abuse by adults - without violence, sexual abuse by minors).

- 2) General information about the organization (main goals, interests and activities of the organization towards protection of children's rights; common problems of children they are working with; statistics – how much the organization is a specialist and experienced in the sphere of dealing with the problem of CSEC; what kind of organization is it; how much it is dependent/independent on/of the state; what are the differences between Russian and European organizations in mechanisms of identifying and discovering the situation of CSEC?).
- 101.** Could you please tell me the about main activities of your organization which are connected with assistance to children?
- 103.** What are the most common problems of children who are the clients of your organization?
- 104.** How many children were treated by your organization over the last year? (please include any statistical data from annual reports)
- 105.** What kind of documents and records are maintained in your organization while working with each case? What parameters and characteristics do you mark out in these documents?
- 106.** Do you have children (clients of your organization's services) who are victims of CSE? (if «NO» then go to Block 3).
- 201.** Could you please tell me, how you or some of your colleagues usually become aware of the cases of CSEC? (if the info is already provided by police or whether children can mention it themselves during conversation, or smth else)
- 302.** How many children, clients of your organization, did you suspect of being victims of CSE for the last year?
- 303.** How was the work with such children organized in your organization? Was it different from the work that you usually do with other children, clients of your organization?
- 401.** Why do you think that children, who are victims of CSE, usually don't get to your organization? Why you don't have such children? Is there any specific activity in the organization aimed at reducing the chances of working with these children?
- 402.** Imagine a situation when a child who suffered a form of CSE did become a client of your organization. In such a situation, what kind of help and services do you think could be provided by your organization for that child? How would you act in this situation?
- 3) Awareness of experts of how to deal and help children, victims of CSEC (needs of children, awareness of a specific approach to children/victims of CSE; awareness of organizations where one can send a child in case of CSE to provide him/her with comprehensive help – level of competence of experts; is there a need in improving the qualification of experts by organizing additional training etc.).
- 202.** What kind of help do children/victims of CSE require?
- 203.** Among the needs you mentioned above could you please specify them in greater detail? What kinds of needs are specific for children/victims of CSE?
- 204.** What are the differences between working with children/victims of CSE, and other clients of your organization?
- 205.** What type of CSEC you have had an experience to work with? (Prostitution, pornography, sexual abuse by adults - with violence, sexual abuse by adults - without violence, sexual abuse by minors).
- 301.** Could you please recall any situations when you weren't sure but just suspected that a child was a victim of CSE. What guidelines and indicators did you follow to identify that a child is a victim of CSE? (if «NO» then go to Block 4).

- 402.** Imagine a situation when a child who suffered a form of CSE did become a client of your organization. In such a situation, what kind of help and services do you think could be provided by your organization for that child? How would you act in this situation?
- 403.** To which organizations would you refer a child with such a problem? Where can you send them for more specialized help?
- 404.** Do you know specialized methods and techniques of working with children who were sexually abused or who have experience of participating in pornography/prostitution? What are they?
- 406.** Could you please evaluate the level of your own awareness about legislative issues concerning children who became victims of CSE? How much are you aware of it?
- 4) Availability of resources and materials about CSEC (needs of organizations in terms of resources, labor, methods and equipment to improve effectiveness of work with children/victims of CSE – is there enough material and available information about CSEC; what kind of materials are used most often: own materials or materials published by other organizations or from foreign companies? Is there a need in providing organizations with additional labor force for working on this particular topic?).
- 404.** Do you know specialized methods and techniques of working with children, who were sexually abused or who have experience of participating in pornography/prostitution? What are they?
- 405.** Could you please list and evaluate, if possible, the usefulness of sources that you can or could use to get information about specialized methods and techniques of working with such children?
- 502.** What are the basic methodological materials you usually use when helping such children? What do you think are the main advantages and disadvantages of these materials?
- 505.** What kind of technological facilities do you need for more effective work with children, victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer.
- 506.** How would you evaluate the labor supply of specialists in organizations which are dealing with children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer.
- 5) Effectiveness of organization networks in terms of working with the cases of CSEC.
- a. Cooperation within the organization, self-esteem.
- 507.** Could you please express your opinion about the effectiveness of services offered by your organization to help children, victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer. What are the mechanisms of effective help for such children?
- b. Cooperation with state-owned organizations
- 403.** To which organizations would you refer a child with such problem? Where you can send them for more specialized help?
- 501.** What organizations/bodies do you inform about the revealed cases of CSEC in your organization?
- 507.** Could you please express your opinion about the effectiveness of services offered by your organization to help children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer. What are the mechanisms of effective help for such children?
- 508.** Which organizations do you cooperate with within your city, when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?
- 509.** Which organizations haven't you cooperated with yet, but would like to partners with to deal with cases of CSEC?
- 510.** Which organizations from other regions of your country do you cooperate with, when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?

- 511.** Which organizations from other countries do you cooperate with when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?
- 514.** Could you please express your opinion concerning the effectiveness of services and help provided for children/victims of CSE, in the city/country? How effective do you think these services are in the city/country? Please comment upon your answer.
- c. Cooperation with NGOs and other organizations from the public sector.
- 403.** To which organizations would you refer a child with such a problem? Where you can send them for more specialized help?
- 501.** What organizations/bodies do you inform about the revealed cases of CSEC in your organization?
- 507.** Could you please express your opinion about the effectiveness of services offered by your organization to help children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer. What are the mechanisms of effective help to such children?
- 508.** Which organizations do you cooperate with within your city, when dealing with the cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?
- 509.** Which organizations haven't you cooperated with yet, but would like to partner with to deal with cases of CSEC?
- 510.** Which organizations from other regions of your country do you cooperate with when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?
- 511.** Which organizations from other countries do you cooperate with when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?
- 514.** Could you please express your opinion concerning the effectiveness of services and help provided for children/victims of CSE, in the city/country? How effective do you think these services are in the city/country? Please comment upon your answer.
- 6) General questions about social policy concerning the problem of CSEC (is it current; attitudes of society; legislation; politics; practical recommendations to improve social policy towards combating CSEC).
- 407.** Do you consider the problem of CSEC topical/current for your country/city? Could you explain why?
- 512.** How well enough do you think our society is informed about the problem of CSEC? What do you think ordinary people think about this problem? Please comment upon your answer.
- 406.** Could you please evaluate the level of your own awareness about legislative issues concerning children who became victims of CSE? How much are you aware of it?
- 503.** What laws do you follow/apply when dealing with cases of CSEC?
- 504.** If you had a possibility to correct or establish new laws on CSEC, what exactly would you do?
- 513.** How would you describe and characterize the politics of the country regarding the problem of CSEC? What does the state do to deal with this problem?
- 515.** What would you recommend to improve the situation in the sphere of treating/helping children/victims of CSE? What mechanisms do you think would be necessary and useful to use in order to increase the effectiveness of help for children/victims of CSE?

Appendix 4: Example of interview conducted with an expert from Italian NGO

Place: **ONLUS Centro Auto – Bambini nel Tempo**
Website: <http://www.bambinineltempo.org>
Address: P.zza Bainsizza, 10 - Rome, Italy
Respondent: **Dott.ssa ***** (social assistant, supervisor)
Interviewer: Anna Kolesnichenko
Date: 23.02.2010; 04.03.2010
Time: 11:00 -12:30; 13:00 – 14:00

BLOCK 1. General characteristics of working with children/victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

101. Could you please tell me about the main activities of your organization which are connected with rendering help to children?

The Association – Bambini nel Tempo is a part of CISMAI - Italian Coordination Services against child abuses (Coordinamento Italiano dei servizi contro il Maltrattamento e l'Abuso all'Infanzia) and ISPCAN (International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect). E' stata inserita nel Registro Unico Cittadino di Accreditamento del Comune di Roma. It is included into the registry only citizen of Accreditation of the City of Rome (Registro Unico Cittadino di Accreditamento del Comune di Roma). The Association Bambini nel Tempo is a non-profit social unit (NPO or NGO) with the following purpose and goal:

- Activities of protection and child protection, support their families through: psychological work and psychotherapy; conducting trainings and courses for specialists from social-health services, public or private social institutions on the topic of working with children and families in crisis; Research, documentation and dissemination in collaboration with similar organizations to protect children from abuses;

- Cultural activities, panel discussions, debates, exhibitions, seminars, educational activities, establishment of libraries, film screenings and cultural documentaries etc, it is in terms of interest of members having social purpose;

- Publishing activities with local law: publishing magazines, newsletters, conference proceedings, seminars, studies and research;

- Preventive activities and recreation: Recreational and educational context of legislative initiatives to support children and families.

- Other social health care activities in respect to children, women and men because of physical, mental, economic or social problems and abuses.

Bambini nel Tempo employs specialists with specific background education, who are experts in child abuses issues and who are aware of legal and legislative actions. The staff of Bambini nel Tempo includes psychologists and psychotherapists with an experience of systematic approach to working with families.

Since 2005 until now experts from Bambini nel Tempo together with specialists who represent Municipality of Rome, V Department, Department working with children (Comune di Roma, V

Dipartimento, Ufficio Minori) are in the agreement to coordinate their work to help children and their families who suffered from abuses.

June 2005 - January 2008 Bambini nel Tempo realized the project about psychotherapy with children who are victims of bad treatment and / or sexual abuse called "help children", in cooperation with institutes of Santa Maria in Aquiro.

October 2007 - October 2008 Bambini nel Tempo realized the project CIPS - a training programme for socio-sanitary Union of Municipalities of the Lower Sabina about sexual abuse of children.

November 2007 - November 2009, had the contract (LR February 17, 2005, n 9 Art. 56) Mode of parking ZIP H41557. Bil. The Reg, Ex fin. 2006 and has therefore maintained with XVII Municipio del comune di Roma e con la ASL RME a project called "Intervento a sostegno dei minori".

November 2007 Bambini nel Tempo organized a press conference at the Hall of Flags at Bandiere in Campidoglio, for the Children's World Day against the mistreatment and abuse to childhood. Whithin the framework of this conference Bambini nel Tempo presented their results of 10 years activities of the Center in regard to help to abused children and their families.

February 2010 - new project CIPS has initiated again in cooperation with the socio-sanitary Union of Municipalities of the Lower Sabine with updated approach to prevention of violence towards children by teachers, parents and schoolmates of children abuses. The project is called "Growing together safer" ("Crescere insieme più sicuri").

In February 2010 Bambini nel Tempo organized the Fifth National Congress CISMAI "Growing up without violence: policies, strategies and methods", held at the Hotel Nazionale in Rome on 4 and 5 February 2010 (translation from CV Cooperativa – Bambini nel Tempo: p. 1-3).

102. What are your professional responsibilities in this organization?

"I am the supervisor and also social assistant in SAMAN²⁴ (drug addictions, children under 18 years old). Social services ask for a help Comune di Roma (Counties - they take care of a child) and Servizi Sociale (they also work with children). These institutions have a problem of cooperation between each other. Social services (Servizi Sociale) give certain responsibilities to different kinds of social associations (like ONLUS²⁵, Voluntary Associations, Social cooperatives, NGO²⁶, Foundations, IPAB²⁷, etc.), for example, to Bambini nel Tempo, they ask us to help them. TSMREE²⁸ (Tutela Salute Mentale e Riabilitazione dell'Età Evolutiva (Neuropsichiatria Infantile) di Roma e Provincia) – take mental health care of children and adults. Very often we have big problems in terms of cooperation between TSMREE and Municipi (Municipalities) within the framework of legal process in Tribunale per i Minorenni (Juvenile

²⁴ See more about SAMAN at <http://www.saman.it/>

²⁵ **ONLUS** – Organizations Non Lucrative of Social Usefulness

²⁶ **NGO** – Non-governmental organizations

²⁷ **IPAB** – Public Institutions for assistance and charity

²⁸ **TSMREE** (*The Territorial Services for the Guardianship of the Mental Health and the Rehabilitation*) are the local services of care and rehabilitation of mental health and development of children and adolescence (TSMREE), they play an important role in the early detection, treatment, and prevention of disorders affecting all areas involved in development: motor, cognitive, and relational psicoaffettiva. It performs the following **functions**: 1) Directs the technically and scientifically 7 Units of Child Neuropsychiatry, also promoting issues affecting the quality of service; 2) Establishes priorities for action; 3) Company promotes participation in research projects and experiments; 4) Proposes a homogeneous distribution of the service throughout the company and program, the rational use of personnel; 5) Interacts with the institutional bodies responsible for all activities, including for the conclusion of framework agreements or memoranda of understanding; 6) Ensure the collection of data on business activities of the Units; 7) Proposed plans for updating and retraining of personnel, organizing courses enterprise-wide training; 8) Ensure the implementation of teaching, training, authorizes and monitors the activities of voluntary work carried out in different garrisons. Patients are from 0 to 18 years, who may have disease risk, neuro-motor, neuro-psychological, psychiatric, psychological, cognitive, social pathologies care. The care procedure consists of an interview made by social assistant - to collect social data from the patient

(<http://www.aslromah.it/cittadino/carta/pdf/NEUROPSICHIATRIA%20INFANTILE.pdf>).

Court)²⁹. NGOs are more connected with Municipi (Municipalities) and Comune' di Roma (Counties) who give them money for the realizing the projects (or from National Health Service - Servizio Sanitario Nazionale³⁰, but this is more about health care³¹). SerT³² pay to the Communities to take care of drug addicts”.

“NGOs play a different role. The state asks for the help of experts in ONLUS and NGO. If there weren't the NGO sector in Italy, the state wouldn't be able to answer to the problem properly. International grants and other organizations (like Save the Children) are not involved in this system. But NGO's sector is very weak because it is very depended on the state's money. For example, if Municipi (Municipalities) gives to us (ONLUS) 100 Euros, let's say 80 Euros would be spend on realization of our project, activities and also on the staff salaries. The rest of this sum which is 20 Euros in our case (usually it is 25 % from the whole sum), we will have to give to the State as the taxes. These 25 % of taxes are supposed to be a part of the State expenses to take care of workers, their medical insurances, pensions, etc. Thus, you can see that per cent of taxes that NGO sector have to pay is very high which consequently makes ONLUS very weak. They are at high risk of getting into debts and owe the State money. Once ONLUS got into debts, the sum of money that they will have to pay off next time to the State is higher also because of the interest. Thus, the NGOs at the end appear to owe the State even more money than they actually receive from Municipi (Municipalities) at the beginning. As a result, it is quite common that such NGOs are getting closed because of the debts to the State. In that way we can see how the system destroys itself from within. As for international organizations, they all stay apart from this system, it only concerns NGO sector on the national level.”

“Moreover, I think that NGOs in Italy are an answer to people's needs, Municipality is considered to be less expensive than the State”.

“Social security is very different from the north and the south of Italy. The northern Italian social system has been much more developed in contrast to the south of Italy. And therefore the proper reaction to the situation from Comune (Counties) was very important. We have been waiting for a long time a law towards social services (as a form of Counties' reaction). But every Comune (Counties) used to answer the needs of each Comune (Counties) in different ways³³. For example, in the south they don't give a lot

²⁹ In 1978 there was a reform of the Health Service based on territorialization of services (USL) – Law n. 833/78. In 1977 jurisdiction matters were given to the Municipalities and the corporations were dissolved (DPR: 616/77)

³⁰ **Servizio Sanitario Nazionale (SSN)** – is *National Health Service*, it is a public service which is organized under the Ministry of Health and it's administered on a regional basis. **Italy's healthcare system is regarded as the 2nd best in the world**, after France, and according to the CIA

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Healthcare_in_Italy).

³¹ There was a problem of communication between health and social services which existed during all development of Italian welfare system.

³² In Italy, the coordination of drug-related treatment is carried out at regional level, and heads of the local drug departments or drug services coordinate drug-related treatment. The **Regional Health Council** establishes the treatment delivery services, manages accreditation of private community treatment centres and records the number of treatment centres. Both the public and private sectors provide treatment, and both are funded through the Regional Health Fund. Funds are allocated on a yearly basis to the regions by the Government. The Italian drug treatment system includes two complementary sub-systems: **Servizi Tossicodipendenze (SerT)** and therapeutic communities. **SerTs are public drug treatment units which mainly carry out outpatient treatment, and are part of the national health system.** Within the SerT, integrated treatment is usually provided, with the client receiving both pharmacologically-assisted and psychosocial treatment, and with just under half of all clients receiving drug-free treatment alone. Even if drug-free treatment is also available in the SerTs, they remain the main provider of substitution treatment. Moreover, SerTs may also carry out reintegration programmes. The majority of therapeutic communities are private and non-profit organisations. They carry out in-patient treatment, but also semi-residential and outpatient treatment. Referral to therapeutic communities is made by the SerTs, which in most cases authorise the local NHS unit to pay the fees for the treatment. The largest number of services is located in the northern regions of Italy, which have the largest number of problem drug users and highest urban densities. Interventions carried out in both the public and the private services include psychosocial support, psychotherapy and social service interventions, and also detoxification in residential settings and vocational training in semi-residential settings. Detoxification is also carried out in general hospitals. However, the number of problem drug users in hospital settings is believed to be low

(<http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/html.cfm/index35927EN.html>).

³³ In the mid of 1990s this phenomenon was called *fragmentation of services* that are divided for different types of problems and needs. Ex, we still had different possibilities and services for children that are only acknowledged by the mother and children that are acknowledged by the father even if they have the same problems of poverty...

of money to the social services. This is one of the reasons why Italian social policy is very different in every region inside the country. Comune (Counties) would better prefer not to give enough money to the social organizations (the sphere of social services is the most expensive), which leads to the low level of development of social organizations and social services as well. Therefore at this period the answer to the complexity of social problems were left to the strength and capacity of individual local administration (Counties) and to the good will of social agents. Comune (Counties) prefer giving money directly to the people by studying each case individually, but not to social organizations who can offer more competent and organized help to more people, they don't trust them. As for situation with social care of children, it is always more difficult to meet the requirements of children than adults, because adults can vote. Hence, it is more simple to answer the needs of adults than kids. Beside this the autonomy of the private system is collapsing step by step³⁴, which is also because of the crisis and debts. Private sector supported social welfare system more on the north of Italy and much less in the south, - that is why we wanted a lot the application of this law of 2000³⁵ which would be a national law that would govern the social security system of many Counties and which would remote the formation of the social welfare system, legislating by themselves".

103. What are the most common problems experienced by children who are the clients of your organization?

"Psychological and social abuses".

104. How many children received help in your organization over the last year? (any statistical data from annual reports)

"Il Centro Aiuto al Bambino Maltrattato e alla Famiglia has dealt with a total of 670 cases since 1998 which were given by Servizi Socio Sanitari in the region of Rome". Here is further data about the cases:

Pic. 1 – *Inviante* – demonstrates the per cents and a list of structures from which children were send to Il Centro Aiuto al Bambino Maltrattato e alla Famiglia.

Pic. 2 – *Eta' del bambino* – shows the age range among children who were the clients of Il Centro Aiuto al Bambino Maltrattato e alla Famiglia.

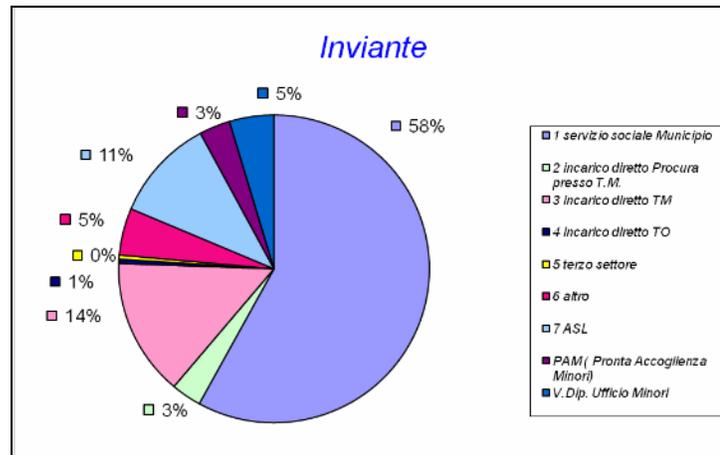
Pic. 3 – *Tipo do richiesta* – points out the frequencies of different requests to provide children with specific services offered by Il Centro Aiuto. Most of the requests were received from Social Services and Court. Types of requests included following:

social services - 31,9 %;
private services – 2,4 %;
psychological support – 19,2 %;
individual psychotherapy – 6,7 %;
family psychotherapy – 9,8 %;
expertise of suspicions of sexual abuse – 14,9 %;
expertise of verification of trauma – 9,5 %;
verification of a child's psycho diagnosis – 15,2 %;
expertise of parents' competence – 36,7 %;
expertise of a child's protection space – 10,2 %;
expertise of social life conditions of a child – 7,4 %.

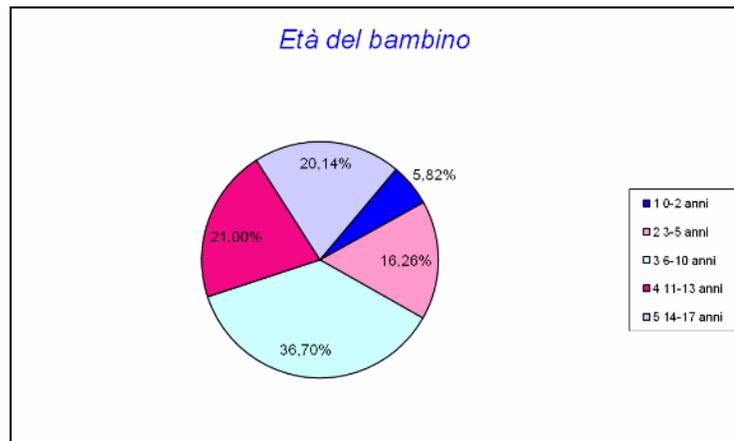
Pic. 1 - *Inviante*

³⁴ In the mid of 1990s the big development of the third system (private social system) *didn't follow* by the achievement of a real autonomy from the public system.

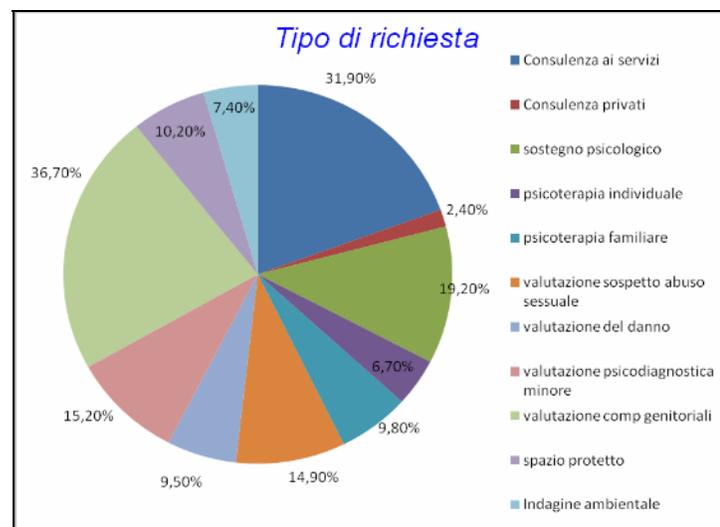
³⁵ **Law n. 328/00** in 2000 – reform of social welfare which is based on the following *concepts*: 1) From assistance to social security, there should be equal levels of essential services all over the national territory; 2) Universality of services, but with the priority of intervention on situations of difficulty; 3) Interventions are guaranteed by a system based on the local planning (Piano di Zona); 4) Social private system has to become a partner of public services not only during the supply, but also during the local planning of services; 5) The funding of social welfare is guaranteed by the State, Counties, Provinces and Municipalities (Stato, Regioni, Provincie, Comuni).



Pic. 2 – Eta' del bambino



Pic. 3 – Tipo di richiesta



105. What kind of documents and records are maintained in your organization for each case of working with a child? What parameters and characteristics do you keep record of in these documents?

“Video recordings of supervisions, psychotherapy and meetings with children and their family; written form of procedures of supervisions, psychotherapy and meetings with children and their family; drawings and pictures of children; results of meetings and discussions about each cases among specialists and supervisors; documents from the Court and their formal request for *Bambini nel Tempo* to conduct psychological expertise about the case; documents about child and family provided by Social Services”.

106. Do you have children (clients of your organization’s services) who are the victims of CSE? (if «NO» then go to Block 3).

“Yes, we do”.

Questions for experts who **have experience** of working directly with children/victims of CSE

BLOCK 2. Professional experience of working with children, victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

201. Could you please tell me, how you or some of your colleagues usually become aware of the cases of CSEC? (if the info is already provided by police or if children can mention it themselves while in conversation, or smth else).

“Sometimes they know about it from the Court, sometimes – from Social Services, or from schools, they know about it inside the territory. Then Social Services write to the Court and the Court writes to the ONLUS. In Italy for the child protection we have following institutions: 1) Procura Generale³⁶; 2) Procura della Repubblica Italiana³⁷ 3) Repubblica Italiana Tribunale ordinario di Roma³⁸; 4) Tribunale per i Minorenni di Roma³⁹. Tribunale per i Minorenni is the Juvenile Court, in other words, it is the court for children from 0 till 18 years old. Such institution was established in Italy in 1934. There are two main departments: 1) department for cases when a child committed the crime; 2) department of protection of children rights. Juvenile Court function differently from Trial Court. There 4 members and 2 social workers, they make the decisions about the case altogether. Here the judge can speak with a child only if he/she is more than 18 years old. With the children speak only psychologists. But there are cases when the judge can speak with a child, but it is allowed only under the condition that a child is 12 years old or older and only in case of deciding with whom a child will leave. The judge has to listen to a child very attentively”.

202. What kind of help do children/victims of CSE, need?

“In most cases – psychological help, but sometimes – medical, social and legal help. We do mostly – psychological part”.

203. Among the needs you mentioned above, could you please specify them in detail? What kinds of needs are specific for children/victims of CSE?

“I would say that psychological and social help are specific in this case. Speaking about social help I mean social intervention (for ex., protecting a child from family where there are abuses etc.)”.

³⁶ *Procura Generale* – is the State Attorney’s office, which at the Supreme Court functions as the prosecutor according to the law and judiciary rules. State Attorney’s office draws up written submissions arranged in accordance to specific norms. Their activities in terms of the public interest contribute into uniform interpretation of Italian law.

³⁷ *Procura della Repubblica* – is the Prosecutor’s Office whose employees are the public prosecutors: the judge who acts as prosecutor (PM), and his deputies. In other words, it is the structure which combines the work of judicial offices investigators and the court.

³⁸ *Repubblica Italiana Tribunale ordinario di Roma* – is Italian Trial Court (see <http://www.tribunale.roma.it/>).

³⁹ See <http://www.tribunaledeiminori.it/>

204. What are the differences between working with children/victims of CSE, and working with other clients of your organization?

“The difference is that in case of CSEC the court is involved into the process, which makes it even more complicated. Court examination itself takes a lot of time (because according to the Law, the case considers not less than 16 years in jail for a criminal)”.

205. What type of cases of CSEC have you had experience working with? (prostitution, pornography, sexual abuse by adults (with violence), sexual abuse by adults (without violence), sexual abuse by minors).

“Sexual abuses by adults, parents of a child”.

BLOCK 3. Professional experience of working with children – potential victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

301. Could you please recall the situations when you weren't sure but suspected that a child was a victim of CSE. What guidelines and indicators did you follow to identify the fact that a child was a victim of CSE? (if «NO» then go to Block 4).

“If the abuse is inside the family then it is even more complicated to discover it and for the Centre it is difficult to protect the child. The Centre – Bambini nel Tempo – starts «protocollo di noto» (it is a protocol of intervention into the family). In this case there is special procedure of intervention processes. In most cases it is Social Services who are the first who know about sexual abuse, then they write to: 1) Procura Generale (only when there are adults involved in the crime and if there are evidences by which you can prove it); 2) Procura della Repubblica per i Minorenni (they make decision about what would be better to do for a child). During this kind of procedure it is important to listen to a child and procura generale asks the Consulate to do it. It is called CTU⁴⁰”.

302. How many children, clients of your organization, did you suspect of being victims of CSE over the last year?

“In most cases it is Social Services who are the first who know about sexual abuse, then they write to: 1) Procura Generale; 2) Procura della Repubblica per i Minorenni (they make decision about what would be better to do for a child)”.

303. How was work with such children organized in your organization? Was it different from the work that you usually do with other children, clients of your organization?

“If the abuse is inside the family then it is even more complicated to discover it and for the Centre it is difficult to protect the child. The Centre – Bambini nel Tempo – starts «protocollo di noto» (it is a protocol of intervention into the family). In this case there is special procedure of intervention processes (see № 301)”.

BLOCK 5. Organizational and methodological aspects in the work with children/ victims of commercial sexual exploitation

501. What organizations/bodies do you inform about the revealed cases of CSEC in your organization?

“The Court, Social Services”.

502. What are the basic methodological materials you usually use when helping such children? What do you think are the main advantages and disadvantages of these materials?

⁴⁰ **CTU** - Consulente tecnico d'ufficio (Advice court). In Italy, when the court needs an expert on the dispute with specific scientific knowledge, it may require an expert intervention (Art. 61 of the Code of Civil Procedure). This intervention, in terms of advisory proceedings, may be required by law like professional fees (Article 2233 Civil Code) or in the case of maritime accidents (Article 599 of the Code of Navigation) (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consulente_Tecnico_d'Ufficio#Consulente_tecnico_d.E2.80.99ufficio).

“We just have la carta di noto which contains the history of CSEC. Social Service does not use methodological materials. Psychologists use that la carta di noto and other materials such as tests, methods, etc. Social Service do not use it, they don’t have la carta di noto. Concerning the disadvantages of methodological materials, there is emotional element in the work of psychologist. Not always psychologist is able to follow all instructions because of the emotional component which distracts. It is called *reato* – something that you just cannot do”.

503. What laws do you follow/apply when dealing with cases of CSEC?

“Some years ago we didn’t have these laws. In Italy there are two different types of crime: 1) Crime which has to be claimed by the victims; 2) Crime when there is no need of claiming by the victims themselves but by the office who works with these children. But both cases imply the application of different laws. Anyway, the first thing that must be done always is a claim by the victims themselves”.

504. If you had the possibility to correct or establish new laws on CSEC, what exactly would you do?

“We have good laws. It is not a problem of laws but a problem of tools. For example, Social Service and ASL are not strong enough in their help”.

505. What kind of technological facilities do you need for more effective work with children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer.

“It is more needed for police, internet workers, but not for social workers”.

506. How would you evaluate the labor supply of specialists in the organizations which are dealing with children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer.

“We need more services to educate specialists in this issue”.

507. Could you please express your opinion about the effectiveness of services offered by your organization to help children/victims of CSE? Please comment upon your answer. What are the mechanisms of effective help to such children?

“Yes, I think they are effective, especially in three different fields: prevention of CSEC, intervention and collaboration with other services. We make supervisions about all situations inside the Centre”.

508. What are the organizations do you cooperate with within your city, when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?

“Collaboration with other services helps to improve our methods. We did small research about the situation in the city. We collaborate with the court, social service, etc. Yes, I think that this collaboration is effective”.

509. Which organizations haven’t you cooperated with yet, but would like to partner with in order to deal with cases of CSEC?

“With Milan – CISMAI⁴¹ (Italy) and also with some other colleagues”.

510. Which organizations from other regions of your country do you cooperate with when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?

“No”.

511. Which organizations from other countries do you cooperate with, when dealing with cases of CSEC? How would you evaluate the effectiveness of this cooperation?

“No, Save the Children is more medical problem”.

512. How well enough do you think our society is informed about the problem of CSEC? What do you think ordinary people think about this problem? Comment upon your answer.

⁴¹ **CISMAI** – is Italian Coordination of Public and Private Services Against Child Abuse, this association is a non-political and non-profit-making organization (For further details see <http://www.cismai.org/>).

“The information about CSEC presented by mass media is a very difficult issue. Very often TV speaks about this problem but usually not to explain something but just to grasp the emotions of people, so it is difficult to speak about other people – you won’t find it in the media. There has to be a balance in the media, it is the question of competence of showing this problem. People are not very informed about it because they don’t accept it since it contradicts to their cultural concept of a family. I think that people have to know about it but in a good way”.

513. How would you describe and characterize the politics of the country regarding the problem of CSEC? What does the state do to deal with this problem?

“I think that laws, their application and services are very weak. Politicians’ interest in it is only temporary; the interest is not high enough”.

514. Could you please express your opinion concerning the effectiveness of services and help provided for children/victims of CSE in the city/country? How effective, do you think, these services are in the city/country? Please comment upon your answer.

“There are some services with high quality, but sometimes these services are too small, we don’t have any response to this problem. The services for victims of CSEC are not effective at the same level all over the country; there are big differences between the south and the north of Italy”.

515. What would you recommend to improve the situation in the sphere of treating/helping children/victims of CSE? What mechanisms do you think would be necessary and useful to use in order to increase the effectiveness of help for children/victims of CSE?

“The most important: to import social services inside ASL so that we could keep the problems inside ASL. It might lead to good improvement of the situation and it is also a good response to the challenges, we would respond with the specialization. We should keep it working in each ASL, it would be a good answer to the problem. As for NPA (National Plan of Actions), I suppose that it goes very slowly in Italy, but we are on our way. Social politics is very expensive and therefore the first that you would need is money to do it. And in 1997 there was the first law (285) with the budget about improvement the policy in terms of children rights’. With this law we had a budget to carry on our activities. Thus, I think that it would be good if there would be more laws like this established. These laws should say something like following: *«You have to do this and this and here is some money for it»*”.

516. Which role do you think NGOs play in the formation of Italian social policy against CSEC?

“For current period NGOs have a very big role and play a very big role in social policy against CSEC”.



ZDES Working Papers

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