Deviance in Russia under Globalization

Introduction

The paper analyzes deviant phenomena in Russia such as criminality, alcoholism, narcotism, human trafficking, terrorism and suicide influenced by global processes. The current relevance of the research is defined by the widespread deviant phenomena in contemporary Russia, the debatable character of the concept of globalization itself and the lack of studies of deviance in Russia under globalization.

The aim of the paper is to show the interdependence between deviance and the process of globalization and also the globalization of certain deviant phenomena and to draw attention to the inadequate social management of such phenomena. The paper reveals the regularity of deviant phenomena in the globalizing world and examines the dynamics of deviance in Russia. It also considers the main concepts and problems connected with deviance; the role of globalization in the process of inclusion and exclusion; globalization of certain phenomena of deviance; and globalization of social control over deviance.

1. The main concepts and problems

Globalization as a phenomenon is widely discussed in social sciences nowadays, and it has become a fashionable topic, including all the positive and negative consequences that arise (Bauman, 2004; Beck, 2001; Berger, Huntington, 2004; Cheshkov, 1999; Baylis, Smith, 1997; Mittelman, 1997; Steger, 2003). The concept 'globalization' is debatable and is used to denote different things:
- development of economic and political interdependence of countries and regions of the world to such an extent that the creation of a common world legal system and a world organization of economic and political management is possible or necessary;

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- intensification of world social relations connecting distant regions in such a way that what happens far away influences what is going on in a particular locality and vice versa (Giddens, 1990);
- processes in which sovereign nation-states are interwoven into the network of transnational actors and depend on them for their power, orientation and identity (Beck, 2001).

Deviance is a social phenomenon occurring in relatively large and statistically stable forms (types) of human activity different from the officially fixed or naturally formed norms and expectations in the society (culture, group) (Gilinskiy, 2007: 28). Deviance as a social phenomenon reveals itself in various types of deviant behaviour - acts of behaviour of people (groups of people) not coinciding with the officially established or already existing norms in a given society (culture, subculture, group) (Gilinskiy, 2007: 23). The problems of deviance and deviant behaviour are reflected in numerous works (Giddens, 2005; Smelser, 1994; Bryant, 2001; Curra, 2000; Downes, Rock, 1998; Rowers, 2003; McCaghy, Carpon, Jamieson, 2000; Palmer, Humphery, 1990).

For the topic of this paper it is important to outline the following problems:

First, globalization is an objective process characterized by the activities of transnational companies; interdependence of countries (energy sources, raw material, technologies, etc.); world information systems; interconnectedness of financial systems; internalization and intensification of modern transport networks; increased flow of migration, followed by the interpenetration of ethnic cultures; the use of English as the means of international communication; formation of 'universal human values'; and the planetary character of ecological problems. Some Russian politicians misunderstand the situation and disregard objective globalization processes. It can only worsen Russia's performance in the world market and the situation in Russia itself. It drags Russia into the camp of outsiders. Suffice it to say that the Gross National Product (GNP) per person in Russia was only $8,920 in 2003 with the average world GNP per person $8,180; in Luxembourg - $54,430, in the USA -
$37,500, in Norway $37,300 and in Japan - $28,620 (World Development Report, 2005: 258-266). By 2005 Russia had moved to the 147th place regarding life expectancy (women - 72 and men - 59). It means that an average Russian man doesn't manage to live to the pension age. Russia has one of the lowest life expectancies in the world. Russia is in the 231st place according to the coefficient of population growth and it occupies one of the first places in the world regarding the death rate (16.3 people per 1,000, meanwhile the average world death rate is 9, in Europe it is 11 and in Africa it is 15) (All Countries of the World, 2005).

Secondly, globalization has positive and negative consequences, with an unequal spread of positive and negative effects on the countries and regions of the world. In parallel to the process of globalization a process of differentiation and polarization is taking place. This fact is reflected in Roland Robertson's neologism - 'glocalization'. According to Wallerstein the world is divided into core, semi-periphery and periphery countries. Russia was classified by him as a semi-periphery country. "Though there are enough signs that it is degrading to a periphery country" states Pantin (Pantin, 1999: 227).

Thirdly, the process of globalization (internationalization) of different forms of deviance is taking place also, such as prostitute trafficking, narcotics trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. This is an expected process because deviance (its structure, scale and dynamics) depends on economic, political, social, demographic and other factors. Globalization is accompanied by the process of 'inclusion/exclusion', when some people and social groups turn out to be excluded from the society's life - economic, political and cultural (Paugam, 1999). Luhmann thinks that the worst of the possible scenarios will bring a meta code of inclusion/exclusion - that means that some people will be included into the functioning system and others will be simply trying to survive (Luhmann, 1998).

We consider the process of 'inclusion/exclusion' to be very important for the subject of this paper, because 'the excluded" (countries, social groups, persons) serve as a basis of deviance in relation to criminality, alcoholism and addiction to narcotics,
which is admitted by many researchers in the world (Finer, Nellis, 1998; Young, 1999; Gilinskiy, 2004). The on-going process of division of countries, social groups and people into the excluded and the included is stated by many researchers. For example Z. Bauman, who avoids using the terms 'the included/excluded', prefers to speak about 'tourists' (the included) and 'tramps' (the excluded), emphasizing that these two groups are two worlds, two perceptions of the world and two strategies (Bauman, 2004: 142).

It is important to understand that globalization increases socio-economic inequality, which is the main cause of deviance. If, theoretically, it is well known that socio-economic inequality can create deviance (from K.Marx to R.Merton and 'radical criminology') the research of contemporary Russian criminologists has proved it empirically. The factor analysis shows that among a multitude of economic, social, political and demographic factors it is socio-economic inequality, the indicator of which is a *decile coefficient* (it reflects the difference of incomes of 10% of the wealthiest and 10% of the poorest) and the *Gini index* (it expresses the degree of inequality in the distribution of incomes of the population), that correlates most closely with such phenomena of deviance as criminality: murder, suicide and other violent crimes (Olkov, 2004; Skifsky, 2006; Yuzikhanova, 2005).

According to Olkov's investigation of the situation in Russia in the 1990s the greatest number of registered murders - 32,300 a year - occurred in 1994 when there was the highest Gini index, and the lowest number of murders - 15,600 a year - in 1990 when the Gini index was lowest. In Russia the Gini index is one of the highest in the world. In 2000 it was 45.6 in Russia, Ecuador - 43.7, Bolivia - 44.7, meanwhile in Belgium - 25.0, Hungary - 24.4, Germany - 28.3 and Norway - 25.8 (World Development Report, 2005: 260-261).

But the globalization process can bring harm not only to poor countries but also highly developed ones. Beck remarks that globalization makes possible and evident what, perhaps, has always been present in capitalism but has been contained by democratic institutions of a nation-state.
Enterprises, especially those which operate on the global scale, play a key role, not only in the organization of the economy, but also in the societal life in general, because they have capital, create jobs and can pay big taxes. Transnational corporations 'disregard' the borders of nation-states in search of profit. Due to their transnational nature they, de facto, cancel the contract of loyalty to national institutions. If the social integrity was conditioned mainly by economic factors, the decrease of social integrity is greater in such a nation-state.

It is not by chance that the word 'globalization' brings about a range of emotions. Some people consider it as the forerunner of a civil society, the beginning of a new era of democratization; for others it means economic and political hegemony of the USA, with world cultures becoming homogeneous and metastases of Disneyland (Berger; Huntington, 2004). Hence, there is the antiglobalist movement protesting against world-wide McDonaldization, the spontaneous upsurge of 'the excluded' in Paris's outskirts and finally even Islamic fundamentalism.

*Fourthly,* in response to the globalization of deviant phenomena the globalization of social control over deviance is taking place: the foundation and activities of Interpol and Europol; the development and adoption of numerous international laws and regulations conceived to counteract organized criminal groups, drag trafficking, money-laundering and terrorism; world legal agreements about the living conditions of prisoners kept in the penitentiaries and penal colonies (e.g. 'Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners'); the dissemination of the idea and practice of 'community policing', i.e. the 'partnership' between police and community; the development of the practice of restorative justice and juvenile justice; the universal tendency of abolishment of capital punishment and so on. At the same time researchers' attention is drawn to the increased repressive measures on the part of police and criminal justice directed, first of all, against the 'excluded', i.e. the so-called 'selective approach' of police and criminal justice (Christie, 2000; Christie, 2004; Robinson, 2002; Walsmley, 2004).
Here are some factors of deviance's genesis and criminogenic factors related to globalization and described by V.V. Luneyev (Luneyev, 2005: 127-130):

1. *The problem of employment.*
   
   There is a new concept '20:80' which means that in the 21st century only 20% of the population will have work and 80% will be redundant. We consider it as a paraphrase of the concept 'inclusion/exclusion'. If 80% of the population becomes unemployed, without the means for living, it will be a great reserve from which deviance can arise.

2. *The problem of the markets of financial speculations.*

   More than 80% of financial capital is not engaged in the production of real material goods. It is a 'market of roulette gamblers'. Financial crises will shake countries more and more, especially those that are not highly developed (for example, the Russian default of 1998, the financial problems of Eastern Asia and so on).


   There is a dramatic decrease in the possibilities for national governments to manage their societies and to provide social control over criminality. The criminologists have noticed this trend since the second half of the previous century. "We are facing a new test" (Turayev, 2002).

   Revolutionization of the population at the beginning of the 20th century gave birth to revolutionary violence matching terrorism. Instead of taking political, economic and social measures the government reacted to the revolutionary violence by increasing police brutality. It resulted in the victory of the revolution in Russia with the possibility of spreading revolution to other countries.

   "At the beginning of the current century political, social and economic disparities in the globalizing world push new revolutionaries-terrorists backed by poverty-stricken and 'robbed up' nations, to total terrorism against the rich and hated governments in the despised countries" (Luneyev, 2003: 34). Instead of responding by solving political, social and economic problems, 'anti-terrorist' operations and violence are organized by these governments.
Besides, there are global demographic disproportions and mass migration. "The hopelessness felt by the population of the countries with backward economies creates a social basis for radicalism and terrorism", (Luneyev, 2003: 34) and other manifestations of deviance.

To sum up, globalization increases social economic inequality among people and societies and increases the scale of 'the excluded' - which is the social basis for deviant manifestations - and the gap between 'the included' and 'excluded'. Globalization of economies, politics and cultures is accompanied by the globalization of both different types of deviance and social control.

2. Globalization of deviant phenomena

2.1. Criminality

There is a kind of correlation between criminality and other economic, social, political, demographic and cultural processes. Hence, we have the globalization of criminality which follows a general globalization path. We can observe some regularity of the expression of these correlations in the world (Luneyev, 2005).

However, since the end of the 1990s there has been a global trend of slower growth rate of criminality and the reduction of certain categories of crime in the world, which we can see below (based on Luneyev, 2005: 35-46; Barclay, Tavares, 2003; Shaw, van Dijk, Rhomberg, 2003: 35-63).

For example, in Europe in 2000-2001 the level of general criminality lowered: in Austria (-7%), Bulgaria (-3%), Denmark (-6%), Italy (-2%), Lithuania (-4%), Romania (-4%), Finland (-6%), Czech (-8%), Sweden (-2%).

The years of 1980, 1993, 2000 can serve us as the base years. In those years the level of criminality (per 100 thousand people) was the following:
in Denmark - 8,282; 12,084; 9,451 (correspondingly to the years of 1980; 1993; 2000);
in Germany - 4,873; 8,337; 7,621;
in Canada - 8,804; 11,447; 8,041.
That tendency of lower rate characterized the majority of developed European countries and countries of North America.

On the whole the level of general criminality (per 100 thousand people) rose from 2,500 in 1980 to 3,100 in 2000 in the world and, in particular:
- in North America it went down from 8,900 in 1991 to 6,000 in 2000;
- in the countries of the European Union this indicator rose from 5,000 in 1980 to 6,200 in 1994 with the following up stabilization and reduction to 6,000 in 1 1998, and again with some rise up to 6,200 by 2000;
- in the countries of Latin America and Caribbean basin there was a wavy fluctuation - 2,200 in 1980,2,000 in 1984, and a little more than 3,000 in 1989 (and in 1993-1994), with the fall to 2,800 in 1997, and the rise again up I to 3,500 in 1998-1999, and a little decrease in 2000.

In *Russia* there was a decrease of the criminality level during Gorbachev's Perestroika (to 817 per 100 thousand of population in 1987), with the sharp rise up to 1,888 in 1993, and then some stabilization and the rise again up to 2,026 in 2000 and 2,692 in 2006 (*Crime and Delinquency, statistical reviews, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006*). Analogous fluctuations referred to certain types of criminal cases. The level of murders was very high (more than 20-22 per 100 thousand people) beginning from 1994, which put Russia on the third place in the world after Columbia and the Republic of South Africa). It is important to state that the steady growth of registered criminal cases reflected the growing number of criminals without a permanent source of income, such 'excluded' constituted 11.8% in 1987, and in 2005 their portion reached 60.3%.

The globalization of deviance is especially clearly manifested in the activities of organized crime (*Gilinskiy, 2002: 202-25; Gilinskiy, 2003; Gilinskiy, 2007: 236-248; Gilinskiy, Kostyukovsky, 2006: 74-96*). There are various definitions of organized crime. We can use the definition suggested at the International conference in Suzdal (Russia) in 1991: "organized crime is permanently functioning and managed communities of criminals engaged in committing criminal offences as their main
business and creating a protective system of social control by means of corruption". Organized crime is not simply the aggregation of criminal groups and the criminal offences committed by them. It involves qualitatively new characteristics of criminality. It is built into the social system and affects its components, mainly its economy and politics. Organized crime is identified with entrepreneurship, business, production and distribution of goods and/or services (organized crime as illegal entrepreneurship). The formation and development of organized crime is a world process that is in conformity with certain laws. It is a particular case of better organized management at the subsystem level (economics, politics and so on). Organized crime was institutionalized in different countries at different times. The main characteristics of organized crime as a social institution are the following:

- long life;
- stable functioning;
- performance of certain social functions (satisfaction of demand for illegal services or goods due to their deficit, job creation, redistribution of means and etc.);
- the use of work code or certain norms, professional language (slang), creation of roles.

The process of institutionalization of organized crime started in Russia (the Soviet Union) from the end of the 1950s or the beginning of the 1960s and finished by the end of the 1970s or the beginning of the 1980s. The most important mechanism of organized crime is its readiness for integration. Russian organized criminal groups widely integrated into international organized crime by the beginning of the 1990s. The Russian criminal 'plenipotentiaries' for European countries were preoccupied with the coordination of business with foreign 'colleagues' and organization of criminal involvement of visiting 'fellow-countrymen' into the life of the 'Russian communities' abroad. Economic expediency and criminal drive predetermined the dynamic character of globalization of organized crime. International cooperation of criminal structures has been known for a long time. Illegal export-import traffic of narcotics, weapons, alcohol, prostitutes and
international money-laundering - all are well known (Ovchinsky, Eminov, Yablokov, 1996: 18-51; Repetskaya, 2001; Fijnaut, Paoli, 2004; Gilinskiy, 2003). We want to demonstrate the directions of internationalization of organized crime using the interview taken by Y. Kostyukovsky, a researcher of the Centre for Deviantology at the Institute of Sociology of Russia's Academy of Sciences from the members of St. Petersburg's criminal groups about their activities (Gilinskiy, Kostyukovsky, 2006).

*Illegal export of non-ferrous metal from Russia to the countries of Western Europe*

"Interviewer (I): What sort of criminal business is the most popular?

*Respondent (R), the member of a criminal group:* In 1994 half all the metal from Russia was exported illegally. It was a good business! People earned so much for two or three months that it is enough (to live on) even now. True, they had to work 25 hours per day... But the game was worth (the long hours). The difference of prices here and in Estonia, for example, was crazy."

*Illegal export and market of 'living goods', i.e. illegal migration, export of prostitutes*

"I.: And what about prostitution?

*R.: Prostitution in St. Petersburg is a well-established industry, it was not invented only yesterday. It can be an invitation to work abroad in the strip-tease show or in the service sphere in general. But when they are exported, for example, to Turkey they are forcibly made to become prostitutes. Some are lucky if they manage to run away. But the end is usually bad..."

*Stealing and selling stolen cars (international car business)*

"I.: Do you have contacts with foreigners?

*R.: Of course. We have a car business. A kind of exchange.

*I.: What's that?
R.: Naturally. Here, in Peeterr\(^2\) the car is stolen and brought to Germany and (in return) from Holland to Russia. Well, there are quite fine networks — in Germany, Poland, France, Hungary, Holland and Russia. So, with organized crime everything is OK - there are international contacts."

**Illegal export of radioactive material**

The news of the illegal export of radioactive material from Russia leaked into the mass media causing discussion in Russia and abroad (Ovchinsky, Eminov, Yablokov, 1996: 44-45).

**Smuggling the antiques or objects of art**

The number of such objects confiscated during the attempts to get them out of the country rose from 3,500 in 1992 to 10,000 in 1999. But customs officers believe that only 5-10% of the antiques and objects of art are found at the customs and confiscated (Gurov, 2000: 41).

**Illegal export of weapons**

One of the most profitable criminal businesses (the second most profitable after the drag trade) is the sales of weapons abroad. But the data about the trade of weapons are scarce because it is connected with the criminal activities of high-ranking military officials - federal and regional. "One can buy anything if one has enough money" (Gurov, 2000: 34-36; Dolgova, 1999: 86-91).

**The international networks of illegal production**

The international networks of illegal production and trade flourish, especially if it involves the trade and production of alcohol. Illegal alcohol arrives in Russia from Poland, the Netherlands and other countries.

\(^2\) i.e. St Petersburg; 'Peter' sounds 'Peeterr' in Russian. It is the name of Russian tsar Peter the Great, the founder St. Petersburg (Ed.).
Forged foreign currency

Up to 95% of forged foreign currency comes to Russia from abroad (Gurov, 2000: 28).

Narcobusiness

International business in narcotics brings the greatest profit world-wide. Experts from the United Nations (UN) estimate international turnover of drugs at billion dollars; that constitutes about 8% of all world trade. Heroin arrives in Russia from Afghanistan, Pakistan and North Korea; derivatives of cannabis from Middle Asia and Ukraine; cocaine from Latin America; 'wheels' (drugs) from Western Europe; ephedrine and its derivatives ('ice') from China. In turn Russia re-exports heroin and cannabis to Western Europe (Gurvich, Rusakova, 2006: 162-203; Rogatykh, Strelchenko, Toporov, 2003; Romanova, 2000:43-79).

Globalization of criminalized 'legal economy'

It should be added to the above-mentioned that the phenomenon of the globalization of the criminalized 'legal' economy takes place now (e.g. Trans World Group - TWG, controlling the aluminum and the alumina extracting industry of Siberia) (Repetskaya, 2001). The profits of transnational organized crime are invested into the legal economy via controlled banks for the purpose of money-laundering. According to the experts from the American National Strategy Information Center, the overall profit of international organized crime reaches a trillion dollars, which approaches the annual budget of the USA (Repetskaya, 2001).

Globalization of criminality connected with migration

Globalization of criminality takes place not only in the form of organized crime. Increased migration flows bring both positive results (internationalization of science, art, culture) and negative ones. Migrants, apart from their different ethnic traditions,
have more everyday problems while adapting to the new reality of the host country than the natives: the language barrier, professional difficulties connected with their qualifications meeting the standards of a new country, housing problems, different cultural background and other features of the 'social disorder' - all of which serves as the source of their future deviant behaviour. Many recipient countries have begun to come across the problem of newcomers' crimes. For example, in 2004 in Germany the non-native citizens (non-Germans) made up 22.9% of suspects (maximum - 33.6% in 1993), which is the evidence of the relatively high criminal activity of migrants. The proportion of migrants committing crimes is the following: migrants from Turkey (21.5%), from Serbia and Montenegro 8.2% (in 1999 - 16.0%), from Poland (6.7%), Italy (5.0%) and Russia (3.2%) (Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2005: 109, 116).

2.2. Alcoholization

Traditionally it was considered that the cause of alcoholism should be found within the borders of the country. The accelerated rate of economic and cultural globalization makes such a concept obsolete.

In spite of the general trend of the increase of alcohol addiction, its world dynamics resembles a wavy line. Since the middle of the 19th century one can find three upsurges in the growth of alcohol consumption, with the development cycle lasting for 50-70 years. The first rise happened in the middle of the 19th century the second rise started at the end of the 19 century and lasted till the 1920s-1930s. The latest rise took place after the war and finished at the end of the 1970s. From the beginning of the 1980s the consumption, especially of wine, and to a lesser degree - beer, has reduced a little (Gurvich, Goryachova, 2006: 113-161).

Countries can be classified into three categories according to their pattern of alcohol consumption. For the countries of Southern Europe daily consumption of wine is typical for all members of society. The display of alcoholic intoxication is not approved. Eastern European countries, countries of Northern Europe and also the
USA are called 'spirits drinking' countries, because the populations of these countries prefer strong alcoholic drinks (vodka, whisky, etc). Alcohol consumption is not regular, but intensive, and periods of abstinence alternate with periods abundant drinking up to the degree of heavy intoxication. For central European countries and Canada the consumption of beer is more typical.

The most significant changes in alcohol consumption over the last fifty years have been observed in the countries of Northern and Southern Europe. The 'peak' in wine drinking in southern countries was reached in the 1970s (17 liters of absolute alcohol per person\(^3\)) and in the 1990s it was reduced to 12. In France the fall in consumption started a bit earlier - from the middle of the 1950s. The level of consumption in northern countries rose in the 1960s-1970s, mostly due to a bigger consumption of beer.

In Russia the rise of alcohol consumption to 14 liters took place in the middle of the 1990s and Russia went ahead of other countries in alcohol consumption per person surpassing even the former leader - France (Nemtsov, 2001; Nemtsov, 2003).

The consumption of alcohol in 15 European countries in the years 1950-2000 was characterized by the process of homogenization, i.e. exhibiting similar consumption (Leifman, 2001; Leifman, Osterberg, Romstedt, 2002; Norstrom, 2001). Homogenization develops due to:

1. the increase of globalization and integration in economies,
2. the harmonization of political reforms,
3. cultural diffusion as a result of the development of modern communication and transport technologies.

High homogeneity of alcohol consumption characterizes the countries of Eastern Europe including the former European republics of the Soviet Union: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic republics. They have a high level of alcohol consumption and negative consequences. In the Soviet period there were state monopolies controlling alcohol production. In the 1990s these states went, to some extent, through the spontaneous development of spirits markets. Nowadays the

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\(^3\) Absolute alcohol generally refers to purified ethanol, containing no more than one percent of water.
situation improves: the programme of controlling the production of alcoholic drinks has been started in the Baltic republics in connection with their joining the European Union.

The international alcohol industry entered the vodka market in the newly independent states (former republics of the Soviet Union) at the beginning of the 1990s. It was mainly the producers of alcohol from the countries of the European Union. They actually ousted home-brewing in Russia, for example, supplying Russia with 500 million liters of spirits per year. Eastern Europe turned out to be divided by international alcohol holdings (Moscalewicz, Simpura, 2000: 502-22). At present, in search of new markets, transnational alcohol producing companies, specializing mainly in beer, have instituted a more expansive policy towards the developing countries, taking advantage of the weakness of the political system and the liberalization of the economy.

Globalization of the ideology of a free market leads to the cessation of many interstate agreements that contained and structured alcohol consumption. There is a tendency to compare alcohol with the consumption of ordinary goods, the demand for which is limited only by the paying capacity of the population. The attempt to block or limit the consumption of alcohol is considered by the majority of the population as an infringement on the right for freedom of choice.

2.3. Narcotism

The term ‘narcotism’ means a social phenomenon that refers to the relatively spread and statistically stable consumption of narcotic or other toxic and psychotropic remedies, inflicting negative medical (drug addiction) and social consequences (Gilinskiy, 2007: 286). Illegal turnover of narcotics was documented long ago as a world network with well-established channels of distribution of the main narcotics. Thus, the principal suppliers of cocaine in the world market are the countries of the 'Andean group' (Peru, Bolivia and Columbia). Opium poppies are grown by the
countries of the 'Golden Triangle' (Southeast Asia)\textsuperscript{4} and the 'Golden Crescent' (Southwest Asia)\textsuperscript{5}. Approximately 90\% of the world production of opium comes from Burma, Afghanistan, Iran and Lebanon. The production of hemp is almost equally spread among the countries of Africa, Europe, America and Asia. Traffic is mainly inside the region. The sources of cannabis are, first of all, Albania, Columbia, the Republic of South Africa, the Russian Federation, Jamaica and the Netherlands. Since 1998 Thailand, Ghana and Paraguay have joined them. In the overall volume of transported narcotics, Mexico, Canada and the USA play an important role. The main production of cannabis resin comes from Morocco, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Other important sources of supply of cannabis resin are Central Asia and the Russian Federation.

A number of circumstances allow us to speak of narcotism as a global phenomenon (Gurvich, Rusakova, 2006: 162-203).

\textit{Firstly}, due to the macro economic character of the business many countries are involved in the drug trade either as producers and suppliers or as consumers.

\textit{Secondly}, there are criminological factors such as: the leading role of organized crime in world drug trafficking which has the characteristics of transnational activities.

\textit{Thirdly}, there are cultural factors. Recently drug abuse has become a mass culture, the norms and values disseminated by the mass media in many countries - the consumers of drugs. The subculture of groups, for which the use of drugs is a routine practice, has penetrated into the wider strata of 'normal' social communities. The demand for drugs in the developed countries, which are the buyers, reflect some tendencies to develop a modern mass culture where drugs occupy a prominent place. In the post-war history of Western countries there were several peaks of aggravation of drug abuse; the 1960s witnessed the cult of 'speed', the 1970s had 'hippies' with their drug experiments and the 1980s were characterized by heroin experiments of

\textsuperscript{4} Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Laos (Ed.).
\textsuperscript{5} Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan (Ed.).
'new ages'. During all these period drags were the characteristic of some youth subculture movements.

*Fourthly*, there are certain legal factors reflected in the two main concepts of social control over narcotism - 'the war on drags' and 'harm reduction'. It results in differing anti-drag strategies and tactics in different countries. On the international level negotiations are constantly held about the adoption of a universal approach and a universal legal system in the sphere of drug control.

*Fifthly*, there are certain political factors engaged in the struggle for influence: international organizations and unions are created to exercise control over narcotics. These organizations produce an essential influence upon the national governments. However, using corrupted high officials at the level of executive and legislative powers organized crime successfully lobbies for certain political decisions and directly penetrates into the power bodies by promoting their own members to higher official positions.

2.4. **Terrorism**

Terrorism is one of the most serious problems, potentially or factually, concerning every inhabitant of our planet (Lukin, 2006). The definition of terrorism contains two important features:

- the use of violence or the threat to use *violence*;
- political (religious and ideological) *motivation* to use violence.

But there is also one essential feature of terrorism; it is rather a social phenomenon than an individual act of political assassination. It is the use of violence towards an undefined circle of direct objects of terrorist attack for the sake of achieving the future aim, i.e. to satisfy political (economic, social and religious) demands.

Laqueur draws attention to the subjectivism in the definition of terrorism. For some it is terrorism, for others it is a struggle for freedom (Laqueur, 1987: 302). This uncertainty in the assessment of the terrorist action is analyzed by Ganor, a researcher of the International Policing Institute for Counter-Terrorism (Ganor, 2002). *How to
distinguish terrorism from partisan war or revolutionary violence, or the struggle for national freedom? A lot depends on the political position of the person who assesses a violent action. Ganor analyzes the differences between these types of violence. He starts by categorizing wars into two groups: declared war between states and undeclared war between organizations and states. The latter includes terrorism and guerilla war. The activities of anarchists, the fighters for freedom, revolutionaries and ad hoc actions are included into this category.

The most important difference between terrorism and guerilla war is that guerrilla war is waged against a regular army, whilst terrorism is directed against noncombatants and based on political motives and violence.

Terror and terrorism are defined as different political concepts:
- terror is exercised by the ruling power structures ('violence over the weaker', which pertains, in particular, to totalitarian regimes);
- terrorism is the violence of 'the weaker over the more powerful', it is 'the weapon of the weak' who are the victims of the 'state terror' (Chalikova, 1989: 310; Ferro, 1989:314).

Terrorist organizations and individual terrorists represent, consciously or unconsciously, the interests of the 'excluded' mass in the contemporary world. Polarization into the rich and powerful minority of 'the included' and into the very poor majority or the 'excluded' (with the simultaneous process of the relative erosion of the 'middle class', a guarantor of stability in the social system) leads to for each particular case the dangerous, for all humankind, division into 'included' and 'excluded' countries and the 'included' and the 'excluded' groups in each country under globalization. This process and its consequences are not understood properly by the governing elites. An example of it is the aggression of the USA against Iraq (no matter how 'bad' Saddam Hussein might be) or the actions on the part of Russia against Chechnya (no matter how 'bad' the Chechen paramilitary might be) because terror causes terrorism.
Modern terrorism often has an international application, but it is not permissible to ignore the rights and interests of the citizens of one's own state under the slogan of the fight against 'international terrorism'. Human rights are primary and inalienable (articles 1, 2, 3, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). The violation of human rights gives rise to a reaction of violence, in particular, terrorism. The demand to limit the rights of man for the sake of 'the fight against terrorism' is absurd:
- *firstly*, because an ideological basis for the justification of terrorism will be created (as a response to the terror of the power structures);
- *secondly*, the risk of human rights being violated increases.

The more protected human rights are, the lower is the possibility of criminal risks. The anti-terrorist war is not efficient (though it is a forced necessity). The world community on the whole and each nation-state in particular must undertake first of all political measures (economic, social) to avert the conditions under which terrorism thrives and to solve peacefully social, ethnic and confessional conflicts in the country.

Of course, the declaration of the principle of a non-violent and preventive approach in the case of an increasing conflict is easier to pronounce than to realize. But there is no 'simple settlement' of complex social problems. To put it more exactly, the so-called 'simple decisions' ('to liquidate', 'to suppress', 'to eliminate'), either are not possible to realize, or they simply aggravate the situation. One can take measures (and it is necessary) against an individual terrorist, but it is not possible to get rid of *the cause and the source* of terrorism by punitive measures while solving social conflicts.

A full coverage of all terrorist acts is hardly possible to make, however, the approximate data for 1968-2003 have been published (Schmid, 2005). According to these, the 'peak' of international terrorism occurred at the end of the 1980s with some increase in 1991 and 1993. From 1997 to 2003 the largest portion of terrorist acts happened in Western Europe (2,035), then in the countries of the Persian Gulf (1,542), South Asia (1,183), Latin America (1,180), Eastern Europe (598), Southeast
Asia and Oceania (276), Africa (146), Eastern and Central Asia (56) and North America (37).

2.5. Human Trafficking

Human Trafficking is an international problem. The concept 'human trafficking', in conformity with the 'United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime: Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children' (15 Nov. 2000) (Annex II)⁶, includes three elements: (1) 'recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons', (2) 'the use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability', (3) the purpose of exploitation ('the exploitation of prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs').

Thus, Protocol discerns the following types of trade in human beings: trade in women, trade in children (for prostitution, pornography and illegal adoption), trade in human beings for slavery and trade in human organs. A particular type is smuggling of migrants.

The trade in human beings is closely connected with organized crime, being one of its activities. This trade has a transnational basis. The data about this type of criminal business are not easily available. The official statistics are very meager and do not correspond to the real spread of the disaster. Only in a few countries official statistics reflect the real situation in the trade in human beings: Germany (Lagebild Menschenhandel, 1999, 2000, 2001), the Netherlands (Trafficking in Human Beings, 2002), Sweden (Trafficking in Women, 1998-2002). Some comparative analysis of data was published in the article by C.Kangaspunta (Kangaspunta, 2004).

In the reports, Russia, Ukraine and Nigeria (in decreasing order, Russia goes first) occupy the first places for the countries of origin, transit or destination

According to the 'export' in human beings, Asia has the greatest number, the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States follow Asia, then comes Africa and in the last place (sixth) are the developed countries. As far as the countries of destination are concerned, the first place belongs to the developed countries. The largest number of victims of human trafficking ('the sold') is recorded to arrive from Ukraine, then comes Russia, Nigeria, Albania, Rumania and Moldova (in decreasing order) (Kangaspunta, 2004: 94).

Among the victims of sexual exploitation the majority are women, in the second place children and then a small number of men. The victims of forced labour, first of all, are children, in the second place women and in the third place are men. Much less information has been collected about the criminals engaged in the trade because this kind of business is more concealed than others. However Russia is supposed to take the first place here and the second and third are Nigeria and Ukraine respectively. Thus, according to the data in certain spheres, Russia together with Ukraine and Nigeria compose a 'troika' of countries where the maximum risk of enslavement exists.

The described situation is not surprising because the two main trade items are 'the excluded', who are poor, due to a low income, or are unemployed and homeless, and orphans; in other words, the least protected strata of society. F.Borodkin claims that more than 50% of Russia's population is excluded from active economic, social and political life (Borodkin, 2000). But besides the 'have-nots', who are below the level of poverty, there are a lot of poor people who are factually 'the excluded' and vulnerable to the trade too. The practice of different types of human trafficking "questions the possibility of democracy in the countries where half the population can be considered as a potential commodity for sales, where people can be bought, sold and enslaved" (Repetskaya, 2001: 81). Let us consider briefly some of the types of human trafficking.
Trade in women

'White female slaves' - is the prevailing 'commodity' in the market of human beings. The volume of world trade in women, with the aim of sexual exploitation, is assessed from 7 to 12 billion dollars per year. Annually 2 million women and children are forced to be engaged in sex industry (Repetskaya, 2001: 77).

There were four 'waves' of the import of 'white female slaves': the first wave came from Thailand and the Philippines, the second from the Dominican Republic and Columbia and the third one from Ghana and Nigeria. The fourth wave brought women from the former Soviet Union, mainly from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and also Latvia.

There is a demand for Slavonic women in the world sex industry. They are considered to be a 'symbol of prestige', for example, for the business men of Japan, China and Thailand (Stoecker, 2000). Many women from Russia and countries of the CIS work as prostitutes in the countries of Western Europe and the USA. More than 10,000 women were transported by transnational criminal organizations from Russia and Ukraine to Israel for prostitution (Repetskaya, 2001: 79).

Because the conditions of labour in the sphere of sexual service are slavish, some women, trying to save their lives, come to an agreement with their owners and go back to their native country to recruit new victims. It has the name 'the second wave'. The labour contractor receives from 200 to 5,000 dollars for each recruited woman. The transportation of recruited women from 'exporting countries' to the 'importing country' is organized illegally or, sometimes legally (under the pretext of tourism, legal employment or visiting relatives).

Russia's prostitutes are exported to the countries of Western Europe, the USA, Canada, the countries of Latin America and also China. Their life is described in a range of publications, from academic journals to illustrated magazines.

Trade in children
This is one of the most awful categories of human trafficking. Children are mainly used for sex purposes and pornography, but they can also be illegally adopted. The social basis for the trade in children in Russia is more than two million homeless children and orphans, then the children of alcohol abusers and also some children who want to obtain money for a 'sweet life'.

The researchers of the Centre for Deviantology at the Institute of Sociology of Russia's Academy of Sciences studied the sexual exploitation of children in the North-Western region of Russia (St. Petersburg, Vyborg, Petrozavodsk and others) Gurvich et al., 2002). The majority of clients of child prostitution are 'new Russians', the city's 'criminal authorities' and foreign visitors, mostly from inland and also from Sweden, Germany and Great Britain. The prices for services are low: parents who are alcohol abusers, can 'sell' children for a bottle of vodka. Child pornography is a covert and rather profitable business. Street children willingly respond to the offer of a recruiting agent to 'earn good money'. For the production of homosexual pornographic material the cadets of military colleges are recruited.

**Forced labour or slavery**

Amazingly, but forced labour and slavery turn out to be a wide-spread phenomenon in the 20\textsuperscript{th} - 21\textsuperscript{st} centuries. Victims of this trade in human beings are men, women and children. In modern Russia, slave labour has been used in the Caucasus region, but information about slaves in the central regions of the European part of the country has also leaked into the mass media. One such 'slave owner' in the Leningrad region is described in one of A. Konstantinov's stories (Konstantinov, Dikselius, 1997: 251-258).

At present, illegal migrants from the countries of the CIS, especially from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakstan, Moldova, and also from China, Vietnam, Afghanistan, North Korea and partly from African and Latin American countries are used for slave labour in Russia (Tyurykanova, 2005).
The practice of selling into slavery in the present Russian army has been discovered. The cases when officers sold soldiers to various businessmen have become known. For example, in September 2006, in the town of Chita (Eastern Siberia) an officer sold a soldier of his military regiment to a local entrepreneur for 35,000 roubles (about $1,300). In the end, the soldier was admitted into a military hospital without a leg and eye due to an accident. The working conditions and life of slaves of the 21st century are awful. Some commit suicide.

**Trade in inner human organs**

Trade in inner human organs is one of the least recorded but fastest developing branches of criminal activity. There is an international 'black' market of 'items' for transplantation: heart, kidneys and other human organs. National and international prevention mechanisms for reduction of this kind of trade are extremely difficult to develop and implement.

Firstly, the trade in human organs is the most covert business of organized crime. Although there has been a considerable increase in the trade in human beings in Russia, no case was registered of a person forced to the removal of organs or tissues in 2001-2005.

In 2001-2005, from 0 to 60 cases were registered in the trade in human beings (article 127-1, Penal Code of the Russian Federation); from 0 to 20 cases of the use of slave labour (article 127-2, Penal Code of the Russian Federation); 16, 10, 21, 0 crimes⁷ in the trade in children under age (article 152 Penal Code of the Russian Federation) and 3, 0, 1, 7 cases of illegal adoption (article 154 Penal Code) (Dolgova, 2006: 109,112).

Secondly, all forms of trade in human beings are the outcome of economic, political and social processes under globalization. The socio-economic inequality of different countries and disparities between social groups is the main factor in human trafficking and also other forms of deviance.

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*Thirdly,* the trade in human beings under globalization is a relatively new issue. The usual old methods of revealing, registering, preventing and fighting social 'evils' do not work in this case. That is why national and interstate cross cultural research in human trafficking and developing measures and means to counteract it are especially important.

**Corruption**

Corruption is considered to be an 'internal affair' of every state. In Russia it has become 'problem No 1'. Corruption exists in all branches and levels of power in Russia. Hardly any social problem can be solved without a bribe: everything is decided by 'who' and 'to whom' and 'how much' to pay (Gilinskiy, 2005; Gilinskiy, 2006a, 2006b).

The processes of globalization have affected corruption in two ways: *firstly,* the globalization of business and finances has led to the internationalization of corrupt relations between business and state officials of different states; *secondly,* corruption money has become an important resource and reason for money-laundering.

**Suicide**

Globalization affects even a seemingly purely individual type of deviance, such as committing suicide. The influence of globalization upon suicidal behaviour can be revealed, at least, in the following:

- institutionalization of the 'excluded' and the hopelessness that they feel lead to the rising level of suicides among them. Suffice to say, that the indicator of suicides in Russia, beginning from 'post-perestroika' has been rising every 5 years: for the period from 1985 to 1989 - 37 thousand people, from 1990 to 1994 - 48.5 thousand people, and during 1995-1999 it was 56.3 thousand people (Bogoyavlensky, 2002);

- international terrorism is spreading quickly and 'globally' and uses the method of 'suicide bombers' (Israel, the USA, Russia and even well-being quiet Finland).
Our investigation and accumulated facts allow us to claim that there is interaction between the process of globalization and deviantolization in the world nowadays. However, a more thorough analysis of this process is needed. For example, globalization of positive deviance (creative activities) has not been paid enough attention to. Though researchers admit that the 'brain drain' (as positive deviance in the highly developed countries from the countries with fewer possibilities of providing good work conditions (for creative activities) and living standard for scientists, engineers, etc. is influenced by global processes.

Conclusion

There are regular manifestations of deviant phenomena in the globalizing world. The process of globalization influences the dynamics of deviance. Globalization deepens the socio-economic inequality of both societies and people within these societies; it increases the scale of the 'excluded', who are the social base of deviant behavior, and the gap between 'the included' and 'the excluded'.

Globalization of economics, politics, and culture is followed by the globalization of various types of deviance and social control. The process of globalization has the greatest effect upon such types of deviance as organized crime, drug addiction, terrorism and human trafficking. The strategy of internationalization of social control has become the response to the globalization of deviant phenomena.

References


