

the sites of the new punitiveness, we 'need to have in mind the reality of the modern global community' (p. 305).

This edited work represents a collection of important analyses on the concept of the new punitiveness. The breath of the book on occasion gives an eclectic feel despite the attempts to cluster chapters around key themes. However, it does represent a distinct and to some extent innovative examination of the new punitiveness and in its broader criminological theorizing places the 'new punitiveness' within contemporary social and penal developments. In sum, it is a truly impressive collection of essays on an enormously important subject. Although the new punitiveness is an explicitly criminological offering, these essays will resonate with relevance across a variety of cognate fields. *The New Punitiveness* is a valuable volume which will therefore be of interest to academics and to criminal justice practitioners, as well as being a resource for students studying punishment and penology.

Transitional Justice Institute
University of Ulster

Clare D. Dwyer
doi:10.1093/bjc/azl021

THE RUSSIAN MAFIA: PRIVATE PROTECTION IN A NEW MARKET ECONOMY. By FEDERICO VARESE (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 304pp. £14.99 pb)

One thing that strikes you as you travel among the cars, taxis and general mass throng into the city from Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport is the pockets of large out-of-town, newly built mansions. These homes are erected with lightening speed. Many lie empty, with building not completed on others. Each combines mixed architectural styles with little if any restraint. Gothic turrets with Italian palazzo balconies and ornate French windows with Buddhist-inspired, faux Zen gardens might appear aesthetically as odd bedfellows but these homes symbolize just one of the outcomes of Russia's transition to the market: private wealth. On many occasions, taxi drivers (who provide the weary Westerners with generous tourist guides to the city) have remarked to me (rather flippantly) that these homes belong to the 'mafia'. But what exactly is the Russian mafia? Are these homes not simply the well earned by-product of business people who have gained much from Russia's complex but rampant move to marketization? Does it matter who can afford such wealth (mafia or not) or how it is has happened? Federico Varese's book is the much needed sober account of how the market has surfaced in Russia with the effect of creating colossal crime problems. Varese offers much more than headlines and casual remarks on what the Russian mafia is and some of the ways it operates and it should become essential reading for all those concerned not only with the direction that Russia is taking but all societies in transition.

Varese was the 2002 co-winner of the Hewett Book Prize for the Best Book on the Political Economy of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is awarded by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies to outstanding publications on the political economy of the centrally planned economies of the former Soviet Union and East Central Europe and their transitional successors. Varese deserves the highest praise for a stunning book that is of the very best academic quality in terms of scholarly rigour in its treatment of Soviet and post-Russia culture. This is a thoughtful, multidisciplinary examination of a complex phenomenon. The book is rich with data and each page bursts with insight from the experiences of all those connected to mafia activity; from the street kiosk owners to the Soviet and Russian elite. *The Russian Mafia* is that rare thing in academia—an

un-put-downable book that prompts you to seek out more knowledge on who's who in Russian business and Russian organized crime. I enjoyed reading it immensely and have learned much from it.

For the novice of contemporary Russia, this book begins with a discussion of the transition from a command economy to a market economy which, it is now commonly agreed, increased massively the range of social and economic problems leading to a huge increase in the number of opportunities to commit crimes linked to finance, theft, robbery and property. Unlike the taxi driver referred to earlier, Varese is very cautious about using the term 'mafia'. His caution is due to the myriad ways in which organized crime has evolved the world over. Sicilian organised crime is inextricably linked to kinship relations and clear geographical divisions determine which family has control over specific areas. In America, we learn that organized crime is a phenomenon whose sensibility lies in the east coast. The pattern of organized crime there is not territorial and instead is functionally specialized—that is, 'who' controls 'what' is determined by the nature of the business.

Varese's thesis is entirely authoritative in sourcing the term 'mafia' to transitions towards market economies. How trading begins in societies and how private property rights are defined by the state appear to be the benchmarks in how communities seek protection for newly acquired finances and businesses from outside of the state. As indicated in the title of the book, for today's entrepreneurs in Russia, it is private protection that is vital to surviving the transition to the market economy. A second key point is the failure of the state to fully guarantee and protect businesses. Varese considers whether the early post-Soviet government was 'impartial protector of rights' or 'on the other hand, as an erratic, predatory and a non-impartial supplier of protection' (p. 7). His exposition of how individuals use the legal institutions to supply protection and settle disputes—the arbitration court (*arbitrazh*)—tells us about whether Russians today do indeed have faith in due process and the forms that this takes. Evidently, the state can only in part provide protections to businesses so individuals resort to the market for solutions. So immediately there is a demand and supply issue that is carefully constructed over Chapters 3, 4 and 5 through the stories from the entrepreneurs in need of protection and the criminal underworld that is equipped to offer—speedily—an effective 'roof' (protection).

Everyone is a significant player in the protection process. Varese sees through the lens of Perm region (chosen, we are told, because of the speed with which marketization has taken grip and also because Varese aimed at a study in which organized crime operates in the absence of major ethnic networks). Perm is also the site of Perm 36—the notorious Gulag that today stands as only one of two Gulag memorials in Russia (the other is at Solovetski in the Northeast). Perm region housed the highest concentration of forced labour camps in the USSR and it was at Perm that the peculiar criminal fraternity of the *vory-v-zakone* (thieves with-a-code-of-honour or sometimes referred to as 'thieves-in-law') developed their ideological and monastic purity. Varese introduces the reader to some of Russia's notorious *vory* and how the penal periphery was able to contain the fraternity which controlled a criminal fund (*obshchak*) and which collected contributions from outside the cities of Perm. The history of this society has not yet been written but Varese provides a colourful description, rich in detail and narrative from the types of garments different gangs wore while incarcerated to the intricate hierarchy of the fraternity. The reader is informed that if a Russian mafia exists, it is manifested in the Soviet Union and did not just accompany its end.

Chapters 4 and 5 bring us to the present. Through fascinating empirical findings gathered from carefully constructed interviews with kiosk owners, we see the dangers and hazards of

everyday business in Russia. What is not clear is whether every kiosk in Russia pays for protection and the book could have benefited from more insight into this. It was fascinating to learn about the activities of entrepreneurs who gather information in advance on which group is most likely to offer protection and how effective they are. This is common sense and the business people interviewed appear rational, engaging with organized crime on their own terms. It could reasonably be said, therefore, that the rules of engagement are normalized into everyday life. Varese spares us nothing about the negotiations and meetings between entrepreneurs and the local 'roof'. Matters appear to be resolved relatively easily, with a range of services offered that include protection from the Russian police (the *Militia*) against harassment and petty thieves (*khuligany*). But he is no less sparing of what happens when things do not run smoothly. Competitors may need to be eliminated; sometimes debts are not paid while, in other circumstances, two entrepreneurs can come into conflict with each other and two 'roofs' must meet. Fire-bombing premises and physical violence appear to be the common response to disputes revealing how, in every way, becoming an entrepreneur in Russia is a highly risky business. Even individuals who do not have a business can resort to the market for protection, as in the case of Evgeniya, who, because of excessive taxation, was embroiled in a fake contract over the sale of property with both sides resorting to private protection.

These excellent chapters set the scene for the final chapters which focus on contemporary Russian *Mafiosi*. Varese returns to Soviet Russia to construct his picture. He argues that if there is a Russian mafia, it originates from the rituals, language and dress of the *vory* fraternity. The mafia are 'criminal leaders' operating in many gangs according to 'turf' (p. 188) such as a neighbourhood or a row of kiosks in a street. It is hierarchically organized with enforcers recruited from 'trusted aspirants'. Russian mafia operate across Russia and, for Varese, the mafia is overstretched because individuals regularly by-pass the legal route to resolve disputes and because of its associations with the Church in Russia. Varese draws comparison between the Russian mafia and the Sicilian mafia arguing: 'Sicilian crime families have been highly successful at forging shared marks of identity, while at the same time maintaining the independence of each family' (p. 188). He is careful to add that the Russian mafia have not been as successful as their Italian counterparts at preventing powerful competitors from muscling in. It is here that he draws our attention to the ethnic crime groups who do not share the *vory* marks.

Varese concludes that Russia's peculiar transition to marketization has created even more peculiar, not-fully-formed state protections. Even the police compete with the mafias of Russia. There is nothing new in mafia organizations forming alliances with political parties. Yet, in the final pages, one does ask oneself the following question: What kind of state exists in Russia today? This question is not addressed in full but for many it will be the question that lingers the longest. For example, the book omitted a discussion of globalization, and the question of what the project of modernization (Westernization?) means in Russia today is touched upon briefly. But this is a minor issue compared with the sheer veracity and courage shown by Varese in constructing his thesis. The book concludes by cautioning the reader not to exaggerate the mafia's role; nor should the mafia be looked at as a 'bad thing'. To a non-native Russian, it was surprising to read from Varese's rich ethnographic account of how restrained some protectors were (even compassionate) and how harm reduction was the main strategy adopted in settling disputes. Yet, in a country where many feel more anxious and scared of the police, it is hardly surprising that the mafia are seen as the lesser of two evils.

As a fellow academic specializing in what happened in Russian criminal justice following the collapse of the USSR, I found myself spending long periods contemplating one glaring aspect of organized crime activity in Russia that emerges from the pages of this excellent study, and that is secrecy. Varese's book is much more than an exposition of the Russian mafia; he has produced an extraordinary study of Soviet and post-Soviet society itself—a country desperately trying to shake off a past built on many secrets, myths and ideological falsehoods to one marked by a 194.5 per cent crime increase in 10 years from 1985 to 1995 and where, in Varese's words, 'corruption is rampant and reaches the highest echelons of power' (p. 20). This book will shape our perceptions of organized crime for years to come and will become a benchmark for political analysis of the modernization of Russia—its legal markets, privatization, state-managed systems of protection and confidence in the judicial process.

To conclude, I return to the question raised that I raised in the introduction to the review: Is the Russian mafia important? I am reminded here of Andrew Meier's (2004) brilliant book on Russia after the fall, *Black Earth*, in which he argues that Russia since Peter the Great has always been striving for a New Transformation. For some, the transformation has come with the rise of small businesses and telecommunications. For others, the transformation has come with the rise of crime, terrible drug abuse and illnesses such as AIDS and TB, while for others, the transformation comes with restoring the imperial order. Whether the mafia is important cannot be unpacked from the fate that Russia has assigned herself 'to live less as a modern metropolis than as a fictional creation' (Meier 2004: 382). With myths in mind, surely the mafia will live on.

University of Stirling, Scotland

Laura Piacentini
doi:10.1093/bjc/azl022

REFERENCE

MEIER, A. (2004), *Black Earth: Russia after the Fall*. London, UK: HarperCollins.

SEX TRAFFICKING: THE GLOBAL MARKET IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN. By KATHRYN FARR (Portland, OR: Worth Publishing, 2005, 262pp. \$23.95)

Kathryn Farr has produced the first comprehensive, well written, well organized, impeccably researched and timely treatise on the scourge of global sex trafficking. Unlike many turgid and/or region-specific works on the topic currently available, Farr makes a solid contribution to our understanding of all dimensions of sex trafficking. Moreover, it is readable and accessible to the lay person and well suited to the classroom, community or book club. *Sex Trafficking* should be mandatory reading for all students of international affairs.

Utilizing prominent, albeit somewhat dated, research sources from the United States and from other leading criminology institutes in Australia and the Netherlands, Farr treats every aspect of sex trafficking in an equally thorough and clear manner. Her chapters include the scale and scope of the problem, the illegal profits obtained, criminal networks and organized crime, the economic status of countries involved, and the demand for sex trafficking over the decades, particularly by military personnel. She illustrates and defines concepts such as debt bondage, describes the gritty and violent conditions in which women and children work, and demonstrates who is involved in the 'trafficking chain' and how it operates. The