# State feminism and central state debates on prostitution in post-authoritarian Spain

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#### Introduction

Spain, state intervention in the policy area of prostitution has been varl. In 1935, during the first democratic regime of Spanish history, the called Second Republic (1931-6), prostitution was prohibited (Decree June). From the mid-1930s to 1975 Spain was governed by a rightag authoritarian regime headed by Franco which actively opposed men's rights. In 1941, the prohibitionist law of the Second Republic s suppressed by Decree 27 March. Prostitution was tolerated and put der the surveillance and control of the police. On 18 June 1962, Spain ified the 1949 United Nations (UN) Convention for the Suppression the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of hers. Decree 168 (24 January 1963) modified the Penal Code accordto the 1949 UN Convention. Broadly speaking, Spanish legislation on ostitution was abolitionist from 1963. In this view, prostitutes were not tally defined as criminals, in contrast to people who promote the prosution of others or benefit from it; they are punished accordingly – up to years in prison (Cebrián Franco 1977: 116; Carracedo Bullido 2001: 1-4). State and society also make serious efforts to help women stop orking as prostitutes. Such abolitionist legislation considers prostitution an affront to people's dignity; it is then irrelevant whether prostitutes luntarily consent to prostitution or not (Carracedo Bullido 2001: 152-However, abolitionism was imperfect, because even if prostitutes were t legally defined as criminals, Act 16/1970 of 4 August on social menace d rehabilitation (Ley de Peligrosidad y Rehabilitación Social) consided prostitutes (and other categories of people) as individuals dangerous society. Prostitutes could be confined to special centres, or, alternaely, be sent into internal exile, as judges could forbid them to live in a ren place.

The (imperfect) abolitionist legislation did not change with the tranion to democracy and the consolidation of the democratic regime. In 95, Spain moved away from its former abolitionist position, since most behaviours around prostitution, such as pimping, were decriminalised (except in the case of the prostitution of minors and those defined as legally incapacitated, like the mentally handicapped or disturbed; hereafter 'legally incapacitated people'). Subsequent legal changes focused on the fight against the traffic of women for the purposes of sexually exploiting them.

The reforms in central state legislation on prostitution since the mid-1990s were undertaken by governments formed by parties of different ideological colours: the social democratic Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE) up to 1996 and the conservative People's Party (Partido Popular, PP) since then. The impact of the women's movement on these legal changes was very small (but not negligible). The same was true with regard to the influence on prostitution policies by the main women's policy agency of the central state, the Women's Institute (Instituto de la Mujer, WI).

#### Selection of debates

The period of study for this chapter is post-authoritarian Spain from 1975 to the present. The main central state piece of legislation on prostitution is the Penal Code, which defines some behaviours related to prostitution (but not prostitution itself) as crimes. Recently, the phenomenon of high numbers of women being trafficked into Spain and forced into prostitution makes the Immigration Act the second most important legislative instrument regarding prostitution (but considerably less central than the Penal Code).

Both the Penal Code and the Immigration Act are made or reformed in parliament. Thus one institution dominates the policy area regarding prostitution at the central state level. Parliament is composed of two chambers: the lower chamber, the Congress of Deputies, and the upper chamber, the Senate. The former is much more important than the latter. Members of the Congress of Deputies are elected by proportional representation under the D'Hondt system with closed and blocked lists. The vast majority of senators are elected by a majority system. Although different units have the power to initiate legislation, in post-authoritarian Spain most laws have been initiated by government. Political parties dominate parliamentary life (Heywood 1995: 99–101; Newton and Donaghy 1997: 45–72).

Three main reforms in the policy area of prostitution have taken place in post-authoritarian Spain: the 1995 enactment of a new Penal Code; the 1999 reform of this new Penal Code; and the 2000 approval of a new nigration Act. Because of its wider scope, the 1995 reform is the most ortant of the three legislative changes. The first change, the new Penal le of 1995, reformed Spanish legislation on prostitution, distancing om the imperfect abolitionist past as it decriminalised behaviours ind prostitution that had been considered crimes in the past (such as ping). The only behaviour around prostitution that is still defined as ime is the promotion of the prostitution of minors or of those legally pacitated. The 1995 Penal Code abolished the 1970 Social Menand Rehabilitation Act that considered prostitutes to be individuals gerous to society.

he 1995 Penal Code regarding prostitution was revised in 1999, the and major change. This reform increased the punishment for crimes ting to the prostitution of minors and legally incapacitated people. s 1999 legal change defined a new crime: that of trafficking people the aim of sexually exploiting them. The 1999 revision increased alties when prostitution crimes were committed by criminal organions. Other proposed amendments, such as the recriminalisation of the motion of adult prostitution, were discussed prior to the 1999 reform not approved. The third legislative change was the new Immigration of 2000, which offers permanent residence and work permits to ille-immigrants trafficked into Spain and forced into prostitution if they ounce their traffickers or co-operate with public authorities in the secution of these traffickers.

ince 1975 in Spain policy-makers have enacted two other measures in area of prostitution, but these measures are significantly less importion than the three aforementioned legal reforms. Article 2 of the Organic 5/1999 of 13 January on the reform of the Criminal Trial Act (Ley Enjuiciamiento Criminal) states that police officers can work under assumed identity (*identidad supuesta*) while investigating prostitution nes committed by criminal organisations. This measure is considerless relevant than the other three because it deals with a procedure ombat a type of prostitution crime but is not a broad attempt by the e to intervene in the social reality of prostitution (as are the other te). Organic Act 8/2000 of 22 December on the reform of the 2000 nigration Act did not modify the article of the Immigration Act that rs to people who have been trafficked into Spain with the purpose of 19 sexually exploited and who denounce their traffickers. Organic Act 2000 only changed the number of this article.

panish policy-makers have not regulated free prostitution as a profes-1 (or as sex work), nor is it likely that the current conservative govern-1t will do so in the near future. On 19 February 2002, the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Juan Carlos Aparicio Pérez, declared that 'prostitution lacks the characteristics of a profession which can be performed freely and voluntarily'. He also stated that prostitution is a 'set of circumstances that propitiates violence and the trafficking of people' (El País 20 February 2002: 24).<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter I shall examine the public debates leading to the three aforementioned legislative changes: the enactment of the 1995 Penal Code the 1999 reform of the Penal Code and the approval of the 2000 Immigration Act. The three debates were selected for analysis following the RNGS criteria of decisional system importance, life cycle and issue area salience. With regard to decisional system importance, all debates took place partly in parliament, the main institution making central state policy on prostitution. Regarding life cycle, although the second wave of the women's movement has been active and women's policy machineries have been functioning since the 1980s (the Women's Institute was created in 1983), the three selected debates took place in the 1990s. These are the most important policy deliberations regarding prostitution, thus overriding the criterion of the life cycle, also given the fact that no debates with policy outcomes took place in earlier years. In terms of issue area salience, I have already mentioned that the 1995, 1999 and 2000 legal reforms are the most important legal changes related to prostitution in post-authoritarian Spain (although the 1995 reform is definitely the most central of the three).

It is worth remembering that the legal structure in Spain is a codified system. In common law systems (for instance, those of the United Kingdom and the United States), judges build case law and great importance is placed on precedent. In contrast, in code law systems, judges are supposed to apply the principles of the code and laws in each particular case. The source of the law is therefore not precedent but what is written in the codes and other pieces of legislation. This is why it is important to study the public deliberation and debates on prostitution reform in Spain prior to the main changes in the codes and other laws regarding prostitution.

The sources for this chapter include the three parliamentary debates prior to the three aforementioned legal reforms, legislation, published documents from the WI and from groups of the women's movement, as well as interviews with a member of the WI directive team and members of the women's movement and other associations of civil society active in the area of prostitution. I have also consulted all daily issues of *El País* (the main national newspaper) between 1994 and 2000 and collected all references to prostitution.

# Debate 1: The elaboration of the 1995 Penal Code, 1994–1995

How issue came to the public agenda

994 the socialist government presented a new Penal Code as a legve project. The existing code was a substantially modified version of me instituted in 1848. This PSOE project contained several reforms ding prostitution. Firstly, it no longer defined promoting the prostin of others or benefiting from it as criminal behaviour, except in the of prostitution of minors and legally incapacitated people. Secondly, ended to punish people who force others to be prostitutes. Therethis project implicitly distinguished between voluntary and forced itution (Carracedo Bullido 2001: 155–7). It also tacitly stated that ole of the penal law was to fight the latter (but not the former) and mbat any type of prostitution performed by minors or legally incated people. Finally, this project abolished the 1970 Social Menace Rehabilitation Act which considered prostitutes and other categories tople as individuals dangerous to society.

#### Dominant frame of debate

parliamentary debate that led to the new Penal Code contained ly any reference to prostitution. Articles on prostitution are included e Penal Code under Title VIII of Book II on 'Crimes against Sexual dom'. When parliamentarians discussed this part of the Penal Code e mid-1990s, they debated other issues than prostitution, such as Very few amendments were presented to the articles on prostitution. se amendments were of minor importance and did not attempt to ge the regulation of prostitution made by the new Penal Code. The at that time the major party in the opposition, emphasised that it especially concerned about the protection of minors (Intervention of senator Ms Vindel López on 10 October 1995) (Delgado-Iribarren : 2135). References to prostitutes were made in the debates on other les of the Penal Code on other issues. The PSOE praised the Spanish lation that defined rape as a crime regardless of the profession of the n. As such, the rape of a prostitute is defined as rape in the penal law could be prosecuted. The PSOE accused the PP of not supporting egal possibility that a prostitute could be raped. The PP denied that sation (Interventions of PSOE Senator Mr García Marqués and PP tor Ms Vindel López of the conservative group on 25 October 1995) gado-Iribarren 1996: 2401, 2403).

#### Gendering the debate

The (scant) debate was not gendered at all. Participants did not mention women or men explicitly. In this debate, references to prostitution were made in very general and abstract terms, and coined in gender-neutral legal language. The same was true concerning the people who worked as prostitutes or who participated in the business of prostitution.

#### Policy outcome

The new Penal Code was approved by Organic Act 10/1995 of 23 November by the votes of members of parliament from all parties except the PP, who abstained from voting for reasons that were unrelated to prostitution. Articles on prostitution from the 1994 project were included in the 1995 Penal Code with hardly any change.

#### Women's movement impact

Generally speaking and with some exceptions, prostitution was an issue of low priority during the authoritarian period for the Spanish women's movement as a whole. Unlike in other countries, in Spain the majority of (but not all) feminists discussed prostitution only rarely up to the late 1980s, and scarcely since then.

Up to the late 1980s, most members of the Spanish feminist movement conceptualised prostitution as an extreme form of women's exploitation which undermines the status of all women in society (whether prostitutes or not). The long-term goal to be achieved was therefore the eradication of prostitution (Garaizábal 1991). This position usually coincided with the abolitionist legal approach (Montero 1986; Oliván 1986; Partit Feminista de Catalunya 1986; Miura 1991).

The abolitionist position is supported by some feminist groups today, the most visible and active of which is the Commission for the Investigation of Violence against Women (Comisión para la Investigación de Malos Tratos a Mujeres). Some women's associations, whose main aim is to deliver services to prostitutes, are also abolitionist. The best known of these organisations is the Association for the Reintegration of Female Prostitutes (Asociación para la Prevención, Reinserción y Atención a la Mujer Prostituta, APRAMP). Members of APRAMP do not define their group as a feminist association (interview Rocío Mora Nieto and María Morales Moreno, APRAMP, Madrid, 4 April 2002). APRAMP can be seen as a part of the (non-explicitly feminist) branch of the women's movement. Other associations characterised by their members as feminist

l providing services to prostitutes also support abolitionism, such as Institute for the Promotion of Specialised Social Services (Instituto a la Promoción de Servicios Sociales Especializados, IPSSE) (interv Helena Barea, IPSSE, Madrid, 8 April 2002).

'rostitutes have traditionally received support and services from female gious associations and charities that are not usually considered part of organised women's movement, including the Little Teresa Association ociación Villa Teresita), which is also abolitionist (interview Mercedes scue, Little Teresa Association, Madrid, 15 April 2002).

lince approximately the late 1980s, some feminists have stated that re are two types of prostitutes: those who perform this task voluntarily I those who are forced into prostitution by others. The state should actly fight forced prostitution but not free prostitution. These feminists iceptualise free prostitutes as sex workers and have demanded that the retreats them in the same way as other workers, for example allowing m to contribute to the social security system (Garaizábal 1991; Pineda 15: 108–9; Forum de Política Feminista 2001). This position coincides ha legal approach aimed at regulation. The most vocal representation of this perspective today is the Collective in Defence of Prostitutes' hts Hetaira (Colectivo en Defensa de los Derechos de las Prostitutas taira). The regulation position has also been defended by some prostes (interview Concepción García Altares, Collective in Defence of stitutes' Rights Hetaira, Madrid, 30 April 2002; Olga-Prostituta de drid 1986).

t is important to note that not all groups in civil society active on the ie of prostitution are either abolitionist or supporters of regulation. ne associations have not publicly taken any position on the matter I their members hold different (or even contrasting) views. This is case with some female religious organisations that provide services prostitutes, such as the Hope Project (Provecto Esperanza) adminised by the Order of Worshipping Nuns (Congregación de Religiosas oratrices) (interview Aurelia Agredano Pérez, Hope Project, Madrid, May 2002). The same is true for Cáritas, which is the main charof the Catholic church formed by religious and lay women and men terview Francisco Cristóbal Rincón, Cáritas, Madrid, 26 April 2002). The policy content of the 1995 Penal Code coincided with the goals hose in the women's movement in favour of regulation but only to a tain extent. The position of these members and leaders in the women's vement (but not that of the members of abolitionist groups) supported 1995 decriminalisation of behaviours regarding this matter, such as moting the prostitution of others or benefiting from it. People in favour regulation would also approve the differentiation implicitly made by the 1995 Penal Code between free and forced prostitution.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, abolitionist activists believe that prostitution is hardly ever (or never) voluntary, so the state has to fight any type of prostitution instead of investing in the battle against the forced variety. Both activists advocating regulation and abolition agreed with the suppression of the 1970 Social Menace and Rehabilitation Act which considered prostitutes as individuals dangerous to society.

Representatives of the women's movement did not participate directly in the (little) parliamentary debate preceding the treatment of prostitution by the 1995 Penal Code. Some women's groups unsuccessfully attempted to introduce their ideas and discourses in the debate. For instance, in 1995 the abolitionist feminist group Commission for the Investigation of Violence against Women presented in the Congress of Deputies a report against the anti-abolitionist measures included in the proposal of the Penal Code (Mujeres Number 18, second quarter, 1995: 17). Members of this commission and other abolitionist feminists held several meetings with socialist parliamentarians and (unsuccessfully) attempted to persuade them to change the articles of the project that decriminalised behaviours around prostitution, such as promoting it or pimping. The same parties also tried to lobby female socialist parliamentarians selectively in this direction (interview Rosario Carracedo Bullido, Commission for the Investigation of Violence against Women, Madrid, 26 March 2002). In 1994 and 1995 the commission organised public conferences on prostitution around the country to raise awareness among the public about the problems surrounding prostitution. To run these conferences, the commission received financial aid from the WI (Instituto de la Mujer 1996b: 226-27).

Thus, with the articles on prostitution in the 1995 Penal Code partly coinciding with some of the goals of the regulation sector of the women's movement, but not directly including women's movement groups in the policy process, the state's response to the women's movement was one of pre-emption during this debate.

### Women's policy agency activities

The WI was officially created in 1983 (Act 16 of 24 October). The WI has been the main central state women's policy agency since its establishment. The scope of the WI is very broad, because it has five comprehensive goals: to promote policy initiatives for women through formal enactment of policy statements; to study all aspects of women's situation in Spain; to oversee the implementation of women's policy; to receive and handle women's discrimination complaints; and to increase women's knowledge

heir rights. The WI is a permanent bureaucratic agency (Valiente 5, 1997, 2001a, 2001b; Threlfall 1996a, 1998). Up to 1988 it was art of the Ministry of Culture and between 1988 and 1996 a part he Ministry of Social Affairs. These ministries are two of the least ortant in the Spanish state. Since the WI was not a ministry but a t within a ministry, it has generally been distant from major power tres. In the mid-1990s, the WI had already acquired an extensive f and budget. Between 1993 and 1996, the WI director was Marina virats, a sociology professor specialising in gender and education who links with the feminist movement and the PSOE.

Jp to 1995, prostitution was a topic of low priority for WI state femis. This is reflected in the very modest (but not negligible) coverage of topic by the WI periodical Mujeres (Women) and the annual report WI activities, Memorias. The WI position and goals on prostitution led to coincide with those of the abolitionist sector of the women's vement. This coincidence is reflected in the first gender equality plan 88–90). This plan mentioned prostitution frequently and contained nerous references to abolitionist ideas and goals. For example, it ded prostitution as 'a crime against the dignity of the people' (Instituto a Mujer 1988b: 34) and stated that 'in general terms, it [prostitution] ot an option in life chosen freely and it leads the person who pracs it to an extreme situation of exploitation at social, economic and chological levels' (p. 33). The plan identified a general objective for stitution policy: 'to resolutely help people who practise prostitution njoy a normal way of life, above all, by making possible their volunabandonment of their predicament' (p. 33). For concrete policy, this 1 formulated two goals: 'the reform of the Penal Code to emphasise criminal nature of exploitative behaviour in prostitution of persons ler eighteen years of age', and 'the express annulment of the section of 1970 Social Menace and Rehabilitation Act regarding prostitution'. e second gender equality plan (1993–5) contained very few references prostitution and did not propose any legislative reform in this policy nain (Instituto de la Mujer 1993b).

is said, the new Penal Code contained anti-abolitionist reforms: the riminalisation of behaviour around prostitution, such as promoting prostitution of others or benefiting from it; and the implicit distinction ween forced and free prostitution. As shown in WI documents, the position was abolitionist. Therefore the anti-abolitionist aspects of 1995 reform could not have come from the WI.

The two legislative goals proposed in the first equality plan (the emphaon the fight against the prostitution of minors and the suppression of 1970 Social Menace and Rehabilitation Act) were achieved with the 1995 Penal Code. However, this was approved only in 1995, five years after the theoretical completion of the first equality plan. This delay, and the fact that the second gender equality plan was already in its third and final year of application as well as not containing the two aforementioned legislative goals, suggests that the WI did not have a significant impact in the 1995 Penal Code regarding these two goals. The conclusion therefore is that the WI was unable to insert its preferences and definitions of the issue of prostitution into the new Penal Code. Since some WI goals and positions coincided with some of the aims and views of abolitionist groups of the women's movement, the WI activities should be characterised as marginal.

#### Women's movement characteristics

After emerging in the 1960s and early 1970s, and growing from 1975 to the early 1980s, the Spanish women's movement moved into a stage of consolidation. Nevertheless, the Spanish feminist movement, while no negligible, has been historically weak, its activities involving only a minority of women. The movement has occasionally shown some signs o strength, however. For example, since the 1970s it has organised national feminist conferences regularly attended by between 3,000 and 5,000 women. Nevertheless, in comparison with other Western countries, the movement in Spain has not achieved high visibility in the mas media or initiated many public debates. In the 1990s, most of the feminis groups were very close to the left, but this was not the case for the non feminist branch of the women's movement. This branch is composed o groups that are close to the left, the right and to no party at all. Therefore the women's movement as a whole was close to the left (Threlfall 1985 1996a; Scanlon 1990; Kaplan 1992).

Prostitution was an issue of low priority for the women's movemen in its entirety. The women's movement was divided on the issue, since movement organisations active on the issue substantially disagreed on the frame (abolition/regulation/neither of these) and policy proposals. To m knowledge, no counter-movement to the feminist movement was activ around the issue of prostitution.

#### Policy environment

The debate under study took place in parliament, which has some char acteristics of closed policy sub-systems: parliamentary proceedings ar codified through regular meetings and rules, and participation is limite to leaders of political parties with parliamentary representation. As men tioned, there was very scant debate in parliament prior to the enactmer he 1995 Penal Code. This dominant deliberation was very gen-, abstract and gender-neutral. The discourses on prostitution by the nen's movement and the WI were more varied, elaborated, concrete gender-sensitive. Given the general and vague nature of the parliaitary debate, the approach was compatible with the deliberation that : place in the women's movement and the WI. As mentioned, at the of the discussion prior to the 1995 Penal Code the party in office was PSOE. The 1993-6 PSOE government was a minority government ported in parliament by the regionalist Catalan coalition of parties. vergence and Union (Convergencia i Unió, CiU).

# Debate 2: The 1999 reform of the Penal Code, 1997-1999

#### How issue came to the public agenda

17 October 1997, the conservative government (in power since 1996) ented a bill in parliament on the reform of the section of the 1995 al Code on crimes against sexual freedom. This reform referred to y issues (such as sexual harassment) and not only to prostitution. Reing prostitution, the proposal increased the penalties in four cases: crime of promotion of prostitution of minors and legally incapaci-I people; the crime of forced prostitution when perpetrated by public orities or civil servants taking advantage of their positions within the ; prostitution crimes committed with the purpose of profit; and the ımstance when the person who has parental authority, guardianship sterage over a prostitute younger than eighteen years or a legally incatated individual, does not actively attempt to stop him/her acting as a titute. The bill defined a new crime: that of trafficking people for the ose of sexually exploiting them. The proposal explicitly referred to requency with which crimes related to prostitution were linked with execution of sexual attacks and abuses against victims. The reform aded the negative prescription for prostitution crimes when victims minors. The bill included a definition of prostitution: acts of sexual ning performed with one or more individuals in exchange for an ecoic reward of any type. Finally, the proposal classified as a crime an hat had been illegal up to 1995, but legal since then: the promotion lults' prostitution.

# Dominant frame of debate

debate on the reform of the Penal Code only marginally dealt with the of prostitution, dwelling on other topics, especially around the new e of corruption of minors that the PP wanted to define. The (very

scant) deliberation on prostitution included arguments against the definition of prostitution contained in the bill. The PSOE denounced the fact that the definition of the proposal was so broad that it would also include clients' behaviour. Penalising (male) clients seemed to be abhorred by socialist representatives. The PSOE argued that any definition of prostitution has to specify not only that sex is exchanged for money, but also a temporal element of 'persistency, permanence or frequency' (Intervention of PSOE deputy Ms Fernández de la Vega - Diario de Sesiones del Congreso de los Diputados, plenary session, sixth parliamentary term. 12 February 1999: 7044). The regionalist coalition of parties Canary Islands Coalition (Coalición Canaria, CC), the mixed group<sup>5</sup> and the PSOE held that the definition of the bill was imprecise and did not contain the requirement of full sexual intercourse. Apparently (and surprisingly), the three groups implied that full sexual intercourse was necessary in the case of prostitution.<sup>6</sup> The regionalist Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco, PNV) argued that prostitution was a clear concept for any person and therefore perfectly coined: the exchange of sex for money. For this and other reasons, the four aforementioned political organisations demanded the withdrawal of the definition of prostitution from the bill.

These four political organisations also opposed the proposal to define the promotion of adults' prostitution as a crime. Several arguments were used. If the exercise of prostitution by adults was not a crime, the promotion of adults' prostitution should not be a crime either. The law had to distinguish between forced prostitution (which had to be prosecuted) and free prostitution and behaviours around it (such as the promotion of this type of prostitution) that should not be criminalised because these belong to the realm of the private behaviour of consenting adults. The criminalisation of the promotion of adults' prostitution would imply the criminalisation of behaviours such as running a newspaper that published advertisements on prostitution services. These types of behaviours should not be criminalised because they are widely accepted in Spanish society.8

#### Gendering the debate

There were no special references to gender or women's issues in the parliamentary deliberations that led to the 1999 reform of the Penal Code. Instead, a highly gender neutral frame was taken throughout the discussions which produced the legal reform. For example, no reference was made to the fact that the overwhelming majority of prostitutes are women and most clients (of female and male prostitutes) are men. There were no references to women or gender in the 1999 Act.

#### Policy outcome

arliament, a new version of the original bill was prepared and became anic Act 11/1999 of 30 April. Organic Act 11/1999 was very similar he original bill except on four points. Firstly, the Act does not define promotion of adults' prostitution as a crime. Secondly, it does not ude a definition of prostitution. Thirdly, it increases the penalty when nes related to prostitution are committed by criminal organisations ssociations. Lastly, the Act does not increase penalties when crimes ted to prostitution are executed with the purpose of profit.

#### Women's movement impact

vas the case in the elaboration of the 1995 Penal Code, representatives ne women's movement did not take part directly in the debate that eded the 1999 reform of the Penal Code. However, female deputies connections with the feminist movement and/or who had defined nselves in public as feminists participated in the parliamentary debate. 3 was the case of the PSOE deputy María Teresa Fernández de la Vega of deputy Cristina Almeida Castro - representative of the United Left uierda Unida, IU), which is a coalition of parties to the left of the E.

he content of the 1999 reform partly coincided with some (but not t) of the aims of the feminist movement. Most feminists were not nst the definition of a new crime made by the 1999 reform: that of icking people with the aim of sexually exploiting them. The majority eminists also did not oppose the intensification of the fight against prostitution of minors or the special zeal with which the state would ecute and punish prostitution crimes committed by criminal organons. Most feminists thought that these measures either were in the t direction or were useless (but not harmful). The same could be said le increase in penalties for prostitution crimes perpetrated by criminal ciations.

owever, the coincidence between the content of the 1999 reform and e of the goals of the feminist movement should not be overstated. majority of the aims of the feminist movement were not satisfied ne 1999 legislative change. The abolitionist branch of the women's ement wanted parliamentarians to restore an abolitionist legislation. 1999 reform did not re-introduce this type of legislation in Spain. regulation branch of the women's movement wanted the state to 1e free prostitutes as sex workers and to recognise their workers' oblions (such as contributing to the social security system) and workers' rights (for example entitlement to retirement pensions). The 1999 Act did not make any significant step in the direction of regulating prostitution as sex work either.

In sum, two reasons suggest (with some qualifications) that the state reaction to the women's movement in the 1999 reform of the Penal Code was a case of dual response. Firstly, female deputies with links with the feminist movement participated in the parliamentary deliberation on prostitution prior to the enactment of Organic Act 11/1999 of 30 April, although representatives of the feminist movement did not directly take part in this debate. Secondly, the 1999 reform included in the Penal Code some (but not most) of the goals of the women's movement.

#### Women's policy agency activities

The characteristics of the WI were the same as during the first debate except for the leadership. In 1996 the PP appointed Concepción Dancausa as the WI director. She was a former civil servant with no ties with the feminist movement and with no previous significant experience in the policy area of women's rights. The third gender equality plan (1997-2000) paid very limited attention to the issue of legal reform in the area of prostitution (less than the first plan but more than the second plan). Under the heading of violence, the third plan explicitly talked about the grave problem of women and girls who are trafficked and forced into prostitution In this and other situations, women are unable to enjoy the same rights as men. The plan stated that trafficked women are in an extremely vulnerable position that makes them potential victims of physical violence As a goal in this policy area, the plan recommended in very general terms the adoption of measures to eliminate the traffic of women with the air of sexually exploiting them (Instituto de la Mujer 1997: 73-4, 78). The definition of the crime of trafficking women with the purpose of forcing them into prostitution of the 1999 reform of the Penal Code coincidec with the general proposals on prostitution of the third gender equality plan. This was not the case for the remaining measures on prostitution included in the 1999 reform. Therefore, according to the information provided by public WI documents, the WI was not the only or the mair actor which set the agenda of this legal reform or set the content and tone of the 1999 legislative change.

As mentioned, the goal in the third equality plan of fighting the traf fic of women and girls with the objective of sexually exploiting then was not opposed by members of the women's movement. This was the only instance in which the WI was an advocate for women's movemen s in the policy-making process on the reform. I therefore conclude the WI incorporated (although in a very limited way) women's movet goals into its own positions. All in all, in this debate, the WI was ginal.

#### Women's movement characteristics

characteristics of the women's movement were unchanged since the debate. The movement was in the stage of consolidation and as a le was close to the left. Prostitution was a low-priority issue within novement, and moreover, the movement was divided on the issue. re was no significant counter-movement against the reform of the il Code on prostitution.

#### Policy environment

debate prior to the 1999 reform of the Penal Code took place in ament, which generally speaking is a closed policy sub-system. The inant approach was compatible with the discourse elaborated by the ien's movement and the WI, although the dominant discourse was not lered in contrast to the latter ones. In 1996, the PP came into power, sing a minority government with three regional parties or coalition arties CC, CiU and PNV (although the latter withdrew its support e government in the middle of the legislative term) that parliament oved. The PP has been in power since then.

# Debate 3: The 2000 Immigration Act, 1998-2000

How issue came to the public agenda

Ebruary and March 1998, the IU, the CiU and the mixed parliamengroup presented in parliament three bills for a new Immigration Act. It is time, the older Immigration Act of 1985 was, according to many y and social actors, outdated and no longer in line with the social real-fincreasing numbers of immigrants coming to Spain. The three bills not contain any reference to prostitution. On 18 November 1998, P in government presented an amendment to the three bills. Acing to this amendment, illegal immigrants who have been trafficked Spain and forced into prostitution would not be expelled from Spain r two circumstances: if they denounce their traffickers or if they perate with public authorities in the prosecution of these traffickers, iding relevant information or testifying against them. These illegal

immigrants would be allowed to choose between returning to their country of origin or remaining in Spain with residence and work permits. The PP amendment did not ask these illegal immigrants to give up prostitution in order to be granted residence and work permits.

#### Dominant frame of debate

The parliamentary debate that preceded the new Immigration Act (enacted in 2000) referred not to prostitution but to many other immigration issues. The public debate outside parliament only rarely referred to the prostitution article of the bill. To my knowledge, no political and socia actor opposed the amendment on prostitution proposed by the PP. This consensus can be interpreted as a sign of an agreement among the mair political and social actors on the following points: that many immigrant were illegally being trafficked into Spain with the purpose of being sexually exploited; and that these immigrants would not denounce their traffickers or co-operate with the traffickers' prosecution unless given very strong incentives to do so, because these trafficked women were strictly controlled and terrified by their traffickers.

#### Gendering the debate

In general, the references to prostitution within the public debate prio to the 2000 Immigration Act were coined in gender-neutral terms. Par ticipants in this public deliberation spoke about trafficked 'foreigners' o 'immigrants' instead of trafficked women. The same was the case for th proposals that became the 2000 Immigration Act, and the references is the 2000 Immigration Act to trafficked prostitutes.

# Policy outcome

On 4 November 1999, the three bills were unified into a new one which contained the amendment on trafficked people forced into prostitution presented by the PP. The new bill became Organic Act 4/2000 c 11 January on immigration. Article 55 of the Act contains the prostitution amendment presented by the PP.

# Women's movement impact

Members of the women's movement did not directly participate in th parliamentary debate on the Immigration Act. Most women's groups ac tive around the prostitution issue were not against the citizenship right given by article 55 of the Act to trafficked people forced into prostitutio to denounce their traffickers or co-operate with authorities on their ffickers' prosecution. In not including representatives of the women's wement in the deliberation of the aforementioned article but in coinling with (only) a goal of the women's movement, the state response to men's mobilisation was that of pre-emption.

#### Women's policy agency activities

te women's policy agency characteristics were the same as in the second bate. The third gender equality plan (1997–2000) contained proposal mber 7.3.2 regarding women who have been trafficked into Spain and ced into prostitution: 'to study the viability of the establishment of a nporary residence permit for victims of traffic forced into prostitution to have shown willingness to testify in legal processes [against their ffickers]' (Instituto de la Mujer 1997: 79). With article 55 of the Act, islators not only fulfilled this 7.3.2 WI proposal but went further. Legators not only studied the WI proposal, but proposed offering some of se trafficked victims work and residence permits. The WI successfully essurised law-makers to insert its demands into state legislation (interw Dolores Pérez-Herrera Ortíz de Solórzano, WI, Madrid, 19 April 02). Women's groups active in the policy area of prostitution agreed the WI proposal number 7.3.2 and article 55. Thus the WI's role 1 be regarded as insider.

WI documents that speak about illegal immigrants trafficked into Spain d subjected to sexual exploitation often employ a gendered language. lese documents frequently talk about 'women' when referring to these migrants, and link the issue of trafficking women to the wider phenoma of violence against women and the commercialisation of women's dies and sexuality (see for instance Dávila 2001: 22–3).

#### Women's movement characteristics

ven the similar time frame of the second and third debates, the chareristics of the women's movement in the third debate were similar to second debate.

## Policy environment

ice the second and third debates took place at approximately the same ie, their policy sub-systems were similar (closed). The PP was still the ijority party and formed the cabinet. The parliamentary discussion and deliberation in the women's movement and in the WI were compatible

but not exactly matching or the same, because the former was genderneutral and the latter was gendered.

#### Conclusion

This chapter has shown that in post-authoritarian Spain the women's movement has had a modest impact on the debates on prostitution that preceded the major legal changes in this policy area at the central state level. It is true that the content of the 1995, 1999 and 2000 reforms studied in this chapter coincided with some of the goals of the women's movement. However, this coincidence has to be interpreted with extreme caution. Prostitution is an issue of low priority for most of the groups of the women's movement. The part of the movement concerned with prostitution is profoundly divided on the issue. Different groups have supported radically different goals in this policy area (abolitionism, reg ulation or neither of the two). Therefore, with the possible exception o prohibition, any measure undertaken by the state will coincide with a goa of at least one group of the women's movement. The women's movemen or people close to it have participated directly in the debates on prosti tution to a very limited extent (only in the second debate). Two reason can account for this limited participation: the closed nature of the policy sub-system (parliament) in which decisions were made, and to a lesse extent the little debate and mobilisation of the women's movement as a whole around prostitution.

The impact of the Women's Institute on the debate previous to the 1995, 1999 and 2000 reforms on prostitution has also been very modest. In the three cases, the WI's goals coincided with some of the objective of the women's movement. Since the women's movement came up with almost all conceivable demands regarding prostitution, any WI objective will match with at least one goal advanced by a group. The WI has been able to insert its positions into only one parliamentary debate or prostitution: the deliberation that preceded the 2000 Immigration Act None the less, the 2000 legal reform is the least important of the thre legal changes studied in this chapter and the measure was preceded by hardly any public discussion on prostitution. The closed nature of the parliamentary setting to outsiders' influence and the low priority conferred by the WI to the issue of prostitution explain the relatively minor role of the WI in the debates on prostitution reform.

The small impact of both the women's movement and the WI in th deliberations around prostitution policies has to be understood in th context of the marked lack of public discussion on the topic at the centra state level. The main prostitution reforms were not undertaken separately

t were part of much wider legislative moves: the elaboration of a new nal Code (1995), the modification of this Penal Code (1999) and the actment of a new Immigration Act (2000). As shown in this chapter, le reference was made to prostitution in the public deliberations prior the 1995 and 1999 reforms, and hardly any before the 2000 measure. Since the late 1990s the focus of state policies on prostitution has ifted markedly towards the fight against the trafficking of people for purpose of sexual exploitation. Whether this new attention to one sect of the matter (trafficking) instead of another (prostitution itself) ruld foster public debate or contribute to devitalise it is an open queston. The answer will depend to some extent on whether, in contrast with past, the women's movement and the Women's Institute adopt the ht against the traffic of women as one of their own high priorities.

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According to article 81 of the 1978 Constitution, an Organic Act (ley orgánica) regulates, among other matters, fundamental rights and public liberties. An absolute majority of the lower chamber, in a final vote of the whole project, is necessary for the approval, modification or derogation of an Organic Act. For an ordinary – not organic – Act, only a simple majority is required.

Unless otherwise stated, in this chapter all translations from Spanish to English are made by Celia Valiente.

The coincidence of some of the reforms enacted by the 1995 Penal Code and the aims of the regulation groups of the women's movement is shown in Garaizábal (1991: 10).

A gender equality plan is a policy instrument. It contains gender equality measures to be applied during a given period by some ministries. In Spain three central state gender equality plans have been applied, between 1988 and 1990, 1993 and 1995, and 1997 and 2000 (Instituto de la Mujer 1988b, 1993b, 1997). When the period of implementation of the plans ends, the application of them is evaluated (Instituto de la Mujer 1990b; 1996b).

Parliamentary groups conduct most parliamentary work. In general, they are formed by deputies or senators from a party or coalition. If a party or coalition does not have the necessary number of members of parliament to form a parliamentary group, its representatives are included in the mixed group (Grupo Mixto) (Newton and Donaghy 1997: 52).

Amendment number 30 by the CC, and amendment number 31 by Ms Almeida Castro from the mixed group (*Boletin Oficial de las Cortes Generales – Congreso de los Diputados*, sixth parliamentary term, 16 February 1998, Series A (Bills), Number 89–8: 45).

- 7. Amendment number 23 presented by the PNV (Boletin Oficial de las Cori Generales Congreso de los Diputados, sixth parliamentary term, 16 Februa 1998, Series A (Bills), number 89-9: 25).
- 8. Intervention of PSOE deputy Ms Fernández de la Vega and CC depu Mr Mardones Sevilla (Diario de Sesiones del Congreso de los Diputados, plena: session, sixth parliamentary term, 12 February 1998: 1044, 1049); Ameniment number 17 presented by the PNV (Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales Congreso de los Diputados, sixth parliamentary term, 16 February 1998, Seri A (Bills), number 89–8: 23); Amendment number 31 presented by depu Ms Almeida Castro from the Mixed Group (Boletín Oficial de las Corte Generales Congreso de los Diputados, sixth parliamentary term, 16 Februar 1998, Series A (Bills), number 89–8: 27).