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Human Trafficking

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Reader's Guide

Human trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation is undoubtedly one of the major human rights concerns of our time, as it affects men, women, and children in nearly every country. Persons of any race, age, or socio-economic status can be trafficked, and a country may be a destination, transit, and/or origin for trafficking victims. Human trafficking, simultaneously defined as a process (recruitment and transportation) and a severely exploitative work situation (psychological and physical control), is not a new phenomenon. In fact, sexual and labour exploitation in their many forms have always been a part of the human condition. However, political leaders, activists, advocates, academics, and other concerned individuals have recently taken an intense interest in the issue of trafficking, due in part to the greater global awareness of human rights issues in general and the development of anti-trafficking advocacy networks across countries in particular.

Introduction

In 2004, Thai police and other Thai officials raided a makeshift garment factory producing jeans in Bangkok where eighteen girls—aged 11 to 14 years—from Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR) were rescued. Police found the girls hidden in a space measuring 10 by 13 feet (3 x 3.9 meters) under the floor of a room that was padlocked. Several weeks earlier, two girls had escaped from the factory and told police that the girls had been dropped off at the factory by a Laotian recruiter who had promised them paid work. After six months they had not been paid at all; they were forced to work from 6 a.m. to midnight, were poorly fed, and were beaten. The Thai husband and wife running the factory were arrested and charged with human trafficking, unlawful detention, and illegally hiring migrant workers (Pearson, 2005).

Having been abandoned by her parents and sexually abused by the son of distant relatives, 16 year old Noi ran away to Bangkok to work as a prostitute. She then accepted an offer of a job as a waitress in Japan where she was told that she would not have to take clients if she did not wish to. In Japan, she was hired by a bar where she was told that she had to pay off a debt of one million yen (approximately US\$9,500), and her food, rent, and other expenses would be added to this amount. Clients paid the *mama san* (a woman in charge of overseeing the girls and women in a sex establishment) directly for taking the women out during the debt repayment period, and Noi realized that the only way for her to pay off the debt was to go out with as many clients as possible. She lived with thirty other girls between the ages of 14 and 30. Sometimes the police would come in to check if there were overstayers of visas. A Japanese nun helped Noi to get back to Thailand, but she had savings of only 30,000 Thai baht (approximately US\$900) after five years of struggle (adapted from Raymond et al., 2002).

A recruiter went to rural Thailand and convinced thirty Thai men to accept farming jobs in the United States. They were offered three years of work in North Carolina, to be paid US\$8 an hour. However, they would have to pay US\$11,000 in recruiters' fees to get there, money they probably acquired by selling family-owned property or borrowing from loan sharks in Thailand. When they arrived in the US, the labour contractor confiscated their passports and return plane tickets. The Thai men said that the owners stole their money, failed to pay them for their work, and held them captive with threats of violence. They

got only two or three days of work a week on farms. They lived in a small storage unit behind the home of the president of their recruiting company, a native from Lao PDR, and they were not provided with adequate food or allowed to leave the property. When the work in North Carolina ran out, the workers were taken to New Orleans, where they spent a few weeks in a condemned hotel, damaged by Hurricane Katrina, without electricity or clean water. During the day they demolished parts of the hotel in which they lived. They were never paid for their work in New Orleans, so they trapped and ate pigeons. Finally, they escaped and were provided with assistance by social service organizations in the United States (Collins, 2007).

These stories capture the economic, social, and political complexities of what it means for men, women, and children to be trafficked across international borders for labour and sexual exploitation. The story of the Lao PDR girls in a Bangkok sweatshop reflects the problems of many Laotians who migrate to Thailand with incomplete information about working conditions. For Noi, her experience of sexual violence was a cumulative one that began during childhood and persisted through her adulthood. The characteristics that make this a trafficking case are not necessarily that she was taken to another country to be a prostitute per se, but that she was duped by the Thai broker and was told she would be a waitress. Instead, she became stuck in a debt bondage situation in Japan. For the Thai men in the United States, it is yet another story of being deceived and then finding themselves in an untenable situation of forced labour.

This chapter is concerned with two main issues: first, the ways that the international community has defined and framed the issue of human trafficking over the last century; second, the ways that the international community, and particularly the United States, has responded politically to the problem of human trafficking. Contemporary movements around international social issues can be traced to ideologically motivated precursor movements. There are striking similarities in the tactics, rhetoric, and framing strategies of earlier movements against sexual exploitation and the contemporary anti-trafficking movement. In fact, it is necessary to go back more than a century to understand current debates on trafficking. This chapter provides a critical examination of the strategies of the contemporary anti-trafficking movement by explaining the competing interpretations of trafficking and how they led to the development, acceptance, and implementation of anti-trafficking norms.

Definitions of Human Trafficking

Trafficking is a term that has been used to describe a broad spectrum of criminal acts encompassing sexual and labour exploitation. Most generally, it can be viewed as a process with multiple phases: the recruitment or transport of persons using some form of force, fraud, or coercion for an exploitative purpose (Chuang, 2006, p. 443). Other issues that are often subsumed under the umbrella term 'human trafficking' include sex tourism; child sex tourism; commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC); exploitation in domestic, restaurant, agricultural, factory, and sweatshop work; debt bondage; forced prostitution; forced begging; and servile marriage through the mail order bride industry. The word trafficking connotes movement of people, either across international borders or within a country, to circumstances of exploitation, and is often confused with people smuggling.

International law requires coerced or forced movement in order for a situation to constitute trafficking. Trafficking is also associated with the exploitative situation of the person's destination; for example, in the American legal context, movement is not required in order to constitute a situation of trafficking. Some

have sought to simplify the plethora of terms by calling trafficking a 'modern-day form of slavery' (US Department of Justice, 2007, p. 1). However, some argue that the term trafficking has been so overused that it should be 'jettisoned' (Kempadoo, 2005b, p. ix).

In the three cases cited above, the individuals made it out of the trafficking situations. However, since there are few reliable statistics about how many people are being trafficked around the world, it is also unknown how many escape and how many are forced to endure horrible conditions. The statistics provided in Table 16.1 show the range of estimates of the scope of human trafficking, although none of these numbers have been verified.

Trafficking was codified in international law several times in the first half of the twentieth century. However, the traffic in women and children for exploitation in prostitution was the primary focus; forced labour as a form of trafficking and men as trafficking victims were excluded from these definitions. In 2000, trafficking was codified in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (**Palermo Protocol**), supplementing the United Nations (UN) Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Although

Table 16.1 Estimates of human trafficking worldwide

Estimate	Source
27,000,000 'slaves' globally	http://www.FreetheSlaves.net
20.9 million people in forced labour, bonded labour, forced child labour, and sexual servitude at any given time:	International Labour Organization 2012
– 1.5 million in North America and Western Europe	
– 1.8 million in Central and South America	
– 3.7 million in Africa	
– 600,000 in the Middle East	
– 1.6 million in the former Soviet Union	
– 11.7 million in South Asia and Southeast Asia	
Global estimates	International Labour Organization 2012
State-imposed forced labour: 2.2 million	
Sexual exploitation: 4.5 million	
Labour exploitation: 14.2 million	
55% of forced labour victims are women and girls	International Labour Organization 2012
98% of sex trafficking victims are women and girls	

the Palermo Protocol negotiations in Vienna, Austria, known as the **Vienna Process**, were extremely contentious, they marked the first time that the international community agreed on a comprehensive definition of human trafficking. The Palermo Protocol redefined the international norms on trafficking, in the sense that it acknowledged that people may be trafficked for purposes other than exploitation in prostitution and that anyone can be trafficked, including men and boys.

The internationally accepted definition of trafficking (see Box 16.1) does not describe a single act leading to one specific outcome, but rather refers to a process (recruitment, transportation, and control) that can be organized in many ways and involve a variety of actors and outcomes. The elements identified in the Palermo Protocol definition of trafficking themselves present definitional problems, however. For example, there is no international consensus regarding the definition of sexual exploitation—or even of exploitation—and abuses that come under the umbrella of trafficking can vary in severity, generating a spectrum of experiences (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002, p. 12).

The same year that the Protocol was signed in Palermo, Italy, the United States developed and passed its own **Trafficking Victims Protection Act** (TVPA). The TVPA is significant because it was at the time (and remains) one of the most progressive national-level anti-trafficking statutes in the world, and also because the law was written in such a way that it can be used (and has been used) as a foreign policy tool for the United States to export its own anti-trafficking norms to other countries (Chuang, 2006).

The greatest source of tension among the governments and organizations negotiating the Protocol in Vienna and among the US Congress and the organizations involved with writing the TVPA in Washington was the extent to which prostitution was considered inherently exploitative or just another form of work. Many feminist and conservative groups joined together to negotiate during the Vienna Process in the hope of resolving a century-old debate about whether trafficking comprised all forms of adult prostitution or only involuntary prostitution. Feminists split into two subgroups: those who advocated for the abolition of prostitution in all its forms (abolitionist feminists) and those who advocated for a focus on forced prostitution only (human rights feminists).

The distinction between sex trafficking and severe forms of sex trafficking is significant in the American legal context. The TVPA includes a definition for sex trafficking: ‘the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act’ (United States Code, 2000), and a separate definition for severe forms of sex trafficking (see Box 16.1). The sex trafficking definition excludes the requirement of coercion contained in the Palermo Protocol and thus encompasses consensual migrant prostitution. However, the TVPA limits the operational application to severe forms of trafficking in persons—i.e. trafficking involving force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of the inducement of a commercial sex act (Chuang, 2006, p. 450). Developing these two definitions signified the compromise between the two political camps.

BOX 16.1 DEFINITIONS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Trafficking in persons is defined as:

Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the 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.

(Palermo Protocol)

‘Severe forms’ of trafficking are defined as:

- a. sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- b. the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery;
- c. if the person is under 18 years of age, any commercial sex act, whether or not force, fraud or coercion is involved.

(United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000)

KEY POINTS

Trafficking was most recently codified in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Protocol).

The internationally accepted definition of trafficking does not describe a single act leading to one specific outcome, but rather refers to a process (recruitment, transportation, and control) that can be organized in many ways and involve a range of actors and outcomes.

The same year that the UN agreed on the Palermo Protocol, the US government passed its own Trafficking Victims Protection Act.

The Vienna Process revived a long-running debate about whether all forms of prostitution should be considered instances of trafficking or exploitation.

Critical Thinking Question:

Why is it important for a definition of trafficking to be as comprehensive as possible?

The Anti-White Slavery Movement and the Rise in International Consciousness about the Traffic in Women

Contemporary concerns about trafficking can be traced back to a late nineteenth-century movement in the United States and Western Europe against a phenomenon known as **white slavery**. White slavery, or the white slave trade, was a term used to describe the kidnapping and transport of Caucasian girls and women for the purposes of prostitution (Doezema, 2002, p. 22). It was also used to describe the forced and voluntary movement of young white women from rural areas of the United States into houses of prostitution in large American cities at the turn of the twentieth century (E. Bell, 1910).

Thanks to somewhat sensational media coverage, many people in the United States and Europe fervently believed that large numbers of white girls and women were being abducted or lured into prostitution. However, contemporary historians question the extent of this trade, and most scholars now agree that the number of victims of white slavery was actually very small. There

was, however, an increase in migration from Southern and Eastern Europe to the United States and Latin America, and while some of those migrants may initially have been prostitutes (Doezema, 2002, Footnote 4), most were simply women travelling alone from countries in Europe with high levels of poverty and unemployment.

International and Domestic Responses to a Perceived Problem

The discourse on white slavery was neither monolithic nor consistent. For some, white slavery meant prostitution in general; others saw white slavery and prostitution as distinct but related phenomena. Many made a distinction between domestic prostitution and international migration of women for prostitution (Doezema, 2002).

The demographic and social trends at the turn of the twentieth century, combined with Victorian values, stoked fears—which escalated to a panic (Irwin, 1996)—about declining moral standards and racial purity.¹ David (1999, p. 4) argues that these fears engendered myths of innocent girls being forced into sexual slavery on a large scale, myths intended to discourage interracial relations, extra-marital sex, and travel by single women. The white slavery metaphor represented anxieties of the American and European middle classes, instead of factual accounts of women's experiences (Doezema, 2002, p. 26).

The rhetoric surrounding this panic hid or downplayed centuries of black slavery. Alfred Dyer, a Quaker who investigated forced prostitution of English girls in Continental Europe and who set up the London Committee for Suppressing the Traffic in British Girls, wrote in 1880 that the coercion into prostitution of white English girls was 'infinitely more cruel and revolting than negro servitude' because white slavery was 'not for labour but for lust; and more cowardly than Negro slavery' (Dyer, 1880, p. 6). Irwin (1996) argues that Dyer's assessment devalued the humanity of blacks and ignored the fact that black women experienced high levels of sexual exploitation and violence in their situation of slavery. Thus the use of white women as sexual slaves was afforded a form of moral disapprobation that the sexual exploitation of black women did not have.

Nonetheless, intense activism in Europe and the United States developed against white slavery, and national and international movements against the white slave trade had become quite extensive at the turn of the twentieth century. These campaigns must be analysed in the context of the European and American nineteenth-century discourses and narratives on prostitution. For

example, Edwin A. Sims, the US District Attorney in Chicago, was concerned about the trafficking of white slaves, whom he depicted as innocent white girls from rural areas who were being exploited by Parisians and dark-skinned Mediterranean men (E. Bell, 1910, p. 261). E. A. Bell, Secretary of the Illinois Vigilance Association and a legislator, wrote that, while not all traffickers were French, Paris was an epicentre for systematizing commercial sex (E. Bell, 1910, p. 261). Sims and Bell never mention the Chicago businessmen who may have been just as involved in prostituting young girls as the dark-skinned Mediterranean men (Kraut, 1996).

In Britain, the issues of white slavery and child prostitution were linked in W. T. Stead's series of articles, 'The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon', which was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885. In this sensational series, Stead claimed to have evidence of hundreds of English girls deceived, coerced, and sometimes drugged into prostitution, and he accused poor parents of selling their daughters to procurers (Doezema, 2002, p. 28). These stories helped to spark a fury among the middle classes in Europe. Stead did acknowledge that some women voluntarily migrated for prostitution, seeking more lucrative situations.

Early International Conventions

In 1895, the first international conference on traffic in women was held in Paris, followed by two other conferences in London and Budapest (Long, 2004, p. 20). In 1904, the first International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic was concluded in Paris by sixteen countries. Since some countries, such as France, regulated prostitution, the International Agreement did not make white slavery synonymous with prostitution. Instead, it addressed international recruitment for prostitution (Doezema, 2002, p. 23).

In 1910, the International Convention for Suppression of White Slave Traffic was expanded to include the recruitment for prostitution within national boundaries. In 1921, the International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children included trafficking in boys. These early agreements focused on recruitment and neglected the aspect of enslavement or conditions in prostitution. They distinguished between prostitution as a personal choice and slavery-like prostitution linked to coercion or traffic in persons. They banned the international traffic in persons but regarded prostitution as a human rights violation only when it involved overt coercion or exploitation. The agreements never acknowledged less

visible forms of economic, social, and psychological coercion, which critics claimed pushed girls and women into prostitution (Doezema, 2002).

The 1933 International Convention on the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age made an explicit link between traffic in women and voluntary or involuntary prostitution, thus reflecting an abolitionist perspective in an international legal document (Doezema, 2002, p. 23). States were required to punish anyone who procured or enticed a woman, regardless of whether she had consented to work in prostitution in another country.

The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others further solidified the connection between trafficking and prostitution while moving. There was a move away from gender- and race-specific language (Uçarer, 1999). Like the 1933 Convention, the 1949 Convention made sexual trafficking punishable even if a woman had consented, and for the first time in an international instrument it declared prostitution and trafficking to be 'incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and [to] endanger the welfare of the individual, family and the community'. The Convention made no distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution; it viewed prostitutes as victims and did not recognize the individual's right to choose to work as a prostitute (Lim, 1998, p. 15).

KEY POINTS

The contemporary anti-trafficking movement has its roots in a precursor movement against the white slave trade at the turn of the twentieth century.

'White slavery' and the 'white slave trade' are terms that were used to describe the abduction and transport of white women for prostitution out of, or within, the United States and Europe.

It is believed that stories and narratives about white slaves were triggered by the migration of young women from Europe.

A series of international conventions and agreements from 1905 to 1949 attempted to define and refine the international community's ideological position on prostitution.

Critical Thinking Questions:

Why was the white slave trade hyped in the media in the late nineteenth century?

Why did the international community in the early part of the twentieth century feel the need to continuously refine the definition of trafficking?

Origins of the Contemporary Anti-Trafficking Movement

Decades of Silence: 1950–79

After the 1949 Convention, the problem of trafficking in women did not disappear, but the political commitment to confront it nearly vanished. During the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, the international community remained strangely silent on the issues of trafficking into prostitution, save for a few anti-slavery activists and feminists carrying the torch through the later mid-century. Very little discourse was written during or has been written about this time period, perhaps because the international political tensions of the **Cold War** eclipsed other international social issues. The only international instrument that was negotiated in the 1950s that related to trafficking was the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, which addresses 'selling women' and 'turning children over for exploitation and debt bondage schemes' (Farrior, 1997, p. 213).

National and international women's movements emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, and forums for discussions opened. At a global level, the UN International Decade for Women (1976–85) catalysed both activism and research on a range of issues affecting women around the world. For those interested in bringing the issues of international sexual slavery and forced prostitution back to the international agenda, there was hope in the 1970s when the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women was created, as well as the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City (K. Barry, 1979, p. 64). The 1979 *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) directed states parties to take measures to prevent all forms of traffic in women, and prostitution of women (United Nations, 1979). However, the major thrust of CEDAW was to address problems of political discrimination, an emphasis reflecting the concerns of Western women more than those of women in non-Western countries.

In 1979, Kathleen Barry re-introduced the issue of sexual slavery to an academic audience in a book entitled *Female Sexual Slavery*. She argued that trafficking for prostitution was very much alive during the 1960s and 1970s, and provided evidence suggesting that high-level officials in certain countries were directly involved with trafficking women from developing countries for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation. Barry shows that INTERPOL knew of these problems from

reports that the group made in the 1960s and 1970s. When the Anti-Slavery Society asked INTERPOL to release a particularly damning report to the public, INTERPOL refused. In fact, Barry argues that there was a concerted effort to suppress the evidence even in the UN, as countries did not want to implicate or embarrass other countries (K. Barry, 1979, pp. 58–62).

Women's Rights as Human Rights: 1980–95

The contemporary movement to combat trafficking benefited from precursor movements and the development of certain norms to push the notion that women's rights are human rights. Beginning in 1975, the United Nations held a number of international women's conferences, out of which came several key developments. First, states' attention was redirected to women's legal status and family practices that reinforced structures of gender inequality. Second, women's inequality was recognized to be global in nature. Third, several important women's human rights **non-governmental organizations** (NGOs) were formed (Brown Thompson, 2002, pp. 99–100). Beginning in the late 1980s, many women's rights organizations identified an important way to frame women's rights as an inseparable aspect of human rights (Brown Thompson, 2002, p. 102). Networks were formed by women, who came together in unprecedented numbers in the context of the UN conferences where they legitimized these issues (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p. 169).

The discussions during the 1993 **Vienna World Conference on Human Rights** solidified the idea that women's rights are human rights (Brown Thompson, 2002, p. 107). At the Vienna conference, *violence against women* became a key issue among activists from all over the world. The issue of violence against women 'arrived late and dramatically in the [contemporary] international women's movement' (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p. 166). The matter differed from the more classic problems of suffrage, equality, and discrimination, around which Western women had long mobilized. Many of the problems of Western women did not resonate with women from developing countries, who suffered from corrupt governments and Western economic policies that increased poverty, underdevelopment, and the commoditization of women (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p. 166). Contemporary global activists tried to make the case that women anywhere in the world, regardless of age, ethnicity, and socio-economic status, could be victims of violence. Violence

against women emerged as a common advocacy position around which women's organizations could agree and collaborate (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p. 166). Keck and Sikkink (1998, p. 172) argue that violence against women was a category that served some key strategic purpose for activists trying to build a transnational campaign because it allowed them to attract allies and bridge cultural differences. This strategic focus forced transnational activists to search for a basic common denominator—the belief in the importance of the protection of bodily integrity of women and girls.

The networks built around the issue of violence against women could draw on pre-existing communication networks. The emergence of violence against women as a topic around which groups could advocate shows how separate transnational networks—human rights and women's rights—began to find a common language and transform one another (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p. 166). Women's groups in developing countries pressed the issue of violence against women most forcefully, and, fortuitously, they found support among groups working on similar women's issues in the West (Brown Thompson, 2002). Though related, the contemporary shift to the frame of violence against women was a significant advance on the past efforts of the paranoia and the intensely racialized tone of the Victorian era. Women's groups refocused the human rights activism from campaigning around state-perpetrated violence in the public sphere to male-perpetrated violence against women in the private sphere. This was an advance in the global women's movement and it allowed separate campaigns to develop on specific practices of violence against women in a domestic context. For example, rape and domestic violence was an issue in the United States and Europe, female genital mutilation/cutting was relevant in Africa, commercial sexual exploitation was of concern in Europe and Asia, dowry deaths were in the media in India, and torture and rape of political prisoners were grave problems in Latin America (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, pp. 171–3).

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing solidified the movement working to combat violence against women (see Box 16.2). After remaining in the background for a long time, the issue of trafficking for sexual exploitation rode the wave of the international women's movement into the mid-1990s. A broader view of trafficking that included forced marriage and forced labour emerged from this conference, along with the idea that governments bear

BOX 16.2 COMBATING TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The effective suppression of trafficking in women and girls for the sex trade is a matter of pressing international concern. Implementation of the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, as well as other relevant instruments, needs to be reviewed and strengthened. The use of women in international prostitution and trafficking networks has become a major focus of international organized crime. The Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on violence against women ... is invited to address, within her mandate and as a matter of urgency, the issue of international trafficking for the purposes of the sex trade, as well as the issues of forced prostitution, rape, sexual abuse and sex tourism.

(Platform for Action (1995), Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China)

responsibility for the rights of women in the private sphere. Framing human trafficking as a human rights/women's rights issue helped to break down the public/private distinction that had long hobbled recognition of women's rights more generally, and it transformed private or 'women's' issues into human issues.

Contemporary Politics of Addressing Human Trafficking

Deep-seated disagreements in the women's human rights movement became evident during the negotiations for a new international instrument on human trafficking, which culminated in the Palermo Protocol. Contemporary, unresolved issues about the relationship between trafficking and prostitution that had been percolating since the late 1970s finally came to a boil in Vienna. The Palermo Protocol reflects only a weak international consensus on this transnational problem (Chuang, 2006, p. 438). During the Vienna Process, one group of states adopting the abolitionist perspective viewed any distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution as morally unacceptable. They opposed any definition of trafficking that would include a coercion requirement and argued that the definition should encompass all migration for sex work. Another group of states took the position that including non-coerced migration for sex work would make the trafficking definition over-broad and divert scarce resources away from the real problem (see Box 16.3).

**BOX 16.3 ALTERNATIVE POINTS OF VIEW:
ABOLITIONIST FEMINISTS AND HUMAN
RIGHTS FEMINISTS**

Two ideological camps have dominated the discourse on sex trafficking over the past decade and a half. The abolitionist feminists believe that prostitution, whether involuntary or voluntary, is exploitative. Trafficking is, by definition, the act of forcing or coercing an individual into a situation of sexual or labour exploitation. Therefore, those involved in prostitution are always in a trafficking situation. On the other hand, human rights feminists de-link prostitution and trafficking by arguing that some adult women and men are in prostitution voluntarily and should not be considered victims; only those who are forced or coerced to be prostitutes should be considered trafficking victims. While the vitriol between the two camps has diminished, the results of the rivalry are reflected in anti-trafficking policies throughout the world.

These debates underlined the complexity and divisiveness of the issue. However, in the end, the desire on the part of the states to come to a consensus outweighed their disagreements. There were two points of compromise evident in the final definition of trafficking. First, states excluded consensual migration for prostitution, thereby maintaining a distinction between migrant smuggling and trafficking (Chuang, 2006, p. 445). The *travaux préparatoires* (interpretive notes) indicate that the protocol addresses the issue of prostitution only in the context of trafficking, and that these references are without prejudice as to how states address this issue in their respective domestic laws (Gallagher, 2001, p. 986). One of the results of the compromises, however, was an international convention with few enforcement mechanisms and weak language directing states to improve their trafficking records.

The Palermo Protocol departed from its sister conventions earlier in the twentieth century by making elements of force or coercion essential parts of the definition of trafficking. This is a significant departure from the abolitionist stance of the 1949 Convention, and it left states free to recognize voluntary prostitution as labour and to regulate it. But while the Protocol makes an important distinction between coerced and non-coerced migration for prostitution, it does not offer many concrete human rights protections for trafficking victims (Chuang, 2006, p. 447).

Although the Protocol does recognize the need to respect the human rights of trafficked persons, it is conspicuously not a human rights document. States insisted that they be permitted to enact measures to protect themselves against transnational organized crime, specifically the elements of organized crime that smuggle people across borders and/or exploit their labour after the movement across the border. The implicit purpose of the Protocol was to provide a mechanism for states to criminalize trafficking and, as a result, prosecute traffickers. Thus the Protocol has often been described as a protector of *states* rather than a protector of victims of human trafficking.

KEY POINTS

The international community became relatively silent on the issue of trafficking between 1950 and 1979, largely due to the international political pressures of the Cold War.

Discussions began to open up in the 1970s, spearheaded by the UN, about issues affecting women all over the world, and by Kathleen Barry's seminal book *Female Sexual Slavery* in 1979.

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing solidified the movement working to combat violence against women and strongly advocated the notion that women's rights are human rights.

Two ideological camps coalesced around the Protocol negotiations; they were focused nearly exclusively on the nature of prostitution.

Critical Thinking Questions:

What might the contemporary anti-trafficking movement look like if levels of activism had stayed high through the mid part of the twentieth century?

What is the effect on the broader fight against trafficking when so much emphasis is placed on sex trafficking?

**The Ascendancy of Trafficking as a
Global Issue in the 1990s**

Few of the issues raised in contemporary forums to discuss human trafficking are unique to this time period. In fact, the reasons why this issue has gained ascendancy at the turn of the twenty-first century parallel

those explaining its rise at the turn of the twentieth century. Doezema (2000, p. 24) aptly compares the trafficking victim from one century to another:

Recent research indicates that today's stereotypical 'trafficking victim' bears as little resemblance to women migrating for work in the sex industry as did her historical counterpart, the 'white slave'. The majority of trafficking victims are aware that the jobs offered them are in the sex industry, but are lied to about the conditions they will work under. Yet policies to eradicate 'trafficking' continue to be based on the notion of the 'innocent' unwilling victim, and often combine efforts designed to protect 'innocent' women with those designed to punish 'bad' women: i.e. prostitutes.

As this assessment suggests, the contemporary anti-trafficking movement has its roots firmly entrenched in debates going back as far as the late 1880s. The rhetoric has changed only slightly in over a century, and the abolitionist feminist/human rights feminist split with regard to the issue of trafficking as prostitution is still very much alive. The inability of these two camps to find common ground has contributed to the particular character of the current global anti-trafficking movement. There are several reasons why the contemporary global anti-trafficking movement has been able to sustain itself: a proliferation of national and international NGOs; hundreds of millions of dollars spent globally to combat trafficking since 2001; US unilateralism; sensational media coverage; and the facility with which organizations and people communicate across international borders in order to undertake transnational advocacy activities.

In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed, destabilizing Central and Eastern Europe. The end of the Cold War precipitated an intense interest in the issue of trafficking in persons in Western countries, primarily because of the fear and concern about mass migration out of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to Western Europe. Whereas a large number of people did make their way to Western Europe, an exodus did not materialize. But trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation into the European Community came to the attention of a growing number of non-governmental organizations in Western Europe. Interestingly, some of these European NGOs had been working on related issues, with Asian activists, since the 1980s and

were aware of Southeast Asian women involved in forced and voluntary prostitution, as well as of abusive marriages between European men and Asian women.

However, Asian and African women in European brothels in the 1980s did not raise the same flags that the appearance of foreign, white women in the French, British, and German sex industries in the 1990s did. In much the same way that the white slavery panic of the early twentieth century was sparked by the migration of women out of Eastern Europe coupled with revulsion at the thought that white women were being enslaved sexually, an intense interest in the issue resurfaced with the end of the Cold War and the migration of women and men out of former Soviet countries and the belief that many of these (white) women were being enslaved sexually in Western European and American brothels. Jahic and Finckenauer (2005, p. 26) ask poignant questions about why there was a rise in interest in this issue in the 1990s:

Was the rise in concern for victims simply the result of a sudden increase in trafficking? Why did special interest groups, governments, and organizations suddenly become interested in a problem that had actually been present for decades? Was there something unusual about the new wave of trafficking from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union?

The answer they provide, which is in line with other findings, is that, unlike the women from Asia and Africa who were women of colour, the new trafficking victims were more recognizable to Western, particularly American, politicians and other middle-class do-gooders. The image of white slaves was unconsciously invoked, and this image resonated with activists and advocates in the West (Jahic and Finckenauer, 2005, p. 26).

Jahic and Finckenauer (2005, p. 27) also make a powerful argument about why trafficking has become such an important issue since the 1990s. The trafficking victims have been portrayed in the media as young, naive victims in need of protection. This portrait of a trafficking victim has made it easier to form anti-trafficking task forces. This is a particularly important point to make because, although transnational advocacy networks are the main facilitators of maintaining this issue on the international political agenda, Jahic and Finckenauer provide an

BOX 16.4 CHALLENGING ASSUMPTIONS: WHO GETS TRAFFICKED?

- Anyone can be a victim of sex or labour trafficking—men, women, and children.
 - Women are primarily trafficked into forced sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, manufacturing, hospitality, and health and elder care.
 - Men are primarily trafficked into the construction, fishing, agriculture, and mining industries.
 - Children are primarily trafficked into sexual exploitation, domestic work, begging, manufacturing, agriculture, mining, and military conscription.
- Who traffics?
- Both men and women, young and old, can traffic others. A trafficker might be a family member, an intimate partner, a neighbour, or a complete stranger. Many traffickers are successful because they prey on and take advantage of people who are in vulnerable economic and social situations.
 - The majority of traffickers work in small networks.
- Where do people get trafficked?
- Nearly every country in the world is a source, transit, and/or destination country for trafficking, rendering it a truly global phenomenon.
 - The top origin countries for people trafficked in the United States are Mexico, the Philippines, Thailand, Honduras, Guatemala, India, and El Salvador (US Department of State, 2014). There are also many American citizens who are victims of trafficking in the US.

explanation for the fuel for the advocacy networks. In addition to portraying prostitutes as victims to make anti-trafficking activities more palatable for public discourse, the issue that has also fuelled the activities of advocacy networks is the fact that those working on this issue do not have a clear sense of the scope of the problem (see Box 16.4). This has not stopped people from claiming that the problem is growing in magnitude. Most organizations and governments collect different kinds of data, which makes it difficult to reach meaningful conclusions about the scope of the trafficking (Jahic and Finckenaer, 2005, p. 27).

Root Causes of Trafficking

The accounts of women trafficked into exploitative prostitution have often been portrayed to justify a particular political, moral, and economic regime by governments and NGOs, particularly faith-based organizations. These accounts position women as victims who need the protection of powerful interests. By focusing only on the women's labour, sexuality, or mobility, these institutions fail to address the root causes of trafficking in the countries of origin, such as high rates of unemployment, abuse in families and other forms of gender-based violence, and limited opportunities for legal migration. Media accounts capitalize on the combination

of sexuality and exploitation to provoke public voyeurism by transforming the stories to be about the dehumanizing experience; the women are treated in the media as objects instead of subjects of their own histories. Long (2004, p. 7) argues that 'Contemporary sexual trafficking experiences remain largely invisible, reflecting in large part the particular interests and agenda of those defining trafficking for sexual exploitation rather than the lived experiences and perceptions of those who are trafficked.' Rarely in public discourse do people read about the economic, political, and social vulnerabilities that these girls and women face in their home countries. The rights and voices of women themselves are muffled and those in the West do not always have a clear understanding of the reasons why some women have to make the often difficult choice of migrating to other countries for various types of gendered work—prostitution, domestic service, childcare, for example. These women are faced with additional vulnerabilities after migration because of limited rights they may have as illegal immigrants, or being at risk of sexual violence and discrimination because they are female. Greater attention to human rights in general, including social and economic rights of women, would go a long way to addressing the vulnerability to coercion that underlies many of the reasons why girls and women become involved in prostitution.

KEY POINTS

Rhetoric on slavery and prostitution has many similarities throughout the twentieth century. Just as the white slave trade provoked hysterical discourse about young white women at the turn of the twentieth century, feminist abolitionists were similarly motivated by the increased presence of Eastern European women in Western European and US brothels after the end of the Cold War.

Prostitute as victim has been a powerful way to evoke increased interest in the issue of human trafficking.

Violence against women emerged as a common advocacy position around which women's organizations could agree and collaborate. The Vienna Process was a significant step in crystallizing international norms on combating human trafficking.

Women from developing countries experience high levels of political, social, and economic vulnerability, which lead many to make the difficult decision to migrate to other countries for work.

Critical Thinking Questions:

How might we change the trafficking discourse from focusing on young women in prostitution?

If the human rights of women and girls and levels of gender inequality around the world were addressed, how would this affect their vulnerability to trafficking? Why?

Case Study: Human Trafficking in the United States

Brief Background of Trafficking Problems in the United States

The United States is a destination country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced prostitution and forced labour. The full extent of trafficking in the US is not known as it is very difficult to determine the numbers of trafficking victims currently present in the US. Individuals are trafficked to and exploited in nearly every state of the United States; no community is immune, though the majority of trafficking cases have occurred in larger metropolitan areas and traditional ports of entry: New York, Miami/Florida, Texas, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and Atlanta (US Department of Justice, 2007). People have been found trafficked in traditional and non-traditional sex industry establishments—brothels, bars, massage parlours—as well as in factories, sweatshops, farms, restaurants, private homes, even begging on the street. Young women are trafficked into sexual servitude from the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and Asia. Latin American and African women are also trafficked into domestic servitude. Latin American and Asian men are trafficked into forced labour or extremely exploitative labour situations in factories, farming, construction, agriculture, and landscaping.

It is unknown whether there are more situations of individuals in trafficking for forced prostitution than in labour trafficking. The US government maintains that 80 per cent of trafficking in the world is for sex trafficking—a figure that reflects its expansive view of sex trafficking—and that over 50 per cent of those trafficked are minors (US Department of State, 2008). The majority of prosecutions that the US Department of Justice has handled have been for forced prostitution (US Department of Justice, 2007). These figures contribute to a general assumption in the United States and elsewhere that sexual servitude is more prevalent than labour trafficking (US Department of State, 2006). However, other research has provided evidence to the contrary (Webber and Shirk, 2005).

It is not surprising that the United States is a magnet for migrants from all over the world. It is also not at all surprising that recruiters deceive many of these migrants in their home communities. Recruiters paint rosy pictures of what it is like to live and work in the United States. Because the routes for legal migration into the United States are limited, individuals increasingly turn to unscrupulous smugglers and traffickers.

Research has also shown that it is not the poorest of the poor who are trafficked or become trafficked in the United States, nor is it the least educated—though low levels of education and income do affect the likelihood of someone becoming exploited (Bales and Lize, 2005). In 2006, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a four-part story in which the reporter extensively interviewed one South Korean woman who came to the

US from a lower middle-class family in Korea. This young woman, in order to fit in with her friends in South Korea, had obtained a credit card and bought tens of thousands of dollars' worth of clothing and jewellery. When she was unable to pay off the credit card with her job as a waitress, she became desperate and agreed to pay money to a smuggler to bring her to the United States to work—she thought—as a waitress in California. She was unaware of the immigration and visa rules and allowed her smuggler to arrange the paperwork. Little did she know that she would first be flown to Mexico, smuggled illegally across the border into the United States, and then forced to work as a prostitute to pay off not only her credit card debts, but also the money she owed to her smuggler. After several months of working as a prostitute against her will, she had paid off enough of her smuggling debt that if she wanted to leave prostitution, she could. However, she chose to stay working as a prostitute for many more months to reduce her credit card debt in South Korea; besides, she did not know what her options were because she was an illegal alien. Eventually, after leaving the prostitution industry, her experiences came to the attention of an NGO. It was determined, by the group as well as by the US government, that she was a victim of trafficking, making her eligible for certain compensations under the TVPA (May, 2006). The details of this case illustrate the complexities of trafficking in the United States: not only can a person be smuggled then trafficked, but this woman chose to stay working in the sex industry after she could have exited because of her financial obligations in South Korea.

The situation of trafficking in the United States is distinctive because the majority of traffickers traffic people of their own ethnic/national groups. For example, Bales and Lize (2005, p. 27), in a report on human trafficking in the US, found that in eight of the twelve cases that they studied the victims were recruited by a person from their community of origin, meaning that someone from their neighbourhood, family, or ethnic group lured them to the United States. Forced labour is a phenomenon found within ethnic/national communities populated by a steady flow of migrants from the same geographic areas (Bales and Lize, 2005, p. 143). The fact that victims of trafficking are very often exploited within ethnic community enclaves in the United States is one of the factors that prevents local and federal law enforcement and non-governmental organizations from finding victims of trafficking

throughout the United States. The psychological and physical coercion victims experience in exploitative situations is much more powerful when a trafficker knows the victim's family in her or his home country and can threaten to hurt those family members, especially children, left behind.

Development of US Norms to Combat Human Trafficking

In 1995, President Bill Clinton established the President's Inter-Agency Council on Women (PICW) within the Department of State in order to create a mechanism to carry out commitments that the US made in connection with the Beijing women's conference. The Chairperson of this Council was then-First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who had been present at the Beijing conference and had given a stirring speech about women's rights as human rights. By early 1998, the ideological camps on the issue of prostitution's relationship with trafficking had already re-formed in the US. Abolitionist feminists sided with conservative social groups and a growing Christian conservative presence in the US Congress.

On 8 March 1998—International Women's Day—President Clinton issued an Executive Order on Trafficking in Women and Children that set out a comprehensive and integrated policy framework of domestic and foreign anti-trafficking initiatives. This Executive Order became the blueprint for US legislation on human trafficking. The Clinton administration established bilateral working relationships with several countries and spearheaded the drafting of the Palermo Protocol (Chuang, 2006, p. 449). The Executive Order also outlined an implicit normative framework for how the US Government and international organizations should address trafficking for the next decade, prescribing three important ways to combat trafficking: prevention of trafficking, protection of trafficking victims, and prosecution of traffickers (often referred to as the 3Ps). Congressional leaders introduced legislation in 1999 on sex trafficking, which was later broadened to include all forms of human trafficking, and in late 2000 President Clinton signed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act into law.

The motives underlying this legislation are interesting and important to understand. Several cases of human trafficking were brought before the US courts in the mid-1990s. Two large labour trafficking cases were discovered in 1995. Approximately a hundred

deaf Mexicans were found being forced to peddle trinkets in New York City. In another case, approximately seventy Thais were found locked up in a sweatshop in El Monte, California, where some had been held for as long as seven years. Unfortunately, prosecutors did not have at their disposal statutes that addressed the specific problem of people being *psychologically coerced* and enslaved for work. Before the TVPA, US law recognized only physical coercion as part of slavery cases. These cases revealed that special attention was needed for people who might have agreed to be taken across the border but nonetheless ended up in situations of deception, coercion, and violence.

Although Chuang (2006) argues that these two cases prompted members of Congress to propose comprehensive anti-trafficking legislation, it is significant that legislation was not introduced in Congress until 1999. While the cases most certainly played a role in raising attention about worker exploitation, they were not the primary catalyst for Congress to pass anti-trafficking legislation. The years 1999 and 2000 were pivotal in the consolidation of US congressional and NGO support for action on the issue of trafficking. In addition to the several congressional hearings held about human trafficking—specifically trafficking for sexual exploitation—members of Congress introduced various bills on trafficking and sex trafficking (Hyland, 2001, pp. 60–1).

The Congressional co-sponsors of a developing policy on trafficking were greatly motivated by evidence presented by the now-defunct NGO, Global Survival Network (GSN), showing that a steady stream of girls and women from the former Soviet Union were being trafficked into prostitution in the US and Western Europe. On 28 June 1999, Congressman Chris Smith (R-NJ) held a hearing entitled ‘The Sex Trade: Trafficking in Women and Children in Europe and the United States’. At that testimony, Congressman Smith stated (emphasis added):

Although trafficking has been a problem for many years in Asian countries, it was not until the end of communism in East-Central Europe and the break up of the Soviet Union that a sex trade in the OSCE [Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe] region began to develop. This appalling trade has grown exponentially over the ensuing decade. Trafficking rings exploit vulnerable women and children; and amidst the devastated economies of Eastern Europe and the newly independent states where women are unable to find jobs, traffickers have no shortage of potential victims.

Evidence provided by GSN sparked sentiments and compassion similar to those of the early abolitionists at the turn of the twentieth century of white slavery. US policy makers responded to advocacy about problems of forced prostitution of Eastern European and former Soviet nation women; they did not pay as much attention to the problem of labour trafficking, or human trafficking taking place in other areas of the world.

Moral Authority and Exporting US Norms Abroad

For well over a century, trafficking has been a problem that has evoked some moral obligation upon which to act—it concerns situations in which girls and women are being raped for the profit of others, women’s and men’s labour are being severely exploited, and children are being abused. Unique political alliances and debates between liberals—represented by human rights advocates and feminists—and conservatives—represented by abolitionist feminists and the conservative, religious right in the US—elevated human trafficking to a high place on the political agenda. The religious conservatives’ and the abolitionist feminists’ cooperation on the linkages between prostitution and trafficking was sufficient to maintain Congressional and Executive Branch interest in the issue of human trafficking, especially among the Republicans, years after the passage of the TVPA.

Early academic literature on the formation of transnational advocacy networks signifies an acceptance of the fact that people and organizations network because they perceive a moral obligation or urgency to act on issues such as human rights, environmental destruction, or women’s human rights. However, others have challenged this view, arguing that activism is as much about politics and posturing as it is about morals. Clifford Bob (2005) asks why some issues get put on the global agenda while others are ignored. He offers several suggestions. First, local groups seek to transform their grievances into rights claims. Second, international human rights NGOs act as ‘gatekeepers’, screening such claims and deciding which to bring to the international level. Third, states and international organizations translate claims into rights by codifying and institutionalizing them (Hertel, 2006, p. 15).

After the UN adopted the Palermo Protocol and the US passed the TVPA, international campaigns

such as the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) and the Coalition Against Traffic in Women (CATW) set out to advocate their respective positions on trafficking and prostitution. The human rights camp was perceived to have won the debate after the passage of the Palermo Protocol, which empowered GAATW to organize its entire agenda around advocating governments' ratification of the Palermo Protocol. However, in 2001, almost immediately after the TVPA was passed, the US administration changed politically from Democratic to Republican. Even though a liberal president had signed it, the TVPA was implemented under a conservative administration.

Chuang (2006) argues that the TVPA has forced US norms into the international arena, potentially undermining 'the fragile international cooperation framework created' by the Palermo Protocol. The US took advantage of the fact that the UN would be unlikely to enforce the Protocol rigorously, due to insufficient funding and the lack of a central and powerful office at the UN tasked with the responsibility for its implementation. The international cooperation framework collapsed, creating a global leadership vacuum on the issue of trafficking, and the US slowly replaced the UN as the 'global sheriff' combating human trafficking (Chuang, 2006).

US confidence in this new enforcement role grew once it gauged the reaction of the international community to its tier designations of countries in the Trafficking in Persons Report (published by the US Department of State in 2001 and each subsequent year). Because the TVPA includes a sanctions regime, which is used as a foreign policy tool, it reaches beyond US borders to influence anti-trafficking policy abroad. This threat of sanctions elevated US norms above international norms by 'giving the former teeth that the latter so often lack' (Chuang, 2006, p. 439). The sanctions regime, along with normal US Government engagement with other governments, influenced many countries to develop laws and policies to combat human trafficking. What is interesting is that the US encouraged other governments to adopt and employ selective and sometimes ambiguous references to the norms of the Palermo Protocol (Chuang, 2006, pp. 439–40). The US supported nearly all of the norms delineated in the Palermo Protocol, with one crucial exception—the distinction between 'sex trafficking' as defined in the Protocol, and 'severe forms of sex trafficking' as defined in the TVPA

(Chuang, 2006). Although the overall outcome of the US engagement with other countries resulted in greater international attention to human trafficking and more national-level anti-human trafficking laws, the US Government's tactics were deemed imperialistic by many, as they undermined the tenuous consensus reached during the Vienna negotiations. The contemporary anti-trafficking movement spearheaded by the international community in the late 1990s has become a platform to keep the debate alive on the nature of prostitution in the 2000s. The site of the global debate on prostitution and its relationship to trafficking shifted to Washington, DC, where some US-based organizations, whose abolitionist ideology on prostitution has afforded them the political and financial support of the US Government, are located. US foreign policies on human trafficking have been viewed as both progressive and aggressive, and US-based organizations also took advantage of the global leadership vacuum mentioned above. While policies to engage aggressively with other countries have not changed dramatically, Obama administration officials are deemed to be more reasonable, less ideological, and more willing to see multiple sides of the debate.

KEY POINTS

Victims of trafficking are found in every corner of the United States.

There is an assumption that trafficking for sexual exploitation is more prevalent, but evidence has shown that labour trafficking may be a larger problem.

Under the Clinton administration, the US Government developed norms to combat trafficking: prevention, protection, and prosecution.

Despite prominent labour trafficking cases in the mid-1990s, US Congressional leaders were motivated to address human trafficking when it came to their attention that women from the former Soviet Union were being forced into prostitution.

The US has assumed the responsibility of global sheriff on enforcing anti-trafficking norms internationally.

Critical Thinking Question:

What are the pros and cons to the US exercising its power as a 'global sheriff' for human trafficking?

Conclusion

In the exploration of a historical perspective, similar patterns of political behaviour are evident across an entire century. It has been difficult for many organizations, activists, and advocates to transcend the emotive language that maintains stereotypes and influences narrowly conceived policies and projects around the world. Theoretically, it is important to examine the history of the anti-trafficking movement so that we understand the motivations of organizations and map

their interaction with one another. Rhetoric and framing are important components in the development of alliances and networks. Under the Obama administration, the ideological camps are still evident, though drops in the funding available for combating human trafficking domestically and abroad have quieted some of the more virulent rhetoric audible during the Bush administration. However, we can anticipate a trajectory of continued debate on these complex issues.

QUESTIONS

Individual Study Questions

1. What were some of the precursor international instruments to the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol)?
2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the Palermo Protocol?
3. What are the differences between the definition of trafficking in the Palermo Protocol and the United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act?
4. What was the most significant source of tension for those organizations and individuals negotiating the Protocol in Vienna?
5. How was the interest in trafficking rekindled for the international community in the 1990s?
6. What is the nature of the problem of human trafficking experienced by the United States?

Group Discussion Questions

1. What are the differences and similarities between the way that trafficking was framed at the turn of the twentieth century and then at the turn of the twenty-first century?
2. How were contemporary norms to combat human trafficking developed?
3. How was the international women's human rights movement connected to the global movement to combat human trafficking?
4. What role do the United States Government and organizations play in enforcing contemporary norms to combat human trafficking?
5. How has the rhetoric of slavery played a role in mobilizing activism against trafficking?
6. What were the motivations of US Congressional leaders to address human trafficking in the United States?

FURTHER READING

Anderson, B. and **O'Connell Davidson, J.** (2002). *Trafficking—A Demand Led Problem?* Washington, DC: Save the Children.

The authors review current debates and research on the demand side of trafficking, arguing that the demand aspect of trafficking is problematized by the various definitional and political challenges that surround the issue, and that questions about supply and demand cannot be separated in the analysis of any given market.

Bales, K. and **Lize, S.** (2005). *Trafficking in Persons in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Commissioned by the National Institute of Justice, the research by Bales and Lize opens a window on how people are trafficked into the United States and how the US Government is using the available legal tools to address this problem.

Barry, K. (1979). *Female Sexual Slavery*. New York: New York University Press.

Barry, considered to be an abolitionist feminist, argues that men are responsible for constructing social institutions that allow the exploitation and objectification of women to occur.

Chuang, J. (2006). The United States as global sheriff: Using unilateral sanctions to combat trafficking. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, **27**/2, 437–94.

Chuang argues that the United States Government has undermined and replaced the United Nations as the global enforcer of anti-trafficking norms. She questions the usefulness of the sanctions that the US Government can impose on other governments that do not comply with the norms defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000.

Doezema, J. (2002). Who gets to choose? Coercion, consent and the UN trafficking protocol. *Gender and Development*, **10**/1, 20–7.

Doezema argues that the vague way in which trafficking in persons is defined by the Palermo Protocol will serve to undermine future efforts to combat human trafficking at national levels. She is particularly concerned with the global norms to address prostitution as a form of trafficking and believes strongly that voluntary prostitution is not exploitative.

Keck, M. and **Sikkink, K.** (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Keck and Sikkink examine networks of activists that form and operate transnationally. They focus on the impact that transnational activism has had on human rights, environmental politics, and the campaign around violence against women.

Kempadoo, K. (ed.) (2005). *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Kempadoo and her colleagues argue against sensationalizing the issue of human trafficking. They provide alternative understandings of transnational migration, forced labour, sex work, and livelihood strategies in the context of globalization.

Lim, L. L. (ed.) (1998). *The Sex Sector*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Lim and her colleagues show that the prostitution industry reflects other economic sectors because of its diversified structures. They also argue that prostitution is a social phenomenon related to unequal relations between men and women, and between children and parents.



WEB LINKS

<http://HumanTrafficking.org> An Internet resource on human trafficking in Southeast and East Asia, and the United States.

<http://www.aaptip.org/> Australia–Asia Program to Combat Trafficking in Persons.

<http://ChildTrafficking.com> A comprehensive library of articles related to human trafficking, maintained by Terre des Hommes Foundation

<http://un-act.org/> A website of the United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons.

<http://www.ungift.org> Website of the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking.

<http://www.state.gov/j/tip> Website of the United States Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.



NOTES

1. See Bristow (1977); Connelly (1980); Walkowitz (1980); Gibson (1986); Corbin (1990); Grittner (1990); Irwin (1996); Fisher (1997).



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