

An Analysis of Global Sex Trafficking

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Sex trafficking has various causes, and this article discusses some of its complexities and analyzes policies in relation to the sex trade. Globalization's neoliberal market economy, transnational movement, consumerist agenda, and feminization of poverty have created a breeding ground for sex trafficking. I posit that globalization's effects on (particularly "developing") economies, such as Thailand, and the environment has created a supply and easy movement of trafficked women and children; that Western-dominated and patriarchal approaches contribute to a feminization of poverty and gendered division of labor, which includes sexual services; and that the commodification of the female (and child) body through the mass media has increased a demand for sex trafficking. Finally, I argue that Sweden's approach represents the best practice toward ameliorating sex trafficking by targeting the demand.

An increasingly profitable human rights violation, sex trafficking involves a variety of policy issues, such as violence against women, HIV/AIDS, immigration, and economic development. Sex trafficking victims suffer physical, psychological, and economic abuse in this modern-day slavery; traffickers use violence, threats, coercion, and murder to instill fear in victims. Why have an increasing number of women and children (mostly girls) fallen victims to sex trafficking? This article analyzes sex trafficking and its connections with globalization, and then considers what policy approach best serves to deter this gender-based crime.

Most policies to curb the international sex trade fail to address the demand for the sex industry. Consequently, such policies are not structurally plausible to stop trafficking for the sex industry. Noting that most international debates on prostitution focus on the women, Deputy Prime Minister of Sweden, Margareta Winberg states, "[W]e can see where the true problem lies—it lies with the buyers, the customers, the men" (Torrey, 2004; 74). In short, inclusion of controls on demand for the sex trade is the keystone to drafting improved legislation to combat sex trafficking.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Taking a gender-based approach in my textual analysis, I examine developed and developing nations to determine: why sex trafficking has increased with globalization and what would be the best practice to ameliorate sex slavery.¹ The economic disparity between the global North and the South as well as the feminization of poverty weave into the stories of sex trafficking. In particular, Thailand, a supplier and user of sex trafficking victims, offers a rich case study into the complex connections between the sex trade and effects of globalization. Additionally, much literature exists on the relation between sex trafficking and

prostitution policies, such as those developed in Australia, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Through textual analysis of a variety of sources, such as governmental, NGO, and academic, I utilize feminist theory to determine which policy approach provides the best practice to curbing sex trafficking today.

I draw upon feminist theory² and international and domestic social work experience (1990s-2007) with trafficked and prostituted women/girls, trainings, and interactions with law enforcement and other experts. Primarily victimizing females, sex trafficking is a form of violence against women, and feminist theory calls for an examination of all violence against women and girls. "Feminist social research utilizes feminist theory in part because other theoretical traditions ignore or downplay the interaction of gender and power" (Reinharz, 1992; 249). As UN Special Rapporteur (2006), Huda reveals how public policy has failed to utilize feminist theory: "Demand created by prostitute-users is not the only factor that drives the sex-trafficking market. However, it is the factor which has received the least attention and creative thought in anti-trafficking initiatives" (Huda, 2006; 15). Why has demand for the sex industry been afforded a near invisibility in policy and research (Salter 2003; 4, 76)? Since heteropatriarchy "privileges heterosexual, promiscuous masculinity," feminist theory can challenge the demand for sexual services of women and children (Kempadoo, 2004; 9). Aiming to decrease commercialization, Marxist or socialist feminism can critique the commodification of the female body that supports this demand; Third World feminism can bring insight into sex trafficking as a continuance of colonial industry that exploits females on the basis of race, class, and nationality.

An abolitionist feminist framework recognizes the structural oppression of women within a patriarchal system, and advocates decriminalizing the prostitute,

while targeting the pimps, johns, and traffickers who create a demand for and benefit from the sex trade. Recognizing that no theory is neutral or free of value (Kirk, et. al., 1998), I utilize an abolitionist feminist perspective toward the sex industry, which profits from a demand for sexual services supplied mostly by women, who face an imbalance of power within a patriarchal system. This demand for sexual services fuels sex trafficking.

Sex trafficking, a global slave trade and human rights issue, has various causes, and this article explores some of its complexities and associated policies. Globalization's international trade with a neoliberal market economy, its transnational movement through outsourcing and processing zones, its consumerist agenda, and its feminization of poverty (especially in developing nations) and labor (particularly exploiting women of color)³ have created a breeding ground for sex trafficking. I will incorporate examples, primarily of Thailand, to support my propositions. In general, I posit that globalization's:

- effects on (particularly "developing") economies and the environment has created a supply of women and children to be trafficked, and an easy movement of people by traffickers, who benefit from corrupt authorities.
- Western-dominated⁴ and patriarchal approach has created a feminization of poverty and labor, which includes a historical and current provision of forced "sexual services" to military and a push for sex tourism.
- commodification of the female (and child) body through the mass media and the Internet has increased a "demand" by men for sexual commodities at the expense of "others," especially "foreign, exotic" women.

Finally, I argue that Sweden's approach represents the best practice toward ameliorating global sex trafficking by targeting the demand side of the sex trade.

ANALYZING PROPOSITION ONE

Globalization's effects on economies and the environment have created a supply of women and children to be trafficked, and an easy movement of people by traffickers, who benefit from corrupt authorities. While the feminization of poverty and gender-based violence exist worldwide, environmental injustice and unfair economic policies disproportionately harm poor women and girls in developing nations. A system favoring developed nations in the name of globalization, which promotes "free" trade, contributes to global sex trafficking by increasing economic inequality and disadvantaging the "poorest of the poor."

Connected to neoliberal policies, globalization has displaced people in favor of cash crop agriculture, increasing the landless and leading to increased labor migration and urbanization, which separates families. Globalization contributed to urbanization, causing people to leave rural homes in search of work in factories to serve the global market. Indeed, the largest wave of migration in world history occurred during globalization (PBS 2002). A gender-based analysis recognizes women as a disadvantaged social group in which globalization has left millions of women impoverished, laid off, paid "the lowest salaries," and overworked as they subsidize a neoliberal economic agenda (Enriquez, 2006; 4). "Women comprise nearly half of the world's migrants and are most vulnerable to exploitation as they face discrimination in hiring and employment and are often forced to work in industries with widespread labour abuses such as the tourist industry where they suffer exploitation and abuse. The free trade in goods is also the free traveling and movement of people across borders. This assists the traffickers in their business of recruiting for the sex tourist industry" (Cullen, 2004). Schauer et. al. (2006; 163) agree that globalization "transcends nations' borders as a main condition for the increase in new slavery."

One may examine Thailand's environmental destruction to understand globalization's increase in migration and urbanization, which contribute to sex trafficking. Transnational corporations in need of land for fast-growing trees (like rubber and eucalyptus) or industrial shrimp farms for their own harvesting have been displacing indigenous Thai people (who typically lack land titles) from their homelands, causing deforestation, flooding from soil erosion, and a lack of food and resources (such as mushrooms and fish) to sell for the local people's income. Despite studies warning of the devastation caused by rubber plantations, for instance, the Thai government has been encouraged by World Bank loans to destroy its own environment and, hence, its people, who depend upon the ecosystem (Usher, 1994; 23). Within globalization's monocultural production for corporate interests and Western demand, the local people are fined if they plant fruit trees for their own needs! One elder Thai woman explained how the market economy encroached upon villages, creating a consumer culture, luring the youth to the city, and creating a loan and debt cycle for people who wanted more market economy goods as propelled by the media (Usher, 1994; 16). After the military presence during the Vietnam War and the resulting sex tourism industry, more young women and girls left their villages to sell their bodies (all they had left to sell in the market economy) to support their poor families back home, because they could no longer produce sufficient food from the environmentally damaged lands and they were forcefully removed from other lands, such as new national parks that prohibit people meeting household

needs, such as fuelwood collection, but in some cases have permitted logging.

In addition to environmental injustice that disadvantages people within developing nations, such as Thailand, globalization's "opening" of borders for goods and "products" includes people, thereby increasing opportunities for sex trafficking through lax controls and checks. Traffickers easily move victims across borders into and out of Thailand, a supplier and user of sex trafficking victims. In China, for instance, women and children are trafficked across regional borders into Thailand, Myanmar, Macau, and Vietnam, as well as from Thailand to Western nations for the sex trade. Statistics vary on Thailand's sex industry, but they range from 86,000 to two million women and children prostituting in this global sex market (Usher, 2004; 18). Thailand serves as a rich case study for examining globalization's connection to an increase in sex trafficking.

The collapse of "emerging market economies" in what has been labeled the *Contagion* by economists occurred during globalization. Based on research regarding the "history" of globalization, the U.S. and Europe encouraged open markets in Thailand, allowing Thai businesses for the first time to borrow from foreign banks (Europe and Japan primarily), despite the fact that there were no strong regulatory systems in place through banks and security laws, nor were there property rights protecting citizens as in most Western nations. Thailand and other nations served as a gateway to increased profit for some, while harming the interests of many local people. In 1997, the Contagion (part of the Asian financial crisis) first struck Thailand, forcing the Thai government to devalue their currency, causing a rapid decline in salaries, job losses, and setting the scene for an IMF loan, which imposed policies and a debt upon the Thai government.⁵

The IMF gave loans to southeast Asian nations with these conditions: cut government spending, raise interest rates, and eliminate government corruption. This neocolonialism destabilized their economies, made them poorer, devalued their currencies, forced them to borrow and become indebted, thereby allowing the IMF and other lenders to control their national policies. In December 1997, the Contagion reached Korea, which turned to the IMF when it neared default on Japanese and U.S. loans. Due to pressure, the banks rolled over their loans and Korea received the largest loan, \$55 billion, in world history from the U.S. From February to August 1998, investors flowed elsewhere, away from southeast Asia. Investors decided that if Russia's "emerging economy" failed, wealthy nations would step in, but Russia defaulted, causing investors to bail out all over the world for fear of *their* risks, and the Contagion swept across all nations, according to economists (PBS, 2002).

My interest in this history of globalization lay in the initial countries hit hardest by the Contagion: southeast

Asia and eastern Europe. While there may not be a clear-cut connection between those countries hit hardest by the Contagion and sex trafficking, these countries are large suppliers for the global sex trade. Their economic collapses during globalization have contributed to their large supply of trafficking victims. "Countries as diverse as Vietnam, Cuba, and those in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union—all beset by acute financial crises while becoming market economies in varying degrees—are witnessing a tremendous increase in trafficking and prostitution" (Hynes, 2002; 199). Moreover, neoliberal economic policies under globalization disadvantage developing nations as evidenced by the effect of IMF and World Bank policies on Thailand's economy and environment. Indeed, regarding globalization, Schauer, et. al., (2006; 163, 165) cite these contributing factors to sex trafficking: decreases in social spending as demanded by lenders and exacerbated by debt; "[p]rivatization, liberalization of markets, computer communication of international financial transactions, political and economic weakening and collapse, and the desire to migrate."

By not fairly including developing nations in the global economy and essentially closing markets to them in the guise of IMF-World Bank-WTO policies, we fail to ameliorate an economic cause of global sex trafficking. Prostitution through sex tourism has become one of Thailand's major financial resources as it helps the government pay off debts, which form a part of the cycle of economic abuse in globalization. Indeed, Saskia Sassen states, "Debt and debt servicing problems have become a systemic feature of the developing world since the 1980s" causing the creation of "shadow" or illicit economies of globalization (Saunders, 2004; 94). In order to combat sex trafficking, the global community should eliminate economic policies that create conditions ripe for an illicit sex trade.

Reflecting a link between collapsed and illicit economies, such as sex trafficking,⁶ corruption among law enforcement officials and government agencies plays a key role in the successful operation of the criminal networks that traffic in human slave labor (King, 2004; 20). Officials can be bought off, laws against trafficking are weak in many countries, and attitudes⁷ toward violence against women are indifferent at best in many places. In Vietnam, "70% of those caught in brothels are reported to be state officials" (Enriquez, 2006; 4). Corruption exists within all nations, but rather than placing full blame on local officials, we must also hold non-locals colluding in sex trafficking accountable. For instance, "[f]ormer Australian diplomat Robert Michael Scoble was arrested March 2004 in Thailand in a joint operation conducted by the Royal Thai Police and Australian Federal Police...charged for promoting Thailand for

sex tourism, child pornography, and trafficking of boys” (Cullen, 2004).

The story of Siri, a Thai girl who left school to help raise her younger siblings, illustrates corruption’s hold on trafficking victims. Siri’s parents accepted \$2,000 from a trafficker, who promised Siri a “good job” in a large town to help support her family. Sold at the age of fourteen to a brothel, Siri was “initiated” into the sex industry by a pimp raping her.⁸ She was now a prostitute—a sex slave. Though she escaped and sought help, a policeman returned Siri to the brothel owner, who beat her; brothel owners pay police to ignore sex trafficking. Physically enslaved and sexually servicing about three hundred men per month, Siri also suffered psychological abuse. “It did not take long for the pimp to convince Siri of her worthlessness, and for Siri to accept the view of herself as a mere female who deserved her fate” (King, 2004; 26). Like Siri, trafficked women and girls are victims of a modern slavery, aided by corrupt authorities, including government workers, and the new global economy’s circuits and movement of money and people.

ANALYZING PROPOSITION TWO

Globalization’s Western-dominated and patriarchal approach not only exacerbates the feminization of poverty, but it also reflects a historical and current provision of sexual services to militaries and a push for sex tourism to fulfill the demand of a hypermasculine and market-driven ideology that permeates globalization. Despite an increased supply of women drawn into the sex industry due to economic conditions under globalization, “this ‘supply’ would never be used for sex trafficking purposes without the creation of demand” (Nikolic-Ristanovic, no date; 1). In general, men in armed forces (whether “armies, militias, or groups of bandits”) either “attract commercial sex workers to their barracks, kidnap women [and girls] from villages to provide sexual services in their camps, or harass women serving in their own ranks” (Silliman, 1999; 96). The Balkans, for example, reveals a rise in sex trafficking due to the military presence during and after the ethnic conflicts, and calls attention to the corruption involved in the sex trade, as United Nations and NATO⁹ forces committed sex trafficking crimes in the Balkans.

The presence of a military base in a region, regardless of war, expands prostitution, thereby creating a larger demand for sex trafficking as evidenced in the Philippines and Korea. Regarding Thailand as a case study, the U.S. military presence along with the World Bank’s exploitation of this military “development,” help explain Thailand’s current sex industry:

During the Vietnam War, the U.S. Department of Defense had a contract with the Thai government to provide "Recreation & Relaxation" [R&R or “rest

and relaxation”] for U.S. soldiers. With money from the U.S. government, local Thai prostitution organized and expanded into a major industry. In 1975, the World Bank built an economic plan for Thailand around the sex tourism industry, which helped turn sex tourism into the country’s number one export. Prostitution [though illegal] has now become such an important industry, that work to end prostitution must also support the growth of new industries (TWWH 2008).

Da Silva (2002) concurs with the linkage between military R&R and the sex industry:

Prostitution as an occupation grew dramatically from its Thai-based, more or less stable clientele to an increasingly large and fleeting dependency on foreigners. This was where so-called ‘sex politics’ first took hold in Thailand. The concept was introduced as a result of the end of the cold war and the thousands of soldiers that remained after the war ended. Other Southeast Asian countries that had served as bases in the cold war were affected by this as well.

Here, Thailand’s sex industry provides insight into a hypermasculine ideology that permeates economic and military policies previously unchallenged under globalization.

Hypermasculinity within a militarized global economy provides an ideological framework that supports the demand for sex trafficking. Hypermasculine denotes a sense of entitlement to women, the “Other” (Beauvoir, 1949), and a violent masculinity (like militaries) aimed at controlling others.¹⁰ Enriquez (2006) critiques the framework of globalization as masculinist based “on the gender division of labour, with women subsidizing reproductive work, and with neo-liberalism basing itself on the idea of competitiveness and domination” (Enriquez, 2006; 1). Heteropatriarchy encourages a viewpoint of masculinity that endorses men’s domination over and entitlement to women’s bodies, and certain groups of women fare worse due to race or other factors. While recognizing a greater impoverishment in the global South, Enriquez links patriarchy, capitalism, and economic inequality in the North and South, stressing that in both hemispheres women are disadvantaged economically and are harmed by globalization more than their male counterparts. Under a masculinist framework, policies support the building of militaristic nation states, and states for which the WTO “itself encourage[s the] manufacture of arms, given its exemption on security in Article IX of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]” (Enriquez, 2006; 1). As military expenditures increase worldwide, spending on social and environmental programs decrease, and the resulting “trade-off” is that

women “suffer first and most deeply” (Silliman, 1999; 178).

Contributing to a feminist analysis of sex trafficking, James Messerschmidt highlights the “hegemonic masculinity” of mass media, a marketing and proselytizing tool in globalization: “In Western industrialized societies, hegemonic masculinity is characterized by work in the paid labor market, the subordination of women and girls, heterosexism and the driven and uncontrollable sexuality of men” (Nikolic-Ristanovic, no date; 4). Further connecting “hegemonic masculinity” to a demand for women’s sexual services, Robert Connell stresses that “emphasized femininity complements hegemonic masculinity,” which emphasizes the “sexual receptivity” of “younger women” (Nikolic-Ristanovic, no date; 4). I suggest, therefore, that globalization’s hypermasculine and market-driven framework supports the demand for sex trafficking, for at best, it fails to question a masculinist framework that perpetuates a sense of entitlement to women’s bodies, and at worst, it “promotes and aggravates the buying and selling of women,” partly through militarization (Enriquez, 2006; 3).

Regarding the commodification of women’s bodies, globalization’s Western-dominated and patriarchal approach has contributed to a push for sex tourism as an economic policy for developing nations. By pushing tourism on developing nations, the World Bank, IMF and other lenders have encouraged sex tourism at the expense of non-Western people.¹¹ Macroeconomic policies or structural adjustment policies, such as those promoted by the World Bank and the IMF, “have helped push certain countries to export women for labor (the Philippines), making them vulnerable to trafficking; or to develop economies based on tourism (Thailand), with a huge dependence on sex tourism. Male demand, female inequality, and economies in crisis—among other factors—lie at the nexus of sex trafficking” (Hynes, 2002; 197). Governments, depending on the illicit economy of the sex trade, profit from the pimping of women (Saunders, 2004; 91).

As a case study, trafficking in Thailand generates about \$124 million, “a value equal to around 60 per cent of the government budget” (Enriquez, 2006; 4). Tourism investors can exploit women as “free trade” products in the sex industry. In Thailand, where prostitution is illegal, 5.1 million sex tourists visit annually; 450,000 local “johns” buy sex every day; 75% of Thai men buy prostitutes, and nearly 50% had their first sexual intercourse with a prostitute (Enriquez, 2006; 4).

Sex tourism has increased sex trafficking within and beyond developing nations, as more women are trafficked to Western nations to supply the increasing demand for the global sex industry. The governments of Australia and the Netherlands have benefited from the lucrative sex trafficking economy by legalizing prostitution, which creates a demand for the illegal

recruitment of women from the global South. In Australia, where prostitution has been legalized, the government seeks to maintain its new “taxpaying, profitable sex industry,” by denying sex trafficking and saying they have only a problem with illegal immigration (Torrey, 2004; 71). In 1999, a brothel owner in Australia profited “at least \$1.2 million from the services of” 40 trafficked Thai women, and licensed brothels in Victoria, Australia, reportedly “earned around \$1 million a week from the sex slave trade” (Cwikel, 2005; 315). Within “Japan, the world’s second largest economy, the sex trade brings in \$400 million per year” (King, 2004; 21).

Utilizing the market-driven framework of women as sexual commodities and women’s need to survive in a neoliberal economy with an increasing feminization of poverty, sex traffickers route most victims *within* developing nations or *to* developed nations. Developing nations largely supply women and girls to fuel the global sex industry. TWWH calls on the World Bank, given “[i]ts history of supporting sex tourism in Thailand,” to improve job opportunities for Thai women, and combat sex tourism: “The World Bank has a role in addressing prostitution when it is loaning \$1.9 billion US dollars to Thailand for projects” (TWWH, 2008). Yet, sex tourism is incredibly profitable for governments that unofficially accept or legalize prostitution, and “criminal groups are turning to women as a high-profit, low-risk ‘commodity’” (Weiss, 2002; 2).

ANALYZING PROPOSITION THREE

Globalization’s commodification of the female (and child) body through the mass media, pornography, and the Internet has increased a demand for sexual commodities at the expense of the “Other,” especially “foreign, exotic” women. Within a market-driven, masculinist economy, sex trafficking thrives by treating women and girls as cold-cash commodities, which unlike drugs, can be sold for many years at a high profit to criminal networks. Yet, due to a large supply of poor women, trafficking victims are disposable products. If a woman complains too much, she is killed or sold to another brothel, and some women, particularly women of color, are raped and killed in “snuff” videos.

The global economy’s media presents a monoculture of consumerism “that sells women as sex to be consumed” (Silliman, 1999; 195-196). In a “sex sells” market, it is common for female bodies to be oversexualized to sell products within a heteropatriarchal system. Advertisements of nude or semi-nude female bodies send powerful messages that normalize the buying and selling of women and girls. One can look in a city newspaper offering escort services or massage parlors with ads of “exotic women.” One can go to a newsstand and find *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, *Hustler*, or “soft-porn” like *Maxim* or *SI Swimsuit Edition* alongside *Family Circle*. The commodification of the

female body during globalization includes an increase in pornography, which often presents false ideas about male entitlement to use, even victimize, the female body. The UN Special Rapporteur's definition of demand includes prostitute-users *and* those who utilize products, such as pornography, produced through trafficked labor (Huda, 2006; 11). According to Berg's (2007; 64) research, "49 percent of 854 prostituted persons reported pornography was made of them." As pornographers have used trafficking victims, Dr. Mary Anne Layden, at the 2003 conference *Demand Dynamics: The Forces of Demand in Global Sex Trafficking*, presented a study on the effects of viewing pornography: "The more the subjects were exposed to pornography, the more they showed callousness towards women, the less they believed in the women's liberation movement, and the less time they thought rapists should spend in jail" (Torrey, 2004; addendum 4). Some feminists argue that pornography objectifies women and increases the demand for the sex industry, which then uses sex trafficking to satisfy the increased demand (MacKinnon, 2005).

The sex industry's commodification of the female body presents women as objects of flesh, ready to be bought and sold as sex slaves or to be sexually consumed by customers. In a photo by Kimberlee Acquaro for a sex trafficking article (Landesman, 2004; 24-35), a young girl stands outside a hotel in Mexico, surrounded by a circle of men of various occupations, deciding whether or not they want to purchase her body. Such a sex "auction" presents this girl as a commodity to fulfill a heteropatriarchal demand. Statements from johns (buyers of sexual services) highlight the commodification of the female body. One john says, "I use them [prostitutes] like I might use any other amenity"; another says, "I wanted a piece of ass and she was there"; and one john justifies violence against women: "When there is violence, it is mostly the prostitute's fault. See, I am going to buy something. If I am satisfied with what I am buying, then why should I be violent? I will be violent when I am cheated, when I am offered a substandard service" (Torrey, 2004; 30, 31). Reflecting a sense of entitlement to women's bodies, this neo-colonialist mentality of johns permits sexual violence similar to that perpetrated by colonial slave owners, who viewed purchased women as promiscuous products to sexually satisfy them (Eisenstein, 2004; 88).

Demand refers to the clients/customers/johns of the sex industry, which primarily caters to male consumption of the female body. "Ninety-nine per cent of clients in the sex trade are male. Boys are trained to be offenders and girls to be victims" (Seabrook, 2001; 168). "Adult entertainment" is one label given to the sex industry, which includes: pornography, strip clubs or "gentlemen's clubs," prostitution, "traditional" bachelor parties, massage parlors, escort services,

military R&R, and more. Trafficked women and girls have been found in all of these "venues."

Expanding on Gary S. Becker's (1968) economic approach to crime, Schauer, et. al., (2006; 164) note the low cost to sex traffickers and the high profits resulting from an "increased consumer demand," which thereby increases "organized crime." Yet, the demand for the sex industry has not been sufficiently studied in a patriarchal system as men primarily form the demand side of the equation, and many people do not question or criticize patriarchal benefits afforded to men. Many have participated in the sex industry at some point, so examining demand leads many to question their own involvement in or indifference to the sexual exploitation of women and children.¹² The resistance to examining the demand side of the sex industry is evident in Peter Landesman's testimony. At a human trafficking conference at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Landesman (2004) stated that his sex trafficking article (published in the *The New York Times Magazine* in 2004) was greatly criticized by men, including four prominent journalists "whose names most Americans would recognize." It took three weeks of fact-checking his article rather than the regular one week maximum fact-check typically required. Lastly, he was told by the (male) editors that he could not research and write an article about the "demand side" for their magazine. Demand, of course, would focus on the men who demand sexual services from women and children (mostly girls). This refusal by editors to consider publishing the demand side of sex trafficking exemplifies the lack of questioning regarding the demand that contributes to a profitable, gender-based crime within a masculinist economy.

A heteropatriarchal demand for the sex industry requires an increasing supply of women and girls. Despite the sex industry's local clientele within Third World nations (Seabrook, 2001, 79; Usher, 1994, 31), the rise in global sex trafficking cannot be explained merely by Third World johns. The majority of global sex trafficking victims are from Third World countries, and Western johns create a demand for sex workers during business, military, or tourist trips. One U.S. john says of his trips to Thailand, "These girls gotta eat, don't they? I'm putting bread on their plate...They'd starve to death unless they whored" (Torrey, 2004; 31). While poverty is certainly part of the supply side, poor men in Third World nations are not trafficked for sexual purposes as women are, and most men who prostitute do not have pimps as opposed to most women prostitutes. Further, women and girls form the bulk of sex workers worldwide,¹³ and, thus, it is the heteropatriarchal demand for women's bodies, and not poverty itself that creates a lucrative business for traffickers.

Technological advances further contribute to globalization's commodification of women's bodies. An increase in global communication via technology,

especially the Internet during the 1990s, has facilitated the exchange of currencies, goods, people and services—including sexual services—worldwide (Cwikel, 2005; 306). The Internet is easily accessible to most Western men, and the sex industry has created a greater demand for sex trafficking by advertising women on pornographic websites, thereby normalizing the buying of sexual services for more men. In addition:

[t]he Internet has also facilitated the recent rise in child sex tourism by providing a convenient marketing channel...with pornographic accounts ... One particular [U.S.] website promised nights of sex 'with two young Thai girls for the price of a tank of gas.' The easy availability of this information on the Internet generates interest in child sex tourism and facilitates child sex abusers in making their travel plans (Nair, 2008).

Thus, the Internet provides a highly accessible source for the sale of women and children as commodities in the sex industry.

Sex trafficking reveals racist and neocolonialist mentalities in the marketing of "foreign, exotic" women. While Russian "Natashas" and white eastern European women garner the "highest profits" for traffickers, "[g]lobally, prostitution and sex trafficking victims are overwhelmingly female, overwhelmingly women of color, and overwhelmingly poor" (Torrey, 2004; 27). Racism and economic inequality exist between who supplies the majority of "sexual services" and who demands them (Kempadoo, 2007; 138-139). Many johns believe that "what you do to a foreign woman is different, it doesn't count" (Seabrook, 2001; 89). While poor men in the Third World utilize the sex industry, globalization allows wealthy, mostly First World men to choose a wider variety of "Other" bodies to purchase. "The transnational sex industry...makes visible the relationship between North and South, between privilege and oppression" (Seabrook, 2001; xv). Sex trafficking reveals a colonialist, profit-driven industry, exploiting bodies based largely on gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, and nationality.

Globalization creates a growing competition within the sex industry that demands an "import" of "younger and younger women from more 'exotic' backgrounds, thus victimizing our indigenous or aboriginal girls" (Enriquez, no date; 4). While living and working in Ethiopia (2005), I learned that indigenous girls from a southern Ethiopian tribe had been abducted and found in brothels. Based on my observations, several tourism billboards and posters throughout the capital and large towns seem to sexualize these culturally bare-breasted girls, whose poses or looks at times could appear to men as sexually inviting—yet, I did not see posters of this tribe's women or males, cultural icons in their own right.¹⁴ Similar to my concern regarding tourism

posters in Ethiopia, the Tourism Authority of Thailand's posters presented "attractive beckoning women, sub-titled with phrases like 'the land of smiles welcomes you' [and] were extremely suggestive" in the Visit Thailand Year 1987, when sex tourism became the nation's "number one foreign exchange earner" (Usher, 1994; 17). I question who or what policies encourage "suggestive" advertising for tourism in developing nations that may contribute to sex trafficking, especially of indigenous, "Other" girls.

Global sex trafficking demands the "exotic Other" for Western johns.¹⁵ Not only do Western men fly to other countries for "exotic" bodies, they can easily find them in the West's major city phonebooks or travel guides, where ads show "exotic" women at various venues. Sex trafficking supports a racist and colonial mentality of subordinating the "exotic Other." According to Kempadoo (2004), colonization allowed for slavery, and in the same way, sex trafficking buys and sells women for sexual servitude. In the colonization of the Caribbean, white slave owners had the "right to total sexual access to slaves...and concubinage and prostitution were institutionalized"; such sexual arrangements indicated an "inferiority" of "the conquered and colonized non-Western Others" (Kempadoo, 2004; 30-31). Similarly, prostitutes are the sex trade's inferior "Other."¹⁶

GENDER-BASED POLICY ANALYSIS

In developed nations where prostitution has been legalized, such as Australia (Batros, 2004), Germany and the Netherlands, one finds an increase in the sex trafficking of "exotic" Third World women and girls, because the local prostitutes (often domestically trafficked) do not fill the supply demanded.¹⁷ "Legalization of prostitution expands the market for commercial sex, opening markets for criminal enterprises and creating a safe haven for criminals who traffic people into prostitution" (U.S. State Department, 2004; 2). In Australia, many licensed brothel owners and managers know about sex industry advertising regulations in the *Prostitution Control Act* (1994), but they ignore the regulations by advertising foreign women in foreign language advertisements (Cwikel, 2005; 313). To decrease sex trafficking, therefore, national governments should adopt policies that target the demand for prostitution.

Sweden's approach represents the best practice toward ameliorating sex trafficking by targeting this demand. Instead of criminalizing the prostitute, Sweden utilizes a "trafficking paradigm," in which the johns, "pimps, brothel owners, recruiters, [and] transporters" are criminalized as "the ones who demand services, are enriched by the proceeds of commercial sex, and are the ones who control, and often even enslave, the women providers" (Schauer, 2006; 159). Following public debate and lobbying by the Swedish women's movement, the *Law That Prohibits the*

Purchase of Sexual Services (hereafter the *Law*) was enacted in January 1999 to address the demand, “the root cause” of sex trafficking (Ekberg, 2004; 1189). Unlike state policies that regulate prostitution through medical check-ups¹⁸ or licenses, Sweden views prostitution and sex trafficking as connected forms of violence against women.¹⁹

Seeking a “democratic society where full gender equality is the norm,” Sweden has a history of activism “against prostitution and trafficking” (Ekberg, 2004; 1188). Moreover, there is a history of collaboration between the public and private sectors: the government, including the Division for Gender Equality, public authorities, the women’s and shelter movements, and other NGOs (Ekberg, 2004; 1190). The women’s movement initiated the call to criminalize prostitution buyers, and their efforts with the support of “female politicians from across party lines” led to the passing of the *Law* “with little opposition” (Ekberg, 2004; 1191). The *Law* includes government funding “and assistance to...prostituted women,” including “access to shelters, counseling, education, and job training”; it also enforces a fine or imprisonment for those who purchase “sexual services” in any location, including outside of Sweden, thereby deterring Swedish peacekeeping soldiers from contributing to the sex trade as confirmed by a military commanding officer (Ekberg, 2004; 1192, 1198). In addition, the *Law* entails police education and training to challenge patriarchal attitudes and increase an understanding of the violence and difficulties facing prostituted women, thus improving enforcement. Further, the law also provides funding for public awareness campaigns, including “shaming” posters of johns, that serve to educate the public, potential victims, and johns (Ekberg 1202). The Internet²⁰ has increased the amount of global sex trafficking, but in Sweden, where prostitution is illegal and buyers are “shamed,” “[t]here is no evidence that the sale of women has moved from the streets to the Internet” (Ekberg, 2004; 1194).

The *Law* has been effective at decreasing (by at least 30-50%) the number of women trafficked into and within Sweden for street prostitution; “the recruitment of new women has come almost to a halt”; and “the number of buyers has decreased by 75% to 80%” (Ekberg, 2004; 1193-1194). In comparison, Denmark lacks legislation targeting johns, and Denmark’s street prostitutes increased from about 2,000 in the early 1990s to about 5500 to 7800 in 2004 (Ekberg, 2004; 1194). While traffickers may hide women in clandestine locations, “Sweden no longer is an attractive market for traffickers” due to its abolitionist policy against the demand for prostitution, which relies on the sex trade (Ekberg, 2004; 1200).²¹

CONCLUSION

Globalization, part of a market-driven, monocultural global economy, has contributed²² to the collapse of

economies and a destruction of the environment in developing nations, thus supplying a pool of poor women and children for the sex industry. Traffickers and corrupt authorities benefit from globalization’s easy movement of people and the Internet. Meanwhile, the sex industry benefits from and is heightened by a hypermasculine, militaristic agenda that commodifies women and children’s bodies, particularly “exotic, foreign” women, for heteropatriarchal demand. “Neocolonialist” policies imposed on developing nations have created debt and contributed to the feminization of poverty associated with global sex trafficking. U.S. media “accounts have generally lacked an analysis of the structures that account for women being trafficked into prostitution, namely, the global sex industry, the subordination of women, the gendered labor market, and the multiple economic crises and inequalities that underlie women’s lives” (Hynes, 2002; 200). Further, increased immigration controls in a global economy that demands migration will contribute to a reliance on “traffickers to cross the border,” thereby increasing women’s chances of becoming sexual slaves (Saunders, 2004; 99).

Western “powers” like the United States rank²³ developing nations in a paternalistic, “unilateral” fashion regarding their efforts to reduce sex trafficking. Yet, the U.S. does not fairly rank certain (militarily or economically strategic) nations, such as Saudi Arabia, nor the U.S. itself, for their part in creating and continuing sex trafficking, and until 2005, the U.S. did not significantly address demand, such as whether or not a country “encourag[es] sex tourism” (Tiefenbrun, 2006-2007; 270-271).

Many nations like Australia, Germany and the Netherlands²⁴ hide behind legal prostitution, which creates a demand for sex trafficking, while often shifting the Western “gaze” onto Third World nations for blame (Silliman, 1999; 90). Moreover, the West’s predatory lending has created an unjust debt upon the backs of the poorest of the poor, thereby contributing to the movement of women and girls, primarily from developing nations, into the sex industry for economic survival (Saunders, 2004; 97). Neoliberal market proponents, such as the World Bank, IMF, and the WTO, have resisted the changes in the global economy needed to ameliorate sex trafficking—namely a redistribution of resources, local sustainability and diversity of life (plants, animals, etc. that provide nourishment), debt cancellation, a fair analysis of globalization and its effects on diverse peoples, particularly women, a non-misogynistic media, and fair trade and immigration policies for an *unslaved* “free market.”

Lastly, prohibiting the purchase of sexual services, Sweden provides a model policy that challenges the heteropatriarchal commodification of women by targeting the demand for the sex trade. Sweden’s *Law* can serve as a best practice for other countries and

international peacekeeping forces to decrease sex trafficking, a human rights violation. In Sweden, the *Law* is well-accepted: "80% of the Swedish population supports the law and the principles behind its development" (Ekberg, 2004; 1204-1205).²⁵ Through a gender-based analysis, government officials and law enforcement agencies could follow Sweden's anti-trafficking approach by decriminalizing the prostitute and targeting the demand side of prostitution and sex trafficking.

NOTES

¹ A gender-based approach asks gender-specific questions to account for the impact of policies on both men and women and to address inequalities and social group disadvantage. For more information, see: http://www.hku.hk/ccpl/research_projects_issues/cedaw/gendermemo.html.

Globalization refers to qualitative increases in cross border interactions that centrally involve trade, investment, debt, labor migration, etc. I find connections between globalization, neoliberal economic policies, the rise of economic precariousness, destruction of indigenous economies, the creation of mobile workers desperately seeking work, migration from countries to the cities, contracts with "middle men" or labor contractors, and sex trafficking.

² Recognizing a diversity of feminisms, I use feminist theory to question the systemic oppression of women as a social group and the intersectionality of sexism, racism, classism, etc. For more on gender as a useful category in gender-based policy (or feminist) analysis to address social group disadvantage, see Iris Marion Young's *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy* (Princeton University Press, 1997).

³ While one may argue that I essentialize women in general or sub-groups of women, I consider trafficked women as a social group facing disadvantages based on gender first, and then based on class, race, age, ethnicity, nationality, etc. Poor women of color from developing nations are particularly disadvantaged by sex trafficking. Girls are often subsumed in the discussion of "women" as a disadvantaged social group regarding sex trafficking, a gender-based crime that targets women and children (primarily girls).

Yet, feminisms are diverse, and not all feminists would agree with my analysis of sex trafficking. For example, Kempadoo (2007) challenges anti-sex trafficking and anti-prostitution policies for what she views as racism, a lack of acknowledging agency of the sex worker, and a sweeping victimization of women that weakens them and sets them up for dependence on men for protection. As a brief response, I view crime victims as survivors, not weak people; I suggest reclaiming the word "victim" in opposition to glorified "pimps" and unchallenged "johns" who exploit

vulnerabilities in others. Vulnerability is part of being human instead of an "other." Second, I note the need to challenge racism within the sex industry and racist policies, such as immigration policies that simply deport sex trafficking victims. Lastly, I acknowledge that some women may choose to enter sex work, but based on research, the majority of "consenting" sex workers do so for economic survival and/or based on past abuse (Cwikel, 2005; 307-308). Childhood sexual abuse is common for females in the sex industry. OJJDP (2003) reports that a large percentage of prostitutes ran away from sexual abuse. While many poor and/or abused women do not choose sex work, others may view it as their only or best choice given their circumstances/experiences that socially construct their identities and options within a patriarchal system.

Sex trafficking is interlinked with prostitution (Amiel 2006), and policy stagnation can result from trying to separate these two gendered activities or arguing over consent or agency of the sex worker. Domestic sex trafficking is often overlooked as it is typically called prostitution. Many assume that prostitutes choose to prostitute and can leave whenever they want. Based on my experience with Helping Individual Prostitutes Survive (H.I.P.S.) in Washington, D.C. (1996-1997) and other social work (domestic and international), I disagree with that assumption, because many prostitutes are trafficked from their hometowns, coerced/ forced to prostitute, abused, threatened, and killed if they try to leave. Domestic trafficking may include strippers who are forced to have sexual relations with customers/owners, or runaways who enter an abusive relationship with a recruiter, who first "breaks her in" for prostitution through rape and/or stripping. Moreover, since the sex industry is gendered in terms of supply and demand, it presents its exceptions of women who enjoy sex work. I question if their exceptions are socialized or forced to please a heteropatriarchal system that profits financially and sexually from their services. Pornographers have forced women, such as Linda Lovelace and Anneka DiLorenzo, to perform sexual acts and praise the sex industry in the guise of women's liberation (Torrey, 2004; 4).

⁴ While labels (such as Western, developed, Third World, etc.) may be problematic/monolithic, such terms are used by most authors cited herein. For clarity: the West represents corporate, capitalist agendas sponsored, in general, by First World governments, the World Bank, the IMF, and other organizations; the North represents First World countries (largely white-dominated); and the South represents Third World countries (mostly people of color).

⁵ The United States refused to give Thailand a loan when the government asked for help, and Thailand's Contagion led investors to pull out of other southeastern Asian nations, sending a shock wave through Malaysia and Indonesia.

⁶ King (2004; 9) writes, "The profit potential of forced slavery is at its greatest when there are weak economies and war in destabilized regions."

⁷ Attitudes toward violence against women influence views toward prostitution and sex trafficking laws, and police trainings about the realities facing prostitutes can improve enforcement of prostitution/ trafficking laws. In Sweden, police (mostly men) were "being asked to enforce a [new anti-prostitution] law that seriously threatens traditional male values" (Ekberg, 2004; 1196). Thus, police representatives were initially "critical of the law, suggesting that it would be difficult to enforce" (1196). Yet, after receiving education on prostitution and trafficking, including its violence, their attitudes changed and the "initial criticism of the law as being difficult to enforce has ceased" (1196). In contrast to the norms or attitudes promoted by Sweden's Law, "[i]n countries where prostitution is legalized or tolerated, the idea that women are objects for male sexual pleasure and, therefore, can be sold and bought, is normalized" (1197). Tiefenbrun (2006; 270) agrees that "cultural attitudes" are important and "can be changed."

⁸ Based on my experience with H.I.P.S., raping girls is a common initiation by pimps and traffickers to "break" the girls, and pimps often deliberately father children, so the children can be used to keep the prostituted mothers in line. Initiation rapes or forced sexual services are often videotaped to blackmail the girl into servitude. She must "work off" her debt through prostitution until the pimp/traffickers are finished with her body; she is often traded from city to city to ensure that she does not become familiar with her surroundings or people who may enable her escape.

⁹ UN peacekeepers have "engag[ed] in sexual misconduct while deployed" in Cambodia, East Timor, W. Africa, Bosnia-Herzegovina; NATO's Stabilization Force included soldiers involved in "actually 'buying' trafficked women and actively participating in the trafficking of women into prostitution by forging documents, recruiting, and selling women to brothel owners" (Alfred, 2006; 6-7). Dismally, the UN "reportedly responded to Bosnian abuses of the late 1990s with something akin to denial... [I]nvestigators experienced an astonishing cover-up attempt...None of the peacekeepers involved in these offenses suffered any punishment greater than repatriation" (7). NATO has since implemented a weak policy that allows troops to buy "prostitutes as long as it is unclear that the prostitutes have been trafficked" (15). In May 2002, U.S. Forces Korea was accused of "protecting" "establishments that employed trafficked women" through "courtesy patrols" (12). Resultant U.S. military "off-limits" policy for sexual services "has been effective in dissuading businesses from engaging in these practices" due to the negative economic impact of policies that forbid soldiers from frequenting such places (13). Alfred adds, "The de facto immunity that

protects peacekeepers from prosecution must also be addressed," and I would extend that need to military contractors (17).

¹⁰ Studies note that "johns" view women as "sub-human or not human" and themselves as "hunters" "scoring the kill" (Torrey, 2004; 32-33).

¹¹ The World Bank has a history of pushing reform packages plagued with problems for the "Third World" (Saunders, 2004, 288, 300; Silliman, 1999, 99, 115).

¹² Ekberg (2004) writes, "13% of [Swedish] men ages 18 years and older, have, at least once, bought a person for prostitution purposes within Sweden or in other countries," and "of boys and young men between the ages of 16 and 25, 10% had paid for sexual service" (1194-1195). This figure does not appear to include those who used other sex industry services, such as pornography.

¹³ "At least one-third of Thai prostitutes are under the age of 18, and most adult prostitutes started when they were only children. Children as young as six years old work in prostitution. Prostitutes are primarily women and girls, although some men and boys also work in prostitution" (TWWH, no date).

¹⁴ In my observations (July-Dec. 2005 Ethiopia), the tourism industry over-advertises this particular tribe's bare-breasted girls in comparison to numerous other tribes. One day I entered the Hilton-Addis Ababa tourism office; there were large posters throughout the office of this one tribe's teenaged girls, and many white businessmen sat, staring at the posters while registering for tourist trips. There were no other tribes exhibited on the official Ethiopian tourism posters in that office, despite the incredible diversity among Ethiopia's tribes. While this particular tribe deserves appreciation and tourism, I question the mass-advertising of this one particular tribe's girls. Certainly, the trips to this tribe bring in a lot of money for tourism companies as well as some money for the tribe. While there is no clear-cut causal connection between the ads and sex trafficking, I heard about the kidnappings and sex trafficking of girls from this tribe, and I have not heard about other Ethiopian tribes being targeted by sex traffickers. There may, however, be other tribes experiencing abductions for the sex trade of which I have not been informed. Also, due to poverty, some other tribes' girls and women have migrated to the cities and, in some cases, have turned to prostitution for survival.

¹⁵ "A *Bangkok Post* survey in 1987 found that almost 70 percent of foreign tourists were single men" (Seabrook, 2001; 79). It is not surprising that a widely popular 1980s song "One Night in Bangkok" alludes to the buying of flesh in Thailand (Murray Head). Seabrook's (2001) study of the demand for sex trafficking reveals businessmen who travel to Third World nations for sexual pleasure from the Other. His investigation shows similarities between the male

colonizers of slaves and the johns of today, especially with the idea that the exotic woman's body is a cheap vacation. "[T]he notion of exoticism captures the simultaneous romanticization and domination of the racial, ethnic, or cultural Other that has occurred through colonial and imperialist projects" (Kempadoo, 2004; 35).

¹⁶ Such "othering" permits the Thai government's blame for AIDS on prostitutes (Usher 1994). Seager (1999) says johns should face some blame for the spread of HIV/AIDS. Regarding militarized zones, militaries (mostly men) and not the poor local women should be criticized by "populationists" for an increase in the spread of HIV/AIDS and other STDs as well as unwanted pregnancies through rape or "consumerism" by johns. Melissa Farley of Prostitution Research stresses, "Women in prostitution tell us that about half of all johns demand sex acts without a condom" (Torrey, 2004; 28). Also, Wangari (2002) states that the West's racist/classist/sexist policies, colonial policies, and domination of resources have led to urbanization, which has contributed to the AIDS epidemic.

¹⁷ "Where prostitution is legalized or tolerated, there is a greater demand for human trafficking victims and nearly always an increase in the number of women and children trafficked into commercial sex slavery" (U.S. State Department, 2004; 1). "[P]imps and traffickers prefer to market their women in countries such as Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, where the operating conditions are more attractive, where the buyers are not criminalized and where certain prostitution activities are either tolerated or legalized" (Ekberg, 2004; 1201).

¹⁸ Even where prostitution is legal, prostitutes are not necessarily provided important state services related to their "occupational hazards." For instance, *The Lancet* (2006) reports that in Germany, "the main destination for trafficking of women in Europe," "the health-care needs of trafficked women are being neglected" (1954). Trafficked women's "health needs are frequently ignored by governments, leaving [NGOs] as the only providers of essential care, shelter, and counseling" (1954). Prostituted women in Germany are "frequently subjected to immediate detention and deportation, denied health services, and are viewed as illegal immigrants who have committed a crime, rather than individuals in need of support" (1954). Here, legalized prostitution does not adequately provide health benefits to prostituted women.

¹⁹ For a work criticizing "feminist abolitionists," who oppose prostitution due to its link to sex trafficking and who may critique pornography for its violence against women, see Weitzer (2007). Though I disagree with his argument and dismissive moralist label of such feminists, he acknowledges that immigration policies (457) exacerbate the problem of sex trafficking and that economic motives lead most sex workers into

prostitution or sex trafficking (453). He adds, "The breakup of the Soviet empire and declining living standards for many of its inhabitants has made such migration both much easier and more compelling than in the past" (456). For a discussion of four "ideal types" of feminist approaches to the regulation of prostitution and sex trafficking, see Halley, et. al., (2006).

²⁰ In the Philippines, "[t]he Internet is the main recruitment tool for the sex tourist industry to bring in rich western tourists to the impoverished South. It is the advertising arm of this sex industry" (Cullen, 2004).

²¹ For a critique of Sweden's abolitionist approach, see Halley et. al. (2006).

²² Some may more strongly assert that globalization, as it promotes a capitalist agenda, has led (and not simply contributed) to the collapse of economies of developing nations. See Rosa Luxemburg (1913) for a critique of capitalism, which she argues utilizes militarism and necessarily conquers natural/village economies based on natural resources that were adequate for the people. Luxemburg argues that capitalism destroys natural resources, so people will become impoverished and will depend on capitalism as workers.

²³ For U.S. State Department rankings, *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Reports*, see: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10815.pdf>. Kempadoo (2007) critiques U.S. rankings; if a country challenges U.S. hegemony, it will be ranked low: "The ranking thus constitutes part of continued US policy to demonise and isolate the Cuban government, linking it in Tier 3 with countries such as Burma, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Venezuela and Zimbabwe-all of which fall into US categories of 'rogue' or 'non-compliant' states" (80). Schauer et. al. (2006) state: "[T]he U.S. government, while purporting to pass judgment on itself and all other countries of the world as to their commitment toward antitrafficking, deliberately excludes countries...deemed to be vital to U.S. political ends...Mauritania, a country that has supported chattel slavery since ancient times, being a 'moderate Islamic' country and thus vital to the U.S. desire to stem the tide of Islamic fundamentalism, is not included in the TPR of 2003 and is given a higher rating than other legitimate sources substantiate in its publication of 2004. Likewise, it is not mentioned in the TPR of 2004 that Saudi Arabia...is the single largest destination for women trafficked from Thailand" (153).

²⁴ "In the Netherlands, where prostitution is legalized, 60% of prostitutes suffer physical assault, 70% experience verbal threats, and 40% experience sexual violence" (Batsyukova, 2007; 48). Further, sex industries move to "less enforced locations," such as countries with legalized prostitution, and where prostitution is tolerated, there is more emphasis on "streetwalker districts, and escort sectors, which are associated with illegal prostitution and victims of sex

trafficking. The competition among women in streetwalker districts...leads to low prices for sex services, unprotected sex, violence from the side of the clients, and fights among women" (49).

²⁵ As in Sweden, a strong women's movement opposing sex trafficking and prostitution can significantly influence policy-making. For more on women's movements and public policy addressing violence against women, see Weldon (2002).

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