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traffic in women

Susan Hagood Lee

Traffic in women denotes the practice of transporting women away from their home to a distant location where they are coerced or forced into work or prostitution in slave-like conditions to the profit of their traffickers. Some 2–4 million women are trafficked annually. Women typically are lured into initial cooperation through the deceitful promise of employment at better wages than available in their home area. Traffickers target impoverished regions with few employment opportunities and transfer women to more affluent areas with a market for their labor or sexual services. Some victims are sold into trafficking by relatives or fellow villagers. Most fall prey to criminal organizations with extensive international networks which profit greatly from this lucrative trade. In many regions, legal businesses participate in trafficking under the guise of tourism or entertainment. States profit through taxes on these businesses, and corrupt officials benefit from bribes to protect the industry. In some areas, military installations and peacekeeping operations provide a customer base for trafficking. The international community has responded to trafficking with a Protocol calling on states to enact laws to criminalize all involvement in traffic in women. Heads of state have labeled this growing practice a new slave trade requiring concerted international action.

In a typical trafficking scenario, young women are recruited in their home region by agents who advertise plentiful jobs with high wages and good working conditions in another region. Advertised jobs include waitress, hostess, entertainer, dancer, model, restaurant worker, factory worker, maid, or nanny. The advertisements appeal to impoverished young women with few employment options in their home region due to poor economic development or lack of opportunities for women. The recruiting agents make the departure arrangements and obtain documents such as entertainment visas. The young women leave their home willingly in anticipation of a brighter economic future in which they will be able to contribute to the support of their impoverished families.

For many trafficked women, the journey is the first ever out of their home region.

Once at their destination, the recruiters turn the young women over to their new handler in exchange for a fee. The new handler often is a club or brothel owner who has placed an order for female workers with the recruiting agency. Sometimes the young women are presented with an employment contract in a foreign language which they must sign. The handler then takes custody of the women's legal documents and transports the women to a residence in which they are confined. The young women find themselves in an unfamiliar region, often in a foreign country. They lack possession of their legal documents and do not know the language or have any local contacts other than their traffickers. At this vulnerable point, they finally learn the real nature of their new work. They are told that they can leave only if they pay off their debts, including fees for visas, travel, food, shelter, and clothing. The employment contract is used as a seemingly legal document to coerce the young women into compliance. The women may be told that they can be arrested if they break their contract and attempt to leave. Since the police may be paid off by the club or brothel owners, this is not an idle threat.

Many trafficked women resist being prostituted. Sometimes drugs are used to placate the women and create a feeling of complicity in the criminal enterprise. Often, resistant women are severely beaten or gang-raped to break their spirit. Sometimes cooperation is obtained by threatening the safety of the young woman's family. In poor regions, murders can be arranged cheaply, so such threats can be very effective. At other times, the traffickers may persuade the young women that prostitution is the quickest way to pay off their debts and regain their freedom.

There is no transparent accounting of the debts of trafficked women, however, and additional fees are added for ongoing expenses such as rent, clothing, and medical costs such as abortions. In the typical case, trafficked women never succeed in paying off the alleged debt until they become too old or too ill to be useful to the traffickers. Trafficked women are susceptible to HIV infection and AIDS as well as other sexually transmitted diseases. As their economic value diminishes, they suffer increasing abuse,

lack of nutrition, and sleep deprivation. Women's self-esteem plummets with this disastrous turn in their lives. They fear the authorities and feel they cannot return home due to the stigma of prostitution. They lose any hope of economic betterment and realize they have lost their marriageability and chances for a normal life. They become depressed and unable to take action to help themselves. Even if they escape from their traffickers, the trauma of trafficking remains with them for a lifetime.

Many parties profit from trafficking. At the village level, women are sometimes sold by relatives or villagers whom they have angered by refusing a suit or divorcing a husband. Recruiting agents profit when they turn a young woman over to the customer who has placed an order. Transnational criminal networks such as the Russian Mafiya, Japanese Yakuza, and the Chinese Triads are involved in recruiting, transporting, and placing impoverished young women in cities where there is a market for sexual services. The CIA found that the Yakuza paid recruiters \$6,000 to \$10,000 per woman delivered to Japan. Unlike smuggling, where a person pays to be transported illegally, trafficking continues to pay the criminal syndicate long after the young woman is transported into the destination country. The CIA reported that Russian organized crime groups in Israel earn some \$1,000 to \$4,000 per woman per day. The profits from trafficking can then be used to finance other criminal activity such as corruption or terrorism. Trafficking in women is more profitable than other transnational crimes such as drug or arms trafficking, which do not offer ongoing income after transportation to their destination. Trafficking in women is less risky than drug or arms trafficking since there are fewer laws against trafficking in women. In many countries, trafficked women who come to the attention of the authorities are prosecuted for the crime of prostitution or expelled from the country as criminals themselves.

Legal businesses in the entertainment and tourism sectors sometimes participate in trafficking in women. Individual club owners or entertainment business associations place orders for women as entertainers or waitresses, paying recruitment fees or intermediary brokerage fees. Once hired, the women are pressured or coerced into prostitution roles in addition to

their legal waitress or dancer work. Tourism businesses such as hotels, travel agencies, and travel clubs profit from the market for sex tourism. States benefit from the taxes that such tourism and entertainment businesses render to the state treasury. Military bases fuel demand for prostitution and provide a magnet for trafficking activities. For instance, the Korea Special Tourism Association, an association of club owners near US military bases, imports impoverished women on entertainment visas to supply the military market. They charge participating clubs a brokerage fee for new recruits (Seol 2004). United Nations peacekeeping troops have contributed to the demand for prostitution, helping to create a lucrative market for traffickers. In Kosovo, UN and NATO troops constitute 20 percent of the prostitution market despite being only 2 percent of the population, according to an Amnesty International study. With the additional customers, a small-scale prostitution network in Kosovo was transformed into a large-scale industry run by criminal networks.

Trafficking takes place between poor regions with few employment opportunities and more affluent regions with a market for sexual services. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) reports that trafficking is growing most rapidly in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The economic devastation in these regions following the collapse of the Soviet system has produced many young people desperate for employment and willing to risk migrating for work. Criminal enterprises in Moscow and Kiev transport women to countries such as the US, Germany, Japan, Thailand, and Israel, where markets exist for white prostitutes. Romanian and Moldavian women are trafficked to Asia, where their light-skinned appearance makes them exotic compared to local women. Women from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are trafficked into Turkey and the Middle East.

In Asia, women from impoverished Bangladesh are trafficked to Pakistan. Rural Nepali women displaced by the Maoist rebellion are trafficked into the urban centers of India. Vietnamese and Cambodian women are trafficked to the more affluent countries of Thailand and Singapore. Korea has become both a sending country and a destination country.

Korean women are trafficked to Japan under the guise of entertainers, while Russian, Chinese, Philippine, and Central Asian women are trafficked to Korea to supply the military base towns.

In Africa, women are trafficked from Sub-Saharan countries such as Ghana, Mali, and Benin to Nigeria and Libya, as well as to the western nations of Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the US. African women are trafficked into the Middle East, lured by employment as domestic servants. President Obasanjo of Nigeria named international trafficking a new slave trade at a Nigeria conference on trafficking in 2000.

In Latin America, less data are available on trafficking. The IOM notes that trafficking takes place out of the war-torn country of Columbia and that women are being trafficked from Latin America to the US and Southeast Asia.

Reliable figures as to the number of persons trafficked annually are hard to obtain, given the illegal nature of this activity. A 1999 CIA report estimated that some 700,000 to 2 million women and children are trafficked globally each year. The report estimated that 45,000 to 50,000 women and children are trafficked into the US annually, mostly from Southeast Asian countries. The United Nations has suggested that perhaps as many as 4 million persons are moved annually within or between countries for trafficking purposes. UN sources estimate that trafficking is a US\$5–7 billion operation annually. The ready demand for prostitution services and the ample supply of vulnerable impoverished women account for the profitability of this industry and its appeal to criminal networks.

The phenomenon of sex trafficking takes place at the intersection of poverty and international capitalist enterprises. Female sexuality is commodified and bought and sold on an international market to the highest bidder. The lack of economic development and employment opportunities for women in poor regions fuels the supply side of the equation. The commoditization of women's bodies as instruments of male pleasure contributes to the demand side of the market. Thus the structural context of poverty is coupled with the cultural devaluation of women in patriarchal societies. The AIDS epidemic has impacted the trafficking market

due to fears of contracting HIV from a prostitute and cultural beliefs concerning the curative and rejuvenating effect of sex with a virgin. The outcome has been to lower the age of women recruited in trafficking enterprises, with virgin girls fetching a higher price on the international prostitution market.

In 2000 the United Nations adopted a Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. The Protocol defines trafficking as the "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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." When a person under the age of 18 is recruited into prostitution, the Protocol considers it trafficking even when fraud and coercion are not involved. The Protocol considers consent to trafficking irrelevant, since consent is typically based on the deceitful exploitation of economic vulnerability. Under the terms of the Protocol, crossing an international border is not necessary to qualify as trafficking. Trafficked persons are seen as victims of crime to be protected and assisted, not criminals involved in prostitution. The Protocol requires states to facilitate and accept the return of trafficked persons to their country of origin. Repatriation should be voluntary and take victim safety into consideration.

The Protocol calls on signatories to enact national legislation in order to criminalize trafficking activities and offer assistance to victims. In response, the US enacted the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. It distinguishes between "severe" forms of trafficking (those involving fraud, force, or coercion) and sex trafficking (other sorts of commercial sexual activity). The Act mandates that severe trafficking be included in the annual State Department country reports on human rights, and it sets minimum standards for countries to meet in order to receive certain forms of assistance from the US. It provides for a new non-immigrant visa category, a "T" visa, for victims of severe trafficking who would suffer extreme hardship upon removal from the US.

SEE ALSO: Crime, Organized; Migration: Undocumented/Illegal; Patriarchy; Prostitution; Sex Tourism; Sexual Markets, Commodification, and Consumption; Slavery

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transcarceration

Robert Menzies

Commonly linked with the revisionist social control and new penology literatures of the 1980s and 1990s, transcarceration refers to the widespread profusion of regulatory organizations, practices, authorities, and subjects across and beyond traditional boundaries of institutional governance in contemporary western societies.

The intellectual impetus for the transcarceration concept derived in large part from Michel Foucault's (1977) writings on the rise of the disciplinary society and "carceral archipelago"; from Andrew Scull's (1984) critique of conventional approaches to understanding community criminal justice and mental health initiatives; and from Stanley Cohen's (1985) analysis of late twentieth-century "master patterns" of deviancy classification and punishment. From a range of disciplinary and substantive perspectives, theorists and researchers in the 1980s sought to account for the failings of the diversion, decarceration, rehabilitation, and reintegration schemes of the prior two decades – and of the post-World War II liberal reconstructionist and civil libertarian political philosophies that these movements had embodied.

Transcarceration became both a metaphor and empirical yardstick for the unsettling paradox that state and civil projects aimed at downsizing control structures were in practice having precisely the opposite effect. Instead of disestablishing the old regimes, deconstructing movements were generating hybrid systems of institutions, agencies, and programs which were multi-sited, unbounded, virtually impossible to disentangle or evade, and widely dispersed through the contemporary landscape of the "punitive city" (Cohen 1985). In judicial, penal, psychiatric, welfare, and other arenas of human categorization and containment, traditional modernist dualisms between formal and informal, public and private, inside and outside, coercion and provision, were breaking down. Critical observers sought to explain how, having been freed from the oppressive regimes of prisons, asylums, and other exclusionary sites of confinement, untold thousands of citizens were finding themselves subject to new inclusionary modes of control which operated as appendages, not alternatives, to the systems they were supposed to eclipse.

An accumulating body of research showed how, with the proliferation of these "wider, stronger, and different nets" (Austin & Krisberg 1981), people and knowledge were circulating through jails, prisons, probation, parole and welfare offices, hospitals, clinics, halfway and boarding homes, the streets, and assorted other points of enclosure and transmission at ever-accelerating rates. The grim consignment of