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(Un)Popular Strangers and Crises (Un)Bounded: Discourses of Sex- Trafficking, the European Political Community and the Panicked State of the Modern State

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While the ‘trafficking in persons’ is a problem that has long plagued the international community, sensationalized media coverage and governmental anti-organized crime initiatives have produced a new set of discursive practices that conflate violent crime against women with complex forms of post-communist gendered migration. These discourses refer to many different forms of exploitation and migration as ‘trafficking in women for purposes of sexual exploitation’. In other words, they portray all international, often illegal, migration and labour as acts of violated gender and raced innocence and of international organized crime. In this frame, criminalization of all activities related to trafficking appears to be the most logical and effective means of redressing this problem. It simultaneously, however, subjects all East European migrant sex workers to categorizations that defuse what may function as the challenges presented by their sovereign and symbolic boundary transgressions. A focus on crime and violated borders (rather than on the conditions under which women migrate or are forced to work) extends barriers to migration and renders it more dangerous for women while not necessarily hindering movement or assisting the actual victims. Because it emphasizes the role of state-based institutions in fighting international organized crime, criminalization also serves as a means through which practices of ‘statecraft’ work to reiterate the privileged place of the state in IR. As such, discourses of sex-trafficking provide a particularly incisive site at which to examine European integration, immigration, ‘globalization’ and their effects on IR in a gendered and race-cognizant frame.

KEY WORDS ♦ gender ♦ globalization ♦ immigration ♦ international security ♦ nation-state ♦ political community ♦ sovereignty ♦ state ♦ trafficking in women

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Introduction

Girls . . . some 9 years old, were essentially sold to traffickers . . . ‘for less than the price of a toaster’ [and] are forced to work ‘in an indentured sexual servitude’. (Brinkley, 2000b)

In the period since the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the media, governments, non-governmental organizations and multi- or supra-national institutions have devoted increasing attention, debate and resources to the issue of human trafficking. This focus has taken several forms, including — overwhelming and frightening statistics (‘500,000 women trafficked annually’; ‘\$12 billion year in profits’); sensationalist, gendered and raced language (‘trafficked for sex’; ‘supply the flesh’; ‘hellish journey’; ‘white slavery’); the conflation of gender and race with innocence (‘naive Slavic women’; ‘stupid girl’; ‘new white slave trade’; ‘trafficked sex slaves’) and an implicit criminalization of the issue (‘a priority of the law enforcement community’).¹ It has emanated from such authoritative sources as the *New York Times*, EU Ministers, the US Department of Justice (DOJ),² International Human Rights Groups,³ former President William Jefferson Clinton⁴ and former First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.⁵ Indeed, a ‘discursive verbosity’ now surrounds debates about trafficked women (Foucault quoted in Stoler, 1995: 180).⁶

So much — and such high profile — attention to ‘sex-trafficking’ provokes, for me, a series of critical questions — what precisely is this phenomenon simultaneously referred to as ‘trafficking in women’ and a ‘new white slave trade’?⁷ Does this incendiary language suggest some kind of paranoia or has a ‘new white slave trade’ actually developed in the former socialist states? What is at stake when public figures depict ‘trafficking in women’ as a ‘new white slave trade’? Is this really a law enforcement issue? A ‘grave threat’ to international security? How does it relate to international politics and globalization more generally? Most importantly, has all of this attention helped to rectify the problem?

In this article, I will first explore how **current discourse about sex-trafficking criminalizes the surrounding issues and thus limits both understandings of and solutions to the problem;** and second, how the **criminal aspects of this discourse provide a site at which sovereign performances of statecraft take place — performances that reiterate state sovereignty at an historical moment when forces associated with globalization have left the state in crisis.** I will argue that these performances become visible in processes of European integration that increasingly focus on immigration. Despite the Schengen Accords (1995) tightening of *external* borders, fears about unfettered immigration brought on by the lifting of *internal* boundaries have played a role in implementing a number of policies tantamount to the

criminalization of migration. In European integration processes and in debates over immigration, the complex circumstances of trafficking and other forms of gendered migration function as a metonym for crime and an opportunity to intensify border control in the name of protecting citizens and women. I will argue that under the axiom of criminalization, immigration laws have become increasingly restrictive while assistance to trafficked and migrant women has been relegated to a proximate or even subordinate status — hardly the exigency they claim to represent.

If EU policies do intend, however, to approach and to rectify the intricate and heterogeneous problem of trafficking, they must move beyond the frame of criminalization to consider the forces that motivate women to migrate for work, as well as the contingencies they encounter in moving and working abroad. This is not to suggest that there are not criminal elements involved and that egregious abuses and exploitation of women do not occur in trafficking. Clearly, they do and cases of trickery, mistreatment and forced sex work have been corroborated by reputable governmental and non-governmental sources as well as in my own fieldwork.⁸ Trafficking in women is an international problem often involving complex transnational and criminal elements. It is also, however, an immigration issue, a labour issue and a gender issue. Only in an immigration, labour, race-aware and gendered frame can the exploitation that women confront when they seek to move for (sex) work be redressed.

In approaching these questions, I will argue that issues of trafficking are inextricably linked to the changing social, political and economic conditions associated with ‘the most over-used term in the current political lexicon’ — globalization (Bromley, 1996: 120). Globalization has generated, in the West, a sense of anxiety, especially around the modern nation-state, in what might be called a crisis over boundaries.⁹ In order to explicate how certain representations can address the crises of a political community and its security in the context of globalization, I will explore the ‘discursive’ characteristics of sex-trafficking and argue that in the wake of this sense of crisis, a ‘discourse of sex-trafficking’ has emerged.¹⁰ I employ a Foucauldian notion of discourse in order to interrogate how and where discourses come to ‘define what conditions and in view of which analyses certain of them’ (representations) have become ‘legitimate’ (Foucault, 1972: 26). The specific associations, connotations and contradictions created through this discourse will help to explicate how, and in what form, this issue has come to the top of so many international agendas.

My argument about trafficking in women also takes up two key themes in international relations — security and globalization — as they intersect with constructions of gender. An analysis of the gendered tropes that undergird and inform the debate over trafficking is particularly important for coming

to terms with post-Cold War debates over security, in particular, the relationship between identity and security. A gendered frame functions as a mode of critique that can locate and analyze informing oppositions of especially human security inherent in issues of identity. Categories of self and other (i.e. European citizen and *exterieur constitutif*), for example, indisputably rely upon, among other distinctions, gender, ethnicity and race. A gendered analysis helps to read the structuring role gender plays in such security issues as trafficking and identity, especially in constituting the division between self/other, public/private, domestic/international.

A 'Crime Crusade' against 'Global Gangsterism': The Criminalization of Trafficking in Women

While stories about East European 'sex-trafficking' began to proliferate in the Western media soon after the fall of the Soviet bloc, in January 1998, a pivotal article appeared, in section 1, page 1, of the *New York Times* under the provocative by-line, 'Contraband Women — A Special Report. Traffickers' New Cargo: Naive Slavic Women' (Specter, 1998). This article recounts the harrowing story of a beautiful but impoverished Ukrainian girl of 21, Irina, who, after the fall of communism, sought new economic opportunities abroad.¹¹ She accepted a job as an exotic dancer but found, after two weeks, that she would be forced to work as a prostitute. Her 'enormous green eyes' fill 'softly, [with] slow tears' as she describes being 'driven to a brothel, where her boss burned her passport before her eyes', announcing, 'You are my property and you will work until you earn your way out.' For some 3700 words, the article constructs a depraved, criminal underworld populated by nefarious Mafia figures from 'Russian crime gangs' who orchestrate human auctions of 'naive and desperate young women . . . on blocks, partially naked . . . sold at an average price of just under \$1,000' into 'sexual bondage' (Specter, 1998).

In the *New York Times* article, as in sex-trafficking discourses more generally, the nexus of gendered and racialized innocence and heinous crime serves as a central representation: young, innocent, 'white,' east European girls, tricked, kidnapped and forced into prostitution. From 'Nicoleta, 17, a beautiful Moldovan student' to Daniela, a Czech '18-year-old student and beauty contestant' to 'Mia, a 14-year-old Hungarian girl . . . [i]n a skinny jumper and miniskirt,' media accounts detail in emotive, graphic and titillating language crimes of trickery, kidnapping, physical and sexual violence and forced prostitution perpetrated against young, white women as they clandestinely and illegally cross state borders. According to these media accounts, forced, coerced or willing, these popular strangers¹² 'end up in brothels, brutalised by pimps in Germany, Holland, Belgium and even

Britain, where demand for young, white, compliant and above all cheap east European girls has become insatiable' (Butler, 1997b).¹³

In one particularly lurid but not untypical depiction, a reporter describes how some 60 young women 'seeking to migrate . . . were turned into sex slaves by an organized crime gang that lured them from Bulgaria with false promises of legitimate jobs' in Western Europe (Katz, 1997). Summoning the *sine qua non* of evil, one Czech police officer described their place of captivity as 'a concentration camp' with 'metal bars on the windows and the three rows of barbed wire atop the high fence surrounding the property'; women 'were kept as prisoners. There was no way to escape. They got fed once a day, soup and bread, and they were watched the entire time. These girls were forced by violence to become prostitutes' (Katz, 1997). When the women did not 'show the proper enthusiasm for their work, beatings are often administered . . . women who failed to produce enough revenue were burned with irons or cigarettes and beaten with baseball bats' (Katz, 1997). These accounts create a portrait of atrocious crimes committed against women whom, by virtue of their gender, 'whiteness', youth and inexperience have fallen into the clutches of traffickers and been coerced into sex work. Irrespective of a myriad of circumstances that might lead women to seek the assistance of these traffickers to migrate — including actual instances of forced trafficking — media accounts collapse the difference to fixate on crime and its victims.

In these stories, the criminals figure as prominently as the trafficked women themselves. Indeed, it is the criminals who are agentized and active perpetrators while the women remain passive victims of their crimes. These discourses recount how 'criminal gangs lure' or kidnap 'tens of thousands of young women from Eastern Europe' 'into a heinous underground of modern-day enslavement in foreign countries' (Smith, 2000; Harris, 1998; see also Lyons, 2000). The women are '[s]old several times over, raped and sometimes tortured by Serb and Albanian pimps' only to 'end up in brothels in Europe's major capital cities' where the traffickers 'will not shrink from mutilations or even killings when they deal with recalcitrant or loud-mouthed girls' (Briseida and Porte, 2000). Huge, international 'crime syndicates' traffic up to 500,000 women a year; the traffickers are now 'beyond police control' and 'appear to be a law unto themselves' (Crane, 2001; Garrett, 1997; Butler, 1997b).¹⁴

Within this discursive logic, the most appropriate response to the problem becomes criminalization to prevent these gangs from violating the sovereign bodies of these women and the sovereign spaces of the nation-state. 'Criminalization' or a 'crime control' approach encompasses creating stricter border controls and implementing legislation to punish those who engage in 'trafficking' or assist in any way persons who might seek to immigrate

illegally. The focus on criminality relies on the principle that ‘adopting stronger legislation can curb trafficking in persons . . . [with] more effective detection and prosecution of traffickers and increase the penalties for trafficking’; criminalization allegedly provides the most effective means of combating ‘this terrible commerce and other forms of global gangsterism’ (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, 2001: 79; *Christian Science Monitor*, 2000). Examples of criminalization might include the US decision to ‘double to 20 years the maximum penalty faced by those convicted of selling others into involuntary servitude’ and a ‘new globalized FBI offensive’ to combat ‘mafia gangs’ and organized-crime groups from the former Eastern bloc that have created ‘a network of international operations ranging from money laundering and prostitution to drugs, arms, and people smuggling’ (*AFP*, 2000; Langenkamp, 2000).

In the European context, criminalization involves the European Parliament placing police and judicial cooperation ‘under the first pillar of EU competence’ to ‘fight’ trafficking in women but refusing ‘to legalise prostitution’ at the European Parliamentary level¹⁵ as well as the EU ‘crime crusade’ and ‘harmonisation of judicial and criminal laws’ against organized crime (*ER*, 2000b; Tucker, 1997). It also encompasses measures that increase pressure on women who seek to immigrate including, for example, ‘surveillance mechanisms to detect the prostitution networks’; ‘expulsion orders’ that force women to return home irrespective of the conditions at home or in the country of immigration; and the refusal to allow women who have immigrated to obtain residence permits or apply for asylum (Butler, 1997a; Schoupe, 1997).¹⁶

At an EU meeting in Berlin, officials committed themselves to ‘fighting violence against women, especially as slaves for prostitution, as part of an effort to guarantee citizens’ rights’ (Adler, 1999). Ministers explained that the problem is ‘not just individual violence’ but equally involves ‘the threat of cross-border activity’ in the form of trafficking (Adler, 1999). In this instance, the announced concern over the exploitation of women is haunted by a more visceral concern about border violations. Here again, the complex circumstances that surround ‘trafficking’ and other forms of gendered migration are read as instances of criminal activity and an occasion to heighten border control in order to protect citizens and women. Criminalization thus primarily seeks to create further, more restrictive laws and to dissolve international trafficking networks; assistance to women who have been trafficked tends to be secondary or is understood to occur through arresting criminals (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, 2001: 79). This often results in more restrictive immigration policies that prevent legal immigration and contributes to growth in illegal migration, including trafficking, in response to the demand for workers.¹⁷

Criminalization also delimits the forms of assistance available for trafficked women to deportation; ‘Police in countries where the women are brought often limit their enforcement to deporting the women’ (*Christian Science Monitor*, 2000). Deportation returns women ‘home’, where, it is assumed, they properly belong. In other words and irrespective of whether or not a woman has been trafficked, once she is positioned in the discourse as the victim of a crime, the decision about how to respond is always already present: deport her.¹⁸ The complex conditions under which women accede to traffickers (i.e. desire to immigrate, unstable economic and political conditions at ‘home’, etc.) are again collapsed into a recognizable, resolvable, crime. This then contributes to gender discrimination where, on the assumption that ‘foreign’ women are either illegal immigrants, trafficked women or sex workers, officials harass women travelers from developing countries or refuse them visas (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, 2001: 48).

The implementation of stricter immigration laws ‘to protect’ women from traffickers also increases the need for women to seek traffickers to help them circumvent these laws and to migrate and thus increases opportunities for exploitation (Sassen, 2000: 517; see also Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998).¹⁹ Sex-trafficking discourses thus reframe border transgression and immigration as cases of crime and kidnapping exclusively; relieve immigration of its most anxious and threatening attributes; confirm their resolvability through stricter state control; extend the barriers faced by those who seek to move; and render immigration more dangerous and costly to women while not necessarily hindering their movement nor capturing the traffickers who have committed crimes.

‘Because I Love it Here!’: Women’s Movement and Discursive Dissonance

... there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised. (Foucault, 1980b: 142)

When EU representatives convened the ‘East–West Conference on Trafficking in Women’ in October 1998, officials framed the issue in such familiar terms as ‘a new type of slavery’, ‘cheap and easily available women’, ‘victims’ and ‘false promises’ made to young girls (*AFP*, 1998). Anita Gradin, European Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, however, resisted this construction and instead attributed trafficking and women’s migration to ‘painful changes towards a market economy’ that have produced ‘a loss of the social dimension’ of everyday life (*AFP*, 1998).²⁰ Gradin’s direct reference to the economic and social conditions that might motivate women

to accept traffickers offers and to migrate for work illuminates the greater complexity of the issue. Discursively, it *disrupts* sex-trafficking discourses and resists reading the problem as one of fighting international organized crime out of control. In other statements, however, Gradin placed the issue within the realm of criminalization, calling for it to 'becom[e] a priority in the law enforcement community' (*Associated Press*, 1997). The resistive effects of her earlier position could neither shift the larger discursive environment of the conference nor prevent the European Commission from issuing a Communication that cast trafficking in terms of combating 'criminal networks' and creating stricter sentencing, laws and border enforcement (Commission of the European Communities, 1998).

Gradin's comments do not constitute the only challenge to sex-trafficking discourses' dominant constructions. Indeed, upon closer examination, a number of **dissonant statements** have appeared in media and official arenas. One journalist has recognized that women seek (sex) work abroad 'in response to rising unemployment, chaotic economic conditions and sexual discrimination at home' (Bennett, 1997) and the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women has acknowledged that above all else, 'prostitution is an income generating activity' (quoted in Murray, 1998: 54; Coomaraswamy, 1996).²¹ In response, Ludmila Bojkava of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry has identified the creation of 'financial incentives' in the region as the best way to reduce trafficking and migration for sex work. She has acknowledged that 'women can earn so much more working in the west. They will go on doing it until the west does the only thing it knows how to do: puts up the walls of Fortress Europe. Then no one will get in, just like during the cold war' (Duvall Smith, 1996). **By focusing on the role massive economic transformation plays in motivating immigration and on economic incentives and opportunities abroad, these instances challenge crime and victimization as the exclusive factors that constitute trafficking.**

As Bojkava's comments suggest, economic and job opportunities incentivize both immigration and trafficking. Demographer Mirjana Morokvasic has argued that an enticing labour market and restrictions against legal immigration will inevitably create organized channels for 'getting people in' (1991: 70). Dutch activist Marian Wijers explains, 'increasingly restrictive immigration laws resulting from European unification' have had 'negative effects for women who attempt to migrate' and have created a context in which trafficked women 'are considered, above all, as undesirable aliens' (1998: 72). In response, an official of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has called for governments to **create 'more legal migration opportunities so women are not compelled to resort to dubious job offers to find ways to support their families'** (Churikova, 2001). **Such positions contradict the dominant construction of trafficking as the result of rampant**

crime, pointing instead to the need to reconfigure immigration and economic policies.

A meeting of the European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights (March 2000) called for 'harmonisation of national criminal law' to curtail this 'shameful trade', 'gangland killings' and the 'illegal immigration circuit' (ER, 2000a). Anita Hazenberg, a former police officer, pointed to a different explanation for the failure to combat trafficking in women — 'police are neither trained nor equipped to halt violence against women' and only 9 percent of police officers working on trafficking are themselves women, 90 percent of whom 'have suffered sexual harassment at the workplace' (ER, 2000a). In her estimation, lack of police expertise in dealing with 'violence against women' — rather than the ability to halt organized crime — accounts for the expansion of trafficking.²² Like Gradin, Hazenberg ascribes trafficking to a larger socioeconomic dislocation of and discrimination against women. Reference to structural and systemic gender-based subordination refutes the simplistic construction of trafficking as victimization of women by criminals exclusively and suggests that it could be more effectively redressed in a larger context that seeks to understand institutional biases and gendered assumptions about the issue.²³

The recommendations of many women's and sex workers' rights organizations also complicate sex-trafficking discourse's construction of trafficking as criminality in need of control. These groups urge the enforcement of *existing* laws against trafficking. They regard the creation of new laws and further policing as means to restrict the movement and activities of women rather than as a way to end exploitation in the sex industry. These groups suggest the creation of better economic opportunities for women at home; regularization of sex work (repealing prostitution-specific laws); implementing standard workplace regulations for workers in the sex industry; enforcing existing laws against sexual assault, false imprisonment and other abusive practices as well as creating unions as alternatives to criminalization. These policies would, they argue, help end conditions of violence and exploitation that women experience when they work in an illegal sex industry or illegally in a legal sex industry.²⁴

Among the voices that disrupt the dominant sex-trafficking discourses, the most compelling must be migrant women themselves — trafficked and otherwise — working in the sex industry. Some claim to have traveled to the West, 'planning to go into prostitution' — as one woman exclaimed 'The condoms are better here — just like the money' (Duval Smith, 1996). Another woman working in Spain 'put the West's lure simply: "One-zero-zero-zero", she said laughing, "instead of one-zero-zero" — the chance to earn \$1000 a month instead of \$100' (Cohen, 2000c). The fact that four Polish and Czech sex workers denied work permits by Dutch authorities

sued in the European Court of Justice for and gained the right to work in EU countries where sex work is legal, resoundingly contradicts the notion that all of these women are simply pawns of criminal networks (*Reuters*, 2001).²⁵

When Barbara Limanowska, OSCE and UN trafficking consultant, visited a prison on the Albanian–Macedonian border to meet with five East European women who had been trafficked, she found that the women were being kept in a small, windowless, sweltering room, without furniture or a toilet. They had had their money and documents stolen by the traffickers and once apprehended, had been raped multiple times and abused by guards and prisoners alike. Four of the women asked to be returned home but one insisted she wanted to stay in Albania. When asked why, she declared ‘Because I love it here!’²⁶ Sex-trafficking discourses would send her home but the traditional meanings of ‘home’ seem, for this woman, extremely abstruse and distant. If, subjected to such extreme conditions, home still did not attract her, what the discourse would portend – deportation – becomes both abhorrent and inappropriate. Her discursive position as trafficked woman, however, refuses the possibility that she may have compelling reasons for being the ‘victim’ of a crime.²⁷ Criminalization proceeds through its logical knowledges to send her ‘home’, rather than consider how very horrific ‘home’ might be and/or that she may not want to return there.²⁸

The dissonance created by these positions questions the ways in which sex-trafficking discourses represent trafficked and migrant women. It refers to the possibility that women may make decisions to accept traffickers’ offers or to move into Western Europe and into sex work precluded by the focus on criminals and their violations of the state. By assuming that a crime has taken place, these discourses work to deflect elements of women’s migration that resist and present counterclaims of control to the dominant representation. As aforementioned, I am not claiming that there are not criminal elements involved and that abuse and exploitation do not take place in ‘trafficking’. Rather it is to suggest that while ‘trafficking in women presents complex enforcement issues due to its international character and the numerous actors involved’, the problem *also* pivots around questions related to immigration and labour and gender precluded in dominant representations of the issue (Rajan, 1999). Any effective remedy must then move beyond criminalization to include the possibility that women make decisions to work in the sex industry as an ‘alternative circuit for survival’ and that women have found a way to navigate networks of migration for their own benefit (Sassen, 2000: 515). Anti-trafficking policies and programs must incorporate global, structural and systemic phenomena including economic collapse, increased post-Schengen policing of EU borders and gender

discrimination that encourage women to leave in the first place, if they hope to combat both trafficking and the exploitation of women on the move.

Sex-Trafficking, Criminalization and Other 'Useful and Public Discourses'

If sex-trafficking discourses, especially criminalization, do not assist and may indeed deleteriously impact the women they seek to assist, the question becomes, how has this construction come to dominate EU and US media and governmental approaches to trafficking? I want to argue that its dominance follows from how sex-trafficking functions as a discourse and thus from how discourses more generally operate. Discourses function to associate a number of concepts or 'continuities' that 'do not come about of themselves, but are always the result of a construction' with one another (Foucault, 1972: 25–6). From these associations emerge a set of definitions, understandings and outcomes that appear logical. In *The History of Sexuality, Vol. I*, for example, Michel Foucault explains that in the 18th century, sexuality became understood as in need of regulation 'through useful and public discourses' (1980a: 25). In this sense, discourse is not separate from nor against power but is, in fact, a way of exercising it. Discourses function as 'ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them' (Weedon, 1997: 105). They emerge as organized, controlled practices that circulate or discipline utterance and behavior at certain sites and under specific conditions. Discursive 'mechanisms' found in 'economy, pedagogy, medicine, and justice incite, extract, distribute, and institutionalize' discourse (Foucault, 1980a: 33).

Discourses create certain prohibitions on the form, content, speaker and location of speech. The multiplicity of devices 'invented for speaking about it, for having it spoken about, for inducing itself to speak, for listening, recording, transcribing, and redistributing what is said about it' constitute 'a regulated and polymorphous incitement to discourse' (Foucault, 1980a: 34). They constitute an intersecting and fortifying set of prohibitions in a fluid and complex 'grid', excruciatingly enmeshed around sexuality and politics. Discourses neither antedate nor express some truth or reality. Instead, they form regularities that emerge and become systematized in and through the articulation and reiteration of particular norms and practices, not because they are logical or true but rather because of this regularity. These regularities have constructive effects, creating identities and practices and disciplining bodies and behaviors through articulation and repetition. While discourses function as both an instrument and an effect of power in

strategies of domination, they also form sites of resistance at which counter-strategies can be articulated and deployed.

Grids and norms, articulated and circulated discursively form their own logics and outcomes. That is to say that once a practice is named and positioned discursively — ‘a position defined from outside it by those responsible for composing the fly sheets’ — certain actions and outcomes follow (Foucault, 1982: 208). In Foucault’s reading of the case of Pierre Riviere, a 19th-century peasant accused of parricide, for example, psychiatric/medical, juridical, testimonial and confessional discourses supercede the crime or act committed to such a point that the crime itself ceased to exist (Foucault, 1976: 204). What remains is ‘a whole province of knowledge with which his murder/narrative was vested and to which the murder/narrative was committed. The historical field was not so much the brand or explanatory substance as the conditions which made this premeditated murder/memoir possible’ (Foucault, 1982: 208–9). The three medical reports, the statements of witnesses and Riviere’s own memoir considered at his trial each emanated from different sources and reached strikingly different conclusions. It was ‘an event that provided the intersection of discourses that differed in origin, form, organization and function’ but produce ‘neither a composite work nor an exemplary text’ (Foucault, 1982: Foreword).

For Foucault, Riviere’s case affirms how discourses function. The crime disappears amidst the discursive contest for control over its knowledge and meaning as either rational or mad. Riviere’s own memoir claimed the act as ‘murder’ thus determining the appropriate response — corporal punishment. The intrusion of the nascent psychiatric/medical profession, itself seeking power through knowledge, reinscribed Riviere’s act in a discourse of madness that led to the commutation of the sentence. The position of the act in the relevant medico-legal discourses had a more profound effect on Riviere than did his intent in the missing act itself. No objective ‘truth’ existed to be discovered or recovered. Rather its discursive location determined how Riviere understood his own act, how he wrote about it, how the experts and witnesses explained it and ultimately, what judgement was passed and punishment assigned — the discourses deployed their (un)certain knowledge for the power to name his ‘deed/text’ (Foucault, 1982: 210). Irrespective of the ‘profound ambiguity of his crime, the enigmas it posed to a knowledge that was in the course of elaboration and the gaps it disclosed in the legislative and institutional apparatus’, discursive contestation functioned to read and then to write the act out of existence and into their own classificatory meanings (Foucault, 1982: 252).

When discourse succeeds in assigning meaning in a particular case, it gains a certain authority over the population more generally. It can then deploy

knowledge 'capable of anticipating the possibility of criminal behavior before the act was put into execution' and assert control over the ways in which life activities are directed (an exercise Foucault called knowledge/power) (1982: 252). In the case of trafficking in women, a discourse of sex-trafficking names, delimits and collapses complex forms of women's migration involving everything from deception and abuse to informed decisions to move into a representation of women as victims of a crime. The logic of this representation suggests that to resolve this problem, women should be deported and governments should erect laws and barriers to prevent and to punish criminals. This then excludes perspectives raised by counter-explanations of trafficking offered by Hardin or Hazenberg or trafficked women themselves that challenge criminalization as an effective means of addressing the phenomenon. As I will discuss, the discourse also provides states with a means of exercising statecraft, securing the political community and reasserting their import in international affairs under duress from globalization, while not necessarily assisting the same women it claims to protect.

This 'duress' refers to what appears to be the inability of the nation-state to cohere and to control borders — a contemporary crisis over boundaries (Stoler, 1991, 1997). According to Ann Stoler, boundary crises occur at historical moments when new moral orders emerge to overtake older, rather diminished ones. Historically, 'threats to the internal cohesion of the European communities or by infringements on its borders' created periods of 'real or perceived crises of control' (Stoler, 1991: 68). During Europe's imperial eras, domination and control depended upon a clear delineation between colonizer and colonized; between a 'self' and an 'other'. This distinction was secured via various forms of sexual control that served as 'a fundamental class and racial marker implicated in a wider set of relations of power' (Stoler, 1991: 52, 55).²⁹ In the colonial era, when periods of crisis over boundaries occurred, 'protection of white women intensified' (Stoler, 1991: 68).³⁰ The defining and policing of women's sexuality facilitated and codified male agency and societal control into a narrative of sovereignty (1997: 365).³¹ At this historical moment, forces associated with globalization — regional integration, immigration, new forms of capital circulation — forge the appearance of a loss of individual and national control over the parameters of everyday life. As addressed later, sex-trafficking discourses rise in this environment and function, in part, as a site at which to assuage this sense of crisis and loss of control.

'Freedom of Movement', 'Citizens' Europe' and Statecraft

The notion that, in an era of globalization, sex-trafficking discourses serve state interests involves the practice of statecraft.³² Statecraft deploys certain

representations of gender that provide the state with an occasion to stave off the duress under which it appears to be. The US DOJ and EU interior ministers have both referred to trafficking as 'a grave threat to the security, stability, values and other interests of the entire world community' (US DOJ, 1997; Martin, 1997). Because sex-trafficking discourses function as a constitutive part of border issues, they become a means through which the state redresses this 'grave threat' to security, can claim control over the border and perform the role of 'securer' of the nation. The associations made in this discourse work to reiterate the state as guarantor of the political community and to invest it with the ability to participate in the normalization of its citizens. In criminalizing trafficking, the state presses its 'right to intervene' over the individual by deporting women and over its population by eliminating 'internal threats' (like the 'undisciplined and irregular' sexuality of trafficked women and other 'white' women immigrants) to a European 'manner of living' (Stoler, 1995: 83). That is to say that by constructing all migrant East European sex workers as a group of innocents in need of the protection of — but also deportation from — the state, these discourses work to affirm the place of the state in maintaining sovereign borders and quelling the anxiety created by European integration and globalization.

Put in a larger perspective, European integration and the continued need for immigrants in the workforce have eroded the authority of the state and consumed its exclusive privilege to designate membership in the political community. By invoking the need for national judiciaries, immigration offices, borders guards and police forces to fight criminality, sex-trafficking discourses reassert the role of the state in protecting the border. Criminalization's emphasis on the role of state-based institutions in fighting international organized crime provides the mechanism through which practices of statecraft work to sustain and to reiterate the state's privileged place. When the European Union's justice commissioner insists, for example, that international cooperation is important in 'tackling the problem of trafficking in women' but 'that the prime responsibility in this area still remain[s] with Member States', sex-trafficking discourses serve as a site at which to reiterate the primacy of the state in international politics (*ER*, 2000b).

Processes of European integration can be understood as key sites at which statecraft has been exercised in relation to borders and to trafficking. What appears to be the erosion of the importance of individual states has actually served as an occasion to exercise statecraft and to assert state control over the political community. The Maastricht Treaty (1992), for example, intensified the issue of the 'freedom of movement' — and with it, trafficking — within the EU. Indeed, much of the hysteria over sex-trafficking coincides with the integration and expansion of the EU after 1992. In many

ways, the combined upheavals of the end of communism in Europe, EU integration and expansion and 'globalization' have created the perception of a shift in historically, politically and culturally putative definitions of citizen and non-citizen, sameness and difference, familiar and foreign, inside and outside. As Europe moves toward integration and global capitalist expansion proceeds apace, a palpable increase in anxiety over the boundaries of the political community has emerged. Maastricht contributed to the perception that a crisis over boundaries is under way in Europe.³³ In pursuit of the four fundamental freedoms of European integration (the free movement of goods, capital, services and persons), the Treaty states that 'every person holding the nationality of a member state shall be a citizen of the Union' (Convey and Kupiszewski, 1995: 940). In codifying the principle of *citizens' Europe*, Maastricht increased ambiguity over membership in any one national community and created anxiety about the meanings of nation, race, ethnicity, gender, political community and state.

The 1995 Schengen Convention further focused attention on the issue of the 'freedom of movement'. Schengen 'distinguishes between crossing internal frontiers and crossing external borders', dissolving *intrastate* boundaries between EU member countries while reinforcing *extra-state* ones (Pollet, 1997: 212). While Maastricht instituted the 'free movement of peoples', Schengen designated how some people (EU citizens) are freer to move than others (non-EU citizens). In policing external but not internal movement, Schengen moved 'towards the achievement of the so-called "*citizens' Europe*"' by assigning the inside and the outside of the European political community (Pollet, 1997: 211). Dissolving national borders undermines the traditional sovereignty of the state because '[c]itizenship is a core feature of state sovereignty . . . [and] states rely on a high degree of exclusivity of identity drawn by their citizens to maintain power within their jurisdictions' (Agnew, 1999: 516). Schengen's supranational identity may represent a new form of citizenship, one that 'violate[s] the one to one correspondence of state and citizenship upon which state licensing of political power has long rested' (Agnew, 1999: 516). This kind of alternative understanding of citizenship, however, destabilizes the coincidence of nation and state and creates considerable ambiguity over membership in a national community. As ambiguity increases, European countries have sought to stabilize their control over the political community by stemming immigration, often seen as 'a threat to national identities already blurred by globalization' (Cohen, 2000a; see also Erlanger, 2002).

When EU Ministers met in Tampere, Finland, they hoped 'to create "the next large building block" of European integration' — Eurojust or a common judicial area (*The Times*, 1999). As the first EU summit 'devoted solely to the problems of asylum, extradition, illegal immigration, and the

fight against international organised crime', Tampere represented a coalescing of 'political will' to promote 'the boldest project towards European integration since the launch of the single currency' (*LFT*, 1999; *The Economist*, 1999). At this meeting, however, matters of integration seemed to be of less importance than strategies for fighting cross-border, especially organized, crime. Ministers sought to formulate 'common definitions and penalties' for such crimes as 'corruption and money laundering — drug-trafficking, trade in human beings, sexual exploitation of children, and high-tech and environmental crimes' (Hargreaves, 1999). They sought to create a network of national prosecutors, magistrates and police officers who would cooperate with Europol to investigate and to arrest crime networks trafficking in drugs and human beings; they also established a basis for a single European prosecutor and uniform legal procedures for all member states (Rudnick, 1999).

Tampere forged European integration by designing 'more weapons to fight crime in the new, borderless Europe . . . [and] new objectives for closer police and judicial cooperation between countries' (*Washington Post*, 1999). As the former President of the European Parliament Nicole Fontaine affirmed, Tampere was part of a plan 'to give fresh impetus to the concept of European citizenship' and a broader, European identity through institutional coordination (*The Times*, 1999; see also Castle, 2000). In a discussion of anti-organized crime programs, however, a former US Ambassador observed, 'This [fight against organized crime] will be a battle for Europe' (Finn, 1998). Such a perspective points to how anxious attempts to protect the political community (inherent in Maastricht, Schengen and Tampere) seek to reiterate a shared meaning of the space/time of Europe at an historical moment when boundary crises have rendered those shared meanings both visible and capricious.

As the principle of *citizens' Europe* forges shifts in the meanings of political community, new sites at which statecraft seeks to perform and thus to reclaim sovereignty have emerged. Major attempts to integrate Europe have proved to be particularly important performances. Even as they seek to redefine and to diminish individual state jurisdiction, Maastricht, Schengen and Tampere have also served as opportunities for states to attempt to reassert control over their communities and borders. Trafficking, a transgressive practice that calls into question this sovereign performance, becomes an ideal site at which this control can be legitimated and practised. Sex-trafficking discourses position organized crime — and not women on the move — as the challenge to the state and provide the state with an opportunity to act on behalf of the protection of their citizenries. As state institutions seek to perform and to reiterate their own dissolute necessity, they cast women back across the material and socio-symbolic transgressed

boundaries of nation and state. They remake these ‘popular strangers’, into ‘unpopular’ foreigners, into illegal immigrants whose deportation becomes part of the price paid for the reiteration of state sovereignty. These discourses function as a technology in which statecraft seeks to reinforce its eroded sovereignty and to re-inaugurate the state as arbiter and representative of the political community. They invest the state with an ‘actual’ as well as symbolic *raison d’être* — battling criminals and other illegals, protecting citizens and innocent women, policing the boundaries of the political community of Europe today.³⁴

‘Strangers to Ourselves’: Immigration, Racialization and Globalization

A black BMW with a German license plate . . . on the back seat stops at a street corner. The lone driver rolls down the passenger-door window and speaks briefly to the teenage girl standing in the bitter cold. The girl climbs into the car . . . Welcome to the child-prostitution capital of Europe. The men who go to the town know that to have sex with a child, you don’t have to take a plane to Thailand, you just need to take your BMW over the border (Scally, 2001)

[I]t is no longer communism that haunts Europe: it is the outsider. (Cohen, 2000b)

The discursive portrayal of trafficking in women as a vast, widespread and ‘growing global problem’ links it to the amorphous but ubiquitous phenomenon called globalization (Crane, 2001). Among the most visible forms globalization takes is immigration. In the EU and the US, immigrants have often served as a scapegoat for more diffuse social anxieties about economic cycles, socio-cultural transformations and international instability. Alarm over the status of a political community, the state, and sovereignty have been located at the site of the immigrant who functions as a sign of the encroaching forces of globalization. Sex-trafficking discourses — referred to as the ‘dirty underbelly’ and ‘dark side of globalization’ — function as one aspect of anti-immigration responses to forces associated with the globalization (De La Garza, 2001; *Deutsche Presse Agentur*, 2000).

Among the ways in which these discourses refer to anxieties about immigration and globalization are the racialization of trafficked women and trafficking criminals. Sex-trafficking discourses tend to focus on the ‘whiteness’ of its ‘victims’. The putative ‘whiteness’ of ‘the new white slave trade’ or of Slavic girls or of ‘blue-eyed blondes’ simultaneously functions to position these women as innocent victims in need of protection *and* contradictorily, as an internal, indistinguishable threat among ‘us’. The territorial, historical, institutional and ethnic contiguity between the EU and

East Europe together render the presence of these 'trafficked women' highly disruptive. In their 'whiteness', illegal East European sex workers 'appear' both 'identical' to — yet more exotic and exploited than — their legal counterparts and thus in need of protection by the state. As illegal immigrants and workers, however, the state must reinstate the 'difference' between citizen and non-citizen and deport them. In other words, the simultaneous 'racial' sameness and difference of trafficked women, their alterity, illuminates an increasingly precarious distinction between European and non-European as well as the arbitrariness of borders between peoples and states.³⁵ 'White' — but East European — women illegally working in 'West' European sex industries occupy a space historically reserved for and enjoy the privileges of 'the citizen' (Soguk, 1997: 321). As 'white' women, however, they disrupt the ability of the state to distinguish between members and non-members of the political community; they 'transgress rather than reinforce the boundaries of the state' and thus become a mark of the erosion of state power (Agnew, 1999: 516).

The presence of trafficked East European women in Europe, in other words, indicates a boundary crisis. As discussed above, boundary crises occur when new orders and structures begin to eclipse older, more established ones. European integration and/as globalization suggest such a shift. When such shifts occur, state institutions seek to police 'sexual behavior and morality' in order to restore state authority precisely because such transgressions 'call into question the tenuous artifices of rule *within* European communities and what marked their borders' (Stoler, 1991: 85). In this anxious atmosphere, at least part of what discourses of sex-trafficking do is reinstitute the role of the state as that which determines which 'white' women are 'white' and belong within the community and which ones are not and are to be eliminated.

This racialization of women as 'white' is reinforced by an explicit opposition with 'dark' or 'eastern' traffickers/criminals who deal in the 'white flesh' of young girls 'considered beautiful enough to be sold to Middle Eastern brothels,' especially 'blue or green-eyed blondes'; they run a 'white meat trade' that has turned Prague into 'Central Europe's Bangkok' (Harris, 1998). Russians, Serbs, Albanians, 'particularly violent' Poles and Yugoslavs, Turks, Ukrainians, gypsies all haunt these articles as the dark and pernicious forces that form what Jorg Haider has termed an invasion of 'alien hordes from the east' (Briseida and Porte, 2000; Simons, 1993; Cohen, 2000a; Harris, 1998; Grant, 2000). The racial 'otherness' of these criminals adds to a sense of fear and panic over 'criminal networks' overrunning Europe and destroying, with lawlessness and immorality, 'our' (white) way of life.

Traffickers are discursively positioned as responsible for everything from

illegal immigration to moral chaos, a dangerous 'law unto themselves', infecting 'our' community with violence and disease. They strike at the institutions of the state and the market — hallmarks of Western rule of law — with their immoral sexuality and rampant criminality: 'gangsters, often Albanian', hold women 'captive' in order to 'sell sexual favours to troops and businessmen' and 'western European soldiers from the Nato-led forces' (Pringle, 2000; Hadziosmanovic, 2000; Wagstyl, 2002).³⁶ This 'alien horde' ranges to 'half a million women, most from Europe's impoverished ex-communist bloc' whose numbers are 'on the increase in Europe', having surged to 'epidemic proportions' (Smith, 2000; *ER*, 2000a; Botti, 2000).³⁷ As one article admits, '[n]obody knows for sure how many women and girls from central and eastern Europe are bought and sold for prostitution, but the trade is the fastest-growing form of illegal immigration into the EU' (Butler, 1997b). The more hysterical aspects of these discourses link individual (white) women's tragic stories to mass, global phenomena like organized crime and illegal immigration, thus generating a level of panic about its ability to engulf 'the west' and 'the new Europe' in 'globalized sin' (Bohlen, 1997).

Indeed, in these discourses, dark, menacing, eastern criminals and their innocent victims constitute a 'Growing Global Menace' so prodigious and so pervasive that it threatens to submerge Europe in a flood of illegality, immorality, disease and criminality (*Tampa Tribune*, 2001).³⁸ The portrayal of the racialized 'otherness' of traffickers reinforces the notion that 'we' 'true' Europeans are under attack from immoral foreigners and, most especially, immigrants. In other words, much of this nebulous anxiety over the narrowing capacities of the nation-state to designate, to contain and to protect the political community has landed on migrants, refugees and other 'unpopular strangers'. The apparent inability of the state to control flows of persons (more than of goods and capital) challenges the 'foundational elements of the nation-state i.e. the unity of people which is represented by a state and the ability of the state to control these movements' (Doty, 1999: 586). As these challenges emerge, 'territory, national identity, and political community no longer neatly overlap' and the state appears less and less able to name and to represent the political community (Doty, 1999: 587). Where the twin informants of nation and state once performed a 'univocal signification of "presupposition" for all other social relations', there is now 'a brutal short-circuit of the "empirical" and "transcendental" dimensions of the notion of the border' (Balibar, 1998: 217). The end of the Cold War and globalization have forged a 'redefinition of conceptions and practices of sovereignty,' and rendered 'the links between authority and territory . . . apparently less clear-cut' (Gill, 1997: 19–20). These redefinitions and ambiguities have had a particularly profound impact on a sense of 'nation,

self, and community' (Wilson and Dissanayake, 1996: 2; see also Habermas, 1998).

In part, what sex-trafficking discourses do is link an abstract sense that 'swarms' of East Europeans are engulfing and overwhelming our 'national identities already blurred by globalization' to a concrete economic complaint about immigrants 'as a burden on welfare' (Cohen, 2000a).³⁹ As Karl Kaiser, director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, put it, 'open borders and globalization' have created 'a period of social stress and dislocation' (Erlanger, 2002). Citizenries 'prone to vote their anxieties about change . . . and the effects of an impersonal global economy' have sought to mitigate their fears through anti-immigrant politics (Trueheart, 1999). After the collapse of communism in 1989, 'the image of the "illegal" started a career in public discourse' in which all foreigners were labeled 'illegal' and accused of contributing to 'unemployment, criminality and the destabilization of the state' as well as legitimation for other state policy failures (Cyrus and Vogel, 2000: 30).

Under the aegis of Maastricht and Schengen, the EU has sought to address 'trafficking in women' as a cross-border phenomenon. In 1997, for example, all 40 full and associate EU member states met to address illegal immigration and trafficking in women. The protocols of the meeting reframed trafficking as illegal immigration, recommending the 'criminalising of trafficking in aliens with special consideration given to trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation' (Martin, 1997). At the time, the protocols 'stopped short of a binding commitment . . . to give the women temporary residence permits to testify against the criminals who exploit them' (ANP, 1997). Symbolically, the decision not to allow the temporary permits suggests that acceding to this provision would afford too much control over residence in the national community (the state) to the supranational EU.⁴⁰ This disagreement reflects anxiety over *who* articulates membership in the political community. If Schengen dissolved national borders in pursuit of the freedom of movement, why would states take issue with allowing temporary residence in the national area? Despite their membership in a supranational institution, individual states wanted to preserve their 'right' to designate who can and cannot be present there within.

In response to both the relative freedom of Schengen and to increased cross-border transgressions — in other words, 'to reconcile freedom and security' — the EU has sought tighter 'coordination between the police, customs and the judiciary' of each member state (EUHP, 2000b).⁴¹ It has turned to state-based institutions to address border transgressions and boundary crises. The national institutions that enforce migration policies tend to 'draw a one sided picture of illegal immigration as a serious threat to the interior security' which then becomes a means of empowering state

institutions to shore up ‘our’ violated security — a performance of statecraft (Cyrus and Vogel, 2000: 30).

The effect of statecraft — of effecting a coherence between ‘territory, national identity and political community’ — is produced through new ‘immigration rules and regulations as well as laws regarding citizenship and rights of immigrants’ (Doty, 1999: 587). As Europe’s wealth and need for workers continue to attract immigrants unabated, their presence has provoked ‘a nationalist reaction’ marked by ‘anti-immigrant tirades and the scapegoating of foreigners for everything from rising crime to rotten schools’ and a ‘popular backlash against a Europe of open borders . . . and against generous immigration policies’ (Cohen, 2000b; Erlanger, 2002).⁴² Immigrants ‘are seen as threats that appear from nowhere and destabilise and undermine the security and coherence of the sovereign project’ (Soguk and Whitehall, 1999: 679). Trafficked women function as ‘the most perverse facet of the European fortress and its treatment of *others*’ (Morokvasic, 1991: 69). Recent electoral support for right-wing, anti-immigrant parties in France, Italy, Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria expresses this conflation of immigrants with fears about globalization; their anti-immigrant platforms empower the state to assert sovereign difference between members of the political community and ‘others’. As Julia Kristeva has explained, groups of ‘strangers’ — trafficked women, illegal immigrants, foreign workers — help to substantiate the place of the citizen in the nation-state, especially when their ‘whiteness’ seems to make us strangers to ourselves (1991).

Globalization and Statecraft Again

As discussed, anti-immigrant antipathies serve, in part, as a site at which to locate anxieties about globalization. Sex-trafficking as a discourse involving innocent victims, violated borders and criminality becomes a means of problematizing immigration and justifying anti-immigration policies in order to assuage fears about globalization. At its most concrete level, globalization involves ‘the transformation of world economy’ and the perception of ‘a new international economic order, one dominated by financial centers, global markets and transnational firms’ (Sassen, 1998: xxix). Among the effects of this transformation are a privileging of the global over the national; a decline in the national as a ‘unitary category’; the internationalization of finance capital; the embedding of a ‘global information economy’ in ‘concrete localized processes’; and an emerging global ‘geography of strategic places’ bound together by international economic priorities (Sassen, 1998: xix–xxxiv). Through these processes, local economies assimilate ‘a variety of instruments of homogenization’ that participate

in such global practices as international politics and free-market capitalism 'in which the state plays an increasingly delicate role' and thus radically alter how national identity is conceived (Appadurai, 1990: 16).

While Thomas Friedman has called globalization 'a celebration of the American way, of market capitalism and liberal democracy', more cautious observers have concentrated on its more deleterious and detrimental effects (Friedman quoted in Waltz, 1999). Among its most pernicious aspects, for example, globalization involves a 'proliferation of military aggression toward the guarantee of an environment of free enterprise and capitalism — a new attempt to impose unification on the world by and through the market' (Spivak, 1995: 89; see also Spivak, 1996). It promotes the 'economics [of] capital-intensive investment', seeks the removal of barriers between a 'neoliberal world economic system' and 'fragile national economies', foreclosing 'any possibility of social redistribution' while silencing resistance and appropriating protest toward a 'general ideology of global development' (Spivak, 1998: 333; Spivak, 1995: 89).⁴³ To its critics, globalization creates a 'new world-space of cultural production and national representation' ever more 'unified around dynamics of capitalistic moving across borders' (Wilson and Dissanayake, 1996: 1).

Globalization calls upon women's labour in specific ways — as a resource of national development and international trade to support 'multinational enterprises, namely, the tourism industry, entertainment sector, travel and transportation industry, international media concerns, the underground narcotics and crime industry' (Sangera, 1999; see also Sassen, 1998, 2000). It also encourages women's migration 'and clearly this process is accompanied by an increasing degree of coercion and exploitation of women due to prevailing systems of sex and gender' (Murray, 1998: 63). Women increasingly migrate 'voluntarily or trafficked and traded within and across continents' in a globalized environment that has changed 'the magnitude, expanse, organisation, rate of capital accumulation and range of market strategies employed to sell sexual services' (Sangera, 1999). Women now constitute a 'new model category of labour . . . exploited via the sex and tourism industry' (Sangera, 1999). Discourses of sex-trafficking, however, preclude understanding the complex structural, social and economic aspects of women's migration including the possibility that 'trafficked women' may be migrant (sex) workers and/or are responding to labour demands in the West. As one feminist researcher has remarked, 'that which is called trafficking in relation to sex and domestic work is called international labor migration when it involves other kinds of work' (Vargas, 1996). Sex-trafficking discourses elide and displace this specific intersection of gender, immigration, economics and globalization.

As figures of a double transgression (of sovereignty and traditional

sexuality), trafficked women and migrant East European sex workers serve as one site at which the crisis over boundaries can be located and importantly, disciplined, mollified and controlled. The emergence of discourses of sex-trafficking can be understood as an act of statecraft that seeks to reinstate the boundaries and necessity of the state at an historical moment when the meaning of the nation is highly fluid and undergoing significant revision. The anxieties encapsulated in this crisis over boundaries encounter one another at the site of East European migrant sex workers, and via criminalization, subject women to a violent regime of policing in the name of staving off or covering over these crises.

When East European women transgress sovereign borders to work in the EU, they destabilize 'statist practices of democracy that work constantly to inscribe imaginary and/or physical boundaries of identity/difference that separate the inside from outside' (Soguk, 1997: 322). They ignore the sovereign laws that distinguish 'Europe' from its 'others'. It is the particular combination of the movement, 'race', and gender of migrant East European sex workers that in part disrupts the ability of the state to adjudicate membership in the political community — a combination that makes them an external and internal threat to the nation and the state. The rapid deportation of 'illegals' and 'victims' empowers the state to contest this threat and to protect the political community while in practice placing more barriers before migrants, increasing the likelihood that they will seek traffickers' assistance and creating more opportunities for their exploitation.

It is the workings of statecraft under the aegis of globalization that interests us as International Relations scholars. Statecraft — the practices and activities that engender the effect called the sovereign state — runs through sex-trafficking discourses, authorizing the state to fight traffickers and organized crime and to erect barriers to illegal immigration. These discourses also function as a site at which the state can intrude upon the most intimate realms of life — how and where a woman uses her sexuality — in the name of protecting the political community. In the process of claiming to prevent the exploitation of women, state practices that seek to control illegal immigration hamper women's movement and, in cases where a decision has been made, forbid her to work in the sex industry. Sex-trafficking discourses thus act as a site at which statecraft can function to reiterate the effect of sovereignty. As one journalist starkly put it, 'Europe's failure to adjust to being a continent of immigration' supports 'a new vision of a Europe' as 'a largely white fortress' (Grant, 2000). In effect then, in sex-trafficking discourses the state is afforded a relevance and a role at an historic moment when globalization seems to have 'loosened the hyphen between

nation and state' and rendered its role in international affairs increasingly contingent.⁴⁴

The State under Threat: Gendered and Raced Transgression of the Nation

Within the lexicon of bourgeois civility, self-control, self-discipline, and self-determination were defining features of bourgeois selves . . . These discourses on self-mastery were productive of racial distinctions, of clarified notions of 'whiteness' and what it meant to be truly European. (Stoler, 1995: 8)

Female sexual acts that serve women's sexual or economic interests are . . . dangerous, immoral, perverted, irresponsible and indecent. Constructed in this fashion, the image of the whore disciplines and divides women, forcing some to conform to virginity, domesticity and monogamy and demonizing those who transgress these boundaries. (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998: 5-6)

As I have discussed, in their foreignness and indistinguishability, trafficked East European women pose both an external (as illegal immigrant) and an internal threat (as white women, not easily locatable) to the cohesiveness of the political community. As illegal immigrants, these women have violated sovereign state borders; as white and female and prostitutes, they transgress a European moral order in which women's sexuality plays a pivotal role. This latter form of transgression follows from an historical positioning of women as mythologized symbols of the nation (as Marianne of France; Britannia; Mother Russia, Matka Polka and Mother Serbia; or more recently, a 'fair-haired girl' on one of Haider's election posters).⁴⁵ Female figures have traditionally served to establish and to organize central aspects of Western national, ethnic or cultural identity. Indeed, women have been 'crucial to civil society not as participatory citizens in the public sphere, but as those who would insure that marriage, sexual morality, and family provided the natural foundations for civil life' (Stoler, 1995: 131-2).

As a resource in the constitution of the 'nation', women are charged with ensuring the sanctity of the family so that men can participate in public life as citizens (Yuval-Davis, 1998: 26).⁴⁶ Especially in nationalist discourses, women serve as 'threshold figures' that mark the place in between home and the community, between the family and the nation (McClintock, 1995: 24).⁴⁷ European women, in particular, have been 'poised as the guardians of European civility, moral managers who were to protect child and husband in the home' and thus protect the political community and the 'nation' (Stoler, 1995: 183). Historically, fear of the 'unmanaged desires of women themselves' led to specific laws against interracial unions and the instillation of a social norm appropriate to a bourgeois sensibility in order to guard

against 'unmanaged [female] sexuality' becoming a 'threat' to the social body (Stoler, 1995: 41–2).⁴⁸ When women cease to maintain and in fact transgress the very borders they have been historically and discursively compelled to uphold, the veracity of and anxiety around boundaries becomes all the more acute.⁴⁹

Their symbolic position as guardians of the nation and protectors of morality thus renders women's bodies — at moments of historical upheaval and political uncertainty — sites of increased surveillance through which the 'sanctity' of community can be preserved and (state) authority re-established. Since the 19th century, female sexuality has served as an important site for the disciplining of larger — especially national — populations in Europe (Foucault, 1980a).⁵⁰ The 'discursive management of the sexual practices' of citizens has historically helped to determine membership in the political community (Stoler, 1995: 5).⁵¹ Persons perceived to be lacking in 'certain cultural competencies, sexual proclivities, psychological dispositions, and cultivated habits' have been deemed foreign to or not part of the political community (Stoler, 1995: 8). Participation in and perpetuation of a specific set of bourgeois moral practices were considered constitutive of what it meant to be properly 'European'.

This symbolic position of women in relation to the community combined with the historical import attached to female sexuality means that women have a very specific role to play with regard to the nation. Those who eschew traditional roles and 'veer[] off respectable course' cease to be regarded 'as good mothers and true Europeans' — for 'if these women were really European they would never have made such inappropriate choices' (Stoler, 1995: 183). Despite being 'victims' of kidnapping, trafficked women as well as women who migrate for sex work are ambivalently positioned as committing a crime of 'moral degeneracy'; 'unconventional sex [is made] a national threat and thus put a premium on managed sexuality for the health of the state' (Stoler, 1995: 34–5).⁵² As statist discourses have risen in relation to sex-trafficking, they have deemed trafficked women and migrant sex workers lacking in the necessary 'self-mastery' (appropriate sexuality) to be called (despite their putative 'whiteness') 'truly' European. Identifying women with a dangerous, 'unmanaged sexuality' becomes a means of assessing 'those whose claims to property rights, citizenship, and public relief' should be recognized and those who should not (Stoler, 1995: 8, 42).

That 'European' men visit these prostitutes or participate in their trafficking is eclipsed by the East European sex worker, trafficked or not, who possesses an 'undisciplined and irregular' sexuality that threatens the meaning of a European order. Whether crime victim or crime perpetrator, her 'sexual proclivities' differentiate her from the proper members of the political community. The notion of a 'proper' or 'normal' sexuality is a form

of what Foucault calls 'biopolitics' addressed most especially to sexuality as a 'discursive interface' that connects 'the life of the individual to the life of the species as whole' (Stoler, 1995: 4). Biopolitics refers to the set of practices that operate on and seek to regularize those aspects of life that diminish individual productivity at work and participation in the life of the social body. Sexuality becomes a realm of normalization and regularization crucial to the establishment of 'ordered maximization of collective and individual forces' especially in the service of the state (Foucault quoted in Stoler, 1995: 39).

From this perspective, sex-trafficking discourses are 'tied to the functioning of a State' and form a means for the state to 'exercise its sovereign power' (Foucault quoted in Stoler, 1995: 86). Sex-trafficking discourses read foreign prostitutes — a category that conflates trafficked women, economic migrants and migrant sex workers — as a threat to the nation. Their 'unconventional' sexuality provides the state with a compelling interest in removing them.⁵³ Built on the assumption of a 'proper' sexuality, sex-trafficking discourses act as an occasion to reiterate the exclusions upon which membership in Western political communities has been based — of those engaged in 'illicit' movement, capital and sexuality. They 'figure' sex workers 'as transgressing the proper distributions of money, sexuality and property' precisely because they threaten the 'fiscal and libidinal economy' of the state (McClintock, 1995: 44). They thus associate gendered and racialized victimization, titillation, deportation and criminalization and reinscribe what it means to be 'a productive — and therefore successfully reproductive — member of the nation and its respectable citizenry' (Stoler, 1995: 178). These discursive acts of distinction, exclusion and removal fortify both the imagined purity of the political community and the ascribed role of the state in naming, representing and protecting it. Sex-trafficking discourses not only exclude certain 'illegals' from membership in the political community but equally *produce* gendered and racialized forms of state power that ascribe a 'racial' and 'moral' coherence to the political community.

Human Security, Gender and International Relations

Monitoring and controlling the flow of goods and services over national borders has formed an integral part of securing the nation. If the state can effectively regulate the entrance and exodus of persons at its borders, migration poses no threat to the nation-state; if it cannot, migration can represent a serious challenge to its sovereignty, even its security. (O'Brien, 1992: 375)

The practice of international relations has always been gendered. (Whitworth, 1997: 77)

The study of the state — especially theories of sovereignty — has long constituted the core of International Relations studies (IR). Globalization has led many scholars to identify radical transformations in the role of the state. The post-1989 focus on nationalism has, in particular, shifted the meaning of security toward the maintenance of the political, ethnic and cultural community. Some security theorists, for example, have expanded traditional, military definitions of security to include economic, environmental and religious security, among others. Prominent among these new definitions is ‘societal’ or ‘human’ security.⁵⁴ The state must protect ethnic and national identity in order to achieve security (Wæver, 1996). In fact, identity and migration are as important as more traditional conflicts over power and hegemony that once dominated national security definitions and debates (Buzan et al., 1998: 1–5). At the same time and at least since the Treaty of Westphalia, security has always involved the survival of the state in order to protect the ‘nation’. In the post-Cold War period, survival still constitutes security but now, ‘survival spells identity’ (Wæver, 1996: 109). Groups must feel secure in their distinct cultural, religious and ethnic identities before they can ‘feel’ secure as a nation and pursue international security relationships (Buzan, 1993). That identities often ‘explicitly deny the territorial logic of conventional political identity’ does not mitigate the import of identity for security; rather it points to the significance of thinking about security beyond the nation-state (Mandaville, 1999: 671).

In the practice of politics and the performance of statecraft, as in the discipline of IR, control over the borders between these different identities is ‘*an integral part of securing the nation*’. It is, in fact, among the most constitutive aspects of sovereignty. As cited above, ‘trafficking in women’ constitutes a case of the loss of control over borders so menacing to the state as to provoke the US Department of Justice to declare it ‘a grave threat to the security . . . of the entire world community’. When trafficked women and migrant East European sex workers transgress the material and symbolic boundaries of the nation, they threaten these distinct identities and refer to a present crisis over the boundaries and sovereignty of the nation-state. Because they enter the state illegally, earn an untaxed and illegal income and maintain an ‘illicit’ sexuality, their presence and their activities expose the inability of the state to designate and to maintain the political community. Unable to arbitrate and no longer in control, the state seems unable to provide security in the traditional sense. Discourses of sex-trafficking redefine and relocate these assaults on sovereignty within a gendered and racialized frame (of helpless ‘white’ victims, ‘dark’ criminality and a violated political community) that authorizes the state to reinstate sovereign borders, all the while giving the state new purpose and meaning.

Reading the construction of the trafficking in women as a discourse and, in part, a site of statecraft, suggests that in this global environment, the study of IR must open on to much more fluid and complex definitions of security and sovereignty. New forms of migration and movement now reveal ‘the fluidity of the **dynamics of space** that prevail in the midst of efforts to hegemonize territory’ (Soguk and Whitehall, 1999: 689). Many IR theorists have begun to account for changes in the socio-symbolic order and to recognize that security no longer relies exclusively upon the state.⁵⁵ Exclusively state-based approaches to international problems, however, continue to elide the changing nature of a world increasingly subject to the movement of peoples, identities, goods and capital as well as the devolution of territory and nation. The simultaneous presence within and difference from the political community of trafficked and migrant East European sex workers refers directly to the increasing disalignment of nation and state and enjoins **IR theory to reconsider how sovereignty and security depend upon the opposition between inside and outside, public and private, man and woman.**

I am not arguing that IR and security studies should now ignore states. Contrary to much of the disciplinary literature, however, my contention is that the importance of securing distinct national, ethnic and cultural identities needs to be rethought both *within* and *beyond* the historical and transmogrifying frame of the modern nation-state. That which exceeds state control — people who move (illegally) among and between sovereign borders and discourses but have been relegated to ‘outside’ or ‘other’ — threatens the sovereign project of the state and as such, reflects upon and forges new modes of thought about security and sovereignty. Under the aegis of globalization, IR should include and interrogate these previously occluded but constitutive aspects of sovereignty, especially around gender and race.

As many feminist IR theorists have argued, gender and women provide the study of security and sovereignty with an *axiomatic* frame of analysis.⁵⁶ In the case of discourses of sex-trafficking, a gendered frame helps to reveal how the issue of trafficking in women is directly related to the status of the state in international affairs in a globalizing world. Among the many effects of these discourses is an attempt to reinvigorate the state as the defender of ‘white’ women, punisher of illegal immigrants and criminals and protector of the political community. Despite their central relevance to such fundamental issues in IR as the nation and of globalization as immigration, however, gendered analyses continue to be marginalized, if not ignored, in much of the disciplinary literature.⁵⁷ As in the case of ‘trafficking in women’, the irony is that the practice and discipline of IR pivots around constructions of sexual difference, especially in the form of ‘an identity more familiarly

known as the universalizing abstraction of “rational man” (Walker, 1992: 190). Sexual difference helps to sustain many of the oppositions through which the nation is supposed, conceived, invented and fantasized; the conflation of man/citizen; woman/non-citizen ensures the division of public from private life and domestic from international affairs.⁵⁸ Sex-trafficking discourses are best understood in immigration, labour, race-aware and gendered frame; identity, security and international relations are best understood in a globalized, race-aware and gendered frame.⁵⁹

Notes

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1. The International Organization for Migration’s (IOM) estimate of 500,000 women annually trafficked into Western Europe redundantly appears in media and official documents, adding social scientific authenticity to the claim that this is an immense problem. Figures range from ‘175,000 women and girls . . . taken into the EU illegally every year’ to ‘epidemic proportions’ of ‘700,000 to 1 million women and children . . . sold into modern-day slavery’ (Sung, 2001; Botti, 2000). ‘The United Nations estimates the worldwide profit to be \$7 billion a year’ while others claim that ‘mobsters on every continent . . . pocket an estimated \$12 billion each year from the sex trade’ (Smith, 2000; *Christian Science Monitor*, 2000).

The term ‘white slave trade’ comes from fin-de-siecle debates about ‘trafficking and voluntary migration of white women from Europe to Arab and Eastern States as concubines or prostitutes’ (GAATW, 2001: 26). What is important to note is that in international agreements (the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons, for example), there has been a significant conflation of trafficking with prostitution and judgement of prostitution as ‘evil’ without considering trafficking for other types of labour or the gender-specific, discriminatory affects of its provisions (GAATW, 2001: 23). For an historical discussion of the ‘white slave trade’ and prostitution see Walkowitz (1982) and Roberts (1992).

2. See US DOJ (1998).
3. See for example Human Rights Watch (1993, 1995); Global Survival Network (1997); Raymond (1998); Leidholdt (1999) and Amnesty International in Izenberg and Gleit (2000).
4. See Clinton (1998) and US DOS (1998).
5. See Specter (1998).
6. This analysis is based upon over 120 newspaper articles collected from at least 18 different news sources, 1997 to 2002. These articles employ sensationalist language to describe trafficking in women; represent women as victims of a

heinous crime; and regard the solution as stricter law enforcement, deportation and criminal punishment of traffickers. By coincidence, the Polish branch of La Strada Foundation Against Trafficking in Women has also collected hundreds of news stories equally replete with sensationalist language, a constructed violated racialized and gendered innocence and criminalization.

7. The definition of 'trafficking in persons' is subject to much contestation. The Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women has voiced the concern that 'there is no internationally agreed definition of trafficking' and that the term is being used to refer to an incommensurate range of activities; she seeks instead 'new understandings of trafficking [that] derive from an assessment of the current needs of trafficked persons in general and trafficked women in particular' (GAATW, 2001: 27). From a human rights perspective, the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW) has developed the following definition:

'All acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within and across borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harbouring of a person involving the use of deception, coercion (including the use or threat of force or the abuse of authority) or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding such person, whether for pay or not, in servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive), in forced or bonded labour, or in slavery like conditions, in a community, other than the one in which such person lived at the time of the original deception, coercion or debt bondage' (GAATW, 2001: 33)

For other, competing definitions of trafficking, see Human Rights Watch-Asia (1993, 1995); IOM (1995); Wijers and Lap-Chew (1997); Caldwell (1998a, 1998b); Murray (1998); Hughes (2000).

8. The La Strada network of offices, the IOM and Anti-Slavery International, for example, document and/or assist women who have been trafficked and abused in the process of migration. My fieldwork with trafficked women took place Fall, 2001 in Warsaw, Poland through La Strada.
9. Stoler (1991, 1995). I explore Stoler's conceptualization of this principle below.
10. In this article, I will use the terms 'discourses of sex-trafficking' and 'sex-trafficking discourses' interchangeably. I chose the term 'sex-trafficking' from the way the debate has formed in the public arena, as, for example, in the newspaper headline 'Sex Trafficking: The Dark Side Of New World', an article about the 'crusade against slavery and prostitution spurred by new global economy' (Seib, 2000). The term elicits a certain amount of titillation and panic as well as simplifies and collapses distinctions among different forms of women's migration into trafficking and exploitation.
11. The tale of a young 'Irina' — sometimes Ukrainian, sometimes Moldovan — appears in at least three separate newspaper accounts including Specter (1998); Paringaux (1998); Smith (2000).
12. As a rather racy article in the Polish weekly *Wprost* explains, in Berlin, 'Polish women are very popular' (Graczyk, 1995: 42). Eric Hobsbawm refers to 'the

- poor, the colonized, or unpopular strangers' as unwanted members of the political community and thus, targeted for 'correction' by 19th-century eugenics (Hobsbawm quoted in Stoler, 1997, 356). At this historic moment, it would seem that immigrants have joined this list to inhabit new forms of unpopularity and strangeness while migrant sex workers have proven to be rather more 'popular' figures of strangeness.
13. These three examples come from Briseida and Porte (2000); Harris (1998); Butler (1997b). Other articles that recount stories of young, East European women 'bought and sold' for 'a new and sinister white slave trade' (Pringle, 2000) include, for example, 'Anna, an 18-year-old student from Bulgaria' (Simons, 1993); 'Pavlika, a young Bulgarian woman' (Cohen, 2000c); Olga, a young Polish woman laid off from her job (Hunt, 1997). See also Henley (1993); Waxman (1993); Butler (1997b); Babakian (1997); Bennett (1997); Isachenkov (1997); Paringaux (1998); ABC (1999); *ER* (2000a); Brinkley (2000a, 2000b); Crossette (2000); Smale (2000); Smith (2000); Dolgov (2001); Wagstyl (2002). The inclusion of individual names and experiences provides a means by which western readers can identify with this seemingly distant and 'terrible commerce' (*CSM*, 2000). This is also common in the Polish and the German press. See, for example, Graczyk (1995).
 14. See also Green (1993); Garrett (1997); Kempster (2000); Pringle (2000); *UPI* (2000) or Cohen (2000c) for other examples of panic over the reach and control of organized crime in Europe and the powerlessness of current institutions to do anything about it.
 15. Different forms of prostitution are legal in many European Union countries including Germany, England, France, Wales, the Netherlands, Denmark and Greece.
 16. Some EU ministers have suggested that countries offer asylum to women 'brought across the border for forced prostitution. So far none have taken that step' (*UPI*, 2000). The Netherlands, Italy and Belgium do offer these women temporary resident permits but 'ministers balked at Dutch calls to allow the women, most of whom are smuggled into the EU as clandestines, to remain legally . . . Britain and France, fearing a commitment to grant residence rights to Sex-slave victims would open the door to a flood of illegal immigrants, succeeded in watering down the proposals' (Butler, 1997a; see also Churikova, 2001). As of June 2001, Germany allows women who testify against traffickers a temporary residence visa as well as job training for the duration of the trial but many aspects of this policy remain at the proposal stage (*BZeit*, 2001). Temporary asylum granted only upon agreement to give evidence does not meet the recommendations of many organizations that have called for permanent residency rights (Osborn, 2001). As of December 2001, the EC wanted to offer 'temporary residence and protection to encourage them to be witnesses against their abusers' but such a policy had yet to be implemented (Sung, 2001).
 17. A human rights approach recommends staying deportation and providing resident status for an initial six-month period in order to decide whether or not

to press charges against a trafficker or to act as a witness in a trial; granting resident status for the duration of the legal process; ceasing with deportation in cases where 'there are substantial grounds for believing that such person would be in danger'; and providing them with an opportunity to apply for permanent residence (GAATW, 2001: 135).

18. As one Dutch activist explained, the 'solution always was just to deport the women' (Simons, 1993). Most governments deem all persons — traffickers and trafficked women — 'parties to the crime'; '[l]ike any other undocumented immigrants, they are placed in detention, prosecuted and then deported' (GAATW, 2001: 79; see also Katz, 1997; Brinkley, 2000a; Churikova, 2001; Sung, 2001). The origin, transit and destination countries involved tend to relinquish any responsibility for these women and focus instead upon their 'illegal' status, regarding them as objects of deportation (Rajan, 1999). Once deported, women often find themselves in a material, psychological, social and physical situation worse than the one they had at home (Dawid-Olczyk, 2001; my translation — jb).
19. In October, 2000, the UN Crime Commission formulated a new Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons that focuses on law enforcement and contains the first-ever international definition of 'trafficking in persons'. It does not, however, oblige national governments to assist trafficked persons and thus reiterates a criminalization approach while eliding consideration of the conditions that created a situation in which trafficking might occur in the first place. Human rights groups have argued that in this Protocol, any governmental protection or assistance provided becomes a means of facilitating the prosecution of criminals rather than addressing the situation of the trafficked person, allows traffickers to 'continue to operate with impunity' and does not guarantee that the trafficked person will not be prosecuted as a criminal, detained and/or deported (GAATW, 2000). The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) has, however, called these human rights groups 'pro-sex work' and in support of the 'right of women to migrate for sex work' (CATW, 2000).
20. Gradin has executive responsibility for justice and immigration for the 15-nation EU.
21. The report further acknowledges that any 'discussion of prostitution must accept the premise that prostitution as a phenomenon is the aggregate of social and sexual relations which are historically, culturally and personally specific' (quoted in Murray, 1998: 54).
22. Research in Germany has found that 'some enforcement officers felt their work was unfair and ineffective because migrants face deportation while employers get away with little or no sanctions' (Alt cited in Cyrus and Vogel, 2000: 32).
23. Stana Buchowska, director of La Strada, similarly argues that trafficking in women is a socioeconomic, migration, legal and societal problem — rather than simply one of organized crime (Buchowska, 2001; my translation — jb).
24. In a 1998 report, the International Labour Organization recognized sex work as a form of work and as such, subject to the same protections available to other

- forms of labour (Lim, 1998). For further discussion of these alternatives see, for example, Wijers and Lap-Chew (1997); Bindman (1997); Caldwell (1998a, 1998b); and Doezema (1998).
25. In one *IHT* article, another young Irina travels from her home in Moldova through Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania before arriving in Milan where she is forced to work as a prostitute (Smith, 2000). The details of her journey are sordid, revolting, unbelievable in Europe today. There can be *no doubt* that women from post-communist countries face unacceptable levels of violence when they decide to move into the European Union illegally. Read against the grain, however, this same article suggests how an individual woman was able to harness a vast network of peoples — some who might admittedly exploit her — to assist her in accessing economic opportunities available to her in the EU exclusively.
 26. This visit to Albania took place summer 2001 and was recounted to me by Barbara Limanowska, 28 August 2001, Warsaw, Poland.
 27. This reflects the 1995 UN Beijing Conference on Women, where different groups debated the question: can — or should — a distinction be made between forced and voluntary sex work? The Beijing *Platform for Action* ultimately did include this distinction (PEA, 1995). It seems to me, however, that while this might be an important first move, the distinction veers dangerously close to producing a new and reifying binary that subsumes the complex conditions under which women ‘voluntarily’ work in the sex industry into a single category while sustaining the notion that all other forms of prostitution are ‘forced’. The first time I visited Poland in 1989, I met women who worked in otherwise traditional occupations (teachers, shop workers, even a doctor) but would occasionally travel to Berlin to earn money as sex workers, return to Poland and resume their ‘regular’ jobs. This was not ‘forced’ sex work in the sense included here. In a related case, one UN Report cites a Polish Ministry of Labour survey of female students at the Warsaw University that found that *every sixth* female student admitted to occasional prostitution to earn extra income (Coomar-aswamy, 1996). These might constitute cases of economic coercion or they might be cases of women’s decisions to engage in sex work, elements of both, or neither — it is difficult to conclude without examining them in greater specificity. The forced/voluntary distinction, however, does not reach the level of specificity necessary to comprehend the relevant circumstances.
 28. Also important from the position of counter-discursive challenges is Limanowska’s contention that trafficking has become so visible because (a) any topic that focuses on sex is titillating and automatically commands public interest; and (b) it originally gave INGOs, under pressure to address women’s issues, an arena in which they believed they would help ‘fallen women’ without provoking feminist responses. They failed to anticipate, however, that the issue was more complex than rescuing the fallen and that feminist organizations would have strong but alternative responses to trafficking (conversation with author, 28 August 2001, Warsaw, Poland).

29. In European history, sexuality has served as ‘the most salient marker of Otherness and therefore figures in *any* racist ideology’ (Stoler, 1991: 56).
30. The discursive conflation of aberrant female sexuality, for example, with a constructed racial and class inferiority of the colonized became a means of simultaneously sustaining domination of women, colonial peoples and the poor and European societal cohesion. Statist practices stringently policed the sexuality of colonizers and colonized in order to (re)produce and to secure a coherent political community (of European-ness and whiteness) and reinforce imperial control. State policing contrived an illusory purity of and distinction between colonizers and colonized, always perilously close to collapsing in on one another. The children of unions between European men and east Indian women and the legal prohibition against unions between European women and east Indian men, for example, exemplified how very precarious the distinction between these two communities really was (Stoler, 1991, 56). ‘Difference’ had to be continually reiterated less its increasingly arbitrary distinctions be laid bare and the system of control overrun.
31. Colonial regimes, for example, tended to hold both single, professional women *and* European prostitutes in contempt ‘with surprisingly similar objections’ (Stoler, 1991: 71). Because colonial regimes defined themselves as ‘morally’ and ‘evolutionarily’ superior to colonized peoples, ‘white’ prostitutes in particular threatened the basis upon which Europeans claimed their right to rule. Both types of women ‘fell outside the social space to which European colonial women were assigned: namely, as custodians of family welfare and respectability, and as dedicated and willing subordinates to, and supporters of, colonial men’ (Stoler, 1991: 71). Such women were regarded as subversive forces opposed to colonial order(s).
32. I use the term statecraft against the more classical definition of the state as that which creates ‘secure and definite borders vis-à-vis neighboring states’ as well as ‘economic, political, social and cultural *control or uniformity* within those borders’ (O’Brien, 1992: 375). Such an understanding pivots on the assumption that the state is ‘prepolitical’, ‘a sovereign being having a representable ontological ground that, despite the violent exclusions necessary to constitute it’, treated it as an unquestionable force (Ashley, 2000). Many feminist theorists have analyzed and critiqued the notion of the state as ‘prepolitical’ (see, for example, Pateman, 1988). Statecraft here refers to the fact that the state has never been ‘a self-evident, self-sufficient, pure, objective presence. Rather, it is a historical effect, produced in and through practice, a historical artifact whose powers are wholly dependent on the multitude of historically contingent and protean activities that engender day in and day out its presumed realities as the sovereign state’ (Soguk, 1997: 325; see also Ashley, 1993, 2000).
33. In the wake of Maastricht, a number of European philosophical texts have acknowledged this crisis and interrogated the idea of ‘Europe’ (see, for example, Kristeva, 1991; Habermas, 1992; Ricoeur, 1992; Derrida, 1993; Todorov, 1993; Baudrillard, 1994; Gellner, 1994; Wilson and van der Dussen, 1995).
34. Jacques Derrida’s *The Other Heading* puts the question of Europe in terms of

Paul Valéry's invective — What is Europe today? Derrida looks at European integration and concludes, 'Today, great uncertainty about the borders of Europe itself reappears and persists' (Derrida, 1992: 63). This provides him with an opportunity to explore the shifting meanings of Europe in relation to 'otherness' that move beyond national identities to forge new definitions that preserve difference but constitute a responsible European cultural identity. It might simultaneously remember what has been promised in the name of Europe (liberal democracy) *and* open on to that which is not Europe, on to alterity. Such a practice might take the structure of a promise, seek to respect difference, idiom and minorities as well as the universality of law in opposition to xenophobia, nationalism, racism.

35. It is of course not so simple to say that 'Slavs' are 'white'. German racial science in the 19th century, for example, marked them as racially inferior to Aryans. Such a bigoted designation has played an important role in Slavic/German relations. See, for example, Davies (1982); Hagen (1980).
36. Some have argued that the presence of these troops have 'drawn a large number of women to Bosnia for prostitution' (McDonald, 2001). The fact that '[w]omen come looking for [these] jobs' might suggest that women make decisions to move and have more agency than allowed by sex-trafficking discourses. This, again, does not mitigate the fact that some may be exploited and that this exploitation needs to be stopped. It does, however, reiterate that the problem of trafficking needs to be addressed as an immigration and labour issue rather than as a problem of criminality exclusively.
37. Statistics about numbers of trafficked women present a particularly vexing problem here. While, the IOM admits that 'reliable statistics on trafficked migrant women are lacking in most countries because of inadequate research, data collection and information exchange', it is their statistics that repeatedly appear in the press (IOM, 1999: 4; IOM, 1995; Butler, 1997a; *AP*, 1997; Bennett, 1997; Adler, 1999; *CSM*, 2000; Brinkley, 2000b; Watts, 2000; Botti, 2000; Cohen, 2000c). The media acknowledges their lack of accurate statistics but continues to refer to 'clear evidence of an increase in the involuntary prostitution of Eastern European women, frequently for Western European customers', without specifying the type of evidence (*United Press International*, 2000). The US Department of State estimates that 'one to two million women and girls are trafficked annually around the world, generally for the purpose of forced labor, domestic servitude or sexual exploitation' (DOS, 1998). Such aggregate figures preclude distinguishing among women who 1) are misled, trafficked and exploited; 2) decide themselves to move with traffickers' assistance; 3) accept jobs, including sex work, out of economic desperation.

Prominent social scientists recognize a '[I]ack of data about the impact of transitions on women' (Lapidus, 2000: 104). The prominence of the informal labour market in the region 'in which women play a disproportionately large role' (and where it is difficult to 'capture' change) 'cast[s] doubt on the reliability . . . of the aggregate data on which assessments of changes in women's relative positions rest' (Lapidus, 2000: 104–5). La Strada Warsaw's director

believes that there are ‘a few thousand Polish women . . . There are a lot of “dark” numbers that are not actual statistics. For example, German organizations say that in Berlin, they have a thousand clients of which 200 are Polish . . . They say that there are 20,000 to 30,000 women from east central Europe trafficked into west Europe’ (Buchowska, 1998: 25; my translation — jb). She has also critiqued media and official statistics for their lack of substantiation and explanation of their sources (Buchowska, conversation with the author, 29 August 2001).

Research in Poland between 1995 and 1999 found that of the 248 cases of trafficking brought before Polish courts, 114 were determined to be trafficking (Karsznicki, 2001; my translation — jb). La Strada staff documents 140 clients contacting their office in 2000. They regard their contact with their clients, however, as the ‘tip of the iceberg’, as only ‘the visible part suggested from our research — and thus cases reported by institutions and organizations suggest not more than part of it [the problem]’ (Dawid-Olczyk, 2000: 10; my translation — jb). They do not believe that reliable statistics exist on the numbers of trafficked women, much less disaggregated data that are able to distinguish between those who migrate; those who migrate but are exploited; those tricked or forced; those forced by socioeconomic circumstances; those forced by socioeconomic circumstances and are exploited, etc., etc.

Irrespective of ‘hard data’, there can be no doubt that women from East Europe are being trafficked into West Europe and exploited. There is also no doubt that some women know they will be working in the sex industry while some are tricked and forced. Sex-trafficking discourses do *not*, however, distinguish among and between these cases and thus conflate the very different circumstances under which women are trafficked and/or migrate for (sex) work. It is this discursive conflation that defers difficult policy issues around immigration and labour, reduces it to illegality (migration, prostitution, organized crime) and enlists the state in prosecuting, preventing and resolving it.

38. One *Independent* (London) article declares that ‘trafficked sex slaves’ may be an ‘HIV Time Bomb!’ (Burrell, 2002).
39. As one migration expert explained, Europeans’ fear of immigrants follows from ‘a deep sense that we are full up, that we have no room, and that we are being exploited’ (quoted in Cohen, 2000d).
40. Since 1997, the Netherlands, Italy, Belgium and Germany offer women who testify against traffickers temporary residence permits for the duration of the trial. Dutch law allows ‘suspected or actual’ trafficked persons ‘a three-month “reflection period” to decide whether or not to press criminal charges against the trafficker(s) . . . if the person decides to press criminal charges, she or he is entitled to a temporary residence permit for the duration of criminal proceedings . . . [and] to benefits . . . on an equal basis with nationals . . . Belgium has adopted similar measures’ (GATTW, 2001: 139, fn 38).
41. In 1997, the European Council also created the Falcone Programme to coordinate police, customs and judicial authorities, revenue, financial and public

- procurement services supervisory bodies in the effort to combat organized crime. The EU also supports the STOP Programme to combat trafficking in human beings and the sexual exploitation of children; the DAPHNE program to fight violence against women; Octopus I and II to encourage EU candidate states to adopt legislation to combat organized crime (*Commission of the European Communities*, 1999; *United Press International*, 2000; *EUHP*, 2000a, 2000b).
42. According to EU estimates 500,000 illegal immigrants arrived in Europe in 2000 alone 'up from an estimated 40,000 as recently as 1993' (Cohen, 2000a). Their 'illegality' stands in marked contrast to the fact 'that as many as 35 million immigrants may be needed by 2025 to offset an aging population' (Cohen, 2000a). In 2001, a German governmental panel confirmed the need for foreign-born workers and recommended allowing for more immigration. Head of the panel, Rita Sussmuth (CDU), went so far as to claim 'we are a country of immigrants' (Finn, 2001).
 43. In a similar vein, Gupta and Ferguson explain globalization as practices whereby '[m]ultilateral agencies and powerful Western states preach . . . the "laws" of the market to encourage the international flow of capital' (1992: 9). As such, processes including 'colonialism, imperialism, missionization, multinational capital, global cultural flows, and travel' penetrate, convert, homogenize and reterritorialize sovereign spaces into liberal capitalist ones (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 13).
 44. Spivak has explained that the resurgence of nationalism emerges 'in the loosened hyphen between nation and state as the latter is mortgaged further and further by the forces of financialization' called globalization (Spivak, 1998: 330).
 45. Haider's election campaign posters prominently featured 'fair-haired girls as emblems of the threatened essence of the country' (Cohen, 2000e; Cohen, 2000f). His conflation of woman with nation illustrates the way in which women become markers of national and 'ethnic' purity against an external, imagined 'threat'. Among his first official acts were the abolishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the proposal to reward every mother who stays at home and dedicates herself full-time to motherhood with a \$400-a-month check (McNeil, 1999, WAVE, 2000). Haider's policies function as an attempt to reassert control over women for the benefit of the 'threatened' nation.
 46. For analyses of how nationalist discourses construct women as bearers and protectors of the nation and a symbolic site at which the national community is materially and ideologically reproduced, see Mosse (1985); Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989); McClintock (1995).
 47. The feminization of boundaries served to render them less threatening and more traversable for men in search of control and conquest; 'women served as mediating and threshold figures by means of which men oriented themselves in space, as agents of power and agents of knowledge' (McClintock, 1995: 24).
 48. For example, in the form of laws that excluded the child of a union between a woman citizen and a man non-citizen from citizenship, preserving it as the right of paternity only (Stoler, 1995: 41).

49. Mary Ann Doane has noted that movement and the ability to transport oneself from one place to another function as forms of 'phallic power' that, when appropriated by women, suggest 'an excessive and dangerous desire' which ultimately must end in her death (1990: 51). Movement is associated with masculinity and women who violate gender scripts and claim it for themselves have abandoned ascribed behaviors. Women who are trafficked do not betray gender roles, as it is men who move them. Women who migrate for (sex) work, however, have transgressed and thus need to be punished and/or contained within a more appropriate gender subject position or more befitting gender performance.
50. As Bidy Martin further explains, in Western culture, sexuality has served as 'a particularly privileged means of gaining access to the individual and the social bodies, as a way of "policing" society through procedures of normalization' (1982: 8).
51. Foucault argues that since the 18th century, a 'policing of sex' has become central to the establishment of an 'ordered maximization of collective and individual forces' especially in the form of the nation-state (quoted in Stoler, 1995: 39).
52. As many of the authors in Kempadoo and Doezema (1998), suggest, women often accept positions abroad as waitresses, dancers or domestic workers with an understanding that this will often involve sex work. The symbolic position of women vis-à-vis the nation, the state and sex-trafficking discourses precludes the possibility that in the case of migrant sex workers and women who accept traffickers' assistance, there may be a mode of resistance in their decisions and their work — that what they are doing is claiming for themselves control over 'illicit movement', 'illicit money' and 'illicit sexuality' (McClintock, 1995: 44; McClintock, 1993: 1–9). These women fail, in Hegelian terms, to recognize the modern nation-state, traditional gender roles and 'proper' European morality, denying the presence and purpose of these orders. As 'commodity and seller in one,' migrant East European sex workers challenge the symbolic discourses that would associate them with non-citizenship (illegal migrants) and racial inferiority (non-Europeans) (Benjamin, 1973: 171). In other words, women who 'take themselves to market' challenge the entire hom(m)osocial 'order of things' (Irigaray, 1985: 170–91). Their race, gender and nationality (and implicitly, their class) become a highly visible site at which the meanings of boundaries are being contested. Discourses of sex-trafficking then utilize these women as a resource in resolving debates over the meanings of European sovereignty and borders. I explore the possibility of gendered resistive agency and sex work further in a separate article.
53. As Stoler further explains, racism (and gender) in the state create 'a biological confrontation' between 'my life and the death of others'. 'It gives credence to the claim that the more "degenerates" and "abnormals" are eliminated, the lives of those who speak will be stronger, more vigorous, and improved. The enemies are not political adversaries, but those identified as external and internal threats

- to the population' such that war not only eliminates a 'racial adversary' but equally 'regenerates' one's own race' (Stoler, 1995: 85).
54. See Buzan (1993); Wæver (1995a); Lapid and Kratochwil (1996); Buzan, et al. (1998).
 55. See Enloe (1990, 1993, 2000); Tickner (1992, 1996); Runyan (1992, 1997); Walker (1993); Buzan (1993); Klein (1994); Wæver (1995a, 1995b, 1996); Elshtain (1995, 1998); Biersteker and Weber (1996); Shapiro and Alker (1996); Smith et al. (1996); Sylvester (1996, 1998); Lapid and Kratochwil (1996); Whitworth (1997); Zalewski and Parpart (1998); Buzan et al. (1998); Campbell (1998); Marchand and Runyan (2000); Youngs (2000). It is my contention that my gendered-, raced- and identity-focused argument equally participates in traditional IR debates over the meanings of sovereignty.
 56. Among the many important works of feminist IR, see Enloe (1990, 1993, 2000); Grant and Newland (1991); Peterson (1992); Tickner (1992); Sylvester (1994); Whitworth (1994, 1997); Smith et al. (1996); Pettman (1996); Zalewski and Parpart (1998); Meyer and Prügl (1999); Peterson and Runyan (1999). For further discussion of race and IR see Doty (1996).
 57. There are, of course, notable and excellent exceptions, such as Sassen (1998, 2000); Marchand and Runyan (2000) and Youngs (2000).
 58. Scholars that critically investigate the role of gender in IR include Tickner (1992); Walker (1992); and Ashley (1993) in particular and the work of Cynthia Enloe, Jan Jindy Pettman, V. Spike Peterson and Christine Sylvester, among many others, more generally.
 59. I build a specific case for the importance of gender to the study of IR, security and globalization in 'The Body Politic or an Embodied Politics: Toward a (En)Gendered Process of Security Practice' (forthcoming in *Toward Supradisciplinary in the Study of Security*, J. Marshall Beier and Samantha Arnold, eds).

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