

Feminist Debate around 'Trafficking' in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in Prostitution

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Abstract

Women trafficking, as a widespread phenomenon, is a complex topic with manifold consequences which have a direct bearing on the way in which the problem of trafficking is understood by regulatory institutions and their proposed solutions. The governmental strategy must respond to this multidimensional phenomenon through state tools to counteract the effects of crime and recognize that women, men, children and adolescents may be indiscriminately vulnerable to this scourge. Nevertheless, we must recognize that, due to cultural facts, women and girls constitute the majority of its victims and specific actions are required for them.

Key words: *feminist debate, trafficking in women, prostitution, sexual exploitation, intimate citizenship.*

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Debate feminista sobre la trata de mujeres para el propósito de la explotación

Resumen

La trata mujeres es un fenómeno generalizado, conforma un tema complejo con múltiples consecuencias que tiene una relación directa en la cual el problema de la trata es entendido por las instituciones que la regulan y proponen su solución. Las estrategias gubernamentales deben responder a la multidimensionalidad del fenómeno siguiendo herramientas estatales para contrarrestar los efectos de un crimen y que reconozca que las mujeres, los hombres, la niñez y la adolescencia pueden ser vulnerables indiscriminadamente de este flagelo. Sin embargo, se debe reconocer que debido a factores culturales las mujeres y las niñas son la mayoría de las víctimas por ello se requieren acciones específicas dirigidas hacia ellas.

Palabras claves: *debate feminista, trata de personas, prostitución, explotación sexual, ciudadanía íntima.*

Debate feminista sobre o tráfico de mulheres para o propósito da exploração sexual na prostituição

Resumo

O tráfico de mulheres é um fenômeno generalizado, faz parte de um tema complexo com múltiplas consequências que tem uma relação direta na qual o problema do tráfico é entendido pelas instituições que o regulam e propõem sua solução. As estratégias governamentais devem responder à multidimensionalidade do fenômeno seguindo ferramentas estatais para contra-arrestar os efeitos de um crime e que reconheça que as mulheres, os homens, a infância e a adolescência podem ser vulneráveis indiscriminadamente deste flagelo. No entanto, deve-se reconhecer que devido a fatores culturais as mulheres e as crianças são a maioria das vítimas por isso se requerem ações específicas dirigidas para elas.

Palavras chave: *debate feminista, tráfico de pessoas, prostituição, exploração sexual, cidadania íntima.*

Introduction

Prostitution and trafficking in women is a topic increasingly discussed in the international arena. Indeed, although prostitution is the central issue of this article, and although the theoretical perspective develops according to prostitution, the problematic under analysis and my purpose is to analyse the relationship between prostitution trafficking and the discussion of prostitution within an anti-trafficking debate. Those concepts are, I will argue, instruments of social control over prostitution inscribed in legal practice and are legitimized by states.

Suggestions are made for legalization as well criminalization of prostitution within trafficking discussion. It constitutes a public awareness of prostitution as a problem. Women, men, children and teenagers may be vulnerable to slavery or exploitive situations in different activities. However, in the case of sexual exploitation in prostitution, women have become the most significant objects of consumption for the sexual market. I will examine the process of objectification of prostitutes and trafficked women, because they are subject to gendered exclusion in national and transnational agendas. Dominant discourses lump them all into the same category and attribute to them a common set of characteristics as 'those women', meaning 'prostitutes'.

Pheterson (1996) argues that prostitution functions as a prism in "deviating attention, decomposing understanding and deforming reality" (Pheterson, 1996: 7). The projection object within prostitution are women identified as prostitutes, they are, as any social group, a construction; prostitutes are socially stigmatized because of their activity and they are not considered persons who 'freely choose' prostitution. Pheterson (1996) pointed out that prostitution laws codify states and society, they reinforce control "of women's sexual, reproductive and economic behaviour" (Pheterson, 1996: 16). It is important to stress that prostitution stigmatization serves to support the sexist social control of women.

Trafficking in women is a constructed topic and, as a result of it being morally equated with prostitution, it tends to justify violations of

women's rights by further criminalizing prostitution without taking its causes and social effects into account. I suggest that not all victims of trafficking are prostitutes and that there is a difference between trafficking, sexual exploitation and prostitution. Sexual exploitation in prostitution is only one purpose of trafficking; as previously said, not all victims of trafficking are prostitutes, and not all prostitutes are victims of trafficking. Therefore, all the debate around trafficking should not be focused just in prostitution.

The international visibility of trafficking in persons –or ‘human trafficking’– started from feminist discussions around prostitution, which were eventually conflated with trafficking. The central goal of this research is to study how the feminist debate supports the trafficking debate, how the international discourse over female prostitution is constructed and then linked with trafficking, how international and feminist discussions about ‘trafficking’ are incorporated. The study presents first the theoretical framework for an understanding of the concepts of the female prostitute bodies and of intimate citizenship. Then I will make a reference of the leading feminist debates concerning the subject of prostitution: abolitionism and regulationism. As I have stated above, the main idea is to explain the international construction of prostitution and its link with trafficking. On this basis, I will study the influence of feminism in the political and legal construction of prostitution inasmuch as they are connected with trafficking and they continue to dominate scholarly writings and understandings of this issue.

Since its inclusion within the international arena, the whole debate around trafficking has focused on the abolition of prostitution; this issue still remains central to the current discussion on ‘eliminating trafficking.’ Therefore, it is necessary to deconstruct the anti- ‘trafficking’ prevalent discourse which focuses on prostitution as if being only purpose of ‘trafficking.’ This should not be construed as a denial that some women in the sexual market are doing this activity in slavery conditions, but it should neither be denied that it is possible to ‘choose’ prostitution as an economic activity.

Trafficking is a global phenomenon that gains every day more importance –although is not really understood. (Wijers, Marjan, 1998: 69) This argument is supported by the United Nations: the recognized international organization gives primacy to the problem of trafficking, because it is recognized to be the third most lucrative business in the world, behind arms trading and drug trafficking. Consequently, the UN fosters international pressure against trafficking and towards its abolition.

My research analyses the discourse on trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation in prostitution. I will develop a theoretical outlining of trafficking and its relation to the female prostitution debate, because both discourses are conflated within the international anti-trafficking campaign, although this analysis is focused on the female prostitution debate, since trafficking is generally understood as prostitution. Prostitutes are considered 'victims,' slaves and 'trafficked' women. Therefore, in order to comprehend 'trafficking', one must first analyse the phenomenon of prostitution; this will further allow us to understand the close relationship between both of them, and to figure out why the sexual exploitation in prostitution is more visible than the other purposes of trafficking within the international arena.

The present discourse on trafficking emphasizes the concepts of slavery and consent in prostitution as important notions which differentiate personal choices and slavery situations in this specific activity. Slavery and consent in prostitution are discussed within the international anti-trafficking debate, these two topics have been long debated under the feminist theory, from the abolitionist to the regulationist approach.

I sustain that feminist debates reproduce two parallel discourses and two parallel agendas: abolitionism and regulationism.

The debate on prostitution was started by the abolitionist feminists in the late 1980s; their's was the position of the international women's movement of the end of the 19th century. They asked for the political

recognition and condemnation of prostitution as an activity of female slavery, as the main manifestation of trafficking. When ‘trafficking’ entered in the global agenda through international agreements, it was institutionalized in the international arena; it was and is still an issue discussed by different actors: multilateral and international organizations, states, NGOs and the feminist civil society.

The abolitionist feminist discourse defines prostitution as a human rights violation and as a coercive activity. This dominant discourse on trafficking in women is promoted and supported by the United Nations –UN– and, as a consequence, by states that ratify the UN conventions. The UN’s position is an institutional viewpoint of trafficking, and abolitionist feminists defend and elaborate this view in the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women –CATW–, founded by Kathleen Barry. Consequently, the abolishing prostitution is the main argument to abolish trafficking in women.

The inclusion of prostitution in the discourse on trafficking constitutes a problematic in which prostitution is automatically regarded as the only manifestation of trafficking and as a slavery activity. This perspective is promoted by the most recognized organizations such as CATW and by many states, like Colombia. This fact explains why CATW does not recognize the self-determination of prostitutes to sell a service, sexual service, even though coercion does not exist in all cases of prostitution.

The opposite agenda is the perspective of the regulations; it outlines the right of women’s self determination and sees prostitution as a ‘choice’ rather than a product of coercion. Some civil institutions and NGOs support this argument, the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW) as the most representative, differentiate between forced and ‘voluntary’ prostitution, and respects the self determination right of women.

1. Citizenship, Sexual Citizen and Intimate Citizenship

The relationship between bodies and sexuality can be differentially conceptualised. We need to move beyond citizenship towards intimate

citizenship and towards a concept of the sexual citizen; not all forms of sexual citizenship are treated equally in their social environment. In this context, the relation between prostitution and trafficking needs to be explored, because now both concepts are understood as an issue with consequences for prostitutes and for the intimate life of women in general. This is the main reason to ask why the control of women over their own bodies is a necessary condition for their full exercise of citizenship. To answer this question I will focus on one dimension of citizenship –intimate citizenship– in order to analyse body issues specially linked with prostitution.

The conceptualization of intimate citizenship was first developed by Ken Plummer (1995). Plummer (2003) proposes sexuality as a zone of intimacy that needs to be explored, he thus suggests the concept of intimate citizenship in order to link the ways “of doing the personal and intimate life” (14) and the array of choices around sexuality in private and public spheres. Within the public sphere “intimate troubles” around the issue of “intimacy in the private life of individuals” emerge (13), e.g. sexuality of prostitutes (Plummer, 2003:13-15). Under this concept, prostitution as a public sphere requires the analysis of the contestations and discussions constructed by feminists about the sexuality of prostitutes –namely Abolitionism, and Regulationism–, and how these influence the personal and intimate life of prostitutes.

Ideas about citizenship are supported upon assumptions about sexuality –hegemonic heterosexuality–, and citizens are constructed as normative (hetero)sexual subjects. Accordingly, states ‘legitimately’ have power over the bodies of their citizens, especially the bodies of women; they institutionalize control over them in the name of the guarantee of the basic human rights and the integrity of these female bodies.

1.1. Citizenship and Identity

Citizenship often is debated as a political concept that creates discussions around body and sexuality. Therefore, in this section I argue, following Richardson (2000), that sexuality is a social construction

which reaffirms dominant assumptions and ideas of normality and heterosexuality. Citizenship is a status associated with ‘the institutionalization’ of heterosexuality and the privileged male (Richardson 2000:261-266).

For Plummer (2003), the concept of citizenship signifies a unitary and exclusive group within a certain framework of values, reinforced by the dominant subgroup. The social status of a citizen also creates an ‘otherone’, who is not a citizen, e.g. prostitutes; this basic principle is well established through different traditions: the first one is the classical liberal model, it focuses on the rights and obligations of citizens. The second model is linked to communitarianism and republicanism, which emphasize civil participation of citizens. The third model aims at preventing “state abuses and greed of market.” (51) (Plummer, 2003:50-53).

Both concepts of citizenship and identity emphasize the idea that “life is lived within certain boundaries and is guided by some sense of continuities, connection and sameness.” Citizenship is a concept that denotes the participation in a group or community through which certain rights and obligations are ascribed. Identity signifies who is and who is not; in the context of intimacies, this constructs the history of an individual and creates differentiations between people expressed by statements such as ‘I am gay,’ ‘I am a prostitute,’ ‘I am her husband,’ etc. These groups of individuals create new ‘citizen identities’ such as lesbians and gays, married couples and families, single parents etc. –I suggest prostitutes. These newly emerging groups of citizens are part of the culture, the language, and provide new personal identities (Plummer, 2003:50).

1.1.1. Sexual Citizenship

Citizenship is based on heterosexual principles and practices; it is a construction of an ideal image of the citizen. For Evans (1993), sexuality is a central concern of human beings and an intermediary that helps to define personalities. This creates the sexualisation of societies and a special public interest in handling the body and identifying abnormalities and deviations, i.e. female prostitution. (Evans 1993:1-14).

Sexuality is an aspect of social life, being “natural, personal and private” (Evans 1993:47). It is linked with the body and creates new discourses about the female body, politicizing sexuality and generating academic discussions about sexual citizenship. Different models of citizenship have political and policy implications, regarding who they include and/or exclude, depending on sexual status. As a result, sexuality is one of the main ways in which intimate citizenship is analysed.

There are many categories of sexual citizenship: the homosexual, the bisexual, the transvestite, the transsexual, the child, the female, etc. (Evans, 1993:8). This paper will center on female sexual citizenship.

Richardson (2000) pointed out, citing David Evans, that sexual citizenship is constructed “as a membership of sexual communities, with rights and privileges determined by individuals” (257). The concept of citizenship is articulated as forms of participation and exclusion of particular sexual constituencies, “lesbian citizen, the queer citizen and so on” (Richardson, 2000: 262). This concept is important because the citizenship is constructed based on the sexual identity, and consequently the intimate identity is controversial, as happens with prostitution as I will explain below.

1.1.2. Intimate Citizenship

The key category is intimate citizenship, which recognizes “emerging intimacy groups and identities, along with their rights, responsibilities, and need for recognition in emerging zones of conflict” (Plummer 2003:68). It also refers to areas of life that appear to be personal but are indeed regulated in the public sphere, as it is the case of prostitution. Prostitution would seem to offer a good example of where citizenship, in this case intimate citizenship, is mediated via the public sphere.

Citing Plummer, Lisa Smyth argues that the concept of intimate citizenship explains conflicts and contestations linked with practices and processes of intimate life. This concept deals with aspects of ‘private’ life beyond the public concern of citizenship to understand a socio-political context. For Smyth, Plummer is a theoretical innova-

tor, since he includes ‘intimate’ contexts and issues such as family life, sexuality, gender, reproduction, and bodily transformation (Smyth 2007:2). Smyth argues that ‘citizenship affects intimate aspects of life,’ because the distinction between public and private life is problematic, as is any choice within options available to us (Smyth 2007:2). For the purposes of this research, the definition of intimate/personal choice refers to the “close relationships between adults both sexual and non-sexual,” (Roseneil 2009:11) and the concept of intimate citizenship is used in contradistinction to ‘gender-neutral’ definitions (Richardson 2000:263).

According to Plummer, intimate citizenship is a project which focuses on making decisions “over the control (or not) over one’s body, feelings, relationships; access (or not) to representations, relationships, public spaces, etc.; and socially grounded choices (or not) about identities, gender experience; erotic experiences” (Roseneil 2009:11). This is a free ability which comes from a personal choice to “construct and live selfhood and close relationships safely, securely” (Plummer 2003:14). Consequently, its exercise includes “rights, responsibilities and capacities” (Roseneil 2009:10-11).

The concept of ‘intimacy’ refers to issues such as family life, sexuality, reproductive technologies, the relationship between public, private and political recognition. According to Plummer, the new social order controls the lives of people and facilitates the public appearance of certain problems surrounding issues of privacy and individualism (Plummer 2003:8-14).

Elzbieta Oleksy, referencing Plummer, explains his definition of intimate citizenship as the “rights concerning people’s choices about their bodies, emotions, relationships, and desires, and proposes adding ‘intimate citizenship’ to the traditional models of political, social, and civil rights” (Oleksy 2009:85). Plummer (2003) argues that we are in a world of intimate troubles which oblige us to confront an array of “choices in our personal life” (4) around sexualities, so-called sexual orientation and sexual preference. It addresses to the main topic of my work, prostitution, as “non-procreative, non-penetrative, non-

reproductive, *and recreational*" (5). This is linked to families, gender, bodies, identities, and sexualities; it asks how women gain autonomy over their bodies and their lives (Plummer 2003:4-5).

For Plummer (2003) intimacy means a "close association between two people and an overall attitude of *loving, sharing and caring*." (12) In the modern world, there are some forms of intimacy manifested by relationships: couple, friend and kin, parent-child, and sexual relationship." (12) (Plummer, 2003: 12). For this work, I am dealing with the sexual relationship in a certain kind of manifestation: prostitution, which emerged within modern intimacies as an issue hotly debated because the body is a central element in understanding intimacies and the personal lives of women.

2. Reading Of Prostitution

Reading of prostitution is important in order to understand why the body of prostitutes is a controversial issue. I am arguing that the body is a construction and the female body politicises and dichotomises the category 'woman.' The identity of women is based around topics of sexuality that characterises women between 'good' and 'bad.' Consequently, prostitutes are bad women and their identities are constructed negatively as the 'other.'

My purpose is to provide evidence about the problematic construction of the prostitute body and the prostitute identity. I suggest that even the category prostitute is based on symbolic representations of the female body and trafficking and prostitution of women are controversial issues because construct and reproduce a negative image of prostitutes and reinforces stereotypes of prostitution.

2.1 Female Body

The body is a social phenomenon because it influences a person in terms of image. Shannon Bell argues that the debate about prostitution within feminism is important because the prostitute body is a place of contestations about "sexuality, desire, and the writing of the female body" (Bell 1994:3). Today the body is a women-centred issue. Women around the world, including prostitutes, have argued

for self-determination over matters concerning the body and for changes of the traditional political, legal and social controls over women's bodies (Outshoorn 2008). Outshoorn says that a number of issues remain controversial: abortion, contraceptive rights, domestic violence, sexual violence, female sexualities, sexual orientation, trafficking and prostitution of women; my work focuses on the last two.

Bell (1994) points out that the modern construction and reproduction of the prostitute body is negative because it focuses on “undeniable suffering and oppression” (2). Modernity, through a process of ‘othering’, produces and reproduces the prostitute as ‘the other of the other’ within the categorical ‘other woman’ (4).

The distinction drawn between the prostitute and everyone else perpetuates her exclusion from rights to freedom from violence at work (Kamala and Jo 1998:65). Modern prostitution's codification has politicized prostitute identities through the process of othering that finally constructs the prostitute body. The identity of otherness inside the category ‘woman’ produces dichotomies, which deny women active sexual desire and pleasure. This dichotomy divides the female into ‘good’ and ‘bad’ woman; this is applied to all women: virtuous woman/whore, normal/abnormal, licit/illicit, wife/prostitute, virgin/whore, Madonna/prostitute, chaste/licentious, reproductive body/un(re)productive body (Bell 1994:39-41, Kamala and Doezema 1998: 5-6). This social division creates categories between women and it generates a stigmatization based in moral values as happens with female prostitution. This is linked with the main argument of this article.

2.2. *Prostitute as a Category*

I am not a prostitute
(Pheterson, 1996: 12)

Stigmatization is a socially negative status built from the dichotomies that I described above and prostitution is a category which describes ‘bad women’. In words of Gail Pheterson (1996), prostitution is an “obstacle” because stigmatizes women “who are suspected of being

or acting like prostitutes” (30). According to Pheterson, any woman acquires the “social statuses of prostitutes” (31) when she is suspected of asking for money or commodities for sex. Because legislation controls this activity, prostitutes are vulnerable to legal controls.

Consequently, prostitutes are a social category –a negative status– that means “they are typically associated with disease and sexual pleasure” (Pheterson 1996: 30-31).

Pheterson (1996) argues that some researches of prostitution claim that “it is literally impossible to obtain representative samples” (35). She (1996) disputes this claim and disagrees with the fact that these researchers do not question “the social status of ‘prostitute.’” (31) (Pheterson, 1996: 31-35). This category is methodologically problematic because it creates negative images of prostitutes and in some cases reinforces stereotypes related to the body, sexuality and identity, an issue that I will return to below in this work.

2.2.1. Definition of Prostitution

Prostitution exists, at least in part, because of the power and status differentials between men and women in most societies. This imbalance is reflected in the double standards of sexual behavior and economic power for men and women, with men institutionally having more access to and more control of money than women. In virtually all countries, men earn more for the same or equivalent work than do women (with the notable exception of prostitutes). (Delacoste and Priscilla 1998:190).

Prostitution has been a subject of controversy and scrutiny. For centuries, politicians, reformers, and religious and medical authorities have debated whether the prostitution of women should be entitled, prohibited, tolerated, regulated or abolished; the prostitute has become a symbol of social disruption, immorality and disease (De Piedra 1998:3; Pheterson 1989:12). The first urban civilizations in Babylon, Egypt and Phoenicia founded prostitution as ritual of hospitality and ‘sexual entertainment,’ (Fundación Solidaridad Democrática 1988:11), but currently it has acquired different connotations due to

religious convictions and medical and political discourses to become a social problem.

Prostitution means the sale of sexual services for money, goods, services, commodities or other remuneration for a prostitute. In most cases these 'sex workers' are women, however, transvestites, children and gigolos often fill this role as well. Its consequences such as sexual exploitation by organized crime and/or pimps, venereal disease, drug abuse, physical abuse of clients and the lack or non-payment are harmful. Sex is a morally charged activity that is often stigmatized as 'immoral' when conducted outside of marriage. Thus, though prostitution is accepted as a profession, the income produced by this 'work' is described as dirty, even though it may be a lifestyle that allows the survival of its practitioners and their families (Bell, 1994; Doezema 1997; Fundación solidaridad Democrática, Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; 1988; Pheterson 1995; 1998).

Prostitution is a public concern assumed to be inevitable; it is politicized because it tends to generate a great deal of conflict. The practice of prostitution can result in 'sexual exploitation' by organized crime or pimps,¹ venereal disease and drug abuse as well as sexual abuse by 'clients' who refuse to pay for their sexual services.

3. The Feminist Debate around Prostitution

Prostitution and 'trafficking' are relevant issues on different levels of multilateral, national and local discourses. Here I will explain the feminist debate over a women's right to 'choose' within which the issue of prostitution leads public discourses around intimacy and sexuality. Around the issue of prostitution, as I argued before, we can find two main feminist interpretations: abolitionism and regulationism theories. All ideological points of view about prostitution have different opinions and concerns about whether or not a person can 'choose' prostitution as an income activity. I analyse, based on the previous statements I am going beyond, that focusing on 'consent'

¹ The pimps are collectors of women as potential victims, through strategies aimed at persuading friendship or love through cunning, deceit or even physical force to become prostitutes.

are constructed models of women's freedom, as well as that the 'consent' is not merely the presence of available options for women; because before 'consent' there must be self-determination (Plummer 2003:42, citing Raymond Janice1994).

3.1 'Slavery' and 'Consent'

The consent is a key category for this paper. Therefore, I am analysing in details what the conceptual dichotomy of 'consent' and 'slavery' forms of prostitution mirrors the dichotomous framework discourse over trafficking (Kempadoo, 1998: 33). This conceptualization negatively influences the signification of 'trafficking', as we will see below because this dichotomy leads to another way to deny sex workers' human rights. The distinction between 'consent' –voluntary– and 'slavery' –forced– prostitution creates a false dichotomy between sex workers. This dichotomous idea over prostitution has created a sense of the “liberated western whores who are free to choose their profession [...] and forced trafficked Third world victims” (Kempadoo, 1998: 30).

Women's 'consent' applies to the self-chosen decisions about their own bodies, including their sexuality and sexual relationships. However, the sexual accessibility of women's bodies by men is a product of the social power of men and the existing cultural hierarchies, which objectify bodies and sexuality (Barry 1995:22-26). Within power relations of domination we have to question the concept of 'consent' because there are many determinates of consensual decision-making; in the case of prostitution we must focus on those economic reasons. It is not possible to conceive of 'consensual' prostitution without autonomous decision-making about women's-own sexuality, and therefore with women's bodies the 'consent' is questionable.

According to Bindman (1998), the concept of slavery “is not inherent to the sex industry” (31) but is still possible in prostitution because prostitutes are marginalized workers in the sex industry. Slavery is a condition “whenever and wherever workers are denied basic human rights and freedom” (Bindman, 1998: 31).

Pheterson argues that many women use prostitution as an “escape from prosecution, poverty, abuse and/or tedium at home” and “the lack of choice is not inherent to prostitution but rather to abuse, poverty, racism, drug addiction, poor working conditions, inexperience, and/or despair.” Prostitutes or ‘sex workers’ want to change their work circumstances though they are necessitated by their trade (Pheterson 1996:39).

Finally, I argue, the issue cannot be reduced to an understanding that all prostitutes are enslaved. We must reject all forms of slavery but not focus attention exclusively on prostitution solely because it is a type of non-reproductive sexuality for which access must be paid.

3.2. *Abolitionism*

The first feminist interpretation of prostitution is abolitionism. Its analysis of prostitution within international agendas started during the nineteenth century and was influenced by Josephine Butler. She was the first one who brought the issue of the ‘white slave trade’ to international attention. Her feminist campaign began by repealing the Contagious Diseases Acts in Britain, under these acts the category of ‘common prostitute’ was institutionalised. Prostitutes were obligated to undergo internal examination and if they were infected, they were interned in special hospitals (Barry 1995:235-239; Doezema 1998:35).

The abolitionism perspective seeks to establish the idea that “all prostitution is illegal and both prostitutes and customers are criminals” as are their pimps because “pimps earn income from prostitution” (Barry 1995:222). This point of view is against independent state regulation of prostitution and instead supports an international position on it.

The abolitionist perspective delegitimizes the legalization of prostitution. This discourse is rooted in the work of Catherine MacKinnon (1987) and Kathleen Barry (1981) (Barry 1995; Delacoste and Priscilla 1998:224; Murray 1998:59). The abolitionist legislative model holds that prostitution lies not within itself, as Mackinnon (1987) argues,

that sexuality is a site of social oppression, something “stolen, sold, bought, battered or exchanged by others” on the benefit of men. (Mackinnon, 1987:59) Within her construction of female sexuality, prostitution benefits males but dis-empowers female sexuality (Barry 1995:83).

MacKinnon's perspective is supported by Kathleen Barry. She founded the most representative abolitionist international organization: the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW). This Coalition was formed in the United States and “has an underlying agenda of abolishing prostitution” by linking all forms of the sex trade together (Murray 1998:52). Barry's premise is that “sex is power over all women” and is socially constructed; she suggests that sexuality is used worldwide to dominate and oppress women (Barry 1995:10-11).

Abolitionists regard prostitution as a human rights violation and as a form of sexual exploitation; therefore, women in prostitution are victims. This Coalition believes that sexual exploitation is a manifestation of power over women and a practice which abuses and subordinates women's sexuality and/or violates their physical integrity (Doezema 1998:37-38). From the late nineteenth century to the mid-1980s, UN Conventions and international campaigns to prevent the trafficking of women were supported by the abolitionist perspective. This dominant angle defines prostitution as a violation of human rights and aims to abolish prostitution itself.

My counter-argument to this problem under this perspective is that it creates a new 'other' by victimizing sex workers. Abolitionism is the “dominant ideology about prostitution within the United Nations,” regarding prostitution as a form of sexual exploitation which should be abolished (Murray 1998:60). The leading critique of this view is that they do not listen to the sex workers, they just condemn prostitution. In the early 1990s, abolitionist feminist approaches to prostitution were attacked from the international sex workers rights movement which argued that prostitution should be regarded as work.

3.3. Regulationism

*First is important to identify prostitution as a work,
as an occupation susceptible like others to exploitation.
Then sex workers can be included and
protected under existing instruments
which aim to protect all workers from exploitation,
and women from discrimination
(Kempadoo and Doezema 1998:8)*

The second feminist interpretation of prostitution is regulationism. Regulation requires the establishment of special state agencies to control prostitution (Delacoste and Priscilla 1998:224). In other words, regulationism accepts prostitution as a form of labour and offers to prostitutes guarantees of protection without the total elimination of sexual exploitation. This feminist perspective promotes the decriminalization of “all aspects of prostitution resulting from individual decision”, making visible the right to self-determination of the “adult person who [is] voluntary engaged in prostitution” (Doezema 1998:37). Barbara Sullivan (2003) argues that the ‘work’ of prostitution can be used to resist the dominant representation of prostitutes as “abnormal/bad women.” (Sullivan .2003:77)

Following this approach, it is possible to claim rights for prostitutes as workers. As Murray argues, if prostitution is work, sex workers can be included and protected “under existing instruments to protect all workers from exploitation and women from discrimination” (Murray 1998:67). This point of view promotes a conceptual separation between being forced by a third party and deciding for oneself to work as prostitute for economic reasons (Delacoste and Priscilla 1998:197). Therefore, strategy for dealing with sex work should focus attention of decriminalization or legalization of prostitution and “the extension to sex workers of those civil, occupational and human rights already available to other citizens and workers” (Sullivan 2003:70).

Prostitutes support this feminist point of view because they demand “the right to sexual self-determination” of their own sexuality, including “the choice of partner(s), behaviours, outcomes, to refuse sex and

to initiate sex, to use birth control (including abortion), the right to have lesbian sex, the right to have sex across lines of color or class, the right to engage in sado-masochist sex, and the right to offer sex for money” (Delacoste and Alexander 1987:309).

According to Barry, prostitution is an occupation relate with economic necessity, as in all paying professions. Prostitution is legalized when brothels are regulated by the state; legalization means regulation and social normalization of this activity, but this does not necessarily imply that prostitutes gain civil rights (Barry, 1995: 228-230), though it does provide an alternative to the prohibition of prostitution (Delacoste and Priscilla 1998:223).

3.3.1. Sex Work

Pro-regulation feminists argue that ‘sex work’ is an occupation like any other (Doezema 2001:29-30). The terms ‘sex work’ and ‘sex worker’ have been coined by sex workers themselves, through the prostitutes’ rights movement in the United States and in Western Europe, particularly in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and they have been discussed in various publications (Frederique Delacoste 1987; Laurie Bell 1987; Gail Pheterson 1989; Nickie Roberts 1992; Valerie Jenness 1993; Anne McClintock 1993; Shannon Bell 1994; Wendy Chapkis 1997). Sex work “redefines commercial as an income-generating activity or work of employment for women and men” (Doezema 1997:4), therefore, it is connected to efforts for the recognition of women’s work in terms of working conditions according to basic human rights (Kempadoo 1998:5).

Gail Pheterson argues that sex workers, “whether called prostitutes or trafficked women or whores, face such judgments in society, law, science and medicine” (Gail Pheterson 2010). As Doezema (1997) explains, those to whom the term of ‘sex workers’ is applied are “usually referred to as prostitutes” (Doezema, 1997: 4). In this sense, prostitutes are excluded from the mainstream society, occupying a marginal position which denies them the protection from abuse that is available to other citizens, women or workers (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998:2). They are therefore likely to be defensive when

speaking about their lives and some may assume such self-protection is a sign of conflict or confusion (Pheterson 2010). Of course, prostitutes are a stigmatized group, socially and legally punished and controlled through the dominant discourse and narrative.

Recognizing prostitution as paid work would mean that a prostitute is entitled to benefits and rights, improving their living conditions as workers, and reducing risk, violence and sexual exploitation that might they be exposed to (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998:7-8). Consequently, prostitutes will be less likely to feel conflict about their choices and self-determination. I agree that if we see this activity as a 'work' and the prostitutes as 'sex workers', it is possible to articulate and link women's common interests with efforts "against the devaluation of women's work and gender exploitation within capitalism" (Bindman 1998:8-30).

3.3.2. Sexual Exploitation

The concept of sexual exploitation is important within regulationist feminists because they recognise prostitution as a work and accept the possibility of sexual exploitation, also in consent prostitution. GAATW defines sexual exploitation as "the participation by a person in prostitution, sexual servitude, or the production of pornographic materials as a result of being subjected to a threat, deception, coercion, abduction, force, abuse of authority, debt bondage or fraud" (GAATW, 2000: 26). Consequently, sexual exploitation means the objectification of people bodies (Barry 1995), this means that prostitution itself is not exploitation unless there is coercion, abduction, force, abuse of authority, debt bondage or fraud.

4. International Feminist Campaign against Trafficking

Since the mid-1980s, trafficking has received increased interest (Doezema 2001:17; Kempadoo and Doezema 1998:30; Kempadoo 2005 vii-xxxi; Outshoorn 2004 9-144). At the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, feminists crossing international borders campaigned against 'white slavery' as 'sexual slavery' resulting in some essentially feminist international agreements

adopted between 1903 and 1949 (Day 2004:3; Outshoorn 2004:9; Kempadoo 2005: vii-xxxii; Sullivan 2003:68).

The inclusion within international agendas of both prostitution and trafficking were the result of feminist pressure. This context has been the subject of lobbying by feminist discussions split into two opposing and controversial views, abolitionism and regulationism, represented in different transnational alliances against trafficking: the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) and The Global Alliance against Traffic in Women (Global Alliance-GAATW).

For Oustroom (2004) the feminism of GAATW “calls for the ‘decriminalization’ of prostitution and the combat of ‘trafficking’ and forced prostitution” (10). This organization attacks the abolitionist discourse and tries to disconnect trafficking from prostitution because this link comes from an incomplete conceptualization of trafficking. The Global Alliance has disagreed with the international conceptualization of trafficking through international instruments in the fact that these instruments do not include “the possibility of voluntary prostitution into UN treaties” (11) (Oustroom, 2004:10-11) GAATW supports the recognition of the distinction between ‘forced’ and ‘voluntary’ prostitution, pointing out that this distinction is important since prostitution is ‘sex work’ (Bindman 1997:2b; Outshoorn 2004:7-11).

GAATW claims to be feminist but “only opposes forced prostitution” (Murray 1998:53). It is one of the most important international actors who support a prostitution-as-sex-work perspective; they make a clear the distinction between ‘voluntary’ and ‘free’ forced labour, prostitution and trafficking. As Sullivan (2003) explains, this organization argues for international instruments to support both sex workers and trafficking victims. Sullivan argues that GAATW was actively involved in campaigns to educate and empower sex workers and “aid victims of forced trafficking” (Sullivan, 2003:72), as well as for international instruments against trafficking which keep the possibility of female self-determination in mind.

GAATW criticises the UN definition of trafficking and instead chooses to echo the voices of many NGOs worldwide, with experience in this issue, among them the International Human Rights Law Group and the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STW). Centring on human rights of trafficked persons and people in vulnerable situations, all GAATW anti-trafficking campaigns distinguish cases of trafficking in other cases, i.e. undocumented migration. A good definition of trafficking must address forced labour and services in all sectors of the formal and informal economy, as well as the public and private organisation of work. The main idea here is to promote the protection, and to defend the rights, of persons in the formal and informal labour markets which include sex work, as much as they do domestic work (GAATW 2010).

The opposite feminist view is that of CATW, which is an organization formally part of the UN since 1989 via UNESCO. Sullivan clarifies (2003) that in the late 1980s and 1990s a radical feminism approach to prostitution and trafficking was pursued in the international arena by the CATW. This organization acts in different international scenarios, the first being the 1995 Beijing Conference which unsuccessfully supported the Convention Against Sexual Exploitation. Since then, CATW supports the 1949 Trafficking Convention and denies a distinction between trafficking and prostitution (Sullivan 2003:70-71).

CATW combats trafficking in women through protective legislation; its mission is to rescue and help 'Third World victim prostitutes'. This coalition promotes the abolition of prostitution. In the words of Jo Doezema, "CATW sees all prostitution as violation of women's human rights" (Doezema 2001:17). Its members pressed the UN to prevent a distinction between trafficking and prostitution in the 'Trafficking Protocol' and to include prostitution as slavery and forced labour (Bindman 1997:2b; Outshoorn 2004:11-12; Sullivan 2003:71-73).

International feminist discussions influence academic, ideological and political debates over 'trafficking' and prostitution. CATW influences international organizations and its power in its official role fosters

confusion between trafficking, sexual exploitation and prostitution. In the words of GAATW, "this early confusion of trafficking with prostitution is still seen in the anti-trafficking activism of some individuals, organisations and governments today" (GAATW 2000:20).

5. 'Trafficking' Debate

5.1. Definition of 'trafficking'

For this research, 'trafficking' means a local phenomenon and/or global enslavement manifested in a variety of forms (internal and external trafficking). It is an offence against dignity and freedom of people, involving or not involving coercion. In cases where coercion is not involved, there may be situations of vulnerability and even extreme poverty, displacement, internal armed conflict, lack of opportunities, violence and gender discrimination. Trafficking in persons enables a situation of exploitation for sexual purposes, forced labour, servitude, slave practices, organ trafficking and other illegal purposes, of which many trafficked persons are aware, but, when having no options, they become victims of this exploitation (Bindman 65-67; Doezema 1998:43-47; Murray 1998:51-64; Wijers 1998:31).

The debate about trafficking is the product of a phenomenon with large and multiple consequences; the definition of trafficking that focuses on prostitution leaves out many other criminal manifestations such as kidnapping, extortion, massacres or forced displacement. The origin of the concept of 'trafficking' comes from international agreements.

The first international references related trafficking with prostitution, about 1900 it was referred to as 'white slavery'; then, in 1904, the international agreement introduced the Convention to 'Suppress White Slave Traffic', afterwards the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and Sexual Exploitation went into effect. (GAATW, 2000: 20; Sullivan, 2003: 68-71; Universidad del Rosario, 2009) 'White slavery' means voluntary migration of European white women as concubines or prostitutes to Arab and Eastern countries. Following this perspective, prostitutes are by definition victims of trafficking (Outshoorn, 2004: 9).

These terms do not describe reality and yet they convincingly appear to explain the issue by means of laws, protocols and hegemonic discourses. Initially the term sought to distinguish the practice from the black slave trade in the nineteenth century; however, it became a fight against international trafficking of white women, although the fight included 'black', 'brown' and 'yellow' women as well (GAATW 2000:20). This fundamental definition characterized conventions and treaties from 1904 and culminated with the Trafficking Protocol of 2000, which is derived from the 'abolitionism' approach of prostitution (Bindman 1997:2b). Those understandings of trafficking are discussed under several feminist perspectives, as I will describe below, as the best way to abolish prostitution around the world.

According to María Cristina Agudo, the purposes of trafficking in persons are: [1] sexual exploitation such as pornography, slavery prostitution and sex tourism; [2] labour exploitation in highly visible activities such as begging, street sales, domestic service, agriculture, fisheries, mining, and construction, among other productive activities; [3] cases involving the establishment of servile marriage known as 'mail order brides'; [4] cases involving the recruitment of a person for a specified time to commit a specific crime; [5] recruitment of persons to participate actively in the context of armed conflicts; or [6] organ trafficking (Agudo 2003:23-26). Finally, Teresa Ulloa Zúñiga, the director of the Caribbean and Latin America office of CAATW, adds another purpose: the use of people, mainly women, for drug transport because of debts or addiction.

María Cristina Agudo argues that one of the purposes of trafficking in persons is sexual exploitation, including pornography, prostitution and related activities such as sex tourism. As the most visible for a moralistic society, these are believed to be the most common because they are exercised in public places, where there is contact of victims with customers and club owners. However, their social definition as a private activity facilitates discriminatory practices towards those most affected, namely women and children (Agudo 2003:23-26).

I argue that this stance against 'trafficking' of women into prostitution does not differentiate sexual exploitation from prostitution itself. Campaigns against 'trafficking' argue that a victim's 'consent', or lack thereof, is considered insufficient as a means to identify victims. In this sense, stigmatization and discrimination of prostitutes does not solve the problem of trafficking. Instead of guaranteeing real protections and rights, governments break with the democratic right to equality with monitoring and control measures as 'special protection' to 'vulnerable' and denies women the status of subjects able to assume their autonomy and own responsibility (Pheterson 1989:50-51).

5.2. Anti-'trafficking' International Instruments

The identification of international instruments is important because conventions and treaties express the official interpretation of trafficking by conceptualizing, defining, discussing and debating the issue. The interpretation of this phenomenon focuses on prostitution and its abolition is followed by many states to incorporate international understandings of trafficking. Consequently, if there is an understanding about why states interpret trafficking focusing on prostitution, it is important to know where definitions and interpretations come from; the answer is easy: from international instruments.

Several instruments of international law of the United Nations,² the International Labour Organization (ILO),³ and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR)⁴ are promoting agreements, conventions and protocols to combat trafficking in its different forms (Appendix). Those initiatives represent an important step towards the future direction of both international law and domestic law within many countries; a legislation which constructs definitions and understandings of the states obligations to stop trafficking.

² It is a worldwide organisation made up of 189 governments of recognised countries. It is the formal international system that monitors human rights implementation and violations worldwide.

³ The International Labour Organization (ILO) is the tripartite UN agency that converges governments, employers and workers of its member states in common action to promote decent work throughout the world.

⁴ It is one of two bodies in the inter-American system for the promotion and protection of human rights. It is an autonomous organ of the Organization of American States (OAS).

Once signed and ratified, they have the force of law by which they can recommend that the states effectively protect victims of trafficking from damage by traffickers and provide guarantees for their lives. The mistake of this international perspective is that states assume that all prostitution is a product of trafficking. Individual states then adopt these international standards which are reproducing the same discussions of the international arena.

So, the international community response was reflected in the International Agreement to 'Suppress White Slave Traffic' of 1904 in order to stop mobilization of women for prostitution, an activity considered to be 'immoral'. (Kempadoo, 2005: vii-xxxii).

The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and Sexual Exploitation cemented the relationship between trafficking and the exploitation of the prostitution of others. This convention considered all prostitution, voluntary or forced, to be trafficking and fails to mention other purposes of 'trafficking'; also, it has declared that prostitution was incompatible with dignity and with the safety of family and society:

Article 1: The Parties to the present Convention agree to punish any person who, to gratify the passions of another: (1) Procures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person; (2) Exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person. (Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons, 1949).

The 1949 Convention assumes a crime control perspective for prostitution, contributing to confusion and indiscriminate treatment between trafficking and prostitution. Additionally, it does not specify the definition of trafficking (Sullivan 2003:68-91).

The Article 6 of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) calls on states to "take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women" (Convention CEDAW 1979: Article 6). This convention does

want to combat prostitution indiscriminately per se, but neither does it define 'exploitation' (Outshoorn, 2004:10-11). Consequently, without an explicit definition, states freely interpret this Convention and incorporate these undefined concepts within domestic law.

After the 1949 Convention, the two most recent international agreements, both adopted in 2000, are the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplemental protocol to combat 'Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children'. The so-called 'Trafficking Protocol' is the only relevant universal instrument that actually defines 'trafficking'; it addresses all aspects of 'trafficking' in persons, promotes the establishment of domestic laws and the protection of privacy and identification of 'trafficking victims'; as well as promotes efforts to prevent or control all forms of exploitations of persons, especially women and children, and recognizes the existence of voluntary prostitution and forced prostitution (Trafficking Protocol 2000). The problem with this instrument, however, is that the definition of 'trafficking' is vague because it transports the phrases "the exploitation of the prostitution of others" and "other forms of exploitation" from the 1949 Convention without explicit definition (Murray 1998:54; Sullivan 2003). Article 3 of the Protocol conceptualizes the term 'trafficking in persons':

[...] the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force, or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (Trafficking Protocol, 2000: Art. 3a)

Hence, states parties do not know how to address prostitution in their domestic laws (Sullivan 2003) because the international legislation is not clear about prostitution. We can argue that this misconception is related to the link between 'trafficking' and prostitution established in the 1949 Convention and ratified in the Trafficking Protocol of

2000, under the discourse against prostitution, within the abolitionist framework.

The ‘Trafficking Protocol’ does not recognize a difference between ‘consent’ prostitution without slavery and force, and coerced prostitution. When the international law is adopted by states, states reproduce the same discourse and the same perspective within the domestic law; this is the case in Colombia.

The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used (Trafficking Protocol, 2000: Art. 3b).

With the inclusions of this perspective within the ‘Trafficking Protocol’, states augment the risk of the ‘victims in prostitution’ by reinforcing pre-existing anti-immigration policies without considering the causes of trafficking and without regarding to whether or not it is ‘slavery’ (Day 2004:3; Kempadoo 2005; Sullivan 2003:68-91).

Rather than reducing the vulnerability of prostitutes, states are increasing their isolation and dependence on the criminal protection of men, which is legally and socially separated. The laws that seek to protect women indeed effectively exclude women, stigmatized as prostitutes, by not distinguishing between individual choice –consent– and coercion –slavery.

The consequences of anti-trafficking campaigns and international instruments against trafficking are evident today when states tend to identify trafficking and undocumented migration as prostitution. The response of states is to adopt immigration policies that are increasingly restrictive, selective and apparently exclusive in combating illegal trade in persons.

The recent definition in the Trafficking Protocol is criticized because, in words of GAATW, ‘trafficking’ shall mean,

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 purposes 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, 2000: 26-27).

Legally, some institutional actors are involved together in cooperative efforts against trafficking. They have to include within their institutional agendas the issue of trafficking, extend their public authority, and use concrete and symbolic ways to respond and manage the potentially conflicting nature of applications received.

Conclusions

The issue of trafficking is constructed upon a dominant assumption that “most trafficking happens for the purpose of prostitution” (Kempadoo 2005:5). Based on this assumption, all women in the sex industry are thought of as forced, coerced and trafficked. Within the anti-trafficking debate, there is a problem in the way it has been addressed under the perspective of abolitionist feminism, because it has constructed the dominant discourse of trafficking and its understanding. As a result, state interventions and programs flowing from this understanding rarely consider the point of view of prostitutes. The abolitionist dominant discourse of trafficking is based upon assumptions which are not supported by prostitutes because they argue that all prostitutes are victims and therefore they have to be protected. Consequently, prostitutes are excluded within official trafficking debates because their activity is not recognized as such.

The women's right to choose activities dealing with intimacy and sexuality is a central issue within this research because the wrong relation between prostitution and trafficking has consequences for the intimate life of prostitutes. The self determination of prostitute bodies is a place of public debate because their sexuality is outside the 'normal' assumptions and social constructions over sexuality. The

‘normal’—reproductive and heteronormative—sexuality gives a social status within rules of a ‘unitary’ social group. Female prostitutes are stigmatized because the sexualized society identifies their sexuality as deviant and abnormal.

There is a misconception in the world about trafficking. Sexual exploitation and prostitution are focal points of trafficking in women and this somehow justifies those misconceptions, the misguided relationship with the sole purpose of sexual exploitation of trafficking, as well as the wrong relevance given to prostitution. In order to understand trafficking it is important to clarify that there are various forms of exploitation and sexual exploitation in prostitution is only one of its manifestations. The wrongly established relationship between trafficking, sexual exploitation and prostitution of the female stigmatizes prostitutes.

The critique of these instruments is that they create international law and they affect domestic law when states incorporate their precepts. The problem is not the existence or non-existence of international instruments, on the contrary, the focus of attention is to question the discourse of these agreements, how do they explain ‘trafficking’ and how do they connect trafficking with prostitution. The conceptualization of ‘trafficking’ influences the understandings of prostitution, without differentiating between slavery and ‘consent’ and the self determination of women in prostitution.

Finally, we have to take a new feminist perspective into consideration for future analysis within feminist debates on prostitution. It is the ‘queer theory’ that categorizes prostitution as a form of violence against women, masquerading it as ‘choice’ or ‘agency.’ Prostituted women are a ‘sexual minority’; they are not totally sexually liberated because they have to sell their sexuality to survive. The ‘queer’ perspective understands prostitution as an objectification of women because their bodies are treated as ‘objects for others to use.’ In this view, it is not in the body where the problematic lies, but rather in the gender construction of the body used to enforce social control, and in the creation of ‘male supremacist society’, as well as in the

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powerlessness of women. Social control reinforces sexual and physical violation over people, especially over women by men. Prostitution exists not because it is the 'oldest profession', but because we are in an oppressive society which justifies slavery in relation to women and where prostitution has a meaning only in terms of power relations. (Jeffreys: 1994)

Appendix International Instruments to 'Combat Trafficking'

United Nations
International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, signed in Paris, 18 May 1904
Protocol amending the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, signed in Paris, 18 May 1904, and the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic,
International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, signed in Paris, 4 May 1910
International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, concluded in Geneva, 30 September 1921
Slavery Convention, 25 September 1926, United Nations.
Protocol amending the Slavery Convention signed in Geneva, 25 September 1926.
International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, concluded in Geneva, 11 October 1933
Protocol to amend the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, concluded in Geneva, 30 September 1921, and the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, concluded in Geneva, 11 October 1933.
Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others of 2 December 1949
Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, done in Geneva, 7 September 1956
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/180 of 18 December 1979
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/158 of 18 December 1990
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (2000)
United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000)
Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations convention against transnational organized crime (2000)
International Labour Organization
Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour, 1930 (Convention No. 29), of the International Labour Organization
Convention concerning Migration for Employment (Revised), 1949 (Convention No. 97), of the International Labour Organization
Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957 (Convention No. 105), of the International Labour Organization

United Nations
Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1975 (Convention No. 143), of the International Labour Organization
Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (Convention No. 182), of the International Labour Organization

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