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Masculinity and the 'Ideal Victim' in the US Trafficking Discourse

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Abstract

Male adult victims have been notably absent from the discourse around human trafficking at a global scale. This paper argues that inherent to the trafficking discourse is the figure of the feminine 'ideal victim'. It begins by uncovering the gender essentialisms which permeate the trafficking discourse, and which leave little room for men (or women) who do not conform to the feminine underpinnings of the passive, irrational, innocent, 'ideal victim' and do not conform to the 'victim of trafficking' frame. The paper approaches 'human trafficking' as a Foucauldian (1972, 1977) *discourse*, with the help of frame analysis based on Goffman (1974) and extended by both Snow *et al.* (1986) and Snow and Benford (1988, 2000).

The US has held a central position in influencing this global discourse, notably through the annual US Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report. An analysis of the US TIP reports published between 2001 and 2011 reveals a changing understanding of victimhood in trafficking with an increasing focus on labour exploitation. Within these reports men as victims of trafficking become more visible, although they remain constrained within racialised and subordinate forms of masculinity. The paper concludes that discourse around trafficking remains too narrow to meaningfully address exploitation, as the focus continues to be placed on individual victims and perpetrators rather than on the role of the state.

Key Words

Human Trafficking, Trafficking in Persons, Gender, Masculinity, Discourse, US Trafficking in Persons Report

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The discourse surrounding 'Trafficking in Persons' or 'Human Trafficking' has been criticised by many scholars and activists. While factions of feminists have been at the core of the elaboration of the international Protocol which discusses 'trafficking', others have been at the forefront of its deconstruction and criticism - they have been anxious to underline the agency of migrant women and their non-conformity with the stereotype of the 'vulnerable victim of human trafficking' (Doezema 2001, Kempadoo 2005, O'Connell Davidson 2006, O'Connell Davidson and Anderson 2006). However, the barely-visible role of (adult) male victims of trafficking has been subject to little academic inquiry. International legislation on trafficking in persons as enshrined in the 2000 UN's 'Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children',ⁱ as well as most national legislation on trafficking in persons, can potentially cover a wide range of abuse of (migrant) workers:

"Trafficking in persons" shall mean 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" (UN 2000a, Article 3a, emphasis added).

The definition of human trafficking thus encompasses an act, means and purpose. It contains, however, vague terms such as coercion, deception, vulnerability and consent, to only name a fewⁱⁱ. 'Exploitation' as the overarching purpose also remains vaguely defined. While one could argue that this imprecise definition presents a limitation to the Protocol, it also creates the potential to address a wide range of abuses.ⁱⁱⁱ It seems startling, then, that adult men represent a largely ignored category in the 'trafficking discourse' and that it is chiefly framed as an issue affecting women and children.

This discursive gap occurs in both policy and academia. The exploitation of adult migrant men, which could be covered under the description of 'trafficking', remains often relegated to a footnote or is mentioned in passing. There is a clear gap between discourse and practical experiences, as men represent a significant part of (migrant) labour exploitation (see for example Surtees 2008). Available statistics point to low numbers of adult male 'victims of trafficking'. However, these statistics can only provide a reductive picture of reality, as their generation is based on the biased and flawed presumptions under inquiry in this paper (see Feingold 2010 and the US General Accountability Office 2006 on criticisms on available statistics on 'trafficking'). For example, Godziak and Bump (2008:17) reviewed available studies in trafficking and identified a gap in academic writing on

trafficking in men, with only fourteen out of the 219 journal articles reviewed including discussions of male 'victims of trafficking'. Even Kempadoo, renowned for her critical analysis on the 'trafficking discourse', offers only a weak justification for the neglect of men: she outlines women's over-representation in the 'poor, undocumented, debt-bonded, international migrant workforce', but inadequately justifies this gap by noting the 'little empirical research' available on men (*ibid.* 2005:ix).

In order to move away from the flawed assumptions on which 'knowledge' on 'trafficking' is based, this article will focus on the discourse surrounding 'human trafficking'. As Doezema (2010:10) highlights, 'most research into trafficking eschews a social constructivist approach in favour of a positivist approach'. In order to understand the absence of men as 'victims of trafficking' in the discourse, the key is to deconstruct the narrative. This allows for the detection of silences in the discourse and the identification of the assumptions the discourse is built on. Approaching 'human trafficking' as a Foucauldian (1972, 1977) discourse, with the help of frame analysis, shows 'how certain definitions of the problem become dominant, whose knowledge is accepted and whose sidelined' and with it the relationship between power and knowledge (Doezema 2010:10). As Wimmer (2007) shows by using the example of ethnicity, they who categorize hold the power to define the issues, and Fairclough (2010:4) adds: 'power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power'. In the trafficking discourse particularly, the global North has dominated the construction of the definition of trafficking and its related policies. The United States have been a key player in shaping the global discourse; to examine the absence of men in global 'trafficking discourse' thus requires a particular focus on the discourse in – and advanced by – the United States.

Examining 'human trafficking' as an 'interpretative frame' for the exploitation of (migrant) labour helps in its deconstruction. The frame analysis approach enables the exploration of discursive mechanisms: 'Frame analysis can help identify how discursive strategies – be they intentional or not – modify the process itself by excluding certain frames or actors and promoting others' (Roggeband and Verloo 2007:272). Frame analysis, based on Goffman (1974) and extended by both Snow *et al.* (1986) and Snow and Benford (1988, 2000), has been used to highlight the discursive use of gender essentialisms (see Carpenter 2005) and, further, has been applied to policy discourse by Mintz and Redd (2003).

Since literature explicitly addressing 'trafficking in men' or their depiction or non-depiction in the trafficking discourse is virtually non-existent (two notable exceptions are Jones 2010 and Surtees 2008), the absences and gaps in this feminised discourse must be highlighted in order to make 'men' visible. This parallels feminist scholarship, which also aims to make the invisible visible - although usually by making women visible in a masculinised discourse. For the purpose of this article, I trace

the use of the feminine 'ideal victim' of trafficking and highlight the absence of men and certain types of masculinities in this discourse.^{iv} Since I am dealing with absences and persisting invisibilities, and need to outline the discursive frame, 'men' as a specific topic of discussion may disappear from view for paragraphs at a time. The paper focuses on adult men in particular, as boys have a particular standing in the 'trafficking discourse', often grouped together with 'womenandchildren' as a group 'vulnerable' to being trafficked - boys remain, to some extent, among the 'pure victims' (Malkii 1996).

Section 1 highlights the way in which the trafficking discourse relies on notions of the 'ideal victims' and 'ideal villains', which are based on gender essentialisms. It will outline the political fictions of consent, rationality, disembodiment, vulnerability and labour and show how their highly gendered nature feeds into the construction of the 'ideal victim of trafficking'. Based on this framework, Section 2 examines the discourse as reflected in the US Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report. The section shows that men as victims of trafficking are not very visible, despite the increased focus on labour exploitation within the trafficking discourse since the mid-2000s - only certain, racialised men, belonging to subordinated masculinities, become visible within the US Trafficking Discourse as portrayed in the US Trafficking in Persons Report. Finally, Section 3 highlights that as the victim category remains narrow, and reliant on 'feminised' notions, it does not allow shifting the gaze from a few individual victims fitting the 'ideal victim'

I. 'Ideal' Victims and Villains in the Trafficking Discourse

IA. Men and Masculinities in Migration Studies

Migration literature has largely relied on 'masculine presumptions' (Palmary *et al.* 2010:3, Pessar 2003:22), with 'the generalised subject of migration [being] represented as genderless, and by extension assumed to be masculine' (Zavos 2010:21). Because gender analysis has only started to play a role with the alleged 'feminisation of migration',^v a specifically gendered lens has largely been applied only to women's experience. This amounts to the simplification of 'gender' to a synonym for women such that gender analysis rarely applies to the experiences of men (see Anthias 2000, Pessar 2003, Palmary *et al.*2010:2). Migrant men are seen as the norm - and are thus visible - but their gendered experiences are never highlighted and never questioned. Men as gendered beings have been largely neglected in analysing discourses surrounding immigration (Donaldson *et al.* 2009:4), except when analysed as the problematic exception in integration literature.

The definition of masculinity that I propose to adopt is normative rather than essentialist or positivist (see Connell 2001:31-33). We can apply Mieschr and Lindsay's definition of normative masculinity as a 'cluster of norms, values, and behavioural patterns expressing explicit and implicit expectations of how men should act and represent themselves to others' (2003:4, as cited in Jaji

2009:2). However, because the 'Human Trafficking' discourse is centred around femininity, notions of semiotic masculinity (masculinity defined by its opposition to femininity) will also be included.

Masculinity, as a socially constructed norm, is intersected by differences of race, class, ethnicity, age and sexuality (Donaldson *et al.* 2009:2), creating a hierarchy of masculinities.^{vi} While most men 'have some connection to the hegemonic project' (Connell 2005:79), an exclusive focus on the hegemonic project ignores intra-gender power relations, stratification and subject position within these divides. Thus, the view of men as privileged, revolving around the idea of the 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell 2000:25) does not hold; the diversity in masculinities marked by hierarchy and exclusion is in need of recognition (see Connell 2000, Howson and Donaldson 2009, Pessar 2003). Connell (1987) thus eminently divided masculinities into a 'hegemonic masculinity', which 'occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations', and subordinated masculinities, which may be blurred with femininities.

Following the useful distinction proposed by Anderson (2012a:1) between 'Migrants in Law' and 'Migrants as political figures', the latter represent one of the most 'subordinated and marginalized' groups (Hibbins and Pease 2009). This distinction is crucial, since (high-skilled) male immigrants perceived to be similar to the local hegemonic masculinity do not necessarily belong to these 'subordinated and marginalized' groups. It is the 'other', racialised, 'poor', 'criminal' immigrant man as 'political figure' who tends to be marginalised in relation to 'local masculinities' (see Donaldson *et al.* 2009 on the marginalisation of immigrant men).

1B. Trafficking and the 'Ideal Victim'

The construction of the 'ideal victim' has been eminently defined by Christie (1986) and is useful for our analysis of the invisibility of certain masculinities in the trafficking discourse.^{vii} According to Christie (1986:18), an ideal victim is 'a person or a category of individuals who - when hit by crime - most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim'. This 'ideal victim' does not necessarily have much in common with the prevalence of 'real victims' (*ibid.* 1986:27) but is rather about the perception or credibility of the victim status accorded by outsiders. Gender essentialisms, the exaggeration of supposed inter-group differences and obscuring of intra-group diversity (Carpenter 2005:296), are key for the construction of the 'ideal victim'. Men rarely personify the 'ideal victim'. They are perceived to be too strong physically and too resilient mentally.

In the case of the trafficking discourse, the idea of an 'ideal victim'^{viii} of trafficking' has circulated through the media, government and international organisations, and even in some academic

discourse. These are typically racialised 'third world women' (Mohanty 1988) who are either judged or in need of salvation from their supposed patriarchal backwards culture by her liberated, Western counterparts (Roggeband and Verloo 2007). They are portrayed as passive, naive, irrational, vulnerable and destitute (see Anderson and O'Connell Davidson 2003:21, Kempadoo 1998, Gould 2010:41). Human Trafficking is recurrently framed as a result of a 'backward, masculine culture', with 'bad masculinities' being responsible (see Srikantiah 2007:202).

This depiction even goes as far as to discursively construct 'women and children' as one category - 'womenandchildren' (Enloe 1991) as 'ideal victims' have held strong symbolic power in the trafficking discourse. As Johnson (1981) outlines, the need to protect 'womenandchildren' stems from women having been 'portrayed as the "weaker" sex, thereby deserving of special protection due to their inherent "vulnerability"' (as cited in Carpenter 2006:308). The construct of 'womenandchildren' reflected in international and US national legislation reproduces a 19th Century understanding of women, where a woman's 'legal disabilities, based on her characteristics as irrational, meant that she was categorised with idiots, convicted criminals and *children*' (Brace 2004:193, emphasis added). As gender inequality persists to this day, women indeed tend to face specific challenges; this discourse, however, constructs all women as 'naturally vulnerable' in complete disregard of their agency, while omitting vulnerabilities faced by men.

While 'womenandchildren' occupy one side of the binary, on the other side of the binary stands an essentialised category of migrant men, seen as active, adventurous and cunning (see Kempadoo 2005). While migrant women in an exploitative situation may be perceived as 'victims of trafficking',^{ix} men will be perceived as having been smuggled (see Sharma 2005). The complexities of exploitation have effectively been reduced to a heteronormative dichotomy between free (male) migrants and coerced (female) victims (Mai 2012a). A male 'victim of trafficking' does not fit this heteronormative understanding. The less masculine and threatening migrant men are perceived to be and the less they conform to the white, hegemonic, heterosexual male citizen stereotype, the more readily they can be seen as 'victims' rather than cunning immigrants.

The use of pre-existing gender essentialisms are an integral part in framing efforts (see Carpenter 2005:297), surrounding the human trafficking discourse. These essentialisms link back to classical liberal theories. In liberal theory, 'the concepts of 'choice' and 'consent' denote the activities of the autonomous, liberal (legal) subject and mark the boundary between public and private, and consequently are deeply gendered' (Hunter and Cowan 2007:1). The liberal subject is constructed as sovereign, self-interested and rational which makes it capable of free choice and true consent - and this subject is gendered as masculine (see Pateman 1988). Key for the construction of the liberal

subject is the fiction of his disembodiment from his labour: while women 'continue to be understood as inescapably woven into the fabric of their bodies' (Brace 2004:201), heterosexual male bodies have been considered to be beyond the sexual as 'desexed, dis-embodied neutral conduits of authoritative knowledge' (Collier 1998:61). Disembodiment is constructed as the key prerequisite for the capacity of rational and free choice and consent. Thus, liberal theory leaves us with deeply gendered notions of choice and consent, and a troubling disembodiment/embodiment binary (Brace 2004:188). While these are political fictions, they represent the building blocks of the trafficking discourse, and its conceptualisations of 'vulnerability' and 'victimhood'.

Concretely, this is evidenced by the invisibility of men as 'victims of trafficking'. According to Christie's (1986) ideal victim framework, 'ideal victims' need to have made a reasonable attempt towards defending themselves. In addition to physical strength, men are understood to have a better capacity to defend and care for themselves; men are perceived to have more control over their labour than women, as the above outlined archetype free labourer, embodying self-ownership, is male (Brace 2004). Men can care for themselves and for 'womenandchildren', who are also protected by the paternalistic (male) state (Enloe 1991:90, Nagel 2005). Their perceived agency thus 'outweighs their exploitation' (GAATW 2011:22) and excludes them from fitting readily into the 'ideal victim' framework.

Men are then not only perceived to be less likely to lose control over their labour, but there exists an implicit assumption that exploitation suffered by men is less harmful. While the exploitation of migrant workers, and especially men, has become somewhat normalized (Brennan 2008:53), the physical capacities of a man to endure can become a test of manliness (Donaldson 1991, as cited in Connell 2005:55). As male migrants are imagined to have made a rational decision to migrate for work, as opposed to their passive female counterpart, they may be seen as 'potentially deserving any fate that befalls them' (Mahdavi and Sargent 2011:16). As Jacobsen and Stenvoll (2010:287) remark, when occurrences are in line with what is expected, the issue of choice rarely comes up - migrant men are expected to work hard, and their exploitation is generally perceived as less harmful or objectionable than that of their female counterparts.

As well as gender, race plays a key part in the context of exploitation: As emphasized most prominently by Charles Mills (1997) in the 'Racial Contract', race has also traditionally been associated with the inability to consent, to act rationally and to enter a contract. Referring to 19th century indentured labour, Mills argues that 'racism provides a way of selecting and legitimating whose labour power should be exploited within a particular set of unfree production relations' (*ibid.* as cited in Brace 2004:178). Paradoxically this racialisation of today's male migrant worker may work

in two directions: On the one hand, 'tough' working conditions are often seen as more acceptable for some racial 'Others', such as South Asian men. On the other hand, it is their race and 'backward culture' which may provide them with the same attributes as 'ideal victim' femininity: being uneducated, trusting and easily duped (on culture as the replacement of race in modern 'racists' discourse, see Balibar 1998). In the case of the human trafficking discourse, some racialised, feminised men may enter the narrow discursive frame of the ideal victim. These typically belong to a racialised, subaltern category of men. Thus while human trafficking discourse has always been racialised, when (female) gender is not given, race can substitute for gender. Hence the feminine attributes associated with the ideal victim of trafficking can be applied to subaltern masculinities, while hegemonic masculinity, the rational, free man, does not enter the victim category.

It is therefore important to emphasize the distinction between 'men' and notions of 'masculinities', as the victim/perpetrator framework is more complicated than a female/male dichotomy. Instead, it plays out along masculinity/femininity lines on a hegemonic/subordinate masculinities/femininities spectrum. The liberal figure outlined above is one which conforms to masculine liberal notions of self-ownership, disembodiment, agency and rationality, while the 'ideal victim of trafficking' is drawn along 19th Century ideas of femininity, of innocence, passivity and embodiment.

<u>The male (undocumented) migrant as political figure</u>	<u>The feminine 'victim of trafficking' as political figure</u>
Worker	Slave
Rational	Irrational
Disembodied	Embodied
Autonomous	Dependent
Cunning and Criminal	Innocent and Vulnerable
No need for protection	In need of protection
Semiotic masculinity	Femininity or Subordinate masculinity

1C. Trafficking and the 'Ideal Villains'

While the victim category is dominated by female vulnerabilities, men and masculinities become more visible in the villain category, as irregular migrants, 'traffickers' and predatory users of victims of 'sex trafficking'. Christie (1986) also sketches a framework for the 'ideal type perpetrator', which again habitually differs from reality. These are often portrayed as 'dangerous m[e]n coming from far away' (Christie 1986:26), with them being 'the more foreign, the better' (*ibid.* 1986:28). Poverty, race, (undocumented) immigration status, and masculinity have all become associated with

criminality. Human Trafficking, as a 'modern form of slavery', is perceived as 'antiquated form of human relations', one that is committed by the racialized, culturally poor, immigrant foreigner (Anderson 2012b). The 'victims' need to be protected from the backward culture embodied by these foreign men. Traditionally, the 'Third World Man', as opposed to the 'Third World Woman', is not in need of rescuing, but rather in need of re-education. 'Hegemonic masculinity' is still at work in this context: while affirmation for hegemonic masculinity used to rely on protecting 'womenandchildren', now it relies on respecting them. Both actions are constructed in relation to a backward, foreign, subordinated masculinity (see Nagel 2005:400-405).

The villain trafficker is used to invoke fear of foreign 'Other', or as Kempadoo (2005:xvii) puts it succinctly as 'greedy, immoral men from the global South and postsocialist states'. There have been some attempts to highlight the existence of female 'traffickers', but this remains very limited (see UNODC 2009). However, when females are the traffickers, reasons are usually sought to justify why these 'non-ideal perpetrators' become 'criminals'; for example, female traffickers have often been 'victims of trafficking' themselves before becoming perpetrators (UNODC 2009:6).

Thus, the overall reluctance to bring men into the trafficking discourse as victims is associated with the presumption that 'men conform to three dominant male subjectivisations: the problem, the perpetrator and the power-holder' (Connell 2003:11, in Lewis 2010:20). The UN Protocol on 'Trafficking' makes problematic use of such dichotomies which categorize guilt and innocence and creates binaries of consent and force (see Doezema 1998, O'Connell Davidson 2010). This establishes a futilely narrow victim frame; due to gendered notions of victimhood, consent and rationality, those perceived as conforming to 'masculine stereotypes' are less readily recognised in the victim category.

The trafficking discourse then makes use of simplified categories based on fictional binaries, among them worker/slave, rational/irrational, disembodied/embodied, and autonomous/dependent. However, for categories such as 'victim of trafficking' to be challenged, they need to be put into the context of their construction as they are otherwise adopted unchallenged as an explanation for differences between people (see Bakewell 2008).

2. An Analysis of Male Visibility in the US Trafficking in Persons Reports 2001-2011

2A The Global Arena: The US as Global Trafficking Policemen

Looking at genealogical explorations of the current trafficking discourse, the ideal victim was inherent from the beginning (see Blume 2012 and Doezema 2010). 'Trafficking' had been evoked before in an early 20th Century moral panic surrounding 'White Slavery', leading to the US Mann Act 1910 and an international Protocol (see Doezema 2010). This initial concern was later enshrined in two international conventions by the League of Nations (1921 and 1933) and one by the newly funded UN (1949). These predecessors of the current Protocol focused exclusively on trafficking of women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This is reflected in the Palermo Protocol negotiations, which were from the very beginning conflated with the dispute on the nature of sex work. The trafficking discourse has thus since its inception been encapsulated in the prostitution debate, especially highlighting the 'special vulnerabilities of women and children'.

A state which has held a key position in influencing the global trafficking discourse is the United States. As Brown argues, it is the state who is key in contributing to marking 'certain women as different and as non-autonomous subjects [...] and in the making of particular groups of men as offenders' (1995, as cited in Jacobsen and Stenvoll 2010:282). The US has traditionally held a unique position in acting as a 'global policeman' in various arenas, monitoring human rights, religious freedom (Enloe 2000: xvii), and now 'human trafficking'. While monitoring the performance of other states, it promotes itself as a model to be copied, thus also promoting its national definition of what constitutes trafficking – and who is recognised as victim – on a global scale.

The US monitor the performance of states in regards to 'counter-trafficking' in the annual TIP Report, in which countries are ranked according to four tiers, with the least compliant states in risk of being exposed to sanctions. Both the report itself and the ranking have been heavily attacked for their lack of consistency, opaqueness, arbitrariness and use as a foreign policy tool (Chuang 2006:479-480, GAO 2006, Kempadoo 2005:xxi, Mahdavi and Sargent 2011:23). While US itself was not included in the monitoring and ranking for the first ten years, it holds other countries accountable not to international, but to US criteria (see Gallagher 2011:382). The privileging of sex trafficking on the US national stage (see Blume 2012) is reflected in the TIP report and trickles down to a global level. The US General Accountability Office (2006) shows for example that questionable statistics privileging trafficking for sexual exploitation have been used in the TIP report.

However, despite widespread criticism and the recognised flaws of the reporting mechanism, it remains a powerful tool in shaping the global trafficking discourse (Gallagher 2011:387). The State Department suggests, for example, 'legal building blocks' inspired by US legislation to assist other countries in improving their ranking (Chuang 2006:468, Srikantiah 2007:211), reinforcing the US 'ideal victim' on a global level.

2B. A Shift in the Trafficking Discourse: Men and Labour Trafficking

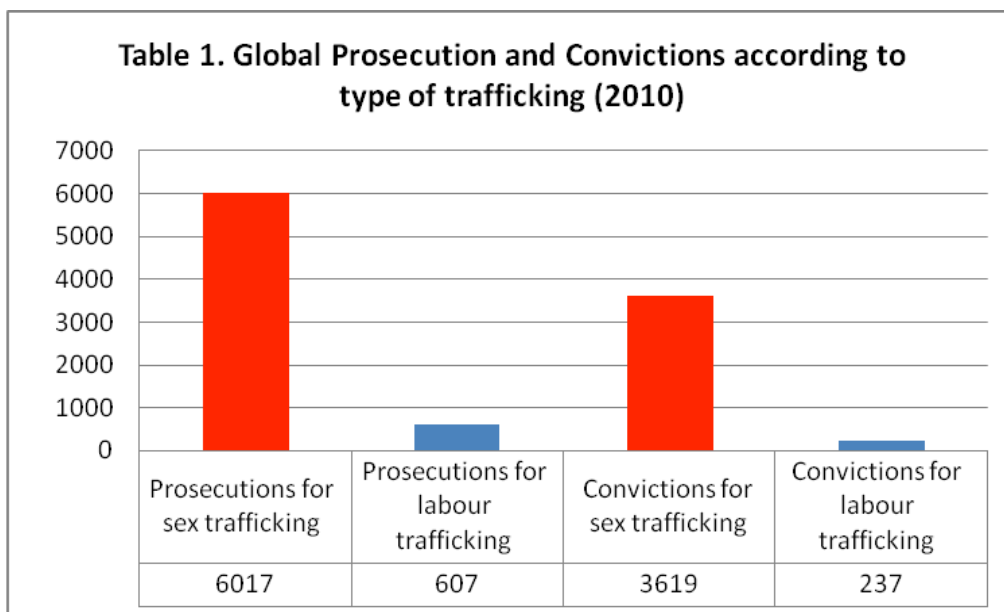
While the exploitation of men working under 'coercive labour conditions, including in the sex industry' (Day 2009:3) has long been obscured from view, their bodies have recently emerged in the trafficking discourse. Where previously the international 'fight against trafficking' focused almost exclusively on the trafficking of women and girls for 'sexual exploitation', since 2005, trafficking for labour exploitation more generally has increasingly been discussed. Further, since 2006, there has been a steep increase in publications on 'trafficking for labour exploitation' (GAATW 2011:13, Blume 2012).

Luis CdeBaca, the current 'Ambassador at Large' of the US 'Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons', highlights the US's broadening understanding of trafficking: 'Since the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, we have identified new trends but we have also been part of a maturing response' (CdeBaca 2011c). He establishes that:

'International studies indicate that *more* people are trafficked for forced *labor* than commercial sex [...] In the last 10 years, we have learned [...] that this crime is *not limited to one gender, faith, or geographical area*' (CdeBaca 2010, emphasis added).

This novel understanding of trafficking is also reflected in the US TIP report. While the report previously recognised in passing that men may also be victims of trafficking, the issue of exploitation of adult men was, until recently, rarely broached. Indeed, the US's increasing attention on trafficking for labour exploitation is also reflected in the changing TIP country evaluations. As the TIP report follows no clear guidelines of evaluation, countries which were previously ranked according to their performance in addressing trafficking for sexual exploitation (or indeed, limiting prostitution more generally) are now increasingly judged according to their performance in addressing trafficking for labour exploitation. The US then employs a 'moving target' approach, evaluating other countries based on their own broadening understanding of 'trafficking'.

This new focus on labour trafficking has also affected the presentation of global statistics on convictions and prosecutions collected by the US State Department. Up to 2007, there is no separated data available on trafficking for 'sexual' or labour exploitation - this is rectified in 2007.^x The data itself also highlights, however, that despite increasing discursive attention paid to labour trafficking, prosecution and convictions in this field remain minimal.



Source: Generated using data from the US State Department (2011b)

2C. Men - Increasing Visibility in Name Alone

Seemingly discursive space is opening up with a broadening understanding of 'human trafficking' to slavery and forced labour. But although the legal environment surrounding trafficking since 2000 has made the sanctioning of a wide ranges of labour abuses possible, the image of 'womenandchildren' as 'ideal victims' remains 'hypervisible in mainstream presentations' (Hua 2011:38). As Anderson (2012b) remarks in reference to smuggled women, trafficked men also remain a 'deviation from the imagined norm'. This reductive image is problematic because it distorts the frame within which (migrant) labour exploitation is analysed: it not only affects men, who remain unrecognised, but all exploited people as it carves out a very small space into which any potential victim seeking recognition has to fit, which is that of the innocent, good, feminine (not necessarily female) 'ideal victim'.

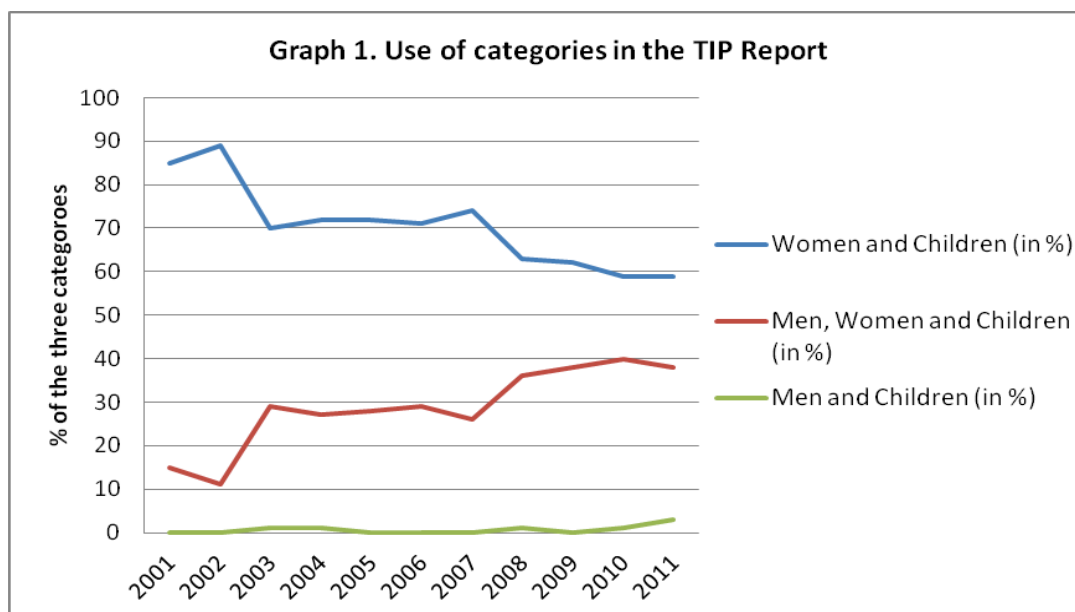
The US TIP Report lends itself well to examine this discourse as it is both a barometer for as well as a shaper of responses to Human Trafficking. Based largely on reports drafted by US diplomatic representations abroad, it is a barometer of the global discourse as it captures activities by different countries on 'trafficking' (see TIP 2011:11 for the US State Department's own explanation of its 'methodology' and Feingold 2010, GAO 2006 on its criticism). At the same time, it is a shaper of the global discourse as what is being reported as 'trafficking' or 'anti-trafficking- measures' is filtered through a US lens. The TIP Report is based on the 2000 US TVPA, which calls for an annual report

and evaluation of the 'fight against trafficking'. The first report was published in 2001, and has since expanded in the number of countries included in its evaluation - from 82 in 2001 to 184 countries in 2011 - and also in detail and length. All of the reports have similar structures, with a foreword, an introductory section which includes 'victim's stories', and a section of individual country reports and TIP ranking. The individual country reports take up most of the report, but substantial sections are repetitions from preceding reports.

I analysed the TIP reports between 2001-2011 with the help of the NVivo 9 software. First, I conducted a word frequency count for men, women, boys and girls. Second, I searched for cases where men are mentioned separately from women or children, and vice versa, independent of other categories. Then, I flagged how often the words 'victim' and 'vulnerabilities' were clearly associated with a gender. While this quantitative analysis allows the identification of important trends, this is substantiated with a qualitative analysis described in the second part of this section, where we take a comparative look at iconic male and female victim stories portrayed in the TIP report.

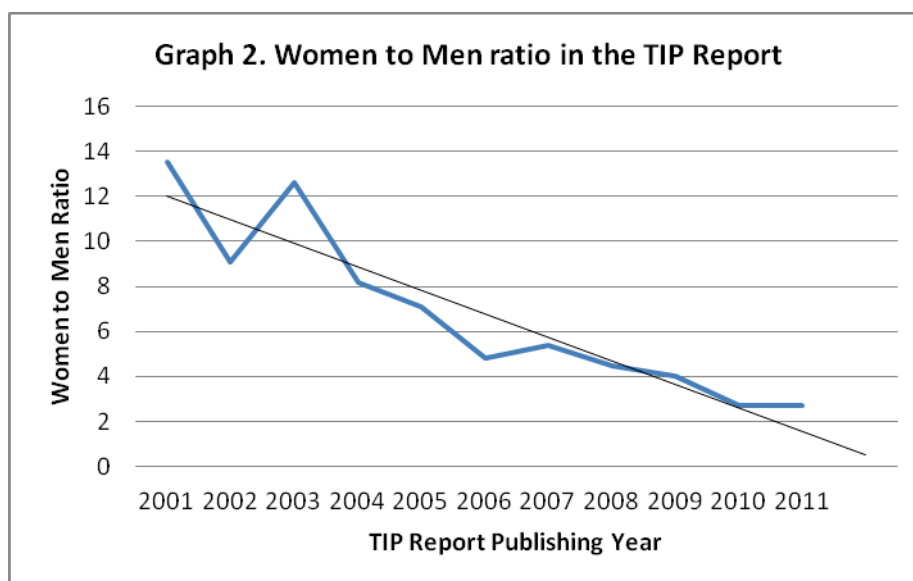
When conducting a word frequency search using published TIP reports between 2001-2011, it becomes clear that 'women and children' are the most frequently used category, with Women being mentioned 7072 times (13th most frequently used word in all the TIP reports), while men are mentioned 1957 times (the 95th most frequently used word). Regarding children (mentioned 7711 times), there is also a clear gender segregation between girls (1989 times) and boys (622 times). However, this analysis does not reveal the *context* in which these categories are discussed and, further, obscures *trends*. For example, the title of the International Protocol contains the addition 'especially women and children'; every time the Protocol is mentioned women and children are added in this word frequency count. This may lead to both over and under-representations of certain categories, when the aim is to compare how often 'Men' and 'Women' are mentioned in their own right, thus when the narrative goes beyond a nod of recognition.

Both 'men' and 'women' are referred to mostly in combination with other categories ('women and children', 'men, women and children'). Men are mentioned 1957 times in the eleven TIP reports, from 23 times in 2001 to 400 times in 2011 (women being mentioned 7072 times, from 199 to 1038 times).^{xi} Controlling for any grouping of categories, only half of the increase in the word frequency of 'men' is independent of mentioning women and/or children, with men being mentioned independently only 48% of the time. Women are mentioned independently more often, 60% of the time. The use of categories deserves a closer examination:



The TIP Report makes frequent use of additive categories, among which the most frequently used being 'women and children'. Startlingly, 'Men and children' as a category is used only a few times, an overall 18 times in the eleven TIP reports under review, while 'women and children' has been used 1330 times. Men are increasingly added into the 'women and children' category to create the category 'men, women and children', and the gap between 'women and children' and 'men, women and children' is narrowing. In 2001, 'women and children' were used 85% of the times categories were used and 'men, women and children' 15% of the times; this gap decreased in 2011 to 59% and 38% respectively ('men and children' being used 3% of the time in 2011). The association of 'womenandchildren' with the 'ideal victim' category then remains strong. It also appears as though men are added for inclusion's sake, rather than for being recognised as a valid 'victim' category in their own right. By adding 'men' into the key phrasing 'womenandchildren', the ultimate additive model has been created, but one questions its ultimate usefulness.

However, when looking at 'men' and 'women' as independent categories, thus independent of children and each other, the data also shows a narrowing trend:



Here, the ratio is arrived at by dividing the number of cases where exclusively women were mentioned by the number of cases in which exclusively men were mentioned (e.g. if the graph would hit 0, men and women as independent categories would be mentioned an equal number of times). The women-to-men ratio has almost consistently decreased since the first TIP Report, with a small irregularity in 2003. This has reduced the women-to-men ratio from 13.5 in 2001 to 2.7 in the 2011 report (e.g. in the 2011 TIP report, women were mentioned 2.7 times more often than men). Despite this decrease, women are still mentioned more frequently in their own right than men.

While revealing clear tendencies, this analysis obscures *how* the categories 'men' and 'women' are being used. To discover more about usage, I flag every instance 'victim/s' is mentioned within 10 words of the terms men/man/male. I then scan the stories manually to identify in which stories the 'man' mentioned is actually the victim. In total, only 42 instances emerge in which men were identified as victims in their own right, as compared to 194 female victim stories. The first male victim story was included in the 2005 report, and the frequency increased to 16 in 2011. The framing of male victims can be broadly clustered into four main themes: 1) Provision or lack of shelter for 'male victims', 2) Provision or lack of provision of other services, 3) Awareness campaigns, and 4) Labour exploitation. The other instances where victim/s was flagged in relation to the terms men/man/male were mostly inconclusive (referring to two separate phrases), or those in which men were the trafficker or the judge. The figure of the 'ideal male perpetrator' outlined in Section I then emerges again, while the 'male judge' offers an interesting representation of the paternalistic state.

Searching for the key terms 'vulnerable/vulnerability/vulnerabilities' in relation to 'men/women', and controlling for instances where 'vulnerable/vulnerability/vulnerabilities' were highlighted within 10

words of 'men', but in which women were vulnerable or where men were simply part of an enumeration ('men, women and children vulnerable to trafficking') and vice versa, yielded the following results: women are clearly identified as vulnerable in 399 cases and men in 29 cases. The proportion of men cast as vulnerable is also slowly increasing, with hardly any male cast as 'vulnerable' in 2001-2005 and these stories slowly increasing from 2005-2011 from 2 to 9 instances. Despite this incremental increase and likely a concurrent enlargement in the vulnerabilities frame, 'vulnerability' remains primarily associated with women rather than men. Examining these text excerpts in detail reveals that where men are associated with vulnerabilities, it is often in restrictive terms. The 2007 report, for example, mentions that the report's aim is to 'shed light on the most vulnerable—women and children—but in the modern age of exploitation through debt and deception, there are many men who fall prey to traffickers' (*ibid.*:235). Men are then mentioned under the category vulnerable, but the vulnerability frame is not extended to include men *per se*. This discourse constructs male victimhood as exceptional; the natural, inherent vulnerabilities remain associated with 'womenandchildren.'

This quantitative analysis helped us to identify important trends in the TIP reports. These reports remain dominated by the 'ideal victim', with 'women and children' being the most frequently used category. Over time, men are gradually mentioned with more frequency and added into the increasingly popular 'men, women and children' category. Women, however, remain associated with vulnerabilities and victim status, while men remain largely excluded from such associations. While this quantitative analysis is revealing, it can only show so much. A closer look at the 'iconic victim stories' in the TIP Report aims to fill these gaps in understanding.

2D. The 'Ideal Victim' in Iconic Victim Stories

Since 2003, the introduction section of the TIP report features sample victim stories, set apart in boxes at the margin of the text. In these victim stories, the use of the 'ideal victim' through 'universalizing representational practice' (Malkki 1996) becomes most apparent. As postcolonial scholarship has shown, geopolitical positioning matters including when talking about men and masculinities (see Kimmel *et al.* 2005:4). The authors of the TIP Report subconsciously evoke white US hegemonic masculinity when choosing the iconic victim stories and writing the report. Ideas of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities, those closer to femininities and to the 'ideal victim' and further away from notions of rationality, consent, and disembodiment, are inferred in the report.

While the TIP report authors recognise that these stories do not 'include all form of trafficking', they are meant to be 'representative of the myriad forms of exploitation that define trafficking and the variety of cultures in which trafficking victims are found' (2007:4). For this claim of

representativeness, it is worth observing in more detail which stories of male 'victims' have been selected in this category, as it reveals how the iconic victim and the archetype story is imagined, framed and included in the discourse.

Not a single adult male victim story was featured as 'iconic story' until the 2008 TIP report. In 2008 then, there was a notable quantitative shift: in that year there was an equal amount of adult women's and adult men's victim stories (2) which decreased in the following years in relation to women (2009: 8 women, 5 men; 2010: 7 women, 1 man, 2011: 6 women, 3 men). As compared to the 42 adult women's stories, only eleven stories involving male adult victims were thus included into this 'iconic victim' section. Out of these eleven, five men were from South and South-East Asia (Indonesia, Cambodia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India), three were from Eastern Europe and Central Asia (two from 'Southeast Europe', and one from Tajikistan) and three from Latin America (Mexico, Brazil, and Jamaica). This is, indeed, similar to 'typical' origin countries of female victims. Orientalism has played a crucial role in the depiction of Asian men and women in the US, with Asian men being typically 'stereotyped as small, wimpy, unattractive, yet highly intelligent in "unscrupulous" and untrustworthy ways' (Messner 1997:68); men from Latin America, and Mexico in particular, have suffered under similarly stereotypical depictions in the US (Urbina and Smith 2007: 52). On the other hand, those originating from Eastern Europe are cast as vulnerable due to economics rather than culture, irrespective of gender (see Hua and Nigorizawa 2010 for a succinct analysis). Interestingly, no stories of African adult men were depicted, while African women figure in the adult women victim stories.

The depictions of violence do not increase when comparing the male and female victim narratives featured as iconic victim stories in the TIP report. Both male and female victim stories describe instances of extreme exploitation and violence in detail. The exploitation and violence depicted are severe, with the Cambodian male victim 'beaten nearly unconscious' (2009:34). To keep them from escaping, some men were locked behind 'barbed wire' with 'guards' watching over (2011:39, India-US case). The very first story involving an adult male victim depicted in the iconic victim story section was that of a Mexican man trafficked into the US (2008:6). This man was trafficked 'at gun point'. Apart from extreme labour exploitations, he was also raped - an example of sexualised masculinity. The male 'victims' depicted here are defined by their body - they are violated, beaten and have suffered from 'embodied' exploitation - thus their labour vanishes into the background (see Andrijasevic 2007, O'Connell Davidson 2006 for 'bodies' in the representation of 'trafficking'). Importantly, depicting only such instances involving extreme cases of violence, confinement, and exploitation demonstrates that the discursive space for who is seen as a 'victim of trafficking' is not expanded through the broadening of the category to a few men - the race to the bottom in

depictions continues unabated. Such depictions of extreme exploitation can serve as 'emotional trump cards' to distract from more complicated arguments (see Kelly 2003, further explored in Section 3). The racialised categories of men included in the iconic victim stories are not the embodiment of 'threatening masculinity' embodied by the rational, cunning figure of the migrant man.

Throughout this paper, imperialist and racist claims have woven in and out of the trafficking discourses, and can be found in the genealogy of the trafficking discourse (see Blume 2012, Doezema 2010) to current trafficking frames. The TIP report is reflective of this discourse, in which trafficking is not presented only as an outcome of adverse economic conditions, but also as an outcome of 'bad', backwards culture. Here, parents sell their children, 'as partial payment for a used car' (2011:29) or a '\$15 advance' (2010:37). Parents agree to 'deliver' their daughter 'for sex in exchange for money' (2007:6), girls are forced into prostitution by their aunts (2006:5) or by their boyfriends (2009:22). 'Culture' plays a major role when causes of trafficking are discussed. Notably, families and friends acting as or assisting the trafficker take a crucial role in female victim stories, both involving girl and adult women victims, but do not figure in adult male victim stories.

When taking a macro-perspective and looking at the depiction of states in the TIP report, the imperialistic undertones again come to the fore. *All* cases involving both female and male victims in which the US is a destination country end with the US law enforcement 'coming to the rescue'. On the other hand, those seeking refuge in other countries fare poorly for the most part, and in some stories those states are implicated in the bad ending. In the case of male victims, not one other state intervened positively; the US, then, is the only 'good' state providing adequate protection against these extreme instances of exploitation. In a story involving a male Indonesian in Malaysia (2008: 12), the victim escaped his situation 'only to be arrested, imprisoned, flogged, and deported'.^{xii} The US is carved out as an exceptional place where even male, 'non-ideal victims' receive assistance.

While the TIP reports increasingly extend the 'victim category', other reports resort to the use of gender neutral language (see USAID 2010 for an example of gender neutral imagery in trafficking awareness campaigns). The use of gender neutral language may seem a viable solution to some, but such a discursive modification does not neutralise the feminine attributes framing the 'ideal victim' of trafficking. As Mansfield (2000:96) has remarked in relation to male-dominated discourse switching to gender neutral language, similar consequences can be drawn for the female dominated trafficking discourse, as it may even 'operat[e] more effectively when concealed by a pseudo inclusiveness' - when it simultaneously 'advances and generalises its priorities while concealing them' (as cited in Boshoff 2007:53). Hence, the expansion of the 'victim category' to seemingly include adult males seems superficial and the 'ideal victim' of trafficking remains closely associated to feminine attributes

and to the 'womenandchildren' category. The feminine underpinnings of the 'ideal victim' are, however, obscured by this pseudo-inclusiveness of men. In Section 3, we will examine where these observations lead.

3. Gender and the Depoliticisation of Exploitation

3A. The Feminine 'Ideal Victim' as Strategic Construction

At the core of numerous criticisms of the trafficking discourse stands the demand for a discursive and genuine expansion of the 'victim category'. Implicit in this demand is that this expansion makes 'trafficking' a more useful advocacy tool to address the exploitation of (migrant) workers more generally.

An extension of the victim category does not necessarily entail new approaches. As Sharma (2012) points out, making a definition more expansive by including more individuals in a set category can be detrimental for everyone - instead of raising standards, it may bring standards down.^{xiii} Furthermore, it appears that the same avenues used to address trafficking for (female) sexual exploitation are being replicated for men (e.g. the demand to provide shelters for male victims of trafficking, see Ezeilo 2012), which translates into low numbers of victims identified and genuinely assisted and a high price in 'collateral damages'.^{xiv}

Expanding the victim category discursively, as in the TIP Report, may in reality obscure persisting narrow interpretations of the 'ideal victim'. Men are still less likely to be recognised as victims of trafficking, as due to the upholding of the 'ideal victim' frame in the trafficking discourse, male victims of exploitation have to fit into the image of the female, passive 'ideal victim' outlined in Section I. On the level of identification, the:

'stereotyping of women as victims of traffickers is so great that the authorities of industrialised countries overlook the possibility that men might be trafficked, and consequently exclude them from the services and protection that all victims of forced labour require' (Dottridge 2007:17).

On the level of prosecution, GAATW (2011) found in a analysis of case law in Europe that the burden of proof is disproportionately higher for (male) trafficked workers outside the sex sector. In the US too, Srikantiah (2007) examines the case of a young male adult victim for labour trafficking who was not recognised under the TVPA (*Abrica v. Campestre Corp.*, as cited in Srikantiah

2007:158). Adult men are presumed to possess more agency by police, judges and prosecutors (GAATW 2011:80), linking back to issues of consent discussed in Section I. Aggravated circumstances need to apply for men to be considered victims; this triggers a race to the bottom more intense than that for 'victims of sex trafficking.' As men are not the 'ideal victim', their exploitation needs to be more physical to be believed (see also Graham 2006 who describes a similar tendency with male victims of rape). The simplified figure of the feminine 'ideal victim' thus has tangible consequences beyond the boundaries of discourse.

From a policy perspective, the conflation with sex work and slavery has been used to justify conservative agendas on prostitution and sexuality (Weitzer 2010, Zimmerman 2010), while its security lens has justified increased immigration and border control (O'Connell Davidson 2010). Moreover, it has even famously been incorporated into the justification of the war on terror by US President Bush (see Hua 2011:101-102) - the 'war on trafficking' is turned into a humanitarian issue, framed as saving the feminised victim from the masculine criminal trafficking networks, who allegedly finance the war on terror. While the war on terror has increased human rights violations and immigration control in the US (see Urbina and Smith 2007:56), the prevention of trafficking gives these controls a humane face. These justifications run among clearly gendered lines, with Enloe (1993) affirming that drastic actions are easier to defend if there are *female* victims - the gendered 'language of harm prevention is introduced into anti-migration measures' (Walters 2011, as cited in Anderson 2013). Neglecting men and putting 'womenandchildren' at the fore stops us from asking question about agency, consent, and helps in establishing a clear dichotomy between migration/labour and 'trafficking'. Thus, there remains a clear focus on the 'ideal victim' of trafficking, inscribed in discourse and in international and US law: 'she, and only she, is in need of rescue and emancipation.

3B. Reintroducing the State

It is not a coincidence that exploitation in disembodied (male) labour sectors is not incorporated into the mainstream trafficking discourse, as this risks highlighting broader systematic exploitation of labour. While the feminised exploitation and narrow definition of the 'ideal victim' is rendered apolitical, the role states play in the formation of this definition is obscured. As Sassen famously postulates, migration has been turned into a 'mechanism [that] facilit[es] the extraction of cheap labour by assigning criminal status to a segment of the working class' (1998:36-37, as cited in Arocha 2010:37). In the US particularly, the economy has long benefited from cheap immigrant workers and exploitative working conditions (see Calavita 2007:117, Chacon 2006:3040). This leads us to a question *à la* Bonnie Honig (2001): what does the trafficking discourse do for us?

The trafficking discourse aids in carving out highly gendered and racialised perceptions of differences between 'us' and 'them'. On the one hand, it helps construct a 'social distance' which is needed to tolerate exploitative conditions encountered in our own labour markets (see Anderson and Rogaly 2005). The (irregular) migrant, presumed to be a masculine, rational worker, does not enter the realm of exceptionalistic discourse surrounding 'trafficking' - 'social distance' is easier to construct in relation to cunning, rational male migrants. On the other hand, the few who fit the narrow 'ideal victim' frame are assisted by 'our' benevolent state and Western do-gooders, placating us by showing that we are doing something against the 'exploitation of the innocent'. The feminised victim is employed to justify anything, notably immigration controls, while obscuring the larger mechanisms at work which create dependencies and exploitation. It is this specific framing of the trafficking discourse which creates and enforces dichotomies between men and women, hegemonic and subordinate masculinities and femininities, backwardness and modernity, the good versus the bad migrant - while enforcing underlying power relations.^{xv}

Thus, while a focus on global labour market mechanisms may allow a critical discourse on labour exploitation to emerge, the trafficking lens focuses on morality, especially in regards to the US's VTPA. Morality, rather than the economy is placed at the forefront, with labour erased in victimhood. With the obscuring of the role of the market, the role of the state in creating these vulnerabilities is overlooked through an emphasis on individual morality rather than institutional structures (Brace 2010:2, Hua and Nigorizawa 2010:415). On the one hand, the imperialist, racist discourse described in Section 2 plays into this, as when 'injury' in Brown's sense (1995) is explained as 'resulting from crime, faulty values, 'their' primordial culture or poverty' (as cited in Jacobsen and Stenvoll 2010:280). On the other hand, the discourse makes 'organized crime' responsible for 'trafficking'. Within this discourse, states are entities that address injuries, even when they are paradoxically the very entities that cause them, as outlined by Brown in 'States of Injury' (1995). This is not to claim that without the state or immigration controls, exploitation would not occur - but its role in current forms of exploitation needs to be highlighted, along with reasoning for why certain *types* of exploitation, involving certain victims, are recognised and others obscured. By calling on the state to address injuries, the structures of those injuries are reaffirmed rather than undermined (Doezema 2010:133).

Thus, I do *not* advocate for an extension of the victim category and a greater recognition of exploited men as 'victims of trafficking'. Integrating men does not change the overall discourse, it only fuels what Anderson (2007) fittingly coined the 'grave train of human trafficking'; it reinforces neoliberal interests of pointing to the few victims which the paternalistic, benevolent state 'rescues'. The blame needs to be shifted away from criminal networks and 'primordial culture' to states - this

calls for a frame transformation (see Snow *et al.* 1986:473-476). For such a frame transformation to occur, both the immigration controls unduly discriminating against the poor as well as exploitative employers need to be reframed as injustices. This, however, would require a reframing of the wider social-economic system, and indeed the nation-state system; this is what Snow *et al.* (1986:475) term a 'Transformation of Global Interpretative Frames', which entails the 'displacement of one universe of discourse by another and its attendant rules and grammar for putting things together (Snow and Machalek 1983:265-66, as cited in Snow *et al.* 1986:475). Thus a shift from 'ideal victim' of trafficking to a focus on the system would facilitate the deconstruction of the status quo, rather than the upholding of it.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how the trafficking discourse has been based on the figure of the feminine 'ideal victim'. This construction of the 'ideal victim' of trafficking is permeated with gender essentialisms, which leave little room for men or women who do not conform to the feminine underpinnings of the passive, irrational, innocent, 'ideal victim' to fit into the narrow victim frame. The US has held a central position in influencing the global discourse, notably through the TIP Report; the constricted understanding of trafficking has reinforced the narrow 'ideal victim' framework at the global stage. Adult men have become slightly more visible with the recent emphasis on 'labour trafficking', but this has been limited to men conforming to a racialised, subordinate masculinity. Thus, the frame extension to labour trafficking has only resulted in a negligible extension of the narrow 'ideal victim' frame and has entailed very little development of new approaches. The current 'trafficking discourse' remains based on and further propagates gender essentialisms, which are rooted in the genealogy of the trafficking discourse. Contrary to some expectations, the discursive expansion of the victim category has not resulted in making 'trafficking' a more useful concept to address the diverse levels and instances of exploitation that could potentially be covered under the international definition of trafficking enshrined in the Palermo Protocol.

The paper did not aim to bring men into the trafficking gaze *per se*, but instead to shift the gaze itself by bringing men into the gaze: through highlighting how adult men do not fit the 'ideal victim' frame, the fiction of the 'ideal victim' was made visible. The 'ideal victim' leaves little room for 'real victims', and it has helped to justify abolitionist politics and border controls. While the focus of the trafficking discourse stays on victims and perpetrators, the role of the state in contributing to exploitation remains obscured.

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ⁱ Also recurrently referred to as 'Palermo Protocol' or 'Trafficking Protocol', although it is one of three Protocols which have elaborated in Palermo as part of the Convention on Trans-national Organised Crime.

ⁱⁱ for a succinct critical analysis of the Palermo Protocol, see Anderson and O'Connell Davidson 2003

ⁱⁱⁱ Notably, movement is not a necessary pre-condition of trafficking, but the 'trafficking discourse' has almost exclusively concentrated on movement, especially over international borders.

^{iv} For a discussion on the creation of the 'ideal victim' in the genealogy of the trafficking discourse, please consult Blume 2012 and Doezema 2010.

^v Although in reality, women have always presented an important proportion of immigration, see DeLaet 1999.

^{vi} Recognising these varied intersections, 'masculinity' is commonly pluralized as 'masculinities'. This approach will be also adopted in this dissertation (see Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985, as cited in Hearn and Collinson 2005: 98).

^{vii} My acknowledgments have to go to Elena Fiddian-Quasimye who made me aware of this concept when presenting her book project (Fiddian-Quasimye 2012).

^{viii} While still widely used, many organisations active in the 'fight' against human trafficking advocate for the use of the term 'survivor of trafficking'. However, to clarify the link to Christie's 'ideal victim' framework, the term 'victim' is used.

^{ix} To underline: this only applies to the discourse. In reality, very few women are identified as 'victims of trafficking' and receive actual assistance based on this status, as overall numbers are low (see also footnote 16).

^x No sex segregated data is available.

^{xi} The TIP report has grown in length over time (from 104 pages in 2001 to 368 pages in 2011). Thus, the increases have also to be seen in relation to the report length.

^{xii} In the case of female victims, all those with the US as destination country were 'rescued', while a positive state intervention was also depicted in Australia, Malaysia, Turkey and France.

^{xiii} eg. if travel for women is restricted in the name of counter-trafficking initiatives, travel may be restricted for men as well in the name of gender equality.

^{xiv} On 'collateral damages' of anti-trafficking measures see GAATW 2007.

^{xv} See O'Connell Davidson 2006, 2010, on criticism of inherent dichotomies used in trafficking discourse