



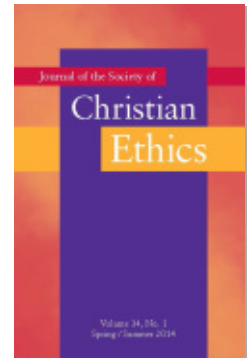
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Christian Ethics and Human Trafficking Activism: Progressive Christianity and Social Critique

Letitia M. Campbell and Yvonne C. Zimmerman

This essay argues that the antitrafficking movement's dominant rhetorical and conceptual framework of human trafficking as "sold sex" has significant limitations that deserve greater critical moral reflection. This framework overlooks key issues of social and economic injustice, and eclipses the experiences of marginalized people and communities, including immigrants and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer people, whose welfare and empowerment have been key concerns for progressive people of faith. By asking what insights progressive Christian social ethics might contribute to shaping alternative perspectives on antitrafficking analysis and activism, we explore progressive Christian critiques of neoliberalism and feminist critiques of the heteronormative family as resources for crafting analyses of and responses to human trafficking that foreground queer, feminist, and antiracist commitments.

OVER THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, A POWERFUL ANTI-HUMAN trafficking movement has emerged in the United States, achieving wide recognition for this issue and establishing a new legal regime that organizes governmental responses to the phenomenon. The political consensus on human trafficking is broad, and the diversity of the constituencies that make up antitrafficking coalitions has been a key part of successful legislative strategies at local, state, and national levels. At local and grassroots levels, concerns about human trafficking often bring together groups who are at odds on other issues: feminists and evangelicals, business leaders and student activists. Condemnation of human trafficking serves as a point of rare moral consensus among Christians across the theological spectrum as well. Alongside committed feminists and human rights activists, Christian conservatives and moderate evangelicals routinely identify human trafficking as an issue of great urgency and

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concern. Sociologist Elizabeth Bernstein's research shows how this Christian consensus condemning human trafficking has allowed Christian leaders and organizations to exercise considerable political and moral influence on this issue at the national, state, and local levels.¹

"Human trafficking" is an evocative term that conjures images of human bondage and oppression, indignation at unjust suffering, and the specter of the outlawed institution of chattel slavery. In the United States especially, where discussions about human trafficking have focused disproportionately on sexual trafficking, the term almost inevitably calls to mind images of sexual exploitation, commercial sex, and the sexual abuse and exploitation of children as well. In this essay, we argue that the dominant framing of human trafficking as "sold sex" around which the US antitrafficking alliance coheres has a number of significant limitations that are particularly problematic for progressive Christians and deserve greater critical moral reflection.² Specifically, we show how the spectacle of consensus on this issue and the discourses that maintain this consensus foreclose certain crucial conversations. Because nobody is *for* human trafficking, discussions about what human trafficking is, why it is wrong, and which strategies could most successfully curtail it rarely emerge in meaningful ways.

For example, the dominant antitrafficking framework mostly overlooks the experiences and concerns of many of the most marginalized communities, including immigrants and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (GLBTIQ) people. As Christian ethicists who identify as queer, feminist, and progressive, we have a unique perspective on these silences. When we are invited to speak to churches about our work and expertise on human trafficking, we feel quite keenly the implicit expectation that the "Christian" aspect of our professional identities means that we will condemn commercial sex work; similarly, our "feminist" perspectives on human trafficking are acceptable as long as we reiterate that trafficked women are forced to exchange sex for money, and that sexual activity for any reason other than love is inherently degrading. Critical feminist perspectives that question whether sex work is always necessarily coercive or uniquely exploitative are distinctly unwelcome, and typically we are not expected to talk or think queerly about trafficking at all.

Our personal experiences confirm a broader observation: when progressive Christian organizations take up issues of human trafficking, they typically make use of and circulate the same stories and images, and support the same basic approaches to conceptualizing and remedying human trafficking that characterize the dominant antitrafficking consensus. Yet given the consistency with which issues of structural injustice and the concerns of queer and immigrant communities (among others) are written out of dominant forms of antitrafficking activism, we argue that identifying intellectual resources for conceptualizing human trafficking and antitrafficking interventions in other ways is a moral imperative. To this end, we suggest that the traditions of critique distinctive to

progressive Christian social ethics on economic justice, political justice, and gender and sexuality are promising resources for crafting analyses of and responses to human trafficking that foreground queer, feminist, and antiracist commitments. We begin in the first two sections by defining human trafficking and briefly summarizing the history of the dominant consensus around which contemporary antitrafficking work is organized. These sections are followed by a more extended discussion of the controlling narratives, images, and assumptions that shape the working alliance that propels the contemporary antitrafficking movement. The final two sections focus critical moral attention on two distinct but interrelated areas: progressive critiques of neoliberalism and feminist critiques of the heteronormative family. In each case, we ask what progressive Christian social ethics might contribute to shaping alternative perspectives on human trafficking and antitrafficking activism.

Human Trafficking Defined

Human trafficking is defined in international law as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments of benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”³ In other words, human trafficking refers to the wide variety of processes by which individuals become enslaved—that is, unable to leave a situation without fear of violence and paid nothing or next to nothing for any duration of time.⁴ Estimates of the number of trafficked or enslaved people around the world vary wildly, from 12.3 million people to a figure more than double that, 27 million people.⁵

Like statistics about global rates of trafficking, estimates of the rates of trafficking in the United States are also incredibly broad. For many years the government claimed that 50,000 women and children were trafficked into the United States annually, although this number is now widely regarded as inflated and has been revised to between 14,500 and 17,500 people.⁶ A 2004 study by Free the Slaves and the Human Rights Center estimates that at any given time there are approximately 10,000 people in the United States whose situations meet the definition of human trafficking.⁷

Sex trafficking is a crime that the American public loves to hate. The impression that human trafficking primarily concerns the commercial sexual exploitation of women and children is one that is carefully cultivated, widely circulated, and commonly accepted as true. For many Americans, the term “human trafficking” is more likely to evoke the image of a brothel than that of a factory farm or private home. At the same time, there is clear recognition in both

US and international law that human trafficking is not a crime that affects only women and girls, nor is it defined by sexual exploitation. US federal law defines as human trafficking any labor that is performed under conditions of force, fraud, or coercion, thus emphasizing issues of exploited labor. People of any age or gender can be trafficked into many different forms of exploitative labor: manufacturing, construction, farming, fishing, custodial work, domestic labor—not just commercial sex. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that of the 12.3 million persons who are enslaved worldwide, just 1.39 million individuals (about 11 percent of all trafficking victims) are trafficked into the commercial sex industry.⁸ There is no type of human trafficking that is not unequivocally wrong; however, despite carefully crafted impressions, commercial sexual exploitation is not the most common form of human trafficking, and condemnation of prostitution and commercial sex cannot therefore be the *sine qua non* of opposition to human trafficking.

History of US Antitrafficking Activism

To understand the roots of the prevailing images of human trafficking in the antitrafficking movement, we have to look back more than two decades.⁹ In the 1990s American evangelicals who exerted considerable influence in relation to domestic social issues began making forays into US foreign policy. Although they had been involved in international relief and development work since the early 1970s and had established themselves as major players in this arena, evangelical engagement in international development work was expanding rapidly. This growth reflected both shifts within American evangelicalism and a more general expansion of the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGO) and the private sector in providing health, education, and other social services that previously had been provided through state institutions.¹⁰ Overseas, as at home, “faith-based initiatives” were increasingly relied upon to fill gaps left by the neoliberal contraction of the state.¹¹ Evangelical advocacy on foreign policy issues emerged against this backdrop of expanding global engagement.

Christian persecution was the first issue to focus the popular attention of evangelicals on matters of foreign policy. For decades, evangelicals had been raising concerns about the repression of the church under communism and the risks of proselytizing in “closed” countries and remote regions. In the post–Cold War period, though, newly circulating reports about the suffering of Christians in countries such as China, India, Sudan, and Islamic countries throughout the Middle East stirred fresh concerns about “the persecuted Church.” Increasingly comfortable with the secular language of human rights, evangelicals saw these concerns as an opportunity to “redefine . . . the human rights agenda to include the rights of religious believers.”¹² The political pressure that evangelical ac-

tivism created and brought to bear on Congress resulted in the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act, a legislative accomplishment that definitively marked the beginning of evangelical activism on a spate of foreign policy issues.¹³

By the following year, the coalition that had formed around the issue of religious persecution was mobilizing around what was widely seen in evangelical circles as a “follow-up” issue—human trafficking, specifically the sexual trafficking of women.¹⁴ So powerfully did the earlier movement to end religious persecution frame evangelicals’ antitrafficking activism that many of its constituents perceived human trafficking, like Christian persecution, to be a religious issue.¹⁵ As American evangelicals took up the new issue of sex trafficking, they retained and extended one of the core claims of their previous initiative: the idea that in the globalized Christianity of the twenty-first century, the “paradigmatic Christian . . . [is] a poor and brown third-world female.”¹⁶ In the transition from organizing around religious persecution to activism on human trafficking, this figure was recast, rhetorically and symbolically, as the quintessential victim of human trafficking.

One of the first pieces of antitrafficking legislation proposed during this period, the Freedom from Sexual Trafficking Act of 1999, showcased the preoccupation with sex trafficking.¹⁷ One of the concerns of the congressional sponsors of this bill (which did not become law) was “to categorically distinguish sex trafficking from other, nonsexual forms of exploitation.” They did not want “low-wage sweatshop issues” to cloud the issue of human trafficking, which, they argued, was essentially about sexual exploitation of women and not about exploited labor more generally.¹⁸ The narrow focus on sexual exploitation was an innovation. A number of secular NGOs had been involved in human trafficking work prior to the late 1990s, but their work tended to focus broadly on labor trafficking and the structural preconditions of the exploitation of labor, rather than exclusively on sex trafficking.¹⁹ Lawmakers informed by this broader analytic frame pushed for a definition of human trafficking that would incorporate issues of labor exploitation alongside concerns about sexual trafficking.

In part because of this political tension, the United States’ flagship anti-trafficking legislation, the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (or TVPA), codified a definition of human trafficking that expanded beyond narrower concerns with commercial sex, clearly stating that “trafficking in persons is not limited to the sex industry” (§102 b[3]). The statute defines any labor or services induced by fraud, force, or coercion as human trafficking (§103[8]). At the same time, a special concern about sex trafficking is impossible to miss, and implementation of the TVPA has tended to focus disproportionate resources on sexual trafficking over other forms.²⁰ Thus, while the TVPA codified a relatively wide definition of human trafficking as exploited labor, in the vernacular, trafficking remained the sexual exploitation of women and children. At the grassroots level, images of “sold and abducted sexual victims” and

“women and children [trafficked] into lives of sexual bondage” persisted as the primary tropes for mobilizing faith-based antitrafficking campaigns.²¹

This gap between legal and vernacular antitrafficking discourses is reminiscent of another political episode that shapes the contemporary antitrafficking movement, the alliance forged between secular feminists and religious conservatives to combat pornography in the 1970s and 1980s.²² This alliance came to define the antipornography movement, and, along with the divisions among feminists that it brought to the fore, has had an enduring impact on the women’s movement as a whole. In her rich history of the feminist antipornography movement, *Battling Pornography*, Carolyn Bronstein describes its origins in grassroots feminist campaigns against images of sexual violence against women in the mainstream media. She charts the development of feminist alliances with social conservatives in the late 1970s and 1980s, showing how these diverse coalitions worked across pronounced political differences to advance antipornography agendas at local, state, and national levels. This alliance between feminists and social conservatives on the issue of pornography led to a bitter split in the feminist movement between antipornography feminists who understood pornography as violence against women and self-identified “sex-positive” feminists who saw efforts to ban and regulate pornography as part of broader conservative efforts to reinforce repressive sexual norms that were, in their view, incompatible with feminism’s commitment to authentic sexual liberation. Alongside debates about pornography, divergent positions on homosexuality, sex work, and the politics of sadomasochistic sexual practices were also major fault lines that came to define these two bitterly divided branches of the women’s movement.²³

The alliance with feminists on the issue of pornography had a lasting impact on the sexual and gender politics of social and religious conservatives as well. Over time these groups adopted some of the rhetoric secular feminists used to make the case against pornography (though often without taking on the underlying analysis). The rhetoric of pornography as “degrading” to women and concerns about violence against women became what Carole Vance calls “crossover terms,” central to both groups’ public arguments against pornography but used to suggest rather different kinds of harm.²⁴ Quite apart from the intent of conservative movement leaders, these terms and concepts rapidly diffused within the right wing, and soon rank-and-file members of socially conservative groups were rehearsing arguments about the “degradation” of women, violence against women, and even women’s “inequality.”²⁵

In crucial ways, the feminist antipornography alliance was instrumental in setting the stage for the contemporary movement to end human trafficking.²⁶ The contemporary antitrafficking movement has inherited not only a great deal of the rhetoric but also many of the tensions of the earlier antipornography alliance that Bronstein describes. The rhetoric of “sexual slavery,” for in-

stance, which circulates widely in antitrafficking networks, appears much earlier (and with different meaning) in radical feminist critiques of the sexual dimensions of women's oppression.²⁷ Similarly, concern about the media's sexualization of ever-younger girls, a prominent feature of antipornography activism in the late 1980s, remains a staple of the contemporary antitrafficking movement.²⁸ In fact, not only is the current antitrafficking movement dominated by many of the same images and concerns that fueled the earlier movements to combat pornography and violence against women, it is also organized around some of the same feminist leaders and networks.²⁹ The trajectories of these earlier splits thus shape the internal politics of the contemporary antitrafficking movement, with some of the groups that expressed concern about policies championed in the name of ending violence against women in the 1970s and 1980s today expressing opposition to policies advanced under the banner of antitrafficking initiatives. Similarly, groups whose voices were mostly excluded from the earlier feminist antipornography alliances (GLBTIQ groups and sex workers rights organizations, most prominently) are similarly absent from antitrafficking alliances.

Given this history, it is no surprise that framing human trafficking as female sexual slavery and male sexual violence against women has helped transform it from an obscure issue, one on which only a few grassroots organizations and NGOs were focused, to a high-profile human rights issue capable of uniting activists across theological, political, and ideological lines.³⁰ With the established images and rhetoric of the sexual trafficking of women firmly ensconced as point of departure for antitrafficking activism, evangelicals and a broad swath of the US feminist establishment found a familiar common ground on this issue. Armed with a shared vocabulary of human rights and gender equality (however differently understood), they began to assemble an antitrafficking movement rooted in shared commitments to an egalitarian, heterosexual conception of family and the conviction that sexual trafficking could be best remedied through legal and carceral state intervention combined with expanded access to the formal labor market.³¹

Current Antitrafficking Activism

In part because of this complex cultural and political history, feminist anthropologist Carole S. Vance argues, the contemporary movement to end human trafficking is unified less by coherent analysis or shared ideology than by recourse to the narrative genre of melodrama. Melodramatic depictions of trafficking typically focus on "an innocent female victim crying out for rescue from sexual danger and diabolical male villains intent on her violation," or at least supremely indifferent to it.³² In turn, morally good people are compelled

to action. The intervening hero stops bad men from preying on innocent and unsuspecting victims. Told in this way, trafficking stories feature a stable cast of predictable stock characters: clearly identifiable victims, villains, and heroes.

This melodramatic plot is sufficiently flexible to be set in virtually any global location. From the streets of Atlanta to the brothels of India, the variety of settings in which trafficking stories are set reinforces an image of the antitrafficking movement as cosmopolitan and globally aware. Yet while trafficking narratives frequently refer to structural factors and conditions such as globalization, poverty, migration, immigration, racism, and gender inequality, rarely are the particular political, economic, and social dynamics of specific locations or narratives explored in depth. As Vance explains, “melodrama is about people, not states, institutions or structural conditions.”³³ The melodramatic genre dictates a general storyline of “male lust endangering innocent women” that organizes attention and emotion around individual actors and motivations. The invocation of structural conditions of exploitation in the context of trafficking melodramas thus serves primarily as a backdrop for staging the central emotional drama that characterizes antitrafficking narratives, that of sexual danger and rescue. In this way, the narrative genre of melodrama mutes the broader roles of structural factors as well as their complexity and particularity in specific locations.

Despite the diverse range of constituencies currently involved in antitrafficking activism, many policy initiatives and projects designed to fight trafficking look remarkably similar. Elizabeth Bernstein and Janet Jakobsen have argued that Christian conservatives and secular feminists have developed a working alliance to combat trafficking around shared commitments to “a sexual politics that is premised upon amative, egalitarian, heterosexual relations between women and men and enhanced male participation in the domestic sphere, [and . . .] a ‘masculinist’ model of state intervention that is premised upon militarized humanitarianism and carceral paradigms of justice.”³⁴ In practice, this means that most mainstream antitrafficking initiatives recommend formal market participation (i.e., legal jobs) and family envelopment (i.e., return to family of origin, or the formation of new heterosexual family units through marriage) as remedies for trafficking victims, and for trafficking offenders, criminal prosecution, and incarceration.³⁵ Because there are few alternatives to the dominant antitrafficking framework for conceptualizing and analyzing trafficking, when progressive Christians join antitrafficking coalitions and projects, they often adopt the same rhetoric, images, and approaches to the issues.³⁶ Thus the monopoly of the melodramatic framework in human trafficking activism and advocacy extends even to progressives, despite the important issues and communities that this framework eclipses. Two examples illustrate this pattern and the contradictions it creates for progressive antitrafficking efforts.

January 11 is National Human Trafficking Awareness Day in the United States, a day on which Americans are encouraged to educate themselves about human trafficking, express support for antitrafficking legislation and enforcement efforts, and pledge financial or volunteer support to various antitrafficking organizations. In January 2011, one email marking the day began with a fairly standard description of human trafficking: “Human trafficking, referred to as modern-day slavery, is the fastest growing and second most profitable criminal industry in the world. More than 27 million women, men, and children have become victims of human trafficking for labor and sexual exploitation. Trafficking can and does occur in all parts of the world, including the US. Large sporting events like the Super Bowl attract human trafficking, especially for sexual exploitation of women.”³⁷ The email also included a section titled “Stories of Human Trafficking,” excerpted from the Polaris Project website. Four of the vignettes related some form of exploitative, immoral, or abusive sex. The single vignette that was not about sex trafficking was the third in the sequence of stories, placed between the two sexual vignettes that preceded it and two that followed, echoing the common perception that while human trafficking is *sometimes* labor exploitation, it is *usually* sexual exploitation. Following the stories of human trafficking, the email ended with a “Prayer of Solidarity.”³⁸

The presentation of human trafficking in this email—the statistics and description as “modern-day slavery,” its depiction in the five vignettes, and the concluding Prayer of Solidarity—could have been produced by any of a range of Christian antitrafficking organizations: the Salvation Army, the International Justice Mission, or even a local church. However, it came from one of the most progressive Christian feminist organizations in the United States, the Women’s Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual (WATER). WATER is a feminist, Catholic, lesbian-affirming organization. The way that the dominant framing of human trafficking—what it is, why it is wrong, and what ought to be done about it—shows up in WATER’s email illustrates the long reach of the standard framework for understanding human trafficking. The rhetoric, images, characters, emotions, and moral rationales that define the dominant antitrafficking consensus are extremely persuasive, even emotionally satisfying. For this reason, when progressive Christian organizations take up the issue of human trafficking, they frequently do so in the terms of the mainstream antitrafficking movement, circulating the same stories and images, supporting the same basic analytical frameworks and remedies.

Another example further illustrates how difficult it is for progressive Christian organizations to move beyond the dominant antitrafficking framework. In the summer of 2011, a group of progressive religious leaders joined an already existing campaign to shut down the “adult services” section of the classified advertising website Backpage.com.³⁹ Campaigners maintained that this section of

the website had become a lucrative hub for the arrangement of commercial sex acts, including the “sale of children.” Working through Groundswell, a social action initiative of Auburn Theological Seminary in New York City, the group took out a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times*, where they published an open letter to Village Voice Media (VVM), the parent company of Backpage.com.⁴⁰ The letter and an accompanying media campaign attracted the attention of VVM, the media, and the public. In December representatives from VVM met with clergy at Auburn Seminary, and the following March Groundswell delivered petitions containing the signatures of more than 600 faith leaders and more than 240,000 community members to VVM’s offices.⁴¹ While the campaign did not succeed in forcing Backpage.com to shutter the adult sections of its website, it did add momentum to the campaign and raised the profile of the effort.⁴² What sets this campaign apart for the purposes of our analysis here is neither its framing of the issue of trafficking nor its stated objective of shutting down Backpage.com’s adult services section but the letter’s drafters and signers, a group of prominent rabbis, pastors, bishops, and imams generally associated with liberal and progressive congregations, movements, and institutions.

Like WATER’s Human Trafficking Awareness Day email, the Groundswell letter incorporates many of the key features of the dominant antitrafficking narrative. There is slippage between the broad term “trafficking” and the term “sex trafficking,” and further confusion of sex trafficking with commercial sex work generally. A reference to young people as “boys and girls” conjures images of childhood and sexual inexperience that sideline questions of sexual agency. Like many other contemporary antitrafficking initiatives, the open letter emphasizes both the broad consensus about trafficking—a consensus shared by “moral and religious leaders of many creeds and backgrounds”—and maintains a tone of unflinching moral clarity about the harms of trafficking and the urgency of proposed remedies. The letter begins: “It is a basic fact of the moral universe that girls and boys should not be sold for sex.” It concludes with a call to action: “We can do something right now to help these girls and boys. Please shut down the Adult section of Backpage.com immediately so that no minor is exploited through advertisements on your Web site.”⁴³

The progressive organizers and participants involved in the Groundswell campaign against Backpage.com saw clear connections between the issue of child sex trafficking and a broader set of social justice issues with which they were already involved, including domestic violence, gender justice, immigration, and the concerns of GLBTIQ people. The “Groundswell of Responsibility” website describes the campaign with reference to these issues: “Child sex slavery is rooted in nearly every other social injustice. If you care about ending poverty, homelessness, human trafficking, immigrant exploitation, LGBT oppression, racism, and violence against girls, this is your call to action. This

is not a conservative issue, or a liberal issue. This is about ending an unconscionable practice.”⁴⁴ Groundswell’s open letter identifies poverty and abuse as root causes of child sex trafficking, and acknowledges that ending the sex trafficking of minors will require much more than eliminating adult ads from online classified sites. Yet the additional strategies mentioned in the letter—educational campaigns and law enforcement—are among the remedies most commonly endorsed by the mainstream antitrafficking movement; on their own, they offer little in the way of addressing issues of economic justice and structural inequality. In the broader media coverage of the campaign against Backpage.com, these attempts to highlight systemic inequalities and social justice issues were barely visible.

At the same time, VVM and its supporters, including some feminists and groups representing individuals involved in the commercial sex trade, found it easy to misidentify the Groundswell campaign with the long tradition of socially conservative efforts to curtail freedom of speech in order to promote or preserve “traditional” sexual morality. This fit a well-worn script. Alluding to the *Village Voice*’s antiestablishment ethos and reputation for provocation, VVM chief executive officer, Jim Larkin, told the *New York Times*, “We have all these practicing politicians and concerned clergy after us. We must be doing something right.”⁴⁵ (VVM representatives struck a more respectful tone in their direct correspondence with the Groundswell coalition.) The identification of antitrafficking activism with conservative sexual politics frustrated Groundswell’s leaders, who could point to a range of progressive issues with which they were involved, including especially their pro-GLBTIQ initiatives, as a way of distinguishing themselves from religious conservatives. Nonetheless, they found it difficult to break out of the deeply ingrained expectations for the role of religious voices in public debates about the tightly linked issues of sexuality, sexual freedom, and free speech.⁴⁶

A consultation titled “Human Trafficking, Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Prophetic Leadership,” convened by Auburn Seminary in September 2012, put these issues front and center.⁴⁷ Organized as a follow-up to the Backpage.com campaign, the consultation brought together a small group of clergy, journalists, NGO leaders, grassroots activists, and academics to discuss building a long-term progressive coalition around issues of human trafficking. Over the course of the day, many participants raised questions about theologies of gender and sexuality implicit in the dominant antitrafficking rhetoric; the movement’s tendency to fall into a “rescue mentality”; the need for more robust conversations about race, class, and sexual violence; a desire to take seriously the experiences and needs of GLBTIQ youth; and the potential impact of media images that portray trafficking “victims” as passive and without agency. These concerns, along with a corresponding desire to proceed cautiously and deliberately, were met at times with a sense of urgency

and even impatience on the part of some clergy and activists who articulated a sincere desire to leave with a course of action that could help to remedy an unconscionable injustice.⁴⁸

The tensions between these two urges are real, and they reflect the genuine difficulties faced by progressive religious leaders and coalitions who are committed to building broad coalitions to take up the cause of human trafficking while resisting the conservative tendencies of much mainstream anti-trafficking activism. Adopting the prevailing rhetoric and imagery of the anti-trafficking movement often eclipses issues, individuals, and communities to which progressives have traditionally been committed. In particular, the experiences of young people, queer people, and immigrants (many of whom may also be young and/or queer) are often written out of the dominant anti-trafficking narrative. Thinking carefully about why these experiences do not fit easily into the dominant understandings of human trafficking can help direct attention to some of the more fundamental analytical oversights of the anti-trafficking movement.

The issues raised by the Groundswell campaign about minors who sell sex and, more narrowly, young people trafficked for sex illustrate a limitation of the dominant anti-trafficking narrative, which has successfully rewritten street children, runaways, and juvenile delinquents as actual or potential “trafficking victims” in recent years. Penelope Saunders writes that the framework of child trafficking “describes a set of behaviors perpetrated against children and youth . . . and locates volition as well as blame squarely in the actions of traffickers,” thereby positioning children and youth as casualties of adult sexual misconduct.⁴⁹ For all of the ways that the child-trafficking framework permits youth to articulate sexual experiences as exploitation, Saunders highlights how it falters when confronted with nonconforming youth—young people who “do not consider themselves victims or who do not view the harms done to them in the same way as . . . advocates who intend to help them.”⁵⁰ Young people who sell sex may or may not understand themselves as “trafficking victims.” They may or may not feel that exchanging sex for money is the worst harm they suffer. Framing this issue as a problem of sold sex actually ignores the systems that young people who sell sex report as the major sources of oppression and suffering in their lives, including abuse in families, harassment by police, and failures of the foster care system.⁵¹

In particular, the child-trafficking framework is unable to account for the ways that homophobia shapes the lives of queer and transgender youth, who by most accounts constitute a large portion of homeless youth in major cities.⁵² It misses the stories of other young people—homeless, runaway, and other economically marginal youth—who report complex motives for involvement in the sex work economy and a wide variety of experiences in it.⁵³ This framework is further unable to accommodate youth, especially youth who identify

as gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender, who are “sexually active on their own terms while at the same time experiencing sexual abuse and exploitation in other arenas of their lives, [or] youth who no longer look or act like small, frightened children but wish to speak out about their own lives and construct their own futures”—futures that might or might not include marriage, the nuclear family, or sober middle-class values, and that might involve any number of arrangements (sexual, commercial or otherwise) that violate the good judgment of social reformers, the sexual mores of religious crusaders, or the letter of the law.⁵⁴ Insofar as one of the primary issues at stake in contemporary antitrafficking campaigns is normative heterosexuality and its sexual arrangements, sexual minorities generally and sexually nonconforming youth in particular fall out of this framework.⁵⁵

The dominant framing of trafficking likewise glosses over issues of agency, empowerment, and structural violence that rise to the surface in the stories of migrant women and men who report that they sometimes choose work in sexual and erotic services because they prefer it to other kinds of work available to them. Anthropologist Laura Agustín argues that the recurring debates in mainstream antitrafficking advocacy circles about whether prostitution is best understood as violence or work fail to address undocumented migrants who earn money in sex, housework, and caring sectors of the labor market. “Migrants working in the informal sector are treated as passive subjects rather than as normal people looking for conventional opportunities, conditions and pleasures,” she writes.⁵⁶ Downplaying the significance of their expressed preferences and the issues that migrants who sell sex identify as their primary concerns—for instance, safe and affordable housing, economic livelihoods, and violence at the hands of police—glosses over important questions about the relationship between sexual and nonsexual forms of exploitation, and between exploitation in intimate and nonintimate spheres. It also overlooks the issues of poverty, economic inequality, and violence that shape the choices and constraints faced by transnational migrants, both documented and undocumented.

Although WATER’s Human Trafficking Awareness Day email and the Groundswell campaign to shut down the adult section of Backpage.com are two examples of progressive forays into antitrafficking activism, they illustrate the force of the dominant antitrafficking refrain. When groups wish to express condemnation of human trafficking, doing so without adopting the existing rhetorical framework of sold sex and the images and moral rationale of the dominant antitrafficking consensus but at the same time remaining recognizable as part of the antitrafficking movement is extremely difficult. Consequently, it is not surprising that progressive Christians—including those groups and individuals who might otherwise critique any number of facets of this dominant antitrafficking framework—take it up when they turn to the topic of trafficking.

Articulating a different analytical framework for talking and thinking about human trafficking is a formidable challenge.

Having noted the ways that the melodramatic framing of human trafficking functions to divert attention from larger macro-level structures of exploitation, the remainder of this essay explores some of the insights of a different analysis of trafficking that intentionally attempts to refuse this seductive narrative. In doing so, we suggest that progressive critiques of neoliberal capitalism and its attendant conceptions of family can be resources for the critical reformulation of the dominant antitrafficking framework.

Neoliberalism and Human Trafficking

Long before human trafficking was recognized as a social and political issue, progressive Christian ethicists were critical of neoliberalism on account of its distinct form of economic reductionism and its role in dismantling the regulatory and social welfare functions of the state.⁵⁷ In *Hitting Home: Feminist Ethics, Women's Work and the Betrayal of Family Values*, ethicist Gloria Albrecht describes neoliberalism as a political economic theory within capitalism that aims at economic growth and efficiency as primary social and political goals.⁵⁸ Neoliberal economic theory insists that unregulated or “free” markets are the most efficient and reliable means to achieve economic growth and that free markets are uniquely capable of achieving the best solutions to increasingly complex social problems.⁵⁹ In other words, neoliberalism posits the free market as basic not only to economic growth but to social and political goods—individual liberties, human rights, environmental protections—as well. In neoliberal terms, political and social goods are, above all, derivatives of economic success inseparable from, if not identical to, economic prosperity and efficiency.⁶⁰

One of the fronts on which progressive Christians have waged their resistance to neoliberalism is through defending a primary role for the government in addressing social and economic inequalities. A related way that progressive Christians resist neoliberalism is by articulating the connections between particular economic and social policies and the material conditions of people’s daily lives, showing how the forms of suffering and precarity about which a wide range of people profess concern are tied to specific policies, practices, and ideologies.

A great variety of US-based antitrafficking activism is currently organized around promoting neoliberal capitalist institutions as the best and most promising antitrafficking rejoinder. For instance, Kevin Bales, a leading expert on modern slavery and human trafficking, makes the connection between neoliberal capitalist practices and opposition to human trafficking explicitly, arguing, “Freed slaves . . . become what a slave can never be: a consumer.”⁶¹ Echoing

Bales's perspective, a staff member of the International Justice Mission (IJM), the largest evangelical antitrafficking organization in the United States, recently gave a similar explanation of the IJM's antitrafficking work, stating, "Our real goal is to bring people out of slavery into the free market."⁶² Here a market component is positioned as essential to, if not constitutive of, freedom from human trafficking. That is, freedom from human trafficking entails (re)positioning people as consumers in the free market.

Not only is freedom from trafficking articulated as participation in the capitalist marketplace as worker and consumer, but virtually every US-based antitrafficking organization supports a role for the state in antitrafficking activism that is fully consistent with neoliberalism's limited conception of the state, namely, as an agent of punitive or carceral redress. Thus, more and tougher laws that criminalize trafficking and harsher sentences for traffickers are proposed as an effective way to fight human trafficking. This neoliberal understanding of the state stands in sharp contrast to liberal conceptions of the welfare state, where the state is conceived as an agent of economic redistribution and assistance rather than primarily an agent of punishment.⁶³ This is not to deny that some individuals abuse others for financial gain, sexual gratification, or both; nor do we claim that incarceration is never an appropriate penalty for trafficking offenses. Our point is that understanding human trafficking in isolation from the social structures, economic policies, and political assumptions and practices in which it is situated and out of which it emerges, insisting instead that the primary cause of human trafficking is "traffickers"—a set of deviant, depraved, and bad individuals—is too thin an account of the types of violence and exploitation that those vulnerable to trafficking must navigate.

Analyses of human trafficking that work to systematically shift the blame for trafficking onto the backs of individuals offer an inadequate perspective on the social sources of trafficking abuses, erasing any sense of the roles played by neoliberal socioeconomic and cultural institutions, including the market and the family.⁶⁴ And yet antitrafficking advocates frequently emphasize some combination of neoliberal institutions—family, state, market—as constituting the (morally) best and (economically) most efficient antidote to human trafficking. Moreover, whether adults or children, and whether by choice or default, many individuals who experience trafficking live outside or on the margins of these institutions anyway. They work in informal sectors of the market that are mostly excluded from government regulation and accounts, they often occupy subaltern categories of citizenship, they are structurally situated outside of even liberal notions of family, and they engage in modes of dwelling besides that of spatially stable households.⁶⁵ The real issues at stake are systemic conditions of economic, social, and political precarity; thus, to frame the challenges faced by trafficked persons and those vulnerable to trafficking in terms of threats

posed by malevolent men is a case of analytic reductionism. Although beyond the scope of what we can accomplish here, we acknowledge that a fuller analysis of these issues is necessary.

Sexual Politics and Family

Another common theme threading through a great many US-based antitrafficking efforts is a sexual politics that presumes monogamous heterosexual in the context of marriage or committed relationships to be the moral norm for sexuality.⁶⁶ Other arrangements and sexual practices are denounced as degrading to men and harmful to women and children.

Elizabeth Bernstein and Janet Jakobsen describe this as “the sexual politics of ‘egalitarian heterosexual relations,’” and argue that it is a contemporary reformulation of the “family values” rhetoric that took shape in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁷ Then, as now, debates about “family values” are concerned with social morality broadly, and in some leftward leaning circles they were seen as evidence of a widespread conservative backlash against advances in public and private sphere gender equality. Religious studies scholar Stephanie May argues, however, that the “family values” debates were about more than sexual morality, and they in fact signaled a critical reworking of the material relationship between the state and the private sphere institutions of home and family. Just as family values rhetoric was lauding married, heterosexual, and at least potentially reproductive sex as the *only* form of moral sexual relationship, state regulatory and social welfare programs were contracting dramatically. By promoting conformity with this narrowly defined sexual norm as the ticket for accessing what meager resources and protections remained at the state’s disposal, the rhetoric of “family values” successfully obscured the massive erosion of the state’s ability to function as an agent of economic redress.⁶⁸

Progressive Christians resisted both the conservative moral vision of the “family values” rhetoric and the reimagined relationship between state and home that this rhetoric camouflaged. Feminist Christian ethicists led the way by mining Christian virtues, values, and sources for alternative visions of family. Values such as justice, equality, and care provided crucial moral leverage for efforts to secure recognition for a wider variety of family forms, including those headed by same-sex couples.⁶⁹

Although in its original deployment “family values” rhetoric articulated conservative rejection of ideals of gender equality, a significant shift is discernible in the current iteration of this rhetoric. Bearing the clear mark of its encounter with the various social movements comprising second-wave liberal feminism, many current invocations of “family values,” now unapologetically espouse and promote egalitarian heterosexual marriage as a private sphere ideal.⁷⁰ In the

context of antitrafficking advocacy, this shift is reflected in recurrent critiques of “third world cultures” for their “traditional” (i.e., *not* egalitarian) ideas about gender and sexuality, and the insistence that this “backwardness” is a causal factor in sex trafficking.⁷¹

Commercial heterosex is a particularly intense flash point in this fray. Heterosexual prostitution and its abolition stand at the center of an “ever-spiraling array of faith-based and secular activist agendas, human rights initiatives and legal instruments” that claim to fight human trafficking.⁷² Symbolically and materially, prostitution represents the antithesis of the ideals of private and public sphere gender equality that unite the antitrafficking alliance.⁷³ The fight against human trafficking is thus waged primarily as a fight against prostitution. The fight against prostitution, in turn, is waged as a fight for gender equality in both the public sphere and (especially) the private sphere of the home and family.⁷⁴

The private sphere institutions of home and family are frequently recommended to women as the true basis of their freedom from trafficking. Antitrafficking rhetoric packages this recommendation variously. For example, in the idea that women become vulnerable to human trafficking when they leave home, there is an assumption that trafficked persons want and need to be returned to their families upon extrication from a trafficking relationship, or a presumption that the ideal situation for women is a familial context like marriage. Although counseled in this way more explicitly by some organizations than by others, the formation of (or reentry into) heteronormative nuclear families is treated as a core benchmark of freedom and “recovery” from trafficking by a wide variety of organizations that work with female survivors of sex trafficking.

Joyce Meyer Ministries’ short video, “Wedding Bells Ring for Human Trafficking Survivors” is illustrative. It reports the work that an organization called International Crisis Aid is doing in an unspecified African country with former sex workers whom Meyer characterizes as “women and children trapped in sexual slavery.” Meyer’s guest, a representative from International Crisis Aid, gushes, “These girls are coming out, having *new* lives, complete opportunities, to get an education, to find a new job.” But at no point are any specifics about the girls’ and women’s educational achievements or their jobs described for viewers. Instead, as video footage of young African women attired in big, white, American-style wedding dresses rolls in the background, Meyer’s guest happily announces, “Three of the girls recently got married!” She explains to viewers, “They’ve had the opportunity to begin a new life, and it really is amazing because in that culture for them to find a man who would accept them and marry them after their past is quite . . . [remarkable].” She concludes, “So when we talk about total transformation, that is what God is doing in their lives.”⁷⁵ Neither education nor jobs turn out to be the crux of the “new lives” these women

receive assistance in creating; rather, the crowning achievement to which viewers' attention is drawn is their marriages.

Positing home and family as so tightly connected to women's freedom eclipses several critical issues. For one, it implies that home and family are places of safety for women. Violence thus must come from *external* sources. What this assumption misses is that threats of violence and the risk of sexual exploitation are just as prevalent in the private sphere of family and home as they are in the public sphere outside it. Feminists have long acknowledged that family members are the most common perpetrators of violence against women, thereby making home one of the most dangerous spaces for women, rather than one of the safest.⁷⁶

Second, this ideological construction of family tends to take for granted a well-defined public/private sphere separation that imagines home and family as clearly distinct from the market. Reality is often far less tidy, with family and home inextricably entangled with market forces and the forms of precarity, privatization, or flourishing they enable. Family and social networks, including sexual networks, reflect not only affective bonds but also networks through which individuals access material and financial resources. In a recent national telephone survey of unmarried African American and white women aged twenty to forty-five, for example, a full third of white and African American respondents reported that economic considerations led them to stay in a relationship longer than they wanted to. Moreover, 22 percent of African American women and 11 percent of white women reported *starting* a relationship in response to economic concerns.⁷⁷ Individuals use family, social, and sexual networks not simply to satisfy affective or "private sphere" needs and desires but also as sites of access to material resources, including financial resources.⁷⁸

Home and family are often presumed to be able (and even obligated) to ameliorate some of the market's more brutal effects—effects that the separate-spheres gender ideology ascendant through the nineteenth century held as especially unsuited to women's (alleged) gentle, noncompetitive natures. But no matter how thoroughly romanticized or broadly defined, home and family are not able to fully offset the effects of the market. Home and family do not solve the problem of economic vulnerability, and they are certainly inadequate institutional rejoinders to trafficking.

Understanding home and family as internal to the neoliberal capitalist system and, further, as themselves among the sources of violence, exploitation, or just plain misery that trafficked and vulnerable people need to navigate are issues that raise significant questions about the adequacy of the sexual politics around which the consensus on human trafficking has formed. Given that home and family are among the most dangerous settings for women, why are they repeatedly and enthusiastically endorsed as essential components of freedom? Why is (re)integration into family life so essential? Further, while critical

feminists and queer activists may have no essential quarrel with “amative, egalitarian heterosexual relations” for those who choose this, such relations are not the primary way that issues of gender equality come to bear in all lives.⁷⁹ In fact, we contend that this sexual politics is one of the points at which queer communities and the concerns of other minority and nonconforming perspectives become most clearly disconnected from the dominant antitrafficking narrative and the remedies it endorses.

Conclusion

The working alliance on trafficking within American Christianity echoes a broader consensus within the US antitrafficking movement: an enthusiastic endorsement of state-sanctioned criminalization and incarceration for traffickers and, for trafficking victims, integration into the formal “free” market (via wage labor) and reintegration into heteronormative family life. This understanding of human trafficking and, however implicitly, of human freedom reflects dual commitments to a sexual politics of egalitarian heterosexual relations and the foundational institutions of neoliberalism, including a vision of the state as an agent of carceral justice. In this essay, we have argued that such an understanding of trafficking and its remedies falls short because it overlooks the most pressing concerns and experiences of some of the populations most vulnerable to the harms of trafficking. We have shown how the traditions of critique distinctive to feminist Christian social ethics, including critiques of neoliberalism and the heteronormative family, can provide resources for an analysis of human trafficking that addresses some of the gaps and silences in mainstream antitrafficking activism and advocacy.

Of course, these are not silences that academic Christian ethicists can or should seek to fill alone. Opening up space for genuine conversation and debate about sexuality, justice, and human freedom in the context of the antitrafficking movement will require resisting the dominant consensus on trafficking at least long enough to let real questions emerge and complex debates unfold. Listening carefully to the stories and experiences—as well as the political, social, and theological analyses—of those most affected by trafficking can help us do that. To be sure, such listening (and genuine hearing) may have its own difficulties since the choices and desires of those who are most vulnerable to the harms of trafficking may or may not conform to the sexual and moral politics of social conservatives, pro-sex feminists, progressive Christians, or any other category of the concerned. Generous listening will require making space for their dreams of freedom and flourishing alongside our own, and allowing our theologies, political ideologies, and practices of solidarity to be shaped by what we hear.

In insisting on making space for these voices and experiences, we follow in the tradition of feminist Christian ethicists such as Emilie Townes, Sharon Welch, and others. Townes observes that the ethical vision of many white, middle-class Americans—the demographic profile of the very group that dominates US Christian antitrafficking activism—suffers from a distortion that is rooted in the privilege of comfortability. The luxury of not having to hear the voices or understand the perspectives of others results in isolation and segregation.⁸⁰ In the case of sex trafficking, such isolation allows relatively privileged antitrafficking advocates to romanticize marginalized persons and groups, seeing them as innocent victims deserving of rescue but missing much of the context and complexity that shapes their actual experiences. Sharon Welch makes a similar point in *A Feminist Ethic of Risk*: “If we remain in our own communities, doing social ethics only from within one set of socially shared values and behaviors, we do not see the partiality and immorality of those views and behaviors.”⁸¹ As applied to trafficking and the moral analyses on which progressive antitrafficking activism and advocacy might proceed, without critical perspective on the basic narrative presumed by the dominant antitrafficking framework, we will only ever tout the virtues of home and family; we will never press beyond the goal of fashioning human beings into consumers.

Nearly twenty-five years ago, in the midst of the acrimonious debates about sexuality that engulfed and threatened to completely implode the women’s movement, feminist ethicist Beverly Harrison and theologian Carter Heyward observed that a major contribution of feminist theory in the 1980s and early ’90s, in spite of the heated conflicts it generated, was its success in “securing . . . the cultural and intellectual space to forge a genuine . . . ‘discourse about sexuality.’”⁸² Despite the incredible difficulty of many of these debates, they argued, the creation of space for reflection, dialogue, and even argument marked a substantive advance over a time when frank and thoughtful discussions of human sexuality, moral agency, and practices of freedom were closeted or foreclosed altogether. Public discussions of human trafficking and the widespread consensus that characterizes these discussions suggest that such cultural and intellectual space is needed once again.

Notes

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1. Elizabeth Bernstein, “The Sexual Politics of the New Abolitionism,” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Critical Studies* 18 (2007): 128–51; and Elizabeth Bernstein, “Militarized

- Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights and Freedom in Contemporary Antitrafficking Campaigns,” *Signs* 36 (2010): 45–71. See also Elizabeth Bernstein and Janet R. Jakobsen, “Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence in US Politics,” *Third World Quarterly* 31 (2010): 1027–28; and Letitia Campbell, “Selling Our Children: Atlanta Does Battle against Sex Trafficking of Kids,” *Sojourners*, August 2010, 22–26.
2. On progressive Christianity, see, generally, Delwin Brown, *What Does a Progressive Christian Believe? A Guide for the Searching, the Open and the Curious* (New York: Seabury Books, 2008); and Robert P. Jones, *Progressive and Religious: How Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and Buddhist Leaders Are Moving beyond the Culture Wars and Transforming American Life* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). Both of these authors link the emergence of such “progressive” religious identities (and use of the term) to the aftermath of the 2004 US presidential election, in which religious conservatives played a significant role, and to subsequent efforts to recover space for moderate and liberal religious voices in US political life. Jones argues that “progressive Christian” leaders and institutions are coalescing around issues of poverty, peacemaking, the environment, social justice, and GLBTIQ equality. We use the term loosely here (Jones, *Progressive and Religious*, 13–17). For a broader historical perspective on liberal and progressive Christian ideas and movements, see Gary Dorrien, *Soul in Society: The Making and Renewal of Social Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).
 3. United Nations, *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* (2000), Article 3, www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_traff_eng.pdf.
 4. Kevin Bales, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today’s Slaves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 11–12. See also Kamala Kempadoo, “From Moral Panic to Global Justice: Changing Perspectives on Trafficking,” in *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo, Jyoti Sanghera, and Bandana Pattanaik (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), viii.
 5. ILO, *A Global Alliance against Forced Labor: Global Report under the Follow up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles of Rights at Work* (Geneva: International Labor Organization, 2005), 12–13; Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). A full discussion of the debates about the methodologies used to produce human trafficking statistics and the accuracy thereof is beyond the scope of this essay, but debates about methodology are a live and contentious issue in antitrafficking research, activism, and advocacy. And, indeed, one need not be a specially trained statistician to understand that the range of these estimates is so large that the accuracy of both figures is rendered suspect. See, generally, Laura Agustín, “Trafficking Guesses/Estimates/Fantasies, with and without Sex and Slavery,” *The Naked Anthropologist*, February 22, 2011, www.lauraagustin.com/pictorial-representation-of-trafficking-estimatesguessesfantasies-with-and-without-sex/; Rachel Lloyd, “Urban Legends and Hoaxes: How Hyperbole Hurts Trafficking Victims,” *Huffington Post*, February 3, 2012, www.huffingtonpost.com/rachel-lloyd/village-voice-escort-ads_b_1250617.html; and Martin Cizmar, Ellis Conklin, and Kristin Hinman, “Real Men Get Their Facts Straight: Ashton and Demi and Sex Trafficking,” *Village Voice*, June 29, 2011, www.villagevoice.com/2011-06-29/news/real-men-get-their-facts-straight-sex-trafficking-ashton-kutcher-demi-moore/.
 6. The figure of fifty thousand female victims of human trafficking is based on data from a 1999 CIA briefing on global trafficking that is now widely regarded as inaccurate. The US State Department–based Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons stopped citing this statistic after 2003 and began using the downwardly revised numbers in 2005. See Wendy Chapkis, “Soft Glove Punishing Fist: The Trafficking Victims Protection Act

- of 2000,” in *Regulating Sex: The Politics of Intimacy and Identity*, ed. Elizabeth Bernstein and Laurie Schaffner (New York: Routledge, 2005), 51–66; and US Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, *2005 Trafficking in Persons Report* (Washington, DC: Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2005).
7. Free the Slaves and the Human Rights Center, *Slaves: Forced Labor in the United States* (Washington, DC: Free the Slaves; and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
 8. ILO, *Global Alliance against Forced Labor*, 12–13.
 9. Our discussion of practices clustered under the term “trafficking” and the debates over trafficking in this essay will be oriented toward the way that debate has unfolded in the United States in the last decade and a half. Conversations about trafficking in other contexts presumably have distinctive inflections. We recognize that local debates about trafficking in the United States have global consequences, in part because of the United States’ role in funding social programs around the world. For a discussion of some of these consequences, see Marcus Middleburg, “The Anti-Prostitution Policy in the US HIV/AIDS Program,” *Health and Human Rights* 9, no. 1 (2006): 3–15; and Deborah Macfarlane, “Reproductive Health Policies in President Bush’s Second Term: Old Battles and New Fronts in the United States and Internationally,” *Journal of Public Health Policy* 27, no. 4 (2006): 405–26.
 10. For an account of some of the relevant shifts within evangelical Christianity, see Melani McAlister, “What Is Your Heart For? Affect and Internationalism in the Evangelical Public Sphere,” *American Literary History* 20, no. 4 (2008): 870–95; and David King, “The New Internationalists: World Vision and the Revival of American Evangelical Humanitarianism,” *Religions* 3, no. 4 (2012): 922–49.
 11. In the wake of the Cold War, the so-called Washington Consensus dictated a smaller role for the state and a correspondingly larger role for NGOs in the provision of social services. In the United States, this was reflected in the “welfare reform” initiatives codified in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 and an expanded focus on “faith-based” (and, later, “community”) initiatives. In the developing world, this approach, advanced through the policies of institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), led to a contraction of the state and contraction or privatization of state-provided services like health, education, pension, and other social programs; an expanded role for international NGOs in these areas; and an increased emphasis on civil society. The restructuring of the welfare state generally, and the globalization of that process as part of the Washington Consensus specifically, led to an explosion in the number of NGOs during the 1990s. These shifts created opportunities for American evangelicals, among other groups. For one account of this shift, see Cecelia Lynch, “Social Movements and the Problem of Globalization,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 23 (1998): 149–73.
 12. Michael Horowitz, quoted in Michael Cromartie, “The Jew Who Is Saving Christians,” *Christianity Today*, March 1, 1999, 54; and Yvonne C. Zimmerman, *Other Dreams of Freedom: Religion, Sex and Human Trafficking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 40. For further discussion of the history and rhetoric of evangelical Christian concerns about religious persecution, see also Elizabeth Castelli, “Praying for the Persecuted Church: US Christian Activism in the Global Arena,” *Journal of Human Rights* 4 (2005): 321–51; and Melani McAlister, “The Politics of Persecution,” *Middle East Report* 249 (2008): 18–27.
 13. The International Religious Freedom Act is 22 USC 6401. Available at the US Government Printing Office website, www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCODE-1998-title22/pdf/USCODE-1998-title22-chap73.pdf. See also Allen D. Hertzke, *Freeing God’s Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 145.

- For an extended discussion of evangelicals' activism on religious persecution and, later, human trafficking, see Zimmerman, *Other Dreams of Freedom*, 39–51.
14. Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, 325; and Zimmerman, *Other Dreams of Freedom*, 47. In fact, the legislation proposed initially to address Christian persecution (the Freedom from Religious Persecution Act of 1997 [H.R. 1685]), and the legislation initially proposed to address human trafficking (the Freedom from Sexual Trafficking Act of 1999 [FFSTA, H.R. 1356]), were both drafted by the same individual, Rep. Christopher Smith's (R-NJ) top congressional aide, Joseph Rees. The similarities between these pieces of legislation were neither coincidental nor difficult to detect. According to Hertzke, Rees intentionally crafted the FFSTA to draw on the "scaffolding and relationships forged in the religious freedom effort." Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, 322.
 15. Yvonne C. Zimmerman, "Christianity and Human Trafficking," *Religion Compass* 5 (2011): 572; and Zimmerman, *Other Dreams of Freedom*, 47–48.
 16. Michael Horowitz, "How to Win Friends and Influence Culture," *Christianity Today* 49, no. 9 (September 2005): 71.
 17. The Freedom from Sexual Trafficking Act of 1999. H.R. 1356, 106th Cong. <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-106hhrg60798/html/CHRG-106hhrg60798.htm>. This bill did not become law.
 18. Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, 324. See also Beatrix Siman Zakhari, "Legal Cases Prosecuted under the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000," in *Human Traffic and Transnational Crime: Eurasian and American Perspectives*, ed. Sally Stoecker and Louise Shelley (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 125–49; and Debbie Nathan, "Oversexed." *Nation*, August 29, 2005, 27–31.
 19. Bernstein, "Militarized Humanitarianism," 49.
 20. Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA). Pub. L. 106-386, 106th Cong., October 28, 2000. www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-106publ386/pdf/PLAW-106publ386.pdf. Sex trafficking is the first type of human trafficking specified in the TVPA, and the only type whose basic characteristics are described in detail. Moreover, the TVPA identifies the sex industry as the primary culprit in the proliferation of human trafficking. Anthony DeStefano's research indicates that between 2000 and 2006, virtually every federal policy discussion and debate about human trafficking took sex trafficking as the primary rhetorical and conceptual point of departure. See DeStefano, *The War on Human Trafficking: US Policy Assessed* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008).
 21. Michael Horowitz, quoted in Cromartie, "The Jew Who Is Saving Christians," 54.
 22. Carole S. Vance, "Thinking Trafficking, Thinking Sex," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 17 (2011): 140.
 23. Carolyn Bronstein, *Battling Pornography: The American Feminist Anti-Pornography Movement, 1976–1986* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. 269–308, 320–23. The differences in how constituents of this alliance understood the significance of opposition to media violence against women and pornography are notable. Radical feminists tended to understand the issue as an extension of feminist critiques of heterosexuality and male sexual privilege while, by contrast, social conservatives understood it as but one part of a larger effort to restore "decency" and "family values," to "protect" women from dangerous and immoral writings about sex, and to protest what they saw as the sexual libertinism and moral decay brought on by the social movements of the 1960s and '70s.
 24. Carole S. Vance, "Negotiating Sex and Gender in the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography," in *Uncertain Times: Negotiating Gender in American Culture*, ed. Faye Ginsburg and Anna Lauenhaupt Tsing (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 118–34. See also Carol

- S. Vance, "More Danger, More Pleasure: A Decade after the Barnard Sexuality Conference," *New York Law School Review* 289 (1993): 308–9.
25. Bronstein, *Battling Pornography*, 320–23.
 26. For example, the first international conference on "Trafficking in Women," held in New York City in 1988, was organized by Women Against Pornography (WAP), the leading feminist antipornography organization in the United States at that time, and Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt (WHISPER), a Minneapolis-based feminist antipornography group. The Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) grew out of this gathering as a vehicle for focusing on the international sex industry. Dorchen Leidholdt, "Demand and the Debate," (speech, October 2003), www.catwlac.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Demand_and_the_Debate.pdf.
 27. See Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1979).
 28. Bronstein, *Battling Pornography*, 263–69.
 29. Dorchen Leidholdt and Laura Lederer are two of the leaders from the feminist antipornography movement who were influential in launching the antitrafficking movement. Leidholdt, a veteran of both the feminist antipornography movement and the violence against women / domestic violence movement, went on to cofound the CATW with Kathleen Barry. Lederer, a coordinator for Women against Violence in Pornography and the Media (WAVPM) in the late 1970s and editor of the feminist antipornography anthology *Take Back The Night: Women on Pornography* (1980), in 1994 founded the Protection Project, a legal research institute dedicated to combatting human trafficking based at Johns Hopkins University. She also worked on the first Human Rights Report on Trafficking in Persons for the US government and helped to set up the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons in the US State Department under George Bush, where she also served as a senior advisor on human trafficking. Lederer now heads an NGO that describes its work as "fighting modern slavery by focusing on demand" and provides leadership to the Triple S Network ("Stop Sex Slavery"). See Bronstein, *Battling Pornography*, 134–36, 190, 246–47, 263–69; Gayle Rubin, "Blood under the Bridge: Reflections on 'Thinking Sex,'" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 17 (2011): 22, 35; and "About Global Centurion" and "Leadership" at www.globalcenturion.org.
 30. Bernstein and Jakobsen, "Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence," 1030. Bernstein and Jakobsen further point out that the NGOs and other grassroots organizations that worked to combat trafficking before its rise to prominence tended to frame it as an issue of exploited labor, and articulated their concerns about exploited labor broadly, connecting concerns about women trafficked into sexual labor to struggles for workers', migrants', and sex workers' rights. See also, Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, 324.
 31. Bernstein, "Militarized Humanitarianism," 45–71.
 32. Vance, "Thinking Trafficking, Thinking Sex," 136.
 33. *Ibid.*, 139.
 34. Bernstein and Jakobsen, "Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence," 1035.
 35. *Ibid.* See also Bernstein, "Militarized Humanitarianism," 45–71.
 36. For a succinct discussion of the basic ideological premises of the dominant contemporary antitrafficking discourse see generally, Gayle S. Rubin, "The Trouble with Trafficking: Afterthoughts on 'The Traffic in Women,'" in *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader*, ed. Gayle S. Rubin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 66–67.
 37. WATER, email message: "Human Trafficking Awareness: Prayer and Resources," January 10, 2012.

38. The Prayer of Solidarity read, “Holy Compassion, you who hear the cries of those in anguish, Be with us now to bring them to safety and to speak out against those who exploit. Holy Love, you who shout with us ‘No’ to human trafficking in all its forms, Be with us now to restore freedom to the trafficked and their families. Holy Justice, you who rage with us against the injustices of trafficking, Be with us now to take action to prevent and end this violence. Holy Wisdom, you who know the worth of every human being, Be with us as we erase this sinful practice from the face of the earth.” Diann L. Neu, co-director of WATER, from the January 10, 2012 WATER email.
39. In August 2011, the National Association of Attorneys General sent a letter to Backpage.com accusing the site of failing to “effectively limit prostitution and sexual trafficking” on the site. (National Association of Attorneys General to Samuel Fifer, August 31, 2011, www.tn.gov/attorneygeneral/cases/backpage/backpageletter.pdf). The focus on Backpage.com followed on a campaign by activists, politicians, and state attorneys general that had successfully pressured Craigslist to shut down its adult services section in 2010, an outcome that was widely seen by antitrafficking activists as a milestone in the effort to fight domestic minor sex trafficking. Subsequent research suggests caution in assessing the overall impact of the shuttering of Craigslist’s adult services section. See, for example, Mark Latonero, “The Rise of Mobile and the Diffusion of Technology-Facilitated Trafficking” (Research Series on Technology and Human Trafficking, Annenberg Center on Communication Leadership & Policy, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, November 2012), 26–28, https://technologyandtrafficking.usc.edu/files/2012/11/HumanTrafficking2012_Nov12.pdf.
40. See, “An Open Letter to Village Voice Media,” *New York Times*, October 20, 2011, reproduced online at www.groundswell-movement.org/nyt-ad/. Groundswell’s website contains an overview of the campaign and its successes (www.groundswell-movement.org/gs-of-responsibility-problem-solution-action/). Full disclosure: Letitia served previously on the program staff at Auburn and knows personally a number of the people and institutions involved in the campaign discussed here.
41. As of October 2012, Groundswell’s Change.org petition was one of the most popular active petitions on Change.org related to human trafficking, with more than 250,000 signatures. The petition closed with 266,809 supporters. The petition can be found online at www.change.org/petitions/tell-village-voice-media-to-stop-child-sex-trafficking-on-backpage-com. See “Digital Activism in Anti-Trafficking Efforts,” in Latonero, “Rise of Mobile,” 19–20.
42. For positive coverage of the campaign in the religious press, see Elizabeth Palmberg, “Responsible Adults,” *Sojourners*, March 2012, 9; and for critical coverage, see Kayley Whalen, “A Dangerous Groundswell: Banning Adult Classifieds Is Not a Panacea for Child Sex Trafficking,” *Humanist*, December 23, 2011, <http://thehumanist.com/magazine/january-february-2012/up-front/a-dangerous-groundswell>. Groundswell’s participation in the campaign to shut down Backpage.com attracted the attention of national and regional newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Orlando Sentinel*, *Seattle Times*, and others; online media outlets, such as the *Huffington Post* and the *Daily Beast*; and media industry publications, like NPR’s *On the Media* and the Poynter Institute’s *MediaWire* blog. See, among others, David Carr, “Fighting over Online Sex Ads,” *New York Times*, October 30, 2011, www.nytimes.com/2011/10/31/business/media/backpagecom-confronts-new-fight-over-online-sex-ads.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0; James Rainey, “Village Voice Media Defends Its Backpage.com Ad Policy,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 2011; Adelle M. Banks, “Clergy Petition Village Voice to Drop Ads Linked to Sex Trafficking,” *Huffington Post*, October 25, 2011; Jim Romanesko, “Village Voice Responds to Religious Leaders’ Complaints about Backpage.com,” *MediaWire Blog*, Poynter Institute, October 26, 2011, www.poynter.org/latest-news/mediawire/151009/village-voice-responds-to-religious-leaders-complaints-about-backpage-com/; Bob Garfield, “The

- Case against Backpage.com," *On the Media*, November 4, 2011, www.onthemedial.com/2011/nov/04/case-against-backpagecom/; and Matthew Flamm, "Group Calls on Village Voice Media to Drop Sex Ads," *Crain's New York Business*, October 25, 2011, www.crainnewyork.com/article/20111025/MEDIA_ENTERTAINMENT/111029930.
43. "Open Letter to Village Voice Media."
 44. "GS of Responsibility, Problem—Solution—Action," Groundswell Movement website, n.d., www.groundswell-movement.org/gs-of-responsibility-problem-solution-action/.
 45. Carr, "Fighting over Online Sex Ads."
 46. Carl Ferrer, email to Isaac Luria, October 17, 2011, <http://media.phoenixnewtimes.com/7384300.0.jpg>. As the controversy over Backpage.com was heating up, the *Village Voice* ran an "editors note" characterizing the coalitions targeting Craigslist and Backpage.com as "feminists, religious zealots, the well-intentioned, law enforcement, and social-service bureaucrats" and "reformers, the devout and the government-funded." Editor's note accompanying Cizmar, Conklin, and Hinman, "Real Men." For an overview of some of the legal issues at stake in regulation of online content, see John E. D. Larkin, "Criminal and Civil Liability for User Generated Content: Craigslist, A Case Study," *Journal of Technology Law & Policy* 15 (2010): 85–112.
 47. "Human Trafficking, Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Prophetic Leadership: Activist and Theological Perspectives and Groundings," September 10, 2012, Auburn Theological Seminary, New York, NY. Letitia participated in the consultation as a panelist.
 48. For a discussion of similar dynamics within the movement around religious persecution discussed earlier, see Castelli, "Praying for the Persecuted Church," 324–25.
 49. Penelope Saunders, "From Identity to Acronym: How 'Child Prostitution' Became 'CSEC,'" in *Regulating Sex: The Politics of Intimacy and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 176.
 50. Ibid.
 51. For accounts of how young people involved in commercial sex describe their experiences, see, for example, Ric Curtis, Karen Terry, Kirk Dombrowski, Bilal Khan, Amy Muslim, Melissa Labriola, and Michael Rempel, "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in New York City" (New York: Center for Court Innovation, John Jay College, September 2008), <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/225082.pdf>; Young Women's Empowerment Project, "Bad Encounter Line, 2012: Denied Help! How Youth in the Sex Trade and Street Economy Are Turned Away from Systems Meant to Help Us & What We Are Doing to Fight Back, A Participatory Action Research Project" (Chicago: YWEP, 2012), <http://ywepchicago.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/bad-encounter-line-report-20121.pdf>; and Young Women's Empowerment Project, "Bad Encounter Line Zine, #1 and #3" (Chicago: YWEP, n.d.), <http://ywepchicago.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/bel-zine-13.pdf>.
 52. Curtis et al., "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children"; and Rachel Aviv, "Netherlands," *New Yorker*, December 10, 2012, 60.
 53. Contrary to dominant descriptions of domestic minor sex trafficking in the antitrafficking movement, these youth sometimes work without pimps and exercise agency even in situations where their options are radically limited. See Saunders, "From Identity to Acronym," 167–85; Curtis et al., "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children"; Native Youth Sexual Health Network, "Indigenous Peoples in the Sex Trade: Speaking for Ourselves," April 11, 2011, <http://www.nativeyouthsexualhealth.com/april112011.pdf>; and Aviv, "Netherlands," 60.
 54. Saunders, "From Identity to Acronym," 180.

55. Vance, "Thinking Trafficking, Thinking Sex," 136. Gayle Rubin argues that legitimate concerns for the sexual welfare of the young have been co-opted to advance political mobilizations and policies with consequences that are sometimes quite damaging to the young people they are intended to help. She cites as an example the way the rhetoric of "child protection" has anchored many a conservative agenda with respect to intensifying women's subordinate status, reinforcing hierarchical family structures, curtailing gay citizenship, opposing comprehensive sex education, limiting the availability of contraception, and restricting abortion, especially for young women and girls. As she points out, virtually anything, "from promoting abstinence to banning gay marriage and adoption, can be and has been framed as promoting children's safety and welfare." Rubin, "Blood under the Bridge," 37. The manner in which concerns about the sexual abuse and exploitation of minors fuel a great deal of antitrafficking activism that is anchored in a conservative gender and sexual politics is at least potentially a case in point of the concern Rubin raises.
56. Laura María Agustín, *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets, and the Rescue Industry* (New York: Zed Books, 2007), 5–8.
57. For a history of Christian critiques of market capitalism in the last one hundred years, see Dorrien, *Soul in Society*. See also Traci C. West, "The Policing of Poor Black Women's Sexual Reproduction," in *God Forbid: Religion and Sex in American Public Life*, ed. Kathleen M. Sands, 135–54 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Beverly Wildung Harrison, *Justice in the Making: Feminist Social Ethics*, eds. Elizabeth M. Bounds, Pamela K. Brubaker, Jane E. Hicks, Marilyn J. Legge, Rebecca Todd Peters, and Traci C. West (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), esp. part 3; Pamela K. Brubaker, Rebecca Todd Peters and Laura Stivers, eds. *Justice in a Global Economy: Strategies for a Global Economy* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006); Rebecca Todd Peters, *In Search of the Good Life: The Ethics of Globalization* (New York: Continuum, 2006); Pamela K. Brubaker, *Globalization at What Price? Economic Change and Daily Life*, rev. and exp. ed. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 2007); and Gary Dorrien, "Breaking the Oligarchy: Globalization, Turbo-Capitalism, Economic Crash, Economic Democracy," in *Economy, Difference, Empire: Social Ethics for Social Justice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 143–67.
58. Gloria Albrecht, *Hitting Home: Feminist Ethics, Women's Work and the Betrayal of "Family Values"* (New York: Continuum Press, 2002), 13.
59. Dina Francesca Haynes, "Lessons from Bosnia's Arizona Market: Harm to Women in a Neoliberalized Postconflict Reconstruction Process," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 158, no. 6 (2010): 130.
60. Albrecht, *Hitting Home*, 13; and Haynes, "Lessons," 149. Neoliberalism does not claim that deregulated and privatized markets eliminate the possibility of abuse (of workers, the environment, etc.), but in general such situations are understood to be episodic and temporary. The market is assumed to be self-correcting in relation to abuses (since abuse falls under the rubric of "inefficiency") and fully capable of eliminating abusive situations without the imposition of external interventions or control. See, generally, Haynes, "Lessons," 120.
61. Kevin Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery: A Reader* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 18.
62. Bernstein, "Sexual Politics of the New Abolitionism," 140.
63. Bernstein and Jakobsen, "Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence," 1035. See also Jakobsen and Bernstein, "Religion, Politics and Gender Equality: Country Report: USA," (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, September 2009), 30, http://www.boell.org/downloads/USA_Final_Research_Report.pdf.
64. Bernstein, "Militarized Humanitarianism," 54–58; and Bernstein, "Sexual Politics," 137.
65. See, generally, Agustín, *Sex at the Margins*; and Bernstein, "Militarized Humanitarianism."

66. We use the term “heterosex” to refer to sex between men and women without making assumptions or claims about the sexual identities of the people involved.
67. Bernstein and Jakobsen, “Religion, Politics and Gender Equality,” 30. See also Bernstein, “Carceral Politics as Gender Justice? The ‘Traffic in Women’ and Neoliberal Circuits of Crime, Sex, and Rights,” *Theory and Society* 41 (2012): 245–47.
68. Stephanie May, “Violence in the Home/land: Christian ‘Family Values’ and the Politics of ‘Homeland Security’” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting for the Society of Christian Ethics, Washington, DC, January 6, 2012).
69. Ibid.
70. Penelope Saunders, “Traffic Violations: Determining the Meaning of Violence in Sexual Trafficking Versus Sex Work,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 351; and Bernstein, “Militarized Humanitarianism,” 60–61.
71. Bernstein, “Militarized Humanitarianism,” 47.
72. Bernstein and Jakobsen, “Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence,” 1031.
73. Bernstein, “Militarized Humanitarianism,” 60–61.
74. Gayle Rubin reflects insightfully on how for some activists (feminists, antifeminist social conservatives, and evangelical and conservative Christians alike) “trafficking” functions as a banner to wave as a justification for the project to abolish and further criminalize prostitution “rather than to address the conditions that constrain women’s economic choices and social power.” Rubin, “Trouble with Trafficking,” 86.
75. Hand of Hope, “Wedding Bells Ring for Human Trafficking Survivors,” accessed May 29, 2013, www.joycemeyer.org/articles/hoh.aspx?article=wedding_bells_ring.
76. See, generally, May, “Violence in the Home/land”; and Bernstein, “Militarized Humanitarianism,” 54–55.
77. Kristin L. Dunkle, Gina M. Wingood, Christina M. Camp, and Ralph J. DiClemente, “Economically Motivated Relationships and Transactional Sex among Unmarried African American and White Women: Results from a US National Telephone Survey,” *Public Health Reports* 125, Suppl 4 (2010), www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2882979/.
78. The social and economic distance of many antitrafficking advocates from the communities most affected by trafficking allows advocates to romanticize marginalized persons and groups (“the poor”) as asexual and therefore deserving of help and rescue. Liberation theologian Marcella Althaus-Reid reminds us that reality is less comfortable and more complex than what romantic depictions convey, because the poor are often anything but “decent” (in conventional terms), and many of the issues that poor women face are precisely sexual. Marcella Althaus-Reid, ed., *Liberation Theology and Sexuality* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).
79. Bernstein and Jakobsen, “Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence,” 30.
80. Emilie Townes, *In A Blaze of Glory: Womanist Spirituality as Social Witness* (Abingdon Press, 2009), 72–73.
81. Sharon D. Welch, *A Feminist Ethic of Risk*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 33.
82. Beverly W. Harrison and Carter Heyward, “Pain and Pleasure: Avoiding the Confusion of Christian Tradition in Feminist Theory,” in *Sexuality and the Sacred: Sources for Theological Reflection*, eds. James B. Nelson and Sandra P. Longfellow (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 132.