

**FROM WHITE SLAVERY TO SEX TRAFFICKING**  
**HON 3396U • TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY**

Autumn 2015 • Monday & Wednesday 11:00-12:20 PM • 502B Lampasas Hall

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Office hours: Monday & Wednesday 1:00 to 2:00 & by appointment

**Brief Description:**

This course seeks to historicize the globalized migration of sex workers and the modern-day anti-sex trafficking movement by tracing the origins of the anti-white slavery movement in the late nineteenth century to the debates about sex work and sex trafficking of the twenty-first century. While this course is focused on the United States, it seeks to place the U.S. in a transnational and comparative context.

**Expanded Description:**

“Lost Girls,” “Sex Slaves,” “Trafficked Victims” and other sensational terms routinely appear the pages of American newspapers and websites, combining to raise awareness of what *New York Times* op-ed columnist Nicholas Kristof calls the “21<sup>st</sup>-Century Slave Trade.”<sup>1</sup> Most observers note that in an increasingly globalized and mobile world, human traffickers can earn enormous profits. Thus, contemporary discourses of human trafficking conceived it as an especially modern crime—a human rights travesty—that has emerged out of the particular conditions of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. But, activists have been fighting against sex trafficking since the 1880s, when activists first launched an international campaign against white slavery on local and international scales. The term *white slavery* is today generally defined, in scholar Jo Doezema’s words, as “the procurement, by force, deceit, or drugs, of a white woman or girl against her will, for prostitution.”<sup>2</sup> Central to this definition is the question of coercion, which reflects the centrality of the issue of consent and coercion to the modern-day international anti-trafficking movement, of which Jo Doezema is both an activist and a scholar.<sup>3</sup> Anti-white slavery activists of the early twentieth century varied on the degree of agency they gave white slaves and in their use of such a slippery term like *white slavery*. Some, like Jane Addams, allowed for economic coercion, whereas others, like Clifford Roe, used more traditional narratives of deceit, kidnapping, and imprisonment. Activists and journalists frequently argued about the scope of the ‘white slavery’ problem. Anti-prostitution reformers rarely agreed on a common definition of *white slave*, while many law enforcement officials suggested that white slavery was a much-hyped myth. But for a majority of Progressives, when they spoke of the white slave, they spoke of the prostitute and the terms were often used interchangeably. Our exploration into the topic of white slavery will necessitate us to engage with the history of prostitution and sex work. Yet, the white slavery hysteria was not only about prostitution. It

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Kristof, “The 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Slave Trade,” *New York Times*, April 22, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Jo Doezema, “Loose Women or Lost Women: The Re-emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women,” *Gender Issues* (Winter 2000): 23-50, quotation on 25.

<sup>3</sup> For the debates about the role of choice in modern-day trafficking see, Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema, *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

also provided activists with a way to express anxieties about other cultural shifts, including, but not limited to: women's increased employment, urbanization, immigration, internal migration, new forms of recreation, shifting gender norms, and changing sexual mores. Historians who study white slavery have been nearly as divided as anti-white slavery activists when trying to explain the historical significance of white slavery.

Similarly, concern for victims of sex trafficking emerged in the early 1990s as stories about networks of traffickers operating out of former Soviet-bloc countries circulated. Since then, sex trafficking has grown to be one of the primary human right issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Today, like the earlier campaign against white slavery, there is considerable debate about the extent of sex trafficking, appropriate policy and policing actions, and the role of international governance to combat the issue. Also, the contemporary campaigns against sex trafficking bring together strange alliances as feminist organizations coordinate with Christian evangelicals to raise awareness of the issue. Sex workers' rights activists also contribute their voices to the current conversation about sex trafficking, drawing attention to the ways that 'victims' of sex trafficking are frequently rendered mute by the anti-trafficking activists who claim to be fighting on their behalf. This course will wade into these turbulent waters, looking for evidence of continuity and change to earlier anti-trafficking campaigns, while also considering how and why the central motif of slavery continues to propel these discourses and human rights activism.

Questions of consent, coercion, the agency of 'victims', sexual recreation, gendered marketplaces, empire, and state policy will animate the course. The term "sex work" challenges some, but it is useful for considering how sexual labor fits into the history of women's employment, particularly their responsibility for care labor.

In addition to untangling the different reoccurring themes within the history of anti-trafficking movements and prostitution, this seminar is designed to prepare students for their senior seminar by offering students the opportunity to build numerous useful and practical skills embraced by historians. It will introduce students to the basics in compiling a well-rounded bibliography, the study of historiography, and the skills to locate and evaluate various types of primary sources. Finally, in writing a 25-page piece of original historical research, students will learn the craft of historical research and writing. Time during our class meeting on week six will be devoted to the logistics of writing a longer paper. Among the topics covered, will be how to take notes, how to find and analyze sources, and how to avoid plagiarism and other instances of academic dishonesty.

## **Course Requirements**

### **Readings and Class Participation (20%)**

This class is discussion based and thus it is of paramount importance that each student regularly attends the course and is prepared to participate every day. The reading load for the course is approximately 150 pages each week. About half of the readings are primary sources, produced from the period under study. As a result, you will need to carefully consider the context that shaped each source. In other words, you will need to read these sources carefully, rather than merely scanning them or reading them right before class.

Each week you will be required to submit a one to two page analysis of the readings.

### **Short Paper (15%) *Five-page primary source assignment***

This paper asks you to analyze a white slavery narrative produced between 1909 and 1915. You can choose a film, a play, a white slavery expose, a vice report, or other artifact from the period. You should choose your source in consultation with me and should have decided what sources you will focus on by week three.

You are expected to write a five-page paper that examines the source in depth, looking for what it reveals about white slavery during the Progressive Era. You will need to consider the nature of the sources, how it was created and who it was intended for. Additionally, you need to place your source in a wider historical context, examining what it reveals about anxieties about sex trafficking during this period.

*Due: September 28*

### **Final Paper (65%)** *Twenty-five page research paper*

You will write a twenty-five-page research paper on one aspect of sex trafficking. This paper should be based on both primary and secondary sources, and requires you to engage with the existing historiography/scholarly literature on your specific topic. Because writing such a paper can be very overwhelming and requires much preparation, you will turn in the various components of the paper over the course of the semester. Your topic should be selected in consultation with me and it should be chosen by the sixth week of the course. Each step of the writing process will be addressed in class. The due dates for the elements of the paper are as follows, and late papers will not be accepted:

- *Initial Topic Proposal* (5%)—Week 6, September 30
- *Annotated Bibliography* (10%)—Week 8, October 12
- *Introduction and Outline* (10%)—Week 10, October 28
- *First Draft Submission* (15%)—Week 13, November 16
- *Presentations of Research Projects* (10%)—Week 15, November 30 and December 2
- *Final Submission* (50%)— Final's Week, December 9

### **Readings**

The vast majority of the reading for this course will be made available via TRACS. You can expect to read between 150 and 250 pages each week. Most of the reading will be posted on TRACS or circulated in class. The book needed to be purchased is listed below.

- Kathleen Barry, *The Prostitution of Sexuality* (New York: New York University, 1995).

Students should also acquire:

- Mary Lynn Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, 7<sup>th</sup> Ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012).

These books can be purchased online. Several of them will be on reserve at the library.

### **CLASS POLICIES**

#### **TurnItIn.com**

The Primary Source Analysis, First Draft and Final Draft of the Final Paper assignments *must* be submitted to Turnitin.com by the time class begins the day the assignment is due.

Class ID: 10394025  
Password: HON3396

### **Email Policy**

Email is a wonderful resource for facilitating communication; yet guidelines are essential for ensuring that any digital conversation fulfills both of our expectations.

1. I promise to respond to every student's email, but I reserve the right to take 24 hours to do so. In other words, do not expect me to be at my computer and answering email 24 hours a day—plan ahead.
2. Similarly, I do not check email from Friday, 5PM to Monday, 8AM. Again, plan accordingly.
3. The tone of an email is as important as the content and is often communicated through the writer's use of grammar and word choice. Your emails to me need to reflect the fact that you are college students and we have a more formal relationship. In other words, avoid using the language of text messaging, and embrace the art of writing letters.
4. I have no objection to answering short questions via email. But questions about in-depth concepts or assignments should really be addressed in person. In these cases please make an appointment to meet me in my office.

### **Electronic Device Policy**

Electronic devices are distracting to the learning environment of the classroom and are prohibited from use during class; this pertains especially to cell phones. For requests for exceptions to this policy, come and see me personally.

### **Academic Honesty**

Cheating or representing other people's ideas as your own will NOT be tolerated. It is your responsibility to understand university regulations regarding academic honesty. You may wish to refer to the Texas State University Honor Code, available at <http://www.txstate.edu/effective/upps/upps-07-10-01.html>. I will report any suspected violations to the Honor Code Council.

### **Withdrawal/Incomplete**

The deadline for dropping this course with a refund and no record assigned is **September 9 at Midnight**. The last day to withdraw from the class with a "W" is **October 7, 2013, at 5 PM**. Withdrawals made after this date will be credited with the grade earned by the last class date attended, unless the student withdraws from the university entirely, with reason.

PLEASE BE AWARE the Texas State Legislature has altered official policy concerning Ws. Freshmen and transfers with fewer than 15 hours can only have six (6) Ws in their entire undergraduate career. After this point, NO further Ws will be allowed.

An "I" (incomplete) will not be issued for this class. Failure to take the final exam does not constitute grounds for an incomplete. An incomplete ("I") will only be assigned when an extreme emergency causes the student to miss the final exam. Documentation is required and the absence must be approved by the professor. An extreme emergency refers to an unavoidable, unplanned emergency (for example, medical problems that require a doctor's attention, death of an immediate family member – parents, siblings, and/or children; natural disaster – flood, hurricane, etc.; and military call-up) that makes it impossible for the student to attend class on the day of the test. All cases require documentation. The following are **not** "extreme emergencies": Work, social, family, and other planned events (such as but not limited to vacations, parties, celebrations, family gatherings, overtime at work, a new job, new hours, etc.) that conflict with test dates.

ALSO NOTE:

### **Special Needs Accommodation**

Any student needing accommodation based on the impact of a disability (as documented by the Office of Disability Services) should meet with me soon. If you have special needs relating to physical or learning abilities, please make arrangements with the Office of Disability Services: (512) 245-3451; or <http://www.ods.txstate.edu>.

Enrollment

All students must be officially enrolled in the course by the end of the second full week of the quarter. No requests to add the course will be approved by me or the department chair after that time. It is your responsibility to ensure you are officially enrolled.

## SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND CLASSES

NOTE: This schedule is subject to change. It is your responsibility to keep up with any changes announced in class.

### Week 1: Introduction and

Monday, August 24: Lecture:

- Introduction to the course
- Defining terms, concepts, and organizing questions

Wednesday, August 26: Lecture

- 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Commercialization of Sexuality

### Week 2:

Monday, August 31: Discussion: Anglo Origins of White Slavery

- Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1992). Ch. 2, 3, 4. (93 pp.)

Wednesday, September 4: Discussion: British Origins of White Slavery

- Primary Source: William T. Stead, *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* (London: Pall Mall Gazette, 1885). (16 pp.)

### Week 3:

Monday, September 7: **Labor Day, No Classes**

Wednesday, September 9: Lecture: 19<sup>th</sup>-Century American Social Purity

### Week 4:

Monday, September 14: Discussion: The Origins of American Narratives of White Slavery

- Primary Source: Kate C. Bushnell "Working in Northern Wisconsin," *W.C.T.U. State Work* (Madison, WI) 3, no. 7 (Nov 1888).

Wednesday, September 16: Discussion: The Politics of Colonialism and Prostitution

- Mini Lecture on colonial policy and prostitution.
- Paul A. Kramer, "The Darkness that Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler, 366 - 404 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

### Week 5:

Monday, September 21: Lecture: Progressives and Prostitution

- Roy Lubove, "The Progressives and the Prostitute," *The Historian* 24, no. 3 (May 1962): 308-330.
- Primary Source: Clifford Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery* (Chicago: Roe and Steadwell: 1911), 27-41.
- Ruth Rosen, "White Slavery: Myth or Reality?," *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1982), 112-135.

Wednesday, September 23: Class cancelled (work on Primary Source assignment)

### Week 6:

Monday, September 28: Lecture: Race, Nativism, and White Slavery

- Brian Donovan, "'Yellow Slavery' and Donaldina Cameron's Mission," in *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887-1917* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 110-128.

- Grace Peña Delgado, “Border Control and Sexual Policing: White Slavery and Prostitution along the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1903-1910,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 157-178.

*Due:*

- Short Primary Source Paper.

Wednesday, September 30: Feminists and White Slavery

- Emma Goldman, “Traffic in Women,” *Hastings Women’s Law Journal* 13, no. 9 (2002): 9-20.
- Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (New York: The MacMillan company, 1912). Ch. 1, 3.

*Due:*

- Topic Proposal for the Research Paper.

Week 7:

Monday, October 5: Lecture: The End of the Brothel Era

- Kristen Luker, “Sex, Social Hygiene, and the State: The Double-Edged Sword of Social Reform.” *Theory and Society* 27, no. 5 (Oct. 1998): 601-634.

Wednesday, October 7: International Governance and Sex Trafficking

- Barbara Metzger, “Towards an International Human Rights Regime during the Inter-War Years: The League of Nations’ Combat of Traffic in Women and Children,” in *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950*, ed. Kevin Grant, Philippa Levine, and Frank Trentmann, 54-79 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- Magaly Rodríguez García, “The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women,” *IRSH* 57 (2012): 97-128.
- League of Nations, *Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children* (Geneva: Imp. de la "Tribune de Genève", 1927).
- Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of Others, United Nations, 1949.

Week 8:

Monday, October 12: The Rediscovery of Sex Trafficking

- Kathleen Barry, *The Prostitution of Sexuality* (New York: New York University, 1995). Chapters: Introduction, 1, 2, and 4; pages 1-90; 122-164.

*Due:*

- Annotated Bibliography for Research Paper

Wednesday, October 14: Class Cancelled (read Barry)

Week 9:

Monday, October 19: The Rediscovery of Sex Trafficking

- Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery*, Chapters 5- 7, and 9; pages 165-249, 276-320.

Wednesday, October 21: Contemporary Anti-Trafficking Policies & Methodological Debates

- Julia O’Connell Davidson and Bridget Anderson, “The Trouble with ‘Trafficking,’” in *Trafficking and Women’s Rights*, ed. Christien L. van den Anker and Joroen Doomernik (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 11-26.
- Gillian Wylie, “Doing the Impossible? Collecting Data on the Extent of Trafficking,” in *Trafficking and Women’s Rights*, ed. Christien L. van den Anker and Joroen Doomernik (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 70-88.

Week 10:

Monday, October 26: Sex Positivist Perspective

- Anne McClintock, "Sex Workers and Sex Work," *Social Text* 11, no 4. (1993), 1-10.
- Alison Murray, "Debt-Bondage and Trafficking: Don't Believe the Hype," in *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema (New York: Routledge, 1998), 51-65.
- Jo Doezema, "Loose Women or Lost Women? The Re-emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women." *Gender Issues* (Winter 2004): 23-50.

Wednesday, October 28: Where are we Now?

- Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report*, 15<sup>th</sup> Edition, July 2015 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office), 1 - 62.
- 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.

*Due:*

- Introduction and Outline for Research Paper.

Week 11:

Monday, November 2: Eastern Europe and Eurasia

- Louise Shelley, "Human Trafficking in Eurasia and Eastern Europe," in *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 174-200.

Wednesday, November 4: Southeast Asia

- Kevin Bales, "Because She Looks Like a Child," in *Global Women*, 207-229.
- Heather Montgomery, "Children, Prostitution, and Identity: A Case Study from a Tourist Resort in Thailand," in *Global Sex Workers*, 139- 151.
- Catherine Man Chuen Cheng, "Migrant Workers or Trafficked Victims? Structural Vulnerabilities of Women Migrant Workers in Contemporary China," in *Human Trafficking Reconsidered: Rethinking the Problem, Envisioning the Solution*, ed. Kimberly Kay Hoang and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (New York: Idebate Press, 2014), 50-57.

Week 12:

Monday, November 9: India and Nepal and alternative frameworks for analysis

- Siddarth Kara, *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 1-82.

Wednesday, November 11: The United States

- Kevin Bales and Ron Soodalter, "Supply and Demand," in *The Slave Next Door: Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 78-116.
- Examples of state laws. TBA.

Week 13:

Monday, November 16: Results of Anti Trafficking Policies

- Global Alliance Against the Traffic in Women, *Collateral Damage: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights around the World* (2007). Read pages 1-26.
- Jennifer A.L. Sheldon-Sherman, "The Missing 'P': Prosecution, Prevention, Protection, and *Partnership* in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act," *Penn State Law Review* 117, no. 2 (2012): 443-501.
- Julia O'Connell Davidson, "New Slaverys, Old Binaries: Human Trafficking and the Borders of Freedom," *Global Networks* 10, no. 2 (2010): 244-261.

*Due:*

- First Draft Submission of Research Paper.



Wednesday, November 18: Problematic Rescuers

- Nicholas Kristof, "Girls for Sale," *New York Times*, January 17, 2004.
- Nicholas Kristof, "Bargaining for Freedom," *New York Times*, January 21, 2004.
- Nicholas Kristof, "Going Home, With Hope," *New York Times*, January 24, 2004.
- Nicholas Kristof, "Loss of Innocence," *New York Times*, January 28, 2004.
- Nicholas Kristof, "Leaving the Brothel Behind," *New York Times*, January 19, 2005.
- Nicholas Kristof, "Back to the Brothel," *New York Times*, January 22, 2005.
- Nicholas Kristof, "Fighting Back, One Brothel Raid at a Time," *New York Times*, November 12, 2011.
- Laura Agustin, "Kristof and the Rescue Industry: The Softer Side of Imperialism," *Counterpunch* (April 12, 2012).
- Shereif Gaber, "Verbal Abuse: Anti-Trafficking Rhetoric and Violence Against Women," [www.utexas.edu/law/centers/.../get.../writing-prize09-gaber.pdf](http://www.utexas.edu/law/centers/.../get.../writing-prize09-gaber.pdf) (2009).
- Amanda Hess, "The White Knight: Nicholas Kristof want to Save the World with his *New York Times* Column. Why are so many of the wrong?" *Slate.com* (June 18, 2014): [http://www.slate.com/articles/double\\_x/doublex/2014/06/nicholas\\_kristof\\_wants\\_to\\_save\\_the\\_world\\_with\\_his\\_new\\_york\\_times\\_columns.single.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/double_x/doublex/2014/06/nicholas_kristof_wants_to_save_the_world_with_his_new_york_times_columns.single.html).

Week 14:

Monday, November 23: The Fight over Amnesty International

- Readings to be announced.

Wednesday, November 25: **Thanksgiving Break—No Class**

Week 15:

Monday, November 30: Presentations of Research

Wednesday, December 2: Presentations of Research

Final Papers *must* be submitted to Turnitin.com by Wednesday, December 9, 2015, 10:30pm.