



What Happened to Sex Trafficking? The New Moral Panic of Men, Boys and Fish in the Mekong Region

Author(s): Sverre Molland

Source: *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (July 2019), pp. 397-424

Published by: ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26696417>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*

JSTOR

What Happened to Sex Trafficking? The New Moral Panic of Men, Boys and Fish in the Mekong Region

Sverre Molland

Activists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the international media have repeatedly singled out the Mekong region as a hotspot for ‘sex trafficking’. Yet, in recent years anti-trafficking campaigns that focus on prostitution have lost momentum, witnessed by a decline in project activity and media attention. This article suggests that a moral panic relating to prostitution has partly been overshadowed by a broader focus on the Thai labour sector, particularly the fishing industry. At the same time, this shift coincides with a discursive reorientation away from ‘trafficking’ towards ‘modern slavery’. This article explores the gendered dimensions of this shifting regime of migration governance which in effect replaces women and girls with men and boys as the central locus for action. Although this change must be understood in light of structural changes within the Thai economy and a broader compassion and programme fatigue, this article points to the similar moral registers that both ‘sex trafficking’ and ‘slavery at sea’ invoke. Neoliberal modes of activism coupled with emergent social media help explain why anti-trafficking and modern slavery discourses have gradually redirected attention away from sex to fish.

Keywords: gender, human trafficking, slavery, neoliberalism.

What has happened to sex trafficking? Human trafficking frequently gets equated with prostitution, which underscores an important gendered dimension within global mobility regimes: how women and men are differentially made (in)visible within interventionist policy discourses. The Mekong region, comprising Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Myanmar and Yunnan province of China,

is frequently singled out as a ‘hotspot’ for trafficking of women and girls into the sex industry. Although media, policymakers and aid programmes have focused on the trafficking of women and children for prostitution, this has changed in recent years. While attention to women in prostitution in relation to trafficking remains important in Mekong countries, an ascendant policy focus on migrant boys and men is evident, particularly in the Thai fishing industry. In other words, a moral panic regarding sex trafficking has been overshadowed by something else: boys, men and fish. This change coincides with a shift in nomenclature and funding. Since the late 1990s, the preferred term used by aid organizations, media and governments was ‘trafficking’.¹

Yet, in recent years, the phrase ‘modern slavery’ has gained traction, underpinned by an increasing dominance of corporate philanthropic donors (as opposed to traditional bilateral aid). As I will argue below, the gradual shift from sex to fish and from trafficking to slavery has not been coincidental, and must be understood within modes of neoliberal governance and media technologies. Although this shift in discourse has a global reach, there are also important regional dimensions. As such, examining how the change from males to females, from anti-trafficking to modern slavery, and from bilateral to corporate donor funding is interrelated contributes to our understanding of contemporaneous regimes of migration governance in Asia. Furthermore, bringing empirical attention to these changes underscores the importance of avoiding broad-brush analytical conclusions regarding aid discourses. As will become evident, despite the global reach and homogenizing characteristics of anti-trafficking discourse, its manifestations produce different results in specific regional and local settings.

In what follows, I will first demonstrate how there has been a shift in media, policy and programme focus away from ‘sex trafficking’ to a broader concern with labour exploitation, particularly in the Thai fishing sector. This shift has important gendered implications as the central object of intervention moves from women and girls to men and boys. I will then point to how the fishing sector

constitutes a similar type of politics and spectacle of the body as with sex trafficking. This is important as it helps us see how the fishing sector is conducive to new forms of ethical intimacy that neoliberalism allows for (in a Foucauldian sense), which in turn helps explain how media technologies are important for this change. These insights help problematize feminist scholarship on trafficking as it puts in question gendered assumptions relating to how anti-trafficking discourses are mobilized and enacted (Doezema 2010; Andrijasevic 2007; Berman 2003).

Rather than comprising a pre-defined study, this article is grounded in the author's personal programme and research experience relating to anti-trafficking interventions in the Mekong region over the past two decades. This has allowed a retrospective reflection on programme and discursive changes over time. Drawing on my role as either an ethnographer (researching migration governance) or a consultant anthropologist (implementing commissioned research), this article considers "experience as data" (Campbell 1998, p. 5; Lyall and Havice 2018) and my role in "observant participation" (as opposed to participant observation) of anti-trafficking interventions (Fassin 2013, p. 41). The article also draws on a range of academic literature and aid reports, including programme documents (such as project documents).

The Emergence of Anti-Trafficking

Anti-trafficking discourse emerged during the 1990s. Several aid organizations, human rights activists, media and United Nations (UN) agencies raised concerns regarding non-consensual recruitment practices of economic migrants, particularly related to the sex industry in various parts of the world (Gallagher 2001). Over the years, anti-trafficking responses have mushroomed around the globe, ranging from small-scale awareness raising campaigns, victim support services implemented by grass-roots NGOs, to law enforcement responses against traffickers, and UN agencies assisting governments fine-tuning national anti-trafficking policies.

Human trafficking, defined as the non-consensual movement of migrants into exploitative situations (United Nations 2000, p. 2), may at first glance appear as a monolithic global discourse. Media attention is ubiquitous and few countries have abstained from promulgating the need to combat trafficking. Anti-trafficking's global homogeneity is reinforced by international legislation—such as the United Nations Protocol on Human Trafficking (United Nations 2000)—given its profound influence on national legislation worldwide. Even programme modalities have become a standardized package of 'the three Ps', focusing on prevention, protection and prosecution.

Although there is a clear global dimension to anti-trafficking, important differences exist amongst anti-trafficking actors, including regional variation. The Mekong region is of particular interest as media and activists have for years considered it to be one of the main—if not the biggest—'hotspot' for trafficking (the region's large migrant-dependent informal labour sector, coupled with large sex industries in some of the Mekong countries, no doubt contributes to such concerns). The Mekong region is also one of the areas where anti-trafficking responses emerged first where the development aid sector was an important vanguard in instrumentalizing the campaign against human trafficking during the 1990s (Molland 2012, pp. 179–203). Originally framed as a moral humanitarian problem within a broader context of development aid, it also means that anti-trafficking programmes emerged earlier in this region compared to donor countries (Europe, North America and Australia).²

Anti-trafficking has for a long time been heavily associated with the sex industry, resulting in a specific focus on women and girls. This focus remains in many parts of the world. For example, 'the Swedish model'—that is, criminalizing clients in the sex industry in order to curb trafficking—remains central to anti-trafficking discourses in Europe, witnessed by several European countries emulating this policy model (Bettio et al. 2017). Although 'sex trafficking' and a focus on women and girls remain dominant in Europe and elsewhere, this has—as we shall see below—evolved differently in the Mekong region. This being said, it is important to keep in mind that a

distinction between ‘regional’ and ‘global’ anti-trafficking discourse is, of course, a simplification. As will become evident below, anti-trafficking discourse and practice on a regional level is connected to important changes in foreign donor funding, as well as part of an emergent global consumer-based activist discourse.

From Sex to Fish

As mentioned above, anti-trafficking in the Mekong region has emerged within a context of development assistance. By the 2000s, no less than five regional anti-trafficking programmes had been launched by United Nations agencies in the Mekong region.³ In addition, both World Vision and Save the Children UK initiated regional projects, and a myriad of anti-trafficking NGOs mushroomed on a national level in all Mekong countries. Although few of these programmes explicitly excluded either men and boys or labour sectors beyond sex work within their programming, a focus on prostitution and women was common (Caouette 1998; Wille 2001).⁴ Nearly all programmes included the phrase ‘women and children’ in their project titles, and awareness raising campaigns and reports were typically suggestive in their focus on prostitution.⁵ For example, a co-authored report by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP) includes a front cover of scantily-clad women and girls, underscoring its gendered focus on sex work (UNIAP n.d.; UNIFEM n.d.). Similarly, trafficking legislation commonly referred to ‘women and children’, such as the 1997 Thai penal code on trafficking.

However, over the years, things have changed. Anti-trafficking programmes amended their titles from ‘women and children’ to ‘human trafficking’ or “trafficking in persons”.⁶ A more explicit focus on labour has become evident in research and reports (UNACT 2018). This is also reflected in research activities within the anti-trafficking sector. During the 2000s, sex work remained a central focus for commissioned research. For example, Thomas Steinfatt’s

study on trafficking in Cambodia's sex industry was highly influential amongst UN agencies and NGOs in the region and won an award given by the United Nations (Steinfatt et al. 2002). Although a focus on sex trafficking has not disappeared, numerous studies on other labour sectors have emerged in recent times. In Thailand in particular, agencies are placing a strong focus on the fishing sector, where predominantly boys and men from Myanmar and Cambodia are subject to horrific abuse (Robinson and Branchini 2011; ILO 2013; IOM 2011).

International attention has also changed. Although a focus on prostitution remains, this has expanded to migrant men and boys in the Thai fishing industry, which is heavily male-dominated. Although women do work in onshore seafood processing, fishing boats are practically exclusively male (IOM 2011). For example, the US State Department annual reports on Trafficking in Persons (TIP) are telling (US Department of State 2016, pp. 363–68). Although recent reports maintain a focus on prostitution in Thailand, an increasing attention to the Thai fishing sector is notable. A simple keyword search in the 2016 country narrative on Thailand reveals the following word frequencies: “labor” (52), “sex” (31), “fish” (20). Early TIP reports paid minimal (for example, the 2006 report made one mention) or no attention (for example, 2001 and 2004) to the fishing sector as such. This change is also evident in international media. Both *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* have in recent years provided extensive coverage of severe abuse within the Thai fishing industry (Kelly 2018; Lawrence and Hodal 2017; Urbina 2015). Hence, although media reporting on sex trafficking remains, increasing attention to boys and men on fishing boats is notable.

Needless to say, quantitative reporting can only provide us with a gist of this shift, given the inherent methodological problems using newspaper articles and report frequency as indicators for gauging the currency of a particular discourse.⁷ However, the ascendant focus on men and boys in the seafood sector becomes clearer when examining how the political weight has changed. Whereas Thailand was under international pressure to combat child prostitution (and by

extension sex trafficking) in the 1990s and early 2000s (Montgomery 2008), today the main critique has expanded to other labour sectors, particularly the fishing industry. In fact, the main impetus for the 2008 Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act, which broadens the trafficking definition to include males as well as females, was in response to concerns regarding the welfare of male migrants within the Thai fishing industry. For years, several aid organizations have pointed out that as the previous law only covered women and children, exploitation and abuse within other labour sectors, including fishing, could not be addressed (Marschke and Vandergeest 2016; IOM 2011; Environmental Justice Foundation 2014).

And, when the US State Department downgraded Thailand to tier 3 in its 2015 report, this was largely due to concerns regarding rampant abuse in the Thai frozen food sector, alongside the revelation of forced labour camps involving the Rohingya in southern Thailand (US Department of State 2015, p. 331). Notably, the upgrading of Thailand in 2016 was explained with reference to the seafood sector (US Department of State 2016, pp. 363–68). Similarly, in recent years, the European Union has threatened Thailand with a seafood boycott. Although most of this is related to ecological concerns of overfishing, this is now directly linked to the alleged abuse of migrant labourers in Thailand's frozen food industry. One of the largest government responses to trafficking in Thailand has been in relation to the biometric scanning of migrants, with a specific focus on the fishing industry (2018). Large American corporations, such as Walmart, have also become subject to critique due to their importing of Thai seafood, which has resulted in Walmart's cooperation with NGOs to audit their supply chains in Thailand (Marschke and Vandergeest 2016, p. 44). Hence, what happens in Thai waters (as opposed to bars) has gained significance in terms of bilateral and multilateral political pressure. All this is not to suggest that a focus on 'sex trafficking' has vanished. Rather, a notable move in emphasis away from women, children and sex towards men and boys, particularly within Thailand's frozen food industry, is evident. This is so much the case that the United Nations 2019 migration report on Thailand

makes specific reference to the dominance of the seafood sector at the cost of other sectors, including sex work:

While the severity of the labour rights violations suffered in the fishing sector has been well-documented over the last decade and must continue to be addressed, *the singular focus on the industry has diverted attention away from similar problems occurring elsewhere in Thailand*. Research studies have found exploitative practices in many other sectors of migrant employment, such as domestic work, *sex work*, construction, agriculture, livestock, hospitality, garment manufacturing and others; *all of which have received much less effort and investment to improve conditions* (Harkins 2019, p. 5; emphasis added).

It is worth noting material dimensions to this shift. Whereas aid organizations, media and activists raised concerns regarding ‘child prostitution’ and paedophilia in Thailand during the 1980s and 1990s (Montgomery 2008), this seems to have partially shifted across the border to Cambodia (Thomas 2005). Child prostitution did take place in Thailand in the past, but this seems to be less of an issue now. This does not mean of course that child prostitution has disappeared, but that it is not as visible (and accessible) to aid organizations, national government bodies and the media in the way that it used to be (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 2007; Fordham 2004; Lyttleton 2014).⁸

A more significant structural change has taken place in the Thai fishing industry. Stronger integration with international export markets has taken place since the seventies (Marschke and Vandergeest 2016; Environmental Justice Foundation 2014; Derks 2010; IOM 2011). This has resulted in an expanding industry that includes different economies of scale and the increasing use of larger fishing boats, which in turn has contributed to overfishing. A move from short- to long-haul fishing vessels allows boats to sail further out to sea in order to catch fish. This has important implications for work conditions, as it has made what is already a precarious form of employment even more dangerous, since it requires longer trips that in effect confine fishermen for long periods of time at sea. In addition, due to socio-

economic changes in Thailand and neighbouring countries, fishermen are now largely made up of poor labour migrants from Cambodia, Myanmar and (to a lesser extent) Laos. As is widely documented in migration literature, migrant labourers are, structurally speaking, more vulnerable to abuse in part due to what De Genova calls their ‘deportability’, which helps explain the ongoing reporting of labour abuse of migrants in Thailand’s frozen food sector (De Genova 2007).

Yet, pointing to material and structural changes within both sex and fish commerce to account for the change from women and girls to boys and men in anti-trafficking is limiting. Although there may well have been a move from direct to indirect sex work in Thailand over the last two decades, the magnitude of migrant sex workers has increased. Despite these changes, since the advent of media and policy attention to trafficking in the 1990s, the academic literature on sex work over the last three decades reports remarkable similarities in both the organization of prostitution and recruitment within it (cf. Lyttleton 2000; Lyttleton 2014). At the same time, concerns about labour conditions within the fishing industry are not new. By the time early anti-trafficking programmes were established in the late 1990s and early 2000s, there were already large numbers of migrant workers in this industry. Mechanized, export-orientated seafood processing was already well under way long before the arrival of anti-trafficking programmes. Hence, the changing focus away from sex trafficking to the Thai seafood sector cannot easily be ‘read off’ from material changes to either sector. In order to come to terms with the ascendance of the fishing sector within anti-trafficking discourses, we must explore just that: discourse. In the following sections, I will do so by placing specific focus on the homology of suffering bodies and the importance of a neoliberal ethics of the self.

Gender and the Homology of Suffering Bodies

The fact that the emergence and decline of various aid discourses do not represent a direct, unmediated reflection of material circumstances is in itself not new, and has been subject to considerable attention

within the anthropology of development aid (Crewe and Harrison 1998). It is widely known that ‘donor fatigue’ is a common phenomenon where mobilization around certain aid paradigms depends on the ability to establish and maintain interpretations of ‘success’ (Mosse 2005). Just as how current excitement regarding direct, unconditional cash transfers have partially replaced an earlier enthusiasm for microcredit in the 1990s, the change from ‘sex trafficking’ to ‘sea slaves’ may simply reflect such dynamics. Several scandals within the Mekong anti-trafficking sector, such as the demise of the Somaly Mam Foundation (Molland 2018, pp. 13–16), may also have contributed to this change. However, pointing to donor fatigue and fashions within aid do not take us very far. They do not explain why the shift takes place from one specific sector to another, nor why this shift has taken place now. To account for this reorientation, it is instructive to examine how discourses of sex trafficking and slavery at sea share certain characteristics in terms of their discursive construction.

A recurrent theme in several feminist writings on trafficking relates to the body (Kempadoo et al. 2015; Doezema 2010; Bernstein 2010; O’Connell Davidson 2014; Agustin 2007). How sex trafficking becomes a question of the integrity of female bodies and suffering, it is argued, helps explain how ‘sex trafficking’ has gained such a wide appeal. In this way, images and the focus on bodily harm becomes a key site of anti-trafficking’s politics. For example, Rutvica Andrijasevic argues that the focus by trafficking organizations on the body contributes to “stereotypical representations of femininity and hence, demarcate[s] the limits within which women can be imagined as active agents” (Andrijasevic 2007, p. 26), further suggesting “that this type of representation restages the familiar scenario where female bodies are portrayed as passive objects of male violence and are positioned within the spaces of the home and the nation” (Andrijasevic 2007, p. 26). Hence, trafficking discourses do not merely obfuscate the agency of women. They cast women’s agentic capacities in relation to socio-political space, most notably through border control and immigration policies.

For example, Jacqueline Brennan argues that gendered notions of innocence and passivity allow border control to be recast as protection. This way, gender becomes a key explanatory device to account for how anti-trafficking allows the state to reassert its territorial power, as well as its depoliticizing effects. It is precisely this relationship between gendered bodily integrity, depoliticization and the state's use of 'sex trafficking' as a pretext for border control that has occupied considerable scholarly works on trafficking in the last few years (Andrijasevic 2007; O'Connell Davidson 2014; Doezema 2010; Bernstein 2010). Femininity, it is argued, helps explain passivity—communicated through images and narratives focusing on the violence and bodily integrity of victims—which in turn helps explain how draconian border policies can be reconciled with the 'protection' of victims. As such, a lot of trafficking literature is situated within a broader body of work that points to the gendered dimensions of state discourses and practices in relation to violence (Das 2007 and 2008; Ortner 1978), a point which I will return to in the conclusion. Hence, a gendered privileging of female bodies is treated as both a symptom (the ubiquity of 'sex trafficking' discourses) and an explanatory model (how the state is gendered). Yet, if inflicted female bodies in prostitution both explains and accounts for trafficking discourses, what are we to make of the shift in focus towards men and boys, which I alluded to earlier?

A cursory look at media coverage and aid reports related to the Thai fishing sector reveals a similar use of the body as a site of violence and exploitation. Both aid and media reports commonly use images of boys and men under harsh (ILO 2013; Villadiego 2017; Human Rights Watch 2018) and violent conditions within the Thai fishing industry (Environmental Justice Foundation 2014). For example, an investigative piece by *The Guardian* places considerable emphasis on violence against migrant workers from Myanmar and Cambodia on Thai fishing boats (Hodal and Kelly 2014). Besides arduous work conditions, violent reprisals, drownings and murder are reported. The investigative piece gives most emphasis to a witness's story of public torture in reprisal for an attack on a sea captain. The

case is retold and accompanied by an animation video that shows the dismemberment of a fisherman. Resembling Foucault's description of public torture in eighteenth-century Paris (Foucault 1977, pp. 1–6), the migrant is being pulled apart as his arms and legs are tied to four different fishing boats, which pull away in each direction. The Associated Press has similarly run numerous reports on the Thai fishing industry, including a separate section on “seafood from slaves” on their website, which includes an image gallery documenting abused workers with severed limbs due to harsh working conditions as well as—similar to sex trafficking narratives—the emotional reunification with family as a result of rescue and repatriation (Associated Press 2015). Numerous other mainstream media outlets, including CNN and *The New York Times*, have provided similar reporting. Human rights organizations, such as Human Rights Watch, echo this trend (Human Rights Watch 2018).

Just as the female body has served as a site for anti-trafficking politics in the Mekong region, so too is the case for the male body.⁹ Hence, similarities in spectacle of violence and harsh working conditions are evident in relation to trafficking in both sex and fish. One may ask—why not other sectors, such as abusive restaurant work? A cursory answer may have to do with the simple fact that fishing—which by its very nature is set apart from society—resembles more than other labour sectors a central discursive construction within sex trafficking (O’Connell Davidson 2004); that is, the notion of an industry clearly demarcated from society, in part due to its stigma and clandestine nature. This point is easily grasped by the simple fact that sea fishing by its very nature becomes a form of confinement and is ‘hidden’ from society. Both captivity and concealment are, of course, central idioms within sex trafficking discourse. On a related note, another similarity between the sex and fishing sectors is that predominantly Europeans and Americans are considered its main consumers.¹⁰ For reasons that will become apparent, the appeal of fish has to do with how trafficking discourse in different sectors intersect with a neoliberal ethos of transnational consumer-based humanitarianism. As such, this places the propensity to use

gender as an explanation for body politics in question. But there is a broader point in all of this. If the spectacle of violence is central to both sex trafficking and slavery at sea, we are getting close to questions relating to the representation of violence and the body, and, by extension, media technologies. The way I wish to connect the two is through considerations of how activism is discursively possible within a neoliberal governance logic.

The Appeal of Fish: Neoliberalism and Ethics of the Self

Economic metaphors are ubiquitous in the anti-trafficking sector (Molland 2012). Trafficking is referred to as a ‘perfect business’, and the words ‘supply’ and ‘demand’ have become *doxic* (Bourdieu 1977, p. 159)—a taken-for-granted part of anti-trafficking vocabulary. Addressing the ‘demand side’ has for years become somewhat of a mantra within anti-trafficking circles. The use of economic metaphors in anti-trafficking may make one suspect that this reflects neoliberal ideologies within anti-trafficking campaigns. This is largely true, but it is important to point out that references to the ‘demand side’ arguably have stronger resonances with a Keynesian language of political economy (which may help explain why the political left in several countries has embraced anti-trafficking discourses rather uncritically).¹¹ Yet, as it will become evident below, anti-trafficking’s economism is arguably underpinned by a Foucauldian neoliberal ethics of the self, which helps elucidate the move from sex trafficking to the Thai fishing sector.

Anti-trafficking’s ‘economism’ is particularly evident within abolitionist anti-trafficking circles. Since the early 2000s, the ‘demand side’ usually referred to prostitution and has been in vogue for a considerable time. ‘Demand’ in this context is equated with deterring, shaming and—above all—criminalizing consumers of sex in order to suppress trafficking. Although the ‘demand side’ approaches have proven problematic for several organizations and has resulted in sustained feminist debates between abolitionists and progressive feminists, it has had considerable influence on official

prostitution and trafficking policy. As previously mentioned, Sweden has been at the forefront of this policy approach, with considerable uptake amongst other countries.¹² Sometimes referred to as the Swedish model, the ‘demand side’ within anti-trafficking has gained considerable popularity.

However, in the Mekong region this seems to have played out somewhat differently. While several European countries have embraced the Swedish model—thereby reinforcing a focus on prostitution—the attention to the sex sector, as we have seen above, is today comparably less. During the 2000s, several anti-trafficking programmes in the Mekong region advocated for ‘demand side’ interventions, yet with a rather different meaning than abolitionist feminism. For example, the Australian government was instrumental in bringing this discourse into the criminal justice sector, but without targeting the sex sector *per se*.¹³ Rather than targeting clients in the sex industry, ‘demand side’ interventions referred to the investigation, arrest and prosecution of traffickers and exploitative employers in any labour-related sector. During several years of implementation, ‘demand side’—under the auspices of law enforcement interventions—has branched out further, as reflected in the project’s external evaluation report:

human trafficking is fundamentally a response to market pressures and demands, in sometimes very competitive markets... Part of the solution therefore goes well beyond the criminal justice system, and must embrace workplace and employment standards, export standards and codes of conduct ... and ultimately the education of importers and consumers. (Bazeley and Dottridge 2011, p. 15)

Hence, combating the ‘demand side’ of trafficking expands into broader concerns with the structuring of labour markets and employment standards across a range of labour sectors. The move to other sectors is important, as it changes the stakes of activism. The ‘demand side’ in relation to sex trafficking was largely a politics of condemnation (of clients) and rescue (of victims). Focusing on other labour sectors broadens this to allow activism to merge with

consumerist ethics. ‘Supply chain governance’ and consumer choices are the new mantra. Although a preoccupation with ‘rescues’ within sex trafficking discourses has been important in the way it “becomes a vehicle of transformation of the self—through contact with the Other” (Kempadoo 2015, p. 14), the seafood sector enlarges this kind of politics in a double sense. Not everyone can engage in actual rescues, but anyone can decide whether they choose to buy Thai seafood. Furthermore, the market becomes both an instrument and an object for activism. Whereas consumers can participate in ‘combatting slavery at sea’ by refraining from buying Thai prawns, one simply does not get the same traction with clients in the sex industry (i.e., what can consumers do? buy slave-free sex?). In other words, combating ‘demand’ becomes legitimate as a form of participatory, consumer-based activism, something anyone can (quite literally) buy into as consumers (and not simply as spectators).

It is here that we see the relevance of neoliberalism not so much as a political market-based doctrine but as techniques of government to create what Ferguson calls “responsibilised citizens-subject” (Ferguson 2010, p. 172). Neoliberalism in this light has more to do with a Foucauldian practice of the self, where ethics as reflexive practice is intimately related to subject formation (Fassin 2012; Ferguson 2010). Such “redemptive capitalism” (Bernstein 2016) marries a concern with transforming markets with an ethical concern for and “profound desire for the self” (Heron 2007, quoted in Kempadoo 2015, p. 14). Such a production of a neoliberal subject is ubiquitous in today’s world, whether that occurs through the fair trade movement or the production of “self as global citizens” through poverty reduction campaigns (O’Connell Davidson 2015, p. 10; see also Rose 1992).

Whereas campaigns to combat ‘sex trafficking’ are ultimately premised on a politics of absenteeism, addressing slavery in other labour sectors discursively allows for participation. One cannot plausibly become an ethical subject through consuming ‘slave-free’ sex in quite the same way as one can consume slave-free prawns. This in turn helps to explain shifts in donor funding.

While governments, through bilateral and multilateral aid, are traditional sources of anti-trafficking funding, recent years have seen an influx of private, business-orientated actors, ranging from Australia's mining billionaire Andrew Forrest, the Hong Kong-based corporate group 'The Mekong Club', to eBay's founder Pierre Omidyar. Whereas bilateral donors have tended to fund 'trafficking', private businesses have gravitated towards the language of 'modern slavery'. As with the move from sex, women and girls to men, boys and fish, this shift is not absolute, and the exact reasons for this are complex, and I do not have space to explicate them here.¹⁴

Yet, I make two points in this context: anti-trafficking appeals to bilateral donors, given its state-centric bias (we have earlier seen how border control is central to this discourse). Rather than being preoccupied with border control, it is more understandable why business millionaires 'invest' in a discourse of ethical market conduct, as it meshes precisely with a neoliberal ethics of the self. Supply chain governance and ethical consumerism are the new hymns for anti-trafficking. Here, we can also see why, say, concerns relating to slave labour in Thailand's construction industry have received less attention, as this is not linked to global supply chains in quite the same way as the Thai frozen food industry. Yet, in order to understand why this change has occurred now, we need to consider the role of social media.

Social Media

Although the shift from 'sex trafficking' to 'slavery at sea' can be explained in light of how a neoliberal register of consumerism gels more easily with the latter, it is less clear why the shift is taking place now. After all, consumer activism is not new. In fact, a remarkably similar consumer-based ethics took place during the colonial period. As Mimi Sheller demonstrates, Victorian England witnessed both consumer boycott campaigns and ethic-commodity advocacy campaigns that were remarkably similar to today's fair trade campaigns (Sheller 2011). The temporal specificity of this

shift, I suggest, can be understood in light of emerging social media. In fact, one of the clearest differences between anti-trafficking programmes in the early 2000s and contemporary campaigns against ‘modern slavery’ and trafficked labour in the fishing industry is social media. The former emerged prior to it, whereas the latter ascended subsequently. In many respects, modern slavery and the concern with Thailand’s fishing sector is ‘anti-trafficking 2.0’.

I do not have the scope to provide an overview of the emerging scholarly literature on social media and humanitarianism here, but two points are instructive in this context. Following Luc Boltanski’s (1999) seminal work on ‘Distant Suffering’, what makes media so important is how it relativizes social distance between spectators and the ones who suffer, thereby collapsing the distinction between particularized compassion and generalized pity. Furthermore, as social media goes beyond content consumption to include productive (content creation) and distributive practices (sharing and social capital formation through media platforms), distinctions between the expressive and performative become blurred. In other words, social media consumption becomes a form of quasi-action (such as ‘likes’ and taking part in online polls). Two important implications follow from this. Firstly, the spectacle of suffering observed from afar can be coupled with a participatory activist politics. Secondly, social media individuates in a double sense: generic, unspecified crowds of suffering can be singled out (such as iconic images of the starving African child) at the same time as media technologies allow personal responses by spectators.

Just as ethical consumer choices reduce politics to consumer conduct, so does social media individuate it in a similar way. This is evident through several programme websites. IOMx (a Mekong-based awareness-raising offshoot from IOM) is exemplary of how contemporary awareness raising within the anti-trafficking sector merges with ethical consumer activism. Beyond donations, social media is about ‘calling a hotline’ and learning ‘tips for travellers and consumers’.¹⁵ Or through online platforms, one can take part in IOMx’s ‘#LettersforMigrants’ campaign,

that aims to build public support for migrants' well-being, showing that they're human beings who deserve to be treated well. To contribute, send us your letters to letters@iomx.org and we'll post them online! (IOMx 2016)

To what extent the broader public actually are getting involved in IOMx's activities (IOMx does not share such statistics with the public), or whether any of this contributes to any meaningful change of migrants' circumstances is beyond the point. What is important is to note how an upbeat 'act', 'learn' and 'share this' social media eclipses what I discussed above: a neoliberal ethics of the self. Social media platforms make such individuated activism possible. Similar to how consumer activism enables an appearance of intimacy between consumer conduct and supply chains, so does social media.

A similar 'get involved', feel-good activism is also evident in the emergence of social media apps that can track how many 'slaves' are likely in your supply chain (Bernstein 2016).

In this way, digital media become a measure of ethics through algorithms and digital content delivery, new media work to produce ethics and an ethical subject. (Page 2017, p. 51)

Hence, social media and a neoliberal participatory ethics are mutually reinforcing: media technologies provide an infrastructure for a market-based activism, which in turn becomes the basis for media content.

Conclusion

My argument is simple: neoliberal forms of consumer ethics enables a shift in emphasis from sex to fish within trafficking discourses in the Mekong region. Such consumer-based ethics become problematic in relation to 'sex trafficking' as it does not allow for participation. Seafood, on the other hand, corresponds with this discourse as it is part of global supply chains (which makes consumer-based ethics thinkable and possible) and provides the necessary homology of bodily suffering that we are so familiar with from 'sex trafficking'. Furthermore,

a participatory ethics gels with social media consumerism, which helps explain why we are seeing this shift now.

Just as the move from sex to fish must not be read in too linear and mechanical a fashion, the distinction between trafficking and modern slavery is, of course, a complex one. They share a long historical trajectory and are often used interchangeably in policy circles and even amongst academics.

Yet, as this article has shown, similarly to the move from sex to fish, a notable shift in emphasis is evident, which has important implications as it relates to a broader change in language away from ‘trafficking’ to ‘modern slavery’. It is also here that we witness a notable emphasis away from bilateral anti-trafficking funding through conventional foreign aid towards corporate business. In this sense, the move from sex trafficking to slavery at sea constitutes a reorientation from the state to the market within anti-trafficking. And it is here that it becomes necessary to revisit how scholarly literature has theorized anti-trafficking.

As we have seen, the trafficking literature commonly builds on a gendered analysis where female bodily integrity is—analytically speaking—made dialectical with territorial integrity of the state, commonly expressed through a language of protection. Although the female body has for a long time become a key site of spectacle for moral panics regarding trafficking, this article suggests that a very similar ‘aid porn’ is possible with men and boys as well. This relates to a broader insight in anthropological literature on both violence and humanitarianism that shows how the body becomes a central site for ontology, or the establishment of truth (Fassin 2011; Fassin and Halluin 2005; Appadurai 1998). Hence, linking theorization of trafficking to the state in this way makes it unclear how this body of work may explain the discursive changes I have pointed to in this article, where the state is replaced by market, trafficking with modern slavery, and women and girls with boys and men.

It may be tempting to suggest that the reason for this shift reflects a dichotomy between how the state and market are gendered. In

addition to the aforementioned literature that associates women and girls with the state through protective discourses, the anthropology of development literature has for years pointed to how development, technological innovation and capitalist enterprise privilege men (Crewe and Harrison 1998, pp. 34–42). The rational economic man is just that: a man. Hence, it makes sense that male migrants are made visible through a market-based humanitarian discourse. Although such a dichotomy has some merit, some caveats must be provided. As Kemala Kempadoo (2015, p. 16) shows, both state institutions (for example, police, armed forces) and corporate businesses are clearly masculinist, and neoliberal discourses do not necessarily obfuscate the role of women. Indeed, women have often been prime targets for enterprising programmes, whether they are World Bank projects or small-scale microfinance assistance. To be clear, in contrast to literature that uses gender (through a focus on women and girls) as an explanatory variable to account for trafficking discourse, I am not suggesting that men or boys in an unmediated fashion account for the renewed focus on the Thai fishing sector. Instead, this shift must be understood in a wider context of complex shifting circumstances of how gender, migration and neoliberalism governance intersect. Governance, Aihwa Ong (2006) writes, cannot be understood through a traditional state-citizens binary, pointing to how notions of ‘mutated citizenship’ in Asia have taken on market-based characteristics. In this article, I have extended this point to show how anti-trafficking has incorporated market-based logics. Ong (2006) further reminds us of the importance of examining the specificity of how migrants are situated within government assemblages and capitalism. In a similar vein, by looking at discourse and participatory consumerism in anti-trafficking, it becomes possible to see how new forms of gendered objectification unfold—that is, how specific ‘kinds’ of migrants become targets of policy.

This relates to a broader point regarding academic analyses of governance and anti-trafficking. Trafficking literature tends to portray the sector in homogenized ways. Yet, as this article has shown,

although anti-trafficking actors and modern slavery campaigners (donors, media, aid organizations and others) may well tap into a particular discourse, they do not produce anti-trafficking practice in uniform ways. It is this that the recalibration of discourses (trafficking, modern slavery) and targets for policy (sex, fish) in the Mekong region encapsulates so well.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the editors and the anonymous reviewers for their comments, which helped to improve the manuscript considerably. An earlier version of this article was presented at the “Gender, Mobility Regimes and Social Transformation in Asia” symposium at the University of Melbourne, 3 November 2016.

Sverre Molland is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the Australian National University, 44 Linnaeus Way, Acton, ACT 2601, Australia; email: sverre.molland@anu.edu.au.

NOTES

1. Although numerous actors engage in human trafficking discourse, it is important to note that this does not necessarily mean that they are homogenous in their ideologies and practices. In fact, an important aspect of the mobilizing force of anti-trafficking has to do with how it attracts a diverse constellation of organizations and individuals (Molland 2012).
2. For example, in the early years of establishing law enforcement responses to trafficking in Australia, advisors were brought in from one of the Mekong-based regional law enforcement programmes, which was (ironically) funded by the Australian government. Although the Australian government is in the habit of congratulating itself on being a regional ‘leader’ in anti-trafficking, it is in fact a follower in terms of programmatic expertise. For example, institutional development of anti-trafficking emerged much earlier in the Mekong region. Furthermore, based on my personal experience being part of a public inquiry into trafficking in Australia and my earlier work with the United Nations in the Mekong region, Australian anti-trafficking discourse seems to lag several years behind the Mekong region. As a senior Mekong-based law enforcement advisor commented when I showed him

the publicly available terms of reference to the 2012 public inquiry into trafficking in New South Wales, Australia, “this sounds like a trafficking initiative from 2003!”

3. Agencies include the International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Scientific Organization (UNESCO) and United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF).
4. There were exceptions, such as *Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Precaire* (AFESIP).
5. For example, UNDP’s programme was titled “Trafficking in Women and Children in the Mekong Sub-Region”.
6. For example, in 2004 the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Trafficking in Women and Children was renamed the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking. Similar changes occurred amongst ILO, International Organization for Migration (IOM), and several other programmes. This shift appears to have taken place earlier in the Mekong region compared to elsewhere. For example, when I served as a commission member for a public inquiry into human trafficking in Australia in 2012, the terms of reference were framed with a focus on women in the sex industry.
7. A scan of ‘sex trafficking’ within a newspaper over time may give a rough indication of media attention to that topic, but the same cannot easily be done for the Thai fishing sector, given the diversity of phrases used (‘fish’, ‘abuse’, ‘exploitation’ and others). Needless to say, term-frequency searches are methodologically problematic as they do not provide the context of their use. A lot of reporting relating to women and girls in prostitution extends far beyond the topic of trafficking.
8. Based on nearly two decades of programme and research experience in the Mekong, I have yet to come across research or an aid organization that has evidenced overt paedophilia in Thailand in recent years. Underage prostitution does take place, but with less frequency compared to in the 1980s (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 2007). Furthermore, partly due to sustained public health interventions in the Thai sex industry, there has been a move away from direct to indirect sex work, which has important implications for both work conditions and recruitment for sex work.
9. Perhaps the best known example of bodily violence in relation to sex trafficking is the infamous case of the Somaly Mam Foundation, which used an alleged case of a trafficked victim who had her eye pulled out by her trafficker. This case was later shown to be a fabrication, resulting in considerable media coverage.

10. It may also be noted that the focus on the fishing sector is intertwined with global environmental concerns that underscore the implication of consumers in seafood consumption.
11. For example, in Scandinavian countries where ‘the Swedish model’ has been most influential, it has largely been labour and other left-leaning parties who have advocated for the criminalization of the ‘demand side’.
12. Several countries, including Norway, Finland and France, have emulated this policy model, which has also been subject to discussion within the European Parliament.
13. It is notable that sex work is legalized in several states in Australia. Hence, Australian overseas anti-trafficking funding does not reflect a clear abolitionist agenda, although there may well be anti-prostitution agendas within parts of Australia’s prostitution and trafficking debates.
14. Human trafficking and modern slavery are often used interchangeably. Whereas references to slavery have been part of anti-trafficking for years, modern slavery organizations, such as Walk Free, also refer to trafficking. Both the sustainable development goals and the United Nations’ global compact on migration refer to both concepts. Yet, a shift is evident. As mentioned, while there were no less than a few UN agencies implementing anti-trafficking activities at a regional level in the Mekong region in the early 2000s, only two agencies remain today with a specific trafficking focus. Conversely, although no organizations operated under a ‘modern slavery’ banner in the early 2000s, an increasing number of organizations have adopted the terminology in recent years. The fact that both ILO and IOM have agreed to collaborate with the NGO Walk Free on measuring the prevalence of modern slavery—despite its lack of an international legal definition—on a global scale underscores the emerging influence of this concept.
15. See IOMx 2016.

REFERENCES

- Agustin, Laura. 2007. *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry*. London: Zed Books.
- Andrijasevic, Rutvica. 2007. “Beautiful Dead Bodies: Gender, Migration and Representation in Anti-Trafficking Campaigns”. *Feminist Review* 86: 24–44.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1998. “Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization”. *Development and Change* 29, no. 4: 905–25.
- Askew, Marc. 1999. “Strangers and Lovers: Thai Women Sex Workers and

- Western Men in the ‘Pleasure Space’ of Bangkok”. In *Converging Interests: Traders, Travelers, and Tourists in Southeast Asia*, edited by Jill Forshee, Christina Fink, and Sandra Cate, pp. 109–48. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Associated Press. 2015. “AP Explore: Seafood from Slaves”. <<https://www.ap.org/explore/seafood-from-slaves/index.html#main-section>> (accessed 24 January 2019).
- Bazeley, Peter, and Mike Dottridge. 2011. *Asia Regional Trafficking in Persons (ARTIP) Project, Aidworks Initiative Number ING262: Independent Completion Report*. Australia: Australian Agency for International Development.
- Berman, Jacqueline. 2003. “(Un)Popular Strangers and Crises Un(Bounded): Discourses of Sex-Trafficking, the European Political Community and the Panicked State of the Modern State”. *European Journal of International Relations* 9, no. 1: 37–86.
- Bernstein, Elizabeth. 2010. “Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Antitrafficking Campaigns”. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36, no. 1: 45–71.
- . 2016. “Redemptive Capitalism and Sexual Investability”. In *Perverse Politics? Feminism, Anti-Imperialism, Multiplicity: Political Power and Social Theory*, edited by Ann Shola Orloff, Raka Ray, and Evren Savci, pp. 45–80. Bingley: Emerald Group.
- Bettio, Francesca, Marina Della Giusta, and Maria Laura Di Tommaso. 2017. “Sex Work and Trafficking: Moving beyond Dichotomies”. *Feminist Economics* 23, no. 3: 1–22.
- Boltanski, Luc. 1999. *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, Marie L. 1998. “Institutional Ethnography and Experience as Data”. *Qualitative Sociology* 21, no. 1: 55–73.
- Caouette, Therese. 1998. *Needs Assessment on Cross-Border Trafficking in Women and Children—The Mekong Sub-Region: Draft Prepared for the UN Working Group on Trafficking in the Mekong Sub-Region*. Bangkok: UN Working Group on Trafficking in the Mekong Sub-Region.
- Crewe, Emma, and Elizabeth Harrison. 1998. *Whose Development? An Ethnography of Aid*. London: Zed Books.
- Das, Veena. 2007. “The Figure of the Abducted Woman: The Citizen as Sexed”.

- In *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*, edited by Veena Das, pp. 18–37. California: University of California Press.
- . 2008. “Violence, Gender, and Subjectivity”. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37, no. 1: 283–99.
- De Genova, Nicholas. 2007. “The Production of Culprits: From Deportability to Detainability in the Aftermath of ‘Homeland Security’”. *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 5: 421–48.
- Derks, Annuska. 2010. “Migrant Labour and the Politics of Immobilisation: Cambodian Fishermen in Thailand”. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 38: 915–32.
- Doezema, Jo. 2010. *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking*. London: Zed Books.
- Environmental Justice Foundation. 2014. *Slavery at Sea: The Continued Plight of Trafficked Migrants in Thailand’s Fishing Industry*. London, Humanity United.
- Fassin, Didier. 2011. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2012. *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*. West Sussex: Wiley.
- . 2013. “The Precarious Truth of Asylum”. *Public Culture* 25, no. 1: 39–63.
- Fassin, Didier, and Estelle Halluin. 2005. “The Truth from the Body: Medical Certificates as Ultimate Evidence for Asylum Seekers”. *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 4: 597–608.
- Ferguson, James. 2010. “The Uses of Neoliberalism”. *Antipode* 41: 166–84.
- Fordham, Graham. 2004. *A New Look at Thai Aids: Perspectives from the Margin*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Gallagher, Anne. 2001. “Human Rights and the New UN Protocols on Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling: A Preliminary Analysis”. *Human Rights Quarterly* 23: 975–1004.
- Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women. 2007. *Collateral Damage: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights around the World*. Thailand: Amarin Printing and Publishing.
- The Guardian*. 2016. “US Human Trafficking Report to Upgrade Thailand, Sources Say”. 29 June 2016 <<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jun/29/us-human-trafficking-in-persons-report-upgrade-thailand-sources-say>> (accessed 9 November 2018).
- Harkins, Ben. 2019. *Thailand Migration Report 2019*. Bangkok: United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand.

- Hodal, Kate, and Chris Kelly. 2014. "Trafficked into Slavery on Thai Trawlers to Catch Food for Prawns". *The Guardian*, 10 June 2014 <<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/jun/10/-sp-migrant-workers-new-life-enslaved-thai-fishing>> (accessed 9 November 2018).
- Human Rights Watch. 2018. "Hidden Chains: Rights Abuses and Forced Labor in Thailand's Fishing Industry". 23 January 2018 <<https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/01/23/hidden-chains/rights-abuses-and-forced-labor-thailands-fishing-industry>> (accessed 24 January 2019).
- International Labour Organization (ILO). 2013. *Employment Practices and Working Conditions in Thailand's Fishing Sector*. Bangkok: ILO.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM). 2011. *Trafficking of Fishermen in Thailand*. Thailand: IOM.
- IOMx. 2016. "About #LetterforMigrants". Medium.com, 17 November 2016 <<https://medium.com/letters-for-migrants/about-lettersformigrants-47a2699e8546>> (accessed 22 February 2019).
- Jeffrey, Leslie Ann. 2002. *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Kelly, Annie. 2018. "Thai Seafood: Are the Prawns on your Plate Still Fished by Slaves?" *The Guardian*, 23 January 2018 <<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/jan/23/thai-seafood-industry-report-trafficking-rights-abuses>> (accessed 9 November 2018).
- Kempadoo, Kamala. 2015. "The Modern-Day White (Wo)man's Burden: Trends in Anti-Trafficking and Anti-Slavery Campaigns". *Journal of Human Trafficking* 1, no. 1: 8–20.
- Kempadoo, Kamala, Jyoti Sanghera, and Bandana Pattanaik. 2015. *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights*. New York: Routledge.
- Lawrence, Felicity, and Kate Hodal. 2017. "Thailand Accused of Failing to Stamp out Murder and Slavery in Fishing Industry". *The Guardian*, 30 March 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/mar/30/thailand-failing-to-stamp-out-murder-slavery-fishing-industry-starvation-forced-labour-trafficking>> (accessed 9 November 2018).
- Lyall, Angus, and Elizabeth Havice. 2018. "The Politics of Development Metrics and Measurement: Impact Evaluations in Fairtrade-Certified Plantation Agriculture". *Development and Change* 49: 1–23.
- Lyttleton, Chris. 2000. *Endangered Relations: Negotiating Sex and Aids in Thailand*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic.
- . 2014. *Intimate Economies of Development: Mobility, Sexuality and Health in Asia*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

- Marschke, Melissa, and Peter Vandergeest. 2016. "Slavery Scandals: Unpacking Labour Challenges and Policy Responses within the Off-Shore Fisheries Sector". *Marine Policy* 68: 39–46.
- Molland, Sverre. *The Perfect Business? Anti-Trafficking and the Sex Trade along the Mekong*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.
- . 2018. "'Humanitarianized' Development? Anti-Trafficking Re-configured". *Development and Change* 49.
- Montgomery, Heather. 2008. "Buying Innocence: Child-Sex Tourists in Thailand". *Third World Quarterly* 29: 903–17.
- Mosse, David. 2005. *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. London: Pluto Press.
- O'Connell Davidson, Julia. 2004. "'Child Sex Tourism': An Anomalous Form of Movement". *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 12, no. 1: 31–46.
- . 2014. "Let's Go Outside: Bodies, Prostitutes, Slaves and Worker Citizens". *Citizenship Studies* 18, no. 5: 516–32.
- . 2015. *Modern Slavery: The Margins of Freedom*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ong, Aihwa. 2006. "Mutations in Citizenship". *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, nos. 2–3: 499–505.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1978. "The Virgin and the State". *Feminist Studies* 4, no. 3: 19–35.
- Page, Allison. 2017. "'How Many Slaves Work for You?' Race, New Media, and Neoliberal Consumer Activism". *Journal of Consumer Culture* 17, no. 1: 46–61.
- Reuters. 2018. "Thailand Scans Fishermen's Eyes to Cut Slavery". Reuters, 20 February 2018 <<https://www.thenational.ae/business/thailand-scans-fishermen-s-eyes-to-cut-slavery-1.706281>> (accessed 9 November 2018).
- Robinson, Courtland, and Casey Branchini. 2011. *Estimating Labor Trafficking: A Case Study of Burmese Migrant Workers in Samut Sakhon Province, Thailand*. Bangkok: Labour Rights Promotion Network and United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP).
- Rose, Nikolas. 1992. "Governing the Enterprising Self". In *The Values of the Enterprise Culture: The Moral Debate*, edited by Paul Heelas and Paul Morris, pp. 141–64. London: Routledge.
- Sheller, Mimi. 2011. "Bleeding Humanity and Gendered Embodiments: From Antislavery Sugar Boycotts to Ethical Consumers". *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 2, no. 2: 171–92.

- Steinfatt, Thomas M., and Simon Baker. 2002. *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women in Cambodia*. Bangkok: UNIAP.
- Thomas, Frederic. 2005. *Impact of Closing Svay Pak: Study of Police and International NGO-Assisted Interventions in Svay Pak, Kingdom of Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Association International pour le Developpement le Tourisme et la Sante, COSECAM.
- United Nations. 2000. *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Action for Cooperation Against Trafficking in Persons (UN-ACT). 2018. *What's the Incentive? Comparing Regular and Irregular Migrant Work Experiences from the Lao People's Democratic Republic to Thailand*. Bangkok: UN-ACT.
- United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP) and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). n.d. *Trafficking in Persons: A Gender & Rights Perspective*. Bangkok: United Nations.
- Urbina, Ian. 2015. "Sea Slaves": The Human Misery That Feeds Pets and Livestock". *New York Times*, 27 July 2015 <<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/27/world/outlaw-ocean-thailand-fishing-sea-slaves-pets.html>> (accessed 9 November 2018).
- US Department of State. 2015. *Trafficking in Persons Report 2015*. Washington: US Department of State, 2015.
- . 2016. *Trafficking in Persons Report 2016*. Washington: US Department of State.
- Villadiego, Laura. 2017. "Tackling Slavery in the Thai Fishing Industry, One Victim at a Time". *South China Morning Post*, 14 July 2017 <<https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2102498/tackling-slavery-thai-fishing-industry-one-victim>> (accessed 24 January 2019).
- Wille, Christina. 2001. *Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar Border Areas: Trafficking in Children into the Worst Forms of Child Labour—A Rapid Assessment*. Geneva: ILO and IPEC, 2001.