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Globalization as a Racial Project: Implications for Human Trafficking

By Sarah Hupp Williamson[1]

Abstract

This essay considers the potential impact of viewing globalization as a racial project in relation to human trafficking. Through an examination of a wide variety of scholarly sources and the work of Omi and Winant (2015), this essay presents the argument that globalization itself is a racial project by tracing how race is interwoven with the processes of globalization. It then asserts the implications this conceptualization of globalization has for human trafficking, and particularly anti-trafficking efforts. Finally, it argues for the power of using such a conceptual framework and suggests the incorporation of a critical globalization perspective for future studies of human trafficking.

Keywords: Human trafficking, Globalization, Racial project, Intersectionality

Introduction

Global estimates of the total number of human trafficking victims range from 20.9 million (*ILO*, 2012) to 27 million (*TIP Report*, 2013). Human trafficking is considered by some to be the largest systematic abuse of human rights in the world today, and it is increasingly growing in "scope, sophistication, and invisibility" (Stone, 2005, p. 32). Although criminologists have paid insufficient attention to human trafficking, it is important to understand the socio-political, structural, and cultural contexts that foster views of human beings as commodities to be bought and sold around the world. Prior studies have importantly centered on documenting migration routes; estimates of the scope of the problem; classifications of countries as source, transit, or destination; and the legal responses and policies. However, these studies have "glossed over or completely ignored the broader socio-cultural and economic contexts in which migration, in general, and more strictly trafficking in human beings, takes place" (Adepoju, 2005, p. 84). A broader explication of the contemporary situation facing individuals in these countries can shed insight into the role of political, structural and cultural contexts in perpetuating trafficking, which ultimately speaks to ways of identifying and reducing vulnerability to this international human rights violation. This paper aims to examine the ways in which globalization influences this contemporary situation of human trafficking, and more specifically how race intersects with the processes of globalization to create populations vulnerable to trafficking.

Globalization, defined here as a "a transplanetary *process* or set of *processes* involving increasing *liquidity* and the growing multidirectional *flows* of people, objects, places and information, as well as the *structures* they encounter and create that are *barriers* to, or *expedite*,

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those flows," is often discussed in relation to the economic harms it has had on societies (Ritzer, 2010, p. 2). This includes increasing poverty and inequality, a shift toward more neoliberal social welfare policies which cut social safety nets, and a decreasing ability of both the state and other institutions to regulate the economy and its associated processes (Messner, Thome, & Rosenfeld, 2008). All of these developments are noted as being potentially criminogenic to their societies, which has important implications for the study of human trafficking.

With globalization, the industries of local economies are transformed as migration and trading across borders increases and a wide gap of global inequalities between and within countries is created. Globally, women are disproportionately affected by the feminization of poverty and other limited economic options (Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005), which can further exacerbate the vulnerability of women to trafficking due to discriminatory practices in trying to attain education or employment (Cameron & Newman, 2008; Chuang, 2006; Corrin, 2005; Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005). These economic and gender-based inequalities may then push women to seek migration, inadvertently leading women to be disproportionately victimized by trafficking.

More recently, research has examined the role of race in human trafficking. Butler (2015) traced the racial roots of human trafficking in the United States and concluded that an intersectional process of "othering" occurs that leaves people of color vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. Othering, or viewing and treating individuals as different on some basis, can create vulnerable populations for human trafficking because they are prevented from gaining access to the same resources (jobs, education, etc.) as others. The act of othering in this context is intersectional because race, gender, class and age converge as intersecting vulnerabilities. This process of othering has also been noted in regard to the role of racialized sexual stereotypes and the trafficking of Asian women (Farr, 2005). Chong (2014) determined that race and ethnicity are relevant to human trafficking in four direct ways: the construction of women who are of certain races/ethnicities as exotic and desirable, the construction of underprivileged women of certain races/ethnicities as cheap, the historical and continued patriarchal domination and violence against women of particular races/ethnicities and the economic and social barriers faced by women particularly those of color. Indeed, much of the research on minority victimization in human trafficking notes that it is a compounding of vulnerabilities through discrimination and marginalization in multiple areas which places them at a high risk of trafficking (Box, n.d.; Butler, 2015; Chong, 2014; Chuang, 2006; Corrin, 2005; Kara, 2010; Limoncelli, 2009a; Todres, 2009).

Yet only small portions of the trafficking literature have examined the role of these vulnerabilities in an intersectional manner, and particularly within a global context. Class, gender, and race/ethnicity have demonstrated links to risky migration decisions and human trafficking. The argument could be made that globalization is related to each of these vulnerabilities, and has exacerbated individuals risk to human trafficking victimization. With documentation on how globalization has impacted class and gender, this paper aims to examine how globalization is related to race/ethnicity. More specifically, this essay sets forth the idea that globalization itself is a racial project, and that this project has important implications for human trafficking.

Racial Projects
In *Racial Formation in the United States* (2015), authors Omi and Winant articulated a theory of racial formation that examined the process of race making, or othering, throughout the history of the US while also examining its effects on the social order. Race formation involves examination of the sociohistorical contexts surrounding the creation and recreation of categories

based on race. This involves critical attention to both the social structure and culture as both are influenced by racial projects. Racial projects allow for the linkage of social structure and culture because they involve institutions and ideologies, which are involved in the "interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial identities and meanings" and ultimately "organize and distribute resources (economic, political, cultural) along particular racial lines" (Omi and Winant 2015, p. 125). Fundamentally, racial projects occur at both the macro- and micro-level for the purpose of reproducing the dominant status quo.

Racial formation theory and racial projects have been applied to numerous concepts throughout the literature. Mingus and Zopf (2010) examined how racial projects shape the perceptions of mass shooters based on their race. Froyum (2013) found that racial projects occur within workplaces and influence the distribution of emotional labor. Hetzler, Medina and Overfelt (2006) proposed that gentrification is the latest racial project, which disproportionately displaces poor urban minorities. Though covering a diverse range of topics, what these studies and others (Au, 2016; Martin, 2013; Rhee, 2013; Roberts & Mahtani, 2010) have in common is the finding that modern racial projects work to perpetuate a colorblind ideology. Bonilla-Silva (2014) defined colorblindness as an ideology, which "explains racial inequality as the outcome of nonracial dynamics" (p. 2). While Bonilla-Silva explored the role of colorblind ideology in the United States, this postracial rhetoric takes many forms around the world including: "'racial differentialism' in France, 'nonracialism' in South Africa and 'racial democracy' in Brazil" (Winant, 2004, p. xix). As the next section will show, the role of colorblind ideology is influential in globalization, working to justify the social, political and economic inequalities that it creates.

Globalization as a Racial Project

Sociohistorical context is crucial when examining globalization as a racial project. Taking such a perspective illuminates several factors, which can be viewed as contributing to the role of race in globalization. First, globalization arose alongside the neoliberal era in the 1970s. Globalization and its attendant neoliberal economic policies spread throughout the world largely under the hand of global economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank (Ritzer, 2010). These economic policies have brought demonstrably more wealth to countries considered to be part of the global North, while the global South has suffered from exploitation and marginalization (Bosworth, Bowling & Lee, 2008). This North-South divide is deeply connected to race, with the global North connected to wealth and whiteness, while the global South is linked to poverty and non-whiteness (Winant, 2004). This divide perpetuates a global system of stratification where race is correlated with health, income and educational outcomes.

Second, globalization itself is grounded in a historical legacy of racism. Globalization centers whiteness as the pillars of the world in terms of economic, social and cultural power, and may be viewed as an outlet for the imposition of white supremacy (Karenga, 2003). A hierarchical global structure is created which prioritizes the worth and status of certain people over others. Globalization embodies this racism through its imposition. Historically this imposition is demonstrated by colonialism and imperialism, which is directly linked with racism (Winant, 2004). The imperialism of the past is continued today through globalization, albeit in a new and distinct manner. Winant (2004) notes of this change that:

> Rather than send their troops to dictate policy, break strikes, or enforce the
> superexploitation of labor, they [post-imperial powers] use financial instruments:

the threat to withhold credit if strikes are not broken, or perhaps if education and public health budgets are not cut. Using intermediaries like the IMF, they control commerce, finance, labor practices and social policy. (p. 134)

Today, the imposition of capitalism worldwide has meant that in order for countries to receive aid from global economic institutions, their economies must be structured in accordance with neoliberal ideology. It can then be seen how structural adjustment programs (SAPs) put in place globally increase economic inequality, erode social welfare and democracy, and overlook the unique needs of a country (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2010; Babb, 2010; Glassman & Carmondy, 2010). It is through this coercive economic approach, justified by free market neoliberal ideology, that the process of "subduing 'others', tutoring them in the 'higher values' of advanced 'civilization', and also squeezing their resources and/or labour out of them" occurs in the global South and East (Winant, 2006, p. 992). In regard to the enduring effects of globalization, as long as capital is linked with race, so too will economic exploitation be linked to racial oppression (Leonardo, 2002).

Finally, global racism is expressed through institutional arrangements (Karenga, 2003). This racism is then conveyed through ideologies that are globally transmitted and justify the acts of globalization. The role of global institutions in disseminating such ideology is closely aligned with neoliberalism and the American racial order. Indeed, discourse utilized by the World Bank showcases this through the promotion of American-centric free market economy ideologies, which are stated to support good race relations (Bonnett, 2006). The use of neoliberalism within such institutions allows for an easy incorporation of colorblind ideology, and both philosophies work to justify globalization. Harvey (2005) notes, "neoliberal rhetoric, with its foundational emphasis upon individual freedoms, has the power to split off libertarianism, identity politics, multiculturalism and eventually narcissistic consumerism from the social forces ranged in pursuit of social justice through the conquest of state power" (p. 41). The combination of colorblind ideology and neoliberalism within globalization acts as a powerful force to hide and justify globalization's acts of racism, while also hindering anti-racist movement's development.

In these ways, it can be seen how colorblind ideology is extended globally and perpetuates racial hierarchy. Through global economic institutions of neoliberal order, "anti-racism is absorbed and reconstituted into a new form that is able to be both socially combative and act to sustain existing hegemonic power relations" (Bonnett, 2006, p. 1095). As globalization embodies the shift from racial despotism to racial democracy, it is able to demobilize anti-racial movements without appearing explicitly racist. Omi and Winant (2015) detailed three elements required for the demobilization of new social movements: containment (state repression), incorporation (to a degree) and the rearticlation of the movement's central themes and ideals. Anti-racist movements are simultaneously incorporated and contained through such institutions, which work to reframe such issues in language that removes the importance of race. The World Bank filters the voices of racial and ethnic minorities through neoliberal discourse, disconnected from the final policy recommendations. This demonstrates the role of the global economic institutions in giving the appearance of listening, even if voicing those concerns do not lead to any substantial change (Bonnett, 2006).

The global transmission of American culture also occurs through media, with white culture being valued on a global scale through the transmission of racial stereotypes (Hale, 2014). In fact, with globalization whiteness moves transnationally, and few regions of the world are not impacted by a global white supremacy intertwined with power. As an ever-shifting ideology, "white

flexibility works in tandem with capital's flexibility" (Leonardo, 2002, p. 43). There has been a shift from explicitly racial systems of stratification, such as colonialism, segregation and apartheid, to a system of racial hegemony. Race still plays a large role in the distribution of social, political and economic opportunities; but with progress in democratic ideals and softer ways of handling opposition, racism no longer operates in the foreground, but is relegated to the background (Winant, 2006). Globalization presents itself as a way for all nations to come to equal grounds through economic development, with the negative aspects left unconsidered. With the spread of global capitalism, the processes of globalization call attention to the construction and legitimization of both domination and resistance (Bonnitt, 2006).

It can thus be seen how globalization forges a link between culture and structure, working as a racial project to distribute opportunities along sociocultural and socioeconomic lines. Omi and Winant (2015) note, "a racial project can be defined as racist if it creates or reproduces structures of domination based on racial significance and identities" (p. 128). From an intersectional approach, one can see how a "matrix of oppression" (Collins, 2008) operates within globalization; differentially allocating resources based on gender, race/ethnicity, class and whether one lives in the global North or South (Ritzer, 2010). Globalization reproduces structures of domination not just in regard to race, but other marginalized identities as well. Structurally, these minority-group members are far more likely to receive the negative outcomes of globalization, including "borderless diseases, crime, corruption, war and most environmental problems" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 437). Culturally, globalization erodes the history of minorities while simultaneously promoting Eurocentric standards of assessment (Karenga, 2003). Thus while globalization could act as an instrument of freedom, as it stands now, perpetuating the racial order and other inequalities, globalization is a tool with which to carry out domination and oppression.

Globalization, Race and Human Trafficking

It is now possible to examine how globalization as a racial project impacts human trafficking around the world. In a globalized world, migration is directly connected with human trafficking, as many individuals seek migration for better economic opportunities. The decision to migrate cannot be understood in rational cost and benefit terms, but must be assessed in relation macro-level "push factors" which are "not created by the traffickers so much as this broader context, i.e., the economic impact of globalization" (Chuang, 2006, p. 141). This includes contextual factors such as poverty, unemployment, war and famine (Ritzer, 2010, p. 303). If we consider the role of these "push factors", we must also consider that minority groups are vulnerable to such migration contexts, and therefore human trafficking (Box, n.d). An assessment of the discriminatory factors which may push individuals to migrate, and thus be placed at risk for human trafficking, calls for an examination of the intersectional nature of race, class and gender inequalities which are exacerbated by globalization.

Further, globalization creates an environment conducive to corruption, which is also interconnected with human trafficking. Globalization creates new opportunities for corruption, even encouraging it, through bribery as a tool to eliminate rivals, politicians corrupted by foreign investment firms and a lack of international enforcement against corruption. Corruption and organized crime groups work to perpetuate the human trafficking industry, as traffickers can gain immunity from the law and continue their trade through corrupt guardians such as police officers, border guards, or immigration personnel (Cameron & Newman, 2008). A report for the Human Rights Watch cites the frequent offer of cash or free sexual services used as bribes in order to gain

complicity in trafficking (Malarek, 2011). Additionally, the legal framework often works in traffickers' favor as few countries have serious laws against trafficking and those that do generally lack in the enforcement of the law. Corruption, along with the lack of effective legal implementation against trafficking, works to make the trafficking industry a formidable adversary to victims of trafficking (Surtees, 2008).

The connection of globalization to neoliberalism also has important consequences for human trafficking. Harvey (2005) notes that the shift toward a neoliberal state may easily lead to: "the destruction of all forms of social solidarity…leaves a gaping hole in the social order. It then becomes peculiarly difficult to combat anomie and control the resultant anti-social behaviors such as criminality, pornography, or the virtual enslavement of others" (p. 80). Structural adjustment programs have been particularly harmful to various regions, including Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. These economic reforms disproportionately harm women who often rely on social services, by cutting spending and resources put towards these needed social services (Iyana & Nwogwugwu, 2016; Truong, 2006; Turshen, 1994). Exacerbating the feminization of poverty, SAPs overlook the fact that resources are distributed along culturally defined lines, including gender (Truong, 2006). The result is that reform effects are allocated unevenly and generally create opportunities only for those who are already in positions of power. This then leads to disproportionate burdens on those individuals who fall low on the social hierarchies, unjustly impacting the future of individuals and society.

Globalization is also of significance when examining the very supply and demand of human beings as a commodity. Globalization has created larger gaps of inequality both between and within countries, with imbalances in opportunity (Nagle, 2008). With this comes a growth in migration, and it is seen that globalization means that traffickers use their 'human commodities' to satisfy the growing demand for cheap or free labor and sexual pleasure (Nagle, 2008). Trafficked individuals may even be viewed as a 'super commodity' as:

> The operation and investment costs are very low, the 'product' does not easily spoil, often requires no special handling or packaging, can be transported over great distances, and can be used and resold over and over again. Simply put, trafficked victims as commodities will possess 'use value, exchange value and a price'. (Nagle, 2008, p. 160)

Bringing race into the equation, it can also be seen how racism and the process of othering on a global scale factors in to human trafficking. Chong (2014) notes of human trafficking: "demand correlates with the fabrication of sexist stereotypes based on race and ethnic origin" (p.199-200). Victims of labor and sex trafficking are likely to be non-white individuals from developing nations in the global South and East. Racist ideology combines with sexism to create stereotypes of "passive, non-emancipated women from the developing world" (Chong, 2014, p. 205). Patriarchy and globalization then play a role in transmitting and perpetuating such stereotypes. As the negative harms of globalization discussed previously differentially impact women of color, it can be seen how ethnicity and race do matter in regard to vulnerabilities to trafficking (Chong, 2014). With racism exacerbating class and gender-based inequalities, it can thus be seen how racism works as an ideology to justify the treatment and exploitation of trafficked individuals.

Globalization, Race, Gender and Human Trafficking

This understanding of human trafficking thus deepens the available knowledge on human trafficking research, much of which has considered the effects of gendered inequalities. While important, it becomes crucial to consider the ways intersecting identities relate to inequalities in a globalized world. Indeed, to move forward with creating theory and practice that can create lasting change it is important that work on human trafficking be "'grounded in the connections between race, gender, sexuality and class in the political-economic context of women's lives'" (Limoncelli, 2009b, p. 265). By viewing globalization as a racial project then, one may consider the ways in which intersectional inequalities position women's labor and sexual exploitation through trafficking in relation to globalization. Much of the work on gender and human trafficking brings crucial attention to the feminization of poverty, as globally, women are disproportionately affected by poverty and other limited economic options (Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005).

Through the feminization of poverty, gendered inequalities can then further exacerbate the vulnerability of women to trafficking, as they may face discriminatory practices in trying to attain education or employment (Chuang, 2006; Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005; Corrin, 2005). Indeed, the "absence of education, a direct result of poverty (sometimes in combinations with other factors, such as gender discrimination), can lead to a great vulnerability to recruitment by traffickers" (Cameron and Newman, 2008, p. 23). This was seen following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as the transition from a centrally planned economy to a capitalist free market impacted women in a multitude of ways, including deepening economic and gender inequality, growing corruption and a shift toward traditional gender roles. Such factors are ultimately connected to their victimization through trafficking (Hupp Williamson, 2017). The inability of women to access well-paying and legitimate jobs places them at a high likelihood of being victimized as they seek migration. Even opportunities to pursue advanced education are gendered, due to traditional attitudes about gender roles. As women consider migration, "traffickers might say they are recruiting for one highly gendered industry, such as domestic work, when they are actually recruiting for another highly gendered industry, prostitution" (Cameron and Newman, 2008, p. 39).

Through the lens of globalization as a racial project, however, one can see the gendered component of globalization intersecting with class and race based inequalities. Consideration of intersectional identities means that the economic effects of globalization impact women differently, creating unique vulnerabilities. Illuminating the intersection of race and class for these women, Limoncelli (2009b, p. 266) notes: "Women are not only moving from the countries of the Global South to the Global North, but also within regions from countries with more poverty and insecurity to those with less". Vulnerabilities that can lead women to migrate range from economic inequalities between countries due to globalization, the use of SAPs in the Global South, conflict and militarization which disproportionately harms women, the growth of women working in the informal sector, and government reliance on remittance based tax revenues from women migrants (Kara, 2010; Limoncelli, 2009b; Chuang, 2006; Castles, 2003; Truong, 2003). Many times these vulnerabilities are exacerbated by racial and ethnic hierarchies disproportionately disadvantage women of color.

It also becomes important to examine the intersections of gender and race within the international sex trade. The demand side of sex industries capitalizes not just on racial/ethnic or national hierarchies, but gender as well (Limoncelli, 2009b; Kempadoo, 2001). Women of color face marginalized access to education and employment leaving them vulnerable to trafficking. This is capitalized upon by the sex industry as women of color find themselves forced or coerced into paid sexual labor. It becomes clear that "racism and prejudice in the sex trade leads to the

overrepresentation of women of color at the bottom, most dangerous levels, and within countries, ethnic and/or national distinctions can create hierarchies even within racial/ethnic groups" (Limoncelli, 2009b, p. 266). Cultural stereotypes of women that are both raced and gendered combine with structural poverty and marginalization to place women of color in particularly vulnerable circumstances (Butler, 2014; Chong, 2014).

Ultimately, it becomes clear that "the problem of trafficking begins not with the traffickers themselves, but with the conditions that caused their victims to migrate under circumstances rendering them vulnerable to exploitation" (Chuang, 2006, p. 140). It is thus important to not only examine the economic factors that may push individuals to seek migration, but to examine the intersection of race and gender inequalities as well. By viewing globalization as a racial project, the illumination of the intersection of raced, gendered, and classed vulnerabilities in regard to human trafficking can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of and response to human trafficking.

Conclusion

When globalization is successful in its endeavors of perpetuating racial stratification, responses to human trafficking are greatly influenced. Otherness operates across an intersectional range of identities, ultimately working to construct othering narratives that justify exploitation of those in the global South (Todres, 2009). This discourse on the devalued other is then incorporated into social structures and culture. These "ideas of race, of difference, of 'othering' and of belonging evidently play both into the experiences of victimization, explanations of the commission of crime and into formulation of strategies to respond to it" (Bosworth et al., 2008, p. 270). Othering can be seen as impacting anti-trafficking efforts in two primary ways.

First, this act of othering across racial boundaries and more means that the very awareness of human trafficking as a social problem is negatively impacted. For while human trafficking does occur in the global North, "the West's 'excessive focus on minority and Third World sex-subordinating cultural practices…diverts one's gaze from the sexism [and other forms of discrimination] indigenous to the United States culture and politics' that might lead to the exploitation of some" (Todres, 2009, p. 630). This then leads to societies in the global North overlooking the extent of human trafficking within their own borders. Human trafficking is time and time again constructed as an issue impacting women in the Third World, a problem of the global South (Desyllas, 2007). There is a need for a more critical view of the role of the neoliberal economic policies pushed by western governments and institutions in the global North, and how they perpetuate the underlying poverty and inequality that creates conditions for migration and human trafficking in the first place (Desyllas, 2007; Kempadoo, 2001).

Second, narratives about who is and is not a victim of human trafficking are perpetuated, which not only impact the criminal justice response, but ultimately harm society as a whole (Todres, 2009). For example, in the United States race interacts with other spheres of oppression to disproportionately place and keep people of color in the commercial sex trade. Constructions of the ideal victim mean assistance is often misdirected, with the "refusal to recognize women and girls of color as victims of forced prostitution perpetuat[ing] the Jezebel myth that Black women would always consent to sex" (Butler, 2015, p. 1490). Constructions of ideal victims and their perpetuation through media have a negative impact on policy implementation (Wilson & O'Brien 2016). Such narratives impact not only the identification of trafficking victims, but divert resources away from non-sexual forms of trafficking, such as labor trafficking.

Further, trafficking victims are often idealized as female individuals who are passive victims in need of rescue from sexual slavery. The media and even some scholarly representations of human trafficking have created a dominant image in the West of a sex trafficking victim who is both female and non-white (Kempadoo, 2001). Such constructions work to overlook individuals of all genders who may experience trafficking victimization beyond just sex trafficking. Moreover, this construction, when filtered through a globalized lens "allows wealthy states to maintain the global imbalance of economic and political capital, as human migration from impoverished states to wealthy states is conflated with human trafficking via a fantastical narrative of deception and exploitation" (Wilson & O'Brien, 2016, p. 42). Such constructions of human trafficking facilitate the continued expansion of globalization while removing from conversation the underlying causes of migration and victimization.

Implications for Subsequent Research

To examine how the issue of human trafficking relates to concepts of power, status and access to resources, future research could make use of a critical globalization perspective. Within the social sciences, the critical tradition is an approach, which is analytical of the status quo and its coexisting power structures, ultimately seeking to replace them with "just and equitable social arrangements" (Robinson, 2005, p. 12). Against the backdrop of globalization, such analysis can only be juxtaposed within an understanding of global society and the rise of global capitalism. As globalization processes erode the foundations of nations' autonomy and ways of life, it becomes increasingly "impossible to address local issues removed from global context" (Robinson, 2006, p. 24). Comparing a critical globalization framework to other perspectives on globalization it is:

> Unlike economism, [for] it does not underestimate agency, gender, mental frameworks, culture and the environment. Unlike realism, it is not silent about the social forces and the normative aspects of world order. Unlike neoliberal approaches…it does not focus on cross-border flows, interdependence, or technological advances as managerial problems and without linking them to hierarchic power relations and the structure of global hegemony (Mittleman, 2005, p. 27).

Thus one can see the advantage a critical globalization framework offers by covering a broad range of knowledge within the field of globalization, without limiting its scope.

Critical globalization studies (CGS) are particularly suited to the study of human trafficking for several reasons. First, with a focus on reflexivity and the role of historical social arrangements (Mittelman, 2005), a CGS can aim to consciously avoid the problem of Eurocentrism, which has plagued previous globalization studies. Through attention to the historical and cultural context, including the attention to the origin of concepts and their functions within society, a CGS can develop a pluralistic world-view (Kozlarek, 2001). Such recognition is crucial to human trafficking studies, which have previously been criticized for examining only those constructed as ideal victims and being reductionist in policy considerations (Desyllas, 2007; Limoncelli, 2009a; Lobasz, 2009). Further, a focus on the role of historical social arrangements allows for consideration of the differences between the effects of globalization in the global North and South, and the ways in which economic and social development programs have been influential.

Second, in outlining what a CGS entails, Robinson (2005) notes that it should "be broad enough to house a diversity of approaches and epistemologies, from Marxist to radical variants of institutional, Weberian, feminist, post-cultural and other critical thought" (p.15). Such a perspective allows for the incorporation of interdisciplinary work, which is often critical to studies of human trafficking. Previous studies of human trafficking have made use of feminist legal framework, migration literature and even post-colonialism (Barberán Reinares, 2014; Desyllas, 2007; Lobasz, 2009; Wolken, 2006). As such, a transnational sociological approach to human trafficking that draws upon cross-discipline research has been called for, because it "can help to provide a broad and integrating framework for understanding its varying dimensions in comparative and global contexts…to better understand its causes, dynamics and the consequences of its intensification in the current wave of globalization" (Limoncelli, 2009a, p. 73). The ability to incorporate interdisciplinary thought such as feminism or post-colonialism allows for a more nuanced understanding of the contexts in which migration and human trafficking occurs in various global regions, as well as what populations are made vulnerable to trafficking by globalization.

Third, an engagement with everyday concerns is a centerpiece of CGS. This involves the "local-global link [which] means identifying how global processes have penetrated and restructured localities in new ways, organically linking local realities to global processes" (Robinson, 2006, p. 30). Though human trafficking may often be studied from the national level, a concern with the way global economic policies impact the individuals within their own communities is still needed. By incorporating agency, a CGS of human trafficking recognizes that many individuals accept risky migration decisions, however: "this should not be read as a call to ignore or downplay the sense in which trafficking victims are coerced or misled but rather to begin analysis of human trafficking with the recognition that it occurs within a larger context in which labor migration is a reasonable pursuit" (Lobasz, 2009, p. 340). As global processes trickle down to the individual level exacerbating inequalities and impacting migration decisions, such a perspective is beneficial within a study of human trafficking. Moreover, an engagement with the everyday lives of individuals allows for an in-depth examination of how various minority groups are differentially impacted by the processes of globalization, impacting rates of migration and victimization.

Finally, a CGS should be conceived of as praxis in that it is "grounded in the linkage of theory to practice" (Robinson, 2006, p. 31). The ultimate goal of human trafficking studies should be to contribute to the body of knowledge that guides the development of programs. Such programs under the perspective of a CGS would integrate not just theory to practice, but also the local context with the global context. Many anti-trafficking programs focus on short term solutions, "while longer-term strategies, such as those intended to bolster economic empowerment, improve gender equality, increase women's labor market participation, modernize and expand labor markets, and address violence against women have been time limited and ad hoc" (Limoncelli, 2009a, p. 81). It is not enough to simply illuminate the social, political and economic oppressions often involved in human trafficking, for such discourse must join with action for any change to occur. Under the perspective that globalization is a racial project, aimed at maintaining the dominant status quo of white supremacist patriarchal capitalism, racial justice must look at both "local and transnational spheres of mobilization" (Winant, 2006, p. 998). In considering the linkages between theory and practice it becomes crucial that feminist scholars "identity and analyze social relations under global capitalism in all of their racial/ethnic, class, national and gendered configurations" (Limoncelli, 2009b, p. 265). Otherwise, efforts at combating the trafficking of individuals will have short-term

effects if the reasoning behind why they are exploited, such as their economic and social status, is not fully considered in reform.

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