

**THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL**

Contextualising Slavery:  
A framework for understanding the relationship between the enslaver and the enslaved

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PhD in Contemporary Slavery

in the University of Hull

by

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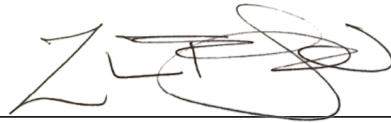
*For Tika, Irene and Ethyl*

## DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing, which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university or institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification.

In accordance with the FASS guidelines, this thesis does not exceed 100,000 words.

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## SUMMARY

Current anti-slavery policies and interventions are overwhelmingly focused on slavery as a financial endeavour strictly for economic ease or gain; however, cases in which enslavers invest time, money and other resources into obtaining and maintaining a slave without receiving a financial return on this investment provides that a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of slavery is necessary.

How do we understand the contextualised logic and philosophical political economy of slavery? By surveying statements, confessions, testimonies and other documentation that relates the experiences of both traffickers and survivors, I investigate whether or not the following framework for categorising slavery relationships by motivational context is accurate, as well as to discover trends and tendencies between each type and influencing factors, such as culture, gender, nationality, socio-economic status, ethnicity, age, religion and creed.

What perceived benefits, besides financial gain, motivate a human being to not only desire complete control and/or commoditisation of another human being, but to act upon this desire? In researching this, I investigate sociological theories by Georg Hegel and Pierre Bourdieu. My question comes from an interest in the motivation for both the enslaver and the enslaved to enter into a relationship with each other, how the two perceive the other and the self during the relationship, and how those perceptions might shift once the contact is severed.

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**arbitrary arrest/detention** - the arrest or detention of an individual in a case in which there is no likelihood or evidence that they committed a crime against legal statute, or in which there has been no proper due process of law.

**Bedouin** (also Badawi, pl. Badw or Badu) - an Arab seminomadic group, descended from nomads who have historically inhabited the Arabian and Syrian Deserts. Their name means 'desert dwellers' in Arabic.

**carceral state** - a society that is driven by interests relating to the incarceration of its citizens.

**commodification of intimacy** - term coined by Nicole Constable (2009) to explain the transformation into commodity (i.e., bought or sold; packaged or advertised; fetishised, commercialised, or objectified; consumed; assigned values and prices) of intimate and personal relations, especially those linked to households and domestic units, the primary units associated with reproductive labour. Intimacy is linked to commodities and to commodified global processes and linked in many cases to transnational mobility and migration.

**cop a plea** - slang: to accept a plea agreement, admitting guilt in exchange for a reduced sentence; effectively waiving one's right to trial by jury.

**Dalit** - member of the lowest social caste in South Asia

**de-flower** - to take one's virginity; usually used in terms of a female virgin. In the case of devadasis, this term refers to the ritual rape of one of the wives of Yellama.

**devadasi** - a girl who has been sacrificed to the Hindu goddess Yellama, who rules abundance. Sacrifice, in this case, refers to a dedication to or marriage to Yellama; a girl is dedicated between the ages of 6 and 13, and must remain married only to Yellama for the rest of her life. Devadasis are sacred sex workers. The men of the village may come to her for sexual contact. Devadasis are also tasked with singing and dancing during religious and community celebrations, begging for donations for the temple, and reflecting the characteristics of Yellama.

**East Africa Migration Route** - route heavily traveled by refugees that begins in the Horn of Africa and ends in Israel, traversing eastern Sudan, Egypt, and the Sinai Peninsula.

**Eritrea** - nation of four million on the Gulf of Aden, situated north of Ethiopia and west of Sudan.

**exit cost** - as it relates to contemporary slavery, it is a term coined by Sheldon Zhang that refers to the barriers to leaving a situation of enslavement.

**exonerate** - to absolve someone from blame for a fault or wrongdoing, especially after due consideration of the case.

**Greater Mekong Sub-Region** - a natural economic area bound together by the Mekong River, comprising Cambodia, China (especially the Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region), Laos, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam.

**Habesha** - also known as Abyssinians, they are a population group inhabiting the Horn of Africa.

**Horn of Africa** - a peninsula in Northeast Africa. It juts hundreds of kilometres into the Arabian Sea and lies along the southern side of the Gulf of Aden. It comprises the nations of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia.

**habitus** - theory developed by Bourdieu that describes the way society becomes the manner of a person in the form of the expression of personality traits, or trained capacities, epistemologies and behaviours, which then guide them.

**ho** - slang: colloquialism for 'whore.'

**hobbyist** - slang: one who pursues the hobby of visiting with most (or all) of the local sex workers within a set geographical location.

**human trafficking** - the American equivalent term for contemporary slavery.

**Jim Crow codes/laws** - barbaric state and local laws enforcing racial segregation in the Southern United States from roughly 1877 to the mid-1960s.

**jipkyulso** - prisons in which offenders carry out short term sentences of incarceration and hard labour.

**john** - a sex worker's client.

**kafala** - a system used to monitor migrant labourers, working mostly in the construction and domestic sectors, in Lebanon, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE. It provides that a migrant labourer is monitored by his/her sponsor/employer with little government oversight.

**kamok** - North Korea jails along the North Korea/China border.

**Kimberley Process Certification Scheme** - process established in 2003 to prevent 'conflict diamonds' from entering the mainstream rough diamond market by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/56.

**kuryujang** - North Korean detention centres along the North Korea/China border.

**kwanliso** - massive North Korean prison camps in which serious offenders and three generations of their family members are sentenced to life with hard labour.

**kyohwaso** - detention centres that house North Koreans who have escaped to China, been caught, and been forcibly repatriated.

**Krio** - dialect spoken in Sierra Leone that contains words and patterns from English and various local tribal languages.

**lakou** - Haitian Creole term that is a derivative of the French 'courtyard' and refers to both the extended family and the extended family's farm property, individual dwellings, and communal worship area.

**mandatory minimums** - a court sentencing decision in which judicial discretion is limited by law; people convicted of certain crimes must receive at least a minimum number of years in prison.

**othering** - a process that identifies those who are thought to be different from oneself or the mainstream, and it can reinforce and reproduce positions of domination and subordination.

**pimp** - a person who controls sex workers and procures clients for them, taking part of their earnings in return.

**prostitution** - the practice of commercial sex.

**recidivism** - a person's relapse into criminal behaviour and incarceration, often after the person completes punishment for a previous crime.

**restavec** - Creole term that is a derivative of the French 'rester avec' and refers to a child in Haiti or West Africa who is sent by his or her parents to work for a host household as a domestic servant because the parents lack the resources required to support the child.

**rodong danryeondae** - North Korean staging facility where convicts are trained in the forced labour tasks they are to carry out when they begin their sentences.

**sentencing disparity** - a form of unequal treatment that is often of unexplained cause and is at least incongruous, unfair and disadvantaging in consequence.

**sex worker** - anyone engaged in commercial sex.

**slavery** - the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.

**sting** - a law enforcement operation designed to disrupt a specific organised criminal activity.

**the life** - a catch-all term referring to life as a criminal; in this study, it refers specifically to life in commercialised sex.

**trick** - a sex worker's client.

**UNICOR** - Federal Prison Industries, also known as UNICOR or FPI, is a wholly owned United States government corporation created in 1934 that uses penal labour from the Federal Bureau of Prisons to produce goods and services.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CO	Correctional Officer
CRIPA	Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act
DPRK	Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
DTC	Diamond Trading Company
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FIFA	The Federation Internationale de Football Association
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HMO	Health Maintenance Organisation
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organisation
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMB	International Marriage Broker
IMBRA	International Marriage Broker Regulation Act
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LGBTQ	Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender/Queer
LINK	Liberty in North Korea
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMSP	National Military Service Program
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UN.GIFT	United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICOR/FPI	Federal Prison Industries
US	United States
WISE	The Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation

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## PROLOGUE

In the fall of 1996, my cousin disappeared. Wait — let me reword that. In the fall of 1996, my cousin was forcibly kidnapped from her front porch and sold into prostitution.

Everyone knows who did it.

The police refused to investigate this particular pimp, although a number of neighbours and family members offered statements. The police were not just unhelpful; they behaved in a way that convinced our entire family that they were complicit in some way in Tika's disappearance and subsequent enslavement. The momentous weight of Tika's absence forced me to think critically about the role of commercial sex in American society. It made me want to understand who benefits from this system, and how, and why. It reduced those simplistic myths about 'fast girls' and 'using what you got to get what you want' to rubble, and pushed me to confront the many ways in which human beings are casually bought and sold in the modern world.

My cousins and I went looking for Tika sometimes. We would drive slowly through the well-known 'tracks' in Atlanta, looking carefully at the faces sometimes hidden under heavy makeup and wigs. Sometimes, we would stop and ask if anyone there knew Tika or had seen her, holding out a smiling photo of her. Sometimes the people we asked could talk to us and sometimes they could not. After a while — maybe two years, or three — I began to go to the tracks by myself. I started by riding through on the bus. I once struck up a conversation with two young ladies who boarded the bus from a track. From the conversation, I gleaned that they had made enough money to rent a room for the night, to eat a couple of meals, and to buy some warmer clothing and

new underwear. They cracked a few jokes about how gross it is that some tricks don't want to use condoms. From this conversation, I got the idea to make miniature care packages in disguise. I went to thrift stores and bought up small purses and clutches and put a few basics in each: condoms, tampons, soap, a granola bar, a clean pair of underwear. Other times, I would fill a backpack with one or two things — like soap and condoms — and I would just sit at the bus stop with the backpack open and let the ladies walk by and grab as many as they wanted until the bag was empty.

By the time I was preparing to graduate, I had become friendly and familiar with a number of men, women and children that were involved in commercial sex. I had heard hundreds of stories about entry into the life and hundreds of ideas about how and when and why to get out. I understood that the sex workers in Atlanta were overwhelmingly Black and Latina, with clusters of Asian women and girls in the northern and eastern suburbs. I understood that the tricks were overwhelmingly White, middle-aged, married, and often sought commercial sex in pairs and groups. I witnessed nearly as many female pimps as male pimps. I learned to recognise which people in the life identified as forced and which people identified as voluntarily. I learned that however they identified, there was an experience of violence that precipitated sex workers' entry into the life. I saw that pimps and sex workers were almost always co-ethnic. I helped to organise two fundraisers for a community-based organisation that does outreach and rescue with girls in the life. I had extensive conversations with pimps about what might have happened to my cousin, the spectrum of types of pimps and tricks, and the prevalence of violence in the life. I learned that, contrary to the belief of most Atlantans, the multi-million dollar strip club industry is inextricably intertwined with domestic minor sex trafficking and forced prostitution. I learned about cross-country trips, strategically

planned to coincide with large political and sporting events. I began to recognise a few primary narratives deployed by people in the life about why it exists and why they participate in it. I finally began to see patterns in what had at first seemed like madness. But I never saw or heard from Tika again.

After graduation, I moved to Washington, DC for several years. I befriended three independent escorts but found street-level commercial sex impenetrable — nobody knew or trusted me enough to talk, which also made it more dangerous for me to try. I focused on learning more about vulnerability to becoming enslaved. I co-founded a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that served as a watchdog for violations of indigenous rights within the US and became immersed in the history of the sexual enslavement of Indigenous American/First Nations women and girls. I spent three months traveling through Mexico and Central America to learn more about sex tourism's effects on traditional notions of adolescence, adulthood, sexuality, marriage and family life. In researching the manifestations of sexual slavery and sex tourism in Hawaii and their effects on Native Hawaiians, I came across Kiana Davenport's novel, *Song of the Exile*, and became obsessed with the World War II Comfort Women issue. At the time, women who had been enslaved by the Japanese military as Comfort Women across Asia had begun finding each other, banding together and seeking reparations from the Japanese government. I moved to Seoul in hopes of working with the *halmoni*, or grandmothers, as former Comfort Women are called in South Korea. I helped to organise a fundraiser for an assisted living home where several *halmoni* live together, but was unable to secure long-term volunteer work with them. I began working instead with young women who came to South Korea from other countries in Asia via arranged marriages. While not all arranged marriages are forced, and while many of the women I met through this

program were content with their marriages, I had several clients who were kidnapped and sold into marriage through unscrupulous internet marriage brokers, were sent to live with their new husbands but were kidnapped and forced into prostitution once they achieved Korean residential status, were brutalised by their husbands and/or mothers-in-law in servile marriages, or who simply disappeared.

While I was living in Seoul, I also became involved with the Korean foreign adoption issue. Because it is socially unacceptable to bear children out of wedlock, and because the cultural importance placed on bloodlines makes domestic adoption un-savoury, Korean orphanages have a steady intake. Interestingly, Korean adoptees are in high demand across the Western world; so much so that the financially lucrative process of placing Korean babies in North American and European households has become nationalised. I regularly donated clothing, books and electronics to an orphanage near my home in Seoul, and dropped in to teach impromptu English lessons to the children who were not adopted. I amassed a number of adult friends and acquaintances who self-identified as Korean-American adoptees. As with the marriage migrants, many of them were sent into loving, nurturing, happy households where they were truly treated like family. Several, however, shared with me horrifying stories of physical, psychological, sexual and spiritual abuse; of domestic servitude; of having been sold for sex by their adoptive parents; of journeying to South Korea in search of answers, healing, and their blood relatives.

In Seoul, I learned much about how socio-cultural and historical context is necessary for understanding any manifestation of slavery. I learned that shame or the threat of shame is singularly powerful enough to dehumanise, or even to end a life. I learned that only the migrant knows whether his/her migration was forced and/or voluntary. I

learned that while the practice of son preference is quickly waning, its influence will continue to impact marriage and family life across the globe for decades to come. I learned that victims of slavery do not always want victim services or to be reunited with their families, and for very important reasons. I learned that for some victims, ‘rescue’ from slavery means death for their family members back home. I learned that no one should be pressured into self-identifying as a victim. I learned that mothers sometimes send their children into situations of probable enslavement due to a combination of filial piety, self-preservation and optimism. Perhaps most importantly, I learned that some people willingly enter into situations of extreme exploitation or enslavement because they believe they can survive it, or because the other options available to them lead to certain death.

I left Seoul after three years to pursue a masters degree in public diplomacy, focusing on transnational human trafficking, in Los Angeles. I began working with two organisations that allowed me to further broaden my understanding of contemporary slavery: the USC Annenberg Center on Communication Leadership & Policy (CCLP) and Shine On Sierra Leone (SOSL). At CCLP, I served as Research Fellow on the Technology & Trafficking in Persons (Tech & TiP) Initiative. The purpose of this think tank was to research and develop ideas around the ways in which technology can be used to both facilitate and disrupt contemporary slavery. At CCLP, the Tech & TiP team published reports and white papers, analysed policy, drafted policy recommendations, and designed interventions, among other activities. At SOSL, I served first as Operations Assistant but quickly moved into the role of Director of Communications. I handled the day-to-day operations for SOSL’s five areas of sustainable development programming in Sierra Leone. SOSL is based in Los Angeles but partners with a small vil-

lage in the diamondiferous Kono district to provide primary and secondary education, adult literacy classes, small business development, sustainable agriculture and architecture, and maternal and neonatal healthcare. My masters research was focused on the cross-cultural miscommunications around coercion and consent in transnational human trafficking cases, and both of these jobs allowed me to further my academic research at work. Via these academic and work endeavours, I conducted field research on contemporary slavery in the US, Vietnam, Thailand, Sierra Leone and Niger.

In Los Angeles, I learned that contemporary slavery is not a 'hidden crime'; evidence of it is literally all around us. I learned that data mining and analysis will be extremely useful to law enforcement once law enforcement has the funding and training to utilise it. I learned the process of policymaking and discovered the intersections at which I might influence it. I learned that the people who have real-world experience with contemporary slavery rarely interact with the people who make the laws about contemporary slavery. I learned the importance of empirically-based, data-driven research, and that it is much better to delay a project for lack of funding than it is to accept funding from organisations or individuals that seek a singular outcome. I learned that the US foster care system has an alarming number of intersections with domestic minor sex trafficking. I learned that the practices of lots of NGOs and charitable organisations in Africa are neo-colonial and heavily exploitative. I learned that illiterate diamond miners know more about the global diamond industry than anyone I have ever met. I learned that poverty is sustained and organised violence. I learned that it takes a village to enslave a person; that many dynamics must be in play in order for one person to successfully enslave another. I learned more profoundly that coercion and consent are relative to socio-cultural and historical context. Perhaps most relevant to this monograph, I

learned that there are enslavers that invest larger amounts of financial capital into obtaining and maintaining a slave than they will ever see in financial returns. In the pages that follow, I will explore the implications of this lesson on enslavement, investments and returns. I left Los Angeles in 2012 to pursue my PhD in Social Justice, focusing on Contemporary Slavery. It is in pursuit of this degree that this monograph is researched and written.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*A man must be disposed to judge of emancipation by other tests than whether it has increased the produce of sugar,—and to hate slavery for other reasons than because it starves men and whips women,—before he is ready to lay the first stone of his anti-slavery life.* ~Frederick Douglass

My primary aims in creating this monograph as a contribution to the body of academic literature on contemporary slavery are to dispel some harmful myths and generalisations upon which weighty policy decisions are being made; to illuminate some aspects of slavery that are conspicuously absent from the conversation; and to share the lessons I have gleaned over the past 20 years with the centuries-old movement to eradicate slavery. Initially, my interest was solely in exploring the profile of the enslaver who is motivated by something other than the acquisition of financial capital. In the process of researching and developing that enslaver profile, cases of enslavers who did not fit the profile began to group into other patterns and categories. Once these other profile groups began to take shape, I began to cull them by examining the similarities and differences in their relationships to those they enslave(d). The four typologies of enslaver-enslaved relationships that resulted from this process of pattern grouping and culling provide a framework through which I could more clearly perceive the spectrum of interacting agents that maintain the practice of slavery.

Contemporary slavery law and policy primarily uses blanket terminology in reference to both perpetrators and victims,<sup>1</sup> with no nuance to illuminate the spectrum of

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<sup>1</sup> There are some provisions in the language of the US, UK and UN slavery laws for special considerations for children, women, and those with recognised disabilities. However, the blanket terms I am referring to here do not differentiate between more nuanced yet highly important characteristics of perpetrators and victims, including multigenerational compounded and untreated traumas, malicious or justifiable intent, agency, and inaccess or perceived inaccess to justice.

circumstances surrounding the relationship of a perpetrator and a victim within a crime. In the US, laws about murder are heavily nuanced; there are terms for the various typologies that denote the relationship, the intent, and the means by which one person kills another. One of my aims is to assist policy makers in developing nuanced definitions and terminology for the varying types of enslavement and the circumstances within those types that should have some bearing on the application of justice.

Furthermore, little measurable behavior change has resulted from the resurgence in anti-slavery law (Greenblatt 2012). In the US, the new contemporary slavery law is less than 20 years old.<sup>2</sup> My research seeks to examine the disconnect between contemporary slavery interventions and sustainable behavior change. I examine the typologies via sociological lenses in order to understand the ways in which socio-historical and cultural contexts underpin how slavery is practiced in contemporary globalised society. I hypothesise that by classifying cases of contemporary slavery according to this typology, we can become more practiced and more discerning in perceiving slavery in its many manifestations. We can apply justice in a more relevant and consistent manner. We can begin to focus on the many circumstances that make someone vulnerable to becoming an enslaver as well as on those circumstances that cause vulnerability to becoming enslaved. We can understand that a person can be both enslaver and enslaved, even simultaneously. The framework can be applied to an array of interventions; it can be used to inform practitioners on foci and characteristics of prevention programs, to evolve the ways in which we define and execute 'rescues,' and to provide nuance to healing and reintegration programs.

I belong to several identity groups that are working to transmute the trauma of

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<sup>2</sup> The Trafficking Victims Protection Act was passed in 2000.

state-sponsored slavery: Black American, Native American, Irish, Scottish, Austrian Roma, and women. The ways in which the enslavement of these groups is presented to me through popular media, such as in movies, school textbooks, laws and policies, and in the news, is often in direct contradiction to the experiences of enslavement shared with me by family and community members who lived through it. Therefore, even before Tika's disappearance and my subsequent intense focus on contemporary forms of sexual slavery, I was keenly aware of how enslavement throughout human history is misrepresented as uniform, dichotomous, and obsolete. Furthermore, the groups presented as the enslavers and those presented as the enslaved are framed within a dichotomy of strong and weak, good and bad, educated and ignorant -- almost as if they were different species, incapable of recognising their interconnectedness and interdependence. These inconsistencies gave rise to a number of questions that spurred me down the road of this research: Who created these dichotomous narratives, and why? Who benefits from establishing such easily deconstructed and illogical narratives? What structures have been built atop these shaky narratives? What gaps are either created or left unbridged because of these narratives? In exploring these initial questions, I arrived at a simpler question: Who perceives themselves as benefitting from the continuation of slavery? From there, it was also necessary to ask: What forms do these perceived benefits take? After approaching these questions from several sociological perspectives, two in particular provided the theoretical frameworks necessary for me to approach these questions methodologically. Hegel's master - slave dialectic provided the space from which to interrogate the psycho-social relationship of the enslaver and the enslaved to the self and to each other, and Bourdieu's theory of habitus as it applies to the three types of capital allows for an exploration of the desire to acquire capital that is motivat-

ed by the relationship of the enslaver and the enslaved to the greater society. This monograph begins by outlining the relevant gaps in the academic literature on contemporary slavery and their implications. Chapter 2 examines key authors and debates in the field of contemporary slavery studies, locating my research in relation to the discipline. Chapters 3 and 4 serve as methodological chapters; Chapter 3 introduces the field research I undertook to test the typology framework, while Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical perspectives that provide a solid sociological foundation across disparate cultural contexts. Chapters 5 through 8 explore the typologies. The chapters begin by describing the relationship type, discussing its characteristics, and naming some examples. It goes on to explore two examples in depth from secondary sources, and concludes with a case study of a third example from primary sources. Chapter 7 is a slight exception to this format; its case study is from a secondary source. Chapter 9 discusses the conclusions I drew from this research, including recommendations for anti-slavery practitioners, policy makers and others involved in slavery intervention.

### Statement of the Problem

There is a burgeoning set of literature on contemporary slavery. It seems that new studies are published on the topic every day. These studies examine contemporary slavery in a great many lights; the index becomes increasingly profound. It also, however, becomes increasingly dichotomous. In anti-slavery intervention design and policy-making, it seems that slavery can only be sliced in two: sex and labour, Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and contemporary slavery, adult and child, domestic and transnational, legal and illegal, or male and female. The problem with dichotomies is that the neatness of their labels ignores the gradations that exist in the spectrum between the extremes. In

the debate over sex slavery and labour slavery, where does forced prostitution fall? In that of adult slaves and child slaves, what do we make of differing cultural thresholds of maturity? Where do victims that identify as LGBTQ exist in policies regarding protections for female victims? The need for a more fitting means of classifying and addressing contemporary slavery cases is great.

Additionally, current anti-slavery policies and interventions are overwhelmingly focused on slavery as a financial endeavour strictly for economic ease or gain; however, a basic review of contemporary slavery cases and the dearth of measurable success by anti-slavery interventions provides that a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of slavery is necessary. Specifically, new and more constant migration and information flows bring to light the various manifestations of slavery in contemporary societies, and the cross-cultural interactions of these societies are giving rise to still more manifestations of slavery. Myriad epistemologies are converging in both global and local settings, influencing the ways in which people from diverse backgrounds perceive one another and interact with each other. Because slavery necessitates a process of othering and dehumanising between the enslaver and the enslaved, it is important to examine the identities and mores of both parties from a socio-cultural standpoint.

The first step in contextualising slavery is to be cognisant of the fact that slavery cannot be categorised as natural because it is not omnipresent. Societies existed in the past and exist in the present in which there is no slavery; therefore, it cannot be argued that slavery is natural to human interpersonal relationships (Datta & Bales 2013). Slavery is not an institution. “Like other common and patterned relationships in human societies, slavery takes various forms and achieves certain ends. The ends or outcomes of slavery tend to be more similar across time and cultures, the forms less so.” (Bales

2006, 1). Slavery is an extreme form of exploitative relationship that exists simultaneously in a wide variety of forms, influenced by the society in which it developed.

The second step in contextualising slavery is to recognise that there is no real division between ‘contemporary slavery’ and slavery that existed before 2000. There is an attempt to compartmentalise the discourses on contemporary slavery and that of slavery that existed before 2000 — especially the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the ‘white slavery’ of the early 1900s — in separate spaces, contexts, terms, legislative frameworks and memories (Bravo 2011; Doezema 2010). The reality is that slavery has been much more consistent in existing than we have been in acknowledging it.

It has become popular in the current anti-slavery discourse to state that there are more people living in slavery now than ever before in human history, which is clearly an unsubstantiated statement. In his book, *Disposable People*, Kevin Bales estimated that 27 million people were living in slavery or slavery-like conditions across the globe (Bales 1999). In 2012, the ILO estimated that 20.9 million people were living in slavery globally (Global Estimate of Forced Labor 2012). In 2013, Walk Free asserted that the number is closer to 29.8 million (Global Slavery Index 2013). Some NGOs put the number as high as 200 million (Bravo 2011). These numbers are estimates, extrapolated from extremely limited data. It is popularly estimated that during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 12 million to 15 million human beings were forcibly displaced from the African continent to Europe and the Americas for the purpose of chattel slavery. This number does not include humans that were born into slavery in Europe and the Americas, nor indigenous Americans that were forcibly displaced to Europe as slaves during the same time period (Richter 2001; Loewen 1995; Zinn 1980), nor indigenous Americans that were enslaved in their homelands by Europeans, nor Chinese that were

forcibly displaced to Portuguese and British colonies throughout Asia, Africa, the South Pacific and the Americas (Mungello 2009). It does not acknowledge the Arab trade in African slaves throughout the realms of the Indian Ocean and the trans-Saharan trading routes from as early as the 9th century (Menefee 2006; Androff 2010). That number does not even begin to fathom the extent of chattel slavery, debt bondage, bonded labor, prison labor, sexual slavery, forced labor, forced domestic servitude, enslavement for ritual sacrifice and/or organ trafficking, or forced and child marriage that was taking place across the globe at the same time that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was active.

The practice of valuing contemporary slavery as ‘worse’ or ‘more widespread’ than the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade has several simultaneous intended effects (Bravo 2011), including but not limited to manufacturing an urgency for policymakers and donors; assuaging white guilt about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and ensuing caste systems of institutional inequalities based on race, class, gender and religion; co-opting victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade into serving as the standard of horror against which modern slavery can be measured; disseminating the idea that abolishing the slave trade and outlawing slavery actually served to rid the world of slavery for a time; and vilifying states and societies with more easily discernible manifestations of slavery and slavery-like practices.

In *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?*, Zoe Trodd examines “the white emancipatory fantasy” that so consistently clouds abolitionist efforts (Trodd 2013, 344). This fantasy has proven its staying power throughout multiple phases of the abolitionist movement. Trodd explores the impact of anti-slavery visual culture in asserting the inability of enslaved persons to tell their own stories, and the removal of agency in determining the value of both the pain and the body that receives the pain. Trodd illustrates

how the “whipped back is...a stand-in for an enslaved person’s whole experience (Trodd 2013, 343). The entitlement to images of enslavement that abolitionists continue to deploy for shock value only truly serves to

“[reinforce] the paternalism, dehumanisation, depersonalisation and sensationalism that marked the visual culture of the first abolitionist movement...this is a visual culture that heroises the abolitionist liberator, minimises slave agency, pornifies violence and indulges in voyeurism.” (Trodd 2013, 339)

Trodd’s study is key to understanding the vast chasm that separates the abolitionist movement from movements for racial equality. Ultimately, however, anti-slavery movements should find their foundations in eradicating inequality. Achieving equality requires a courageous and mature reckoning with the many manifestations of racism, sexism, nationalism, xenophobia, ableism and ageism that are so intertwined in every facet of society that they seem, at times, inextricable. In her study of black captivity in the afterlife of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Woods explains

“the anti-trafficking movement is mired in an ahistoricism symptomatic of our anti-black world. In this case, slavery is evoked to cloak the movement with political saliency and emotional urgency, while obscuring the ongoing calculus of racial slavery’s afterlife, the sexual terror of enslavement and coloniality, and the conspicuous absence of both from the discourse on human trafficking” (Woods 2013, 122).

The abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and the subsequent abolition of the legal chattel enslavement of persons of African descent in Western Europe and the Americas, is often imagined in popular and political discourse to be the eradication of slavery throughout the globe. However, for those persons whose status as slaves and slaveown-

ers changed only in name, the difference between legal and illegal slavery was virtually nonexistent (Blackmon 2008).

In reality, the only difference between contemporary slavery and historical slavery is legal definition. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is an example of chattel slavery, albeit an extremely notable example, given its profound barbarism, reach, length of time as a state-sponsored practice, repercussions on the cultures, psyches and societies of the enslavers and the enslaved, and the gargantuan amassing of wealth and power it provided. Chattel slavery is truly detestable; it contains within it several other forms of slavery—sexual slavery, forced labour, forced child labour, child sexual slavery, domestic servitude, human trafficking, bonded labor, slavery for organ trafficking and other medical experimentation, and forced reproduction or breeding. Each of the forms of slavery listed above exists in contemporary global society. Added to the aforementioned list are debt bondage, contract slavery, religious slavery, forced soldiering, and debt slavery (Androff 2010). According to Anti-Slavery International, there are four indicators that each of the diverse manifestations of slavery share. The four features of contemporary slavery are 1) people are forced to work through threat; 2) people are owned or controlled by an employer, typically through mental, physical, or threatened abuse; 3) people are dehumanised and treated as commodities; and 4) people are physically constrained or restricted in freedom of movement (Anti-Slavery International 2010). Practices that include these four features, regardless of the objectives of abolitionist movements to date, have yet to disappear completely.

The next step in contextualising slavery is to turn our gaze toward the enslavers. Within the study of contemporary slavery, there are precious few academic studies on the experiences of enslavers. For example, there are studies on ‘men who buy sex’ more

broadly, but not on men who pay specifically to rape victims who have been forced into sexual slavery. In the quest to understand the nuance of slavery, it is important to gain an understanding of the various factors and influences that motivate a person to desire ownership of another person, as one owns property. In popular imagination, enslavers are impossibly evil characters with no redeeming qualities and no vestiges of humanity left in their cold, dead hearts (Bales 2004; Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming). They are easily recognisable by their flashy cars and sinister grins. They are the embodiment of the evil in our imaginations: they are often male, seductive, tall, often dark, at times portrayed as foreign, two-faced, and completely devoid of compassion. This composite image of the devil-as-enslaver is so persistent that new cases of slavery in the media are rarely without the attendant exclamation "...but s/he seemed so *normal!*" The reality, of course, is that enslavers are normal in many ways. "To begin with, contemporary slaveholders — like contemporary slavery — come in a number of forms. The evil villain surely exists, but more frequently contemporary slaveholders are respected members of their community" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming). The danger of leaving our knowledge of enslavers to the popular imagination is that, whether consciously or subconsciously, policies and other interventions are crafted in part with this imaginary character in mind.

Along the same vein, much of the literature based on studies with victims and/or survivors of slavery often follow a disturbing trend: the victim narrative becomes repetitive in a way that suggests coaching. In many countries that have either ratified the Palermo Protocols or patterned a state law from them, survivors of slavery may only receive assistance and benefits if they cooperate with law enforcement to investigate and prosecute their enslaver(s). Convincing juries that are less than familiar with the new

developments in human trafficking and contemporary slavery policy to convict one of their peers of enslaving another is fairly difficult; juries are far more comfortable convicting someone of a combination of kidnapping, assault and battery, pimping and pandering, unlawful detention, and other more familiar charges. However, if prosecutors are repeatedly unsuccessful in winning human trafficking/slavery cases, those cases do not get counted toward an annual total of solved slavery cases, and the government is perceived as being ineffective at fighting slavery. This perception of ineffectiveness translates into reductions in funding, less confidence in law enforcement by victims, and less clout in the international community. Before it reaches that point, law enforcement, NGO workers and other direct service providers participate in ‘preparing’ survivors for the investigation — which necessarily includes setting the survivors’ story in such a way that the victim will seem credible — practicing it repeatedly, and ensuring that the survivor knows that this is his/her only chance. Snajdr, in his observation of repetitive similarities in the construction of sex trafficking victim narratives, says

“...there is at the same time almost no cultural or contextual information that distinguishes the abuse or gives a sense of the experience of the exploitation, subjugation or survival. Instead, we find only the abuse or violence perpetrated against them, and then quite abruptly it stops at ‘moments of rescue’ or when ‘prosecutions are made.’ There is in fact very little that is ‘human’ in the official narratives of human trafficking...” (Snajdr 2013, 240)

Perhaps this formulaic narrative is not the problem, but a symptom of a larger illness. It is possible that the Western contemporary slavery discourse, with all its attendant good intentions, simply fails to fully comprehend the nuance of slavery in all its manifestations; it seeks only to define slavery and its participants within a Euro-American con-

text. Snajdr discusses the construction of victim narratives in the TIP report, implicating the State Department's contribution to othering survivors. He notes

“...a curious feature of the victim narratives is that they are not ‘told by’ victims themselves...All the TIP victim narratives are written in the third person and begin with the victim’s name, as opposed to in the first person...Aside from the sentences that introduce the account, there is no mention of how accounts were elicited or who initiated the telling.” (Snajdr 2013, 240)

This misrecognition of any given instance of slavery that is borne out of a context other than the one constructed in the popular Western experience provides repercussions for every aspect of the response to that instance of slavery: its framing, its investigation, ‘rescue’ and re-integration of survivors, prosecution of enslavers, design and implementation of interventions, and training of law enforcement and citizenry to identify, report, and otherwise disrupt slavery taking place within our society.

This issue is magnified when unsubstantiated policies and interventions are applied in an international and cross-cultural space. International law is meant to be translated into local contexts, but IGO and NGO interventions routinely skip a few steps in this intended translation process, attempting to apply international solutions to hyper-local problems. Snajdr observes that because “funds came through IOM...local NGOs had little if any input into how the problem could be handled or how victims could be assisted” (Snajdr 2013, 246). In her research into US and UN aid interventions in Eastern Europe, Janine Wedel

“has noted the lop-sided relationship between non-governmental organizations in Eastern Europe whereby foreign donor governments and organizations drive the issues and essentially set the standards and back up these themes with fund-

ing. In fact, she noted that a study of NGOs receiving foreign funding in the region ‘found that ‘local groups proliferated...around issues that Western donors found important, but rarely around issues that locals confronted on a daily basis.’” (2001; quoted in Snajdr 2013, 246)

At best, Western governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental anti-slavery interventions are still in the trial and error phase of development. At worst, however, these same organisations are wilfully making uninformed decisions in order to advance an agenda for which eradicating contemporary manifestations of slavery is actually just a ruse. “In Bosnia, one sees the aftermath of a serious and troubling development in which women were sexually exploited and a structure of foreign aid and stabilization strategies that supported, in very specific ways, this exploitation” (Snajdr 2013, 251). In its current state, interventions on both the domestic and international levels comprise passing laws, noting little evidence of success, and then making those laws stricter. This trend is counterproductive; it is effectively basing policies and interventions on an unsubstantiated master narrative, rather than empirically-based, data-driven research. The focus of current interventions is on symptoms, rather than causes, and any successes that are celebrated in the media demonstrate links between results of interventions and symptoms, but lack of links between current interventions and underlying causes. Snajdr states

“...it seems that official trafficking narratives are not really meant to show anything else but the fact that victims can be and want to be saved. These narratives are not created as records to define trafficking or even to witness it. And they are definitely not created to show the complexity, diversity or variety of human trafficking that exists.” (Snajdr 2013, 240).

Additionally, current anti-slavery policies and interventions are overwhelmingly focused on slavery as a financial endeavour strictly for economic ease or gain; however, cases in which enslavers invest time, money and other resources into obtaining and maintaining a slave without receiving a financial return on this investment provides that a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of slavery is necessary.

### **Research Question**

How do we understand the contextualised logic and philosophical political economy of slavery? I would assert that by surveying statements, confessions, testimonies and other documentation that relates the experiences of both enslavers and survivors, a more accurate framework for categorising slavery relationships by motivational context can be constructed, which will guide the discovery trends and tendencies between each type and influencing factors, such as culture, gender, nationality, socio-economic status, ethnicity, age, religion and creed.

That assertion then leads to my primary research question: What perceived benefits, besides financial gain, motivate a human being to not only desire complete control and/or commodification of another human being, but to act upon this desire? In researching this, I investigate sociological theories by Georg Hegel and Pierre Bourdieu. My question comes from an interest in the motivation for both the enslaver and the enslaved to enter into a relationship with each other, how the two perceive the other and the self during the relationship, and how those perceptions might shift once the contact is severed.

In order to properly interrogate the dynamics involved, I examine the enslaver-

enslaved relationship via Hegel's master-slave dialectic (Hegel 1977), which has given rise to an epistemology on recognition and misrecognition. The master-slave dialectic provides for psycho-social unpacking of the enslaver-enslaved relationship. Perhaps most importantly, it explores the formation of the identities of 'master' and 'slave.' The dynamics of who has the access to means for self-identifying as 'master' and who has the vulnerability to means for self-identifying as 'slave' are esoteric to each time period, geographical space, and contextual history, but the process remains essentially the same. For this reason, the Hegelian lens is particularly useful for investigating my research question: despite the wide variety of manifestations of slavery throughout time and throughout the globe, the process implicit in the master-slave dialectic is constant.

Hegel theorised that in order for the master to exist, the slave must exist; and that the master and slave must agree to their respective identities (Hegel 1977). However, because the master elicits this agreement through force, the slave does not truly and naturally recognise this identity. The slave may pretend to self-identify as a slave simply to survive, while secretly eschewing the slave identity. Furthermore, the slave may recognise in the master the need for the existence of the slave in order to reify the identity known as 'master'; in this way, the slave is actually the master and the master is enslaved to the slave. The master, too, may recognise the dependence of his power on the slave's process of self-identification as a slave, which threatens his claim on absolute power over the slave. This recognition can motivate the master to constantly reify his position of dominance through repetitive and often escalating forms of violence.

Because neither masters nor slaves are a monolith, and although the master-slave dialectic is a constant uniting all enslaver-enslaved relationships, there are almost endless possibilities for the ways in which an enslaver will embody the identity of 'mas-

ter’ and the same number of ways in which the enslaved will embody the identity of ‘slave.’ A master may vacillate between recognising the self as the master and recognising the self as the slave; likewise, the slave may be in the constant throes of shifting between surrender to the identity of ‘slave’ and manipulating the vulnerability of the master to his need for hierarchy in order to recognise the master within himself. A nuanced understanding of the processes involved in the master-slave dialectic will not only allow a means for understanding the diversity of enslaver-enslaved relationships, but also the various states of mind that an enslaver and an enslaved might inhabit at the point of intervention. A robust understanding of those nuances will empower us to apply justice, care, rehabilitation and re-socialisation processes in the most efficient and effective manner.

The second theory I have deployed to examine the enslaver-enslaved relationship is Bourdieu’s theory of habitus (Bourdieu 1995), particularly as it relates to the construction and application of the three forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu’s theory of habitus provides that any social construct that exists begins by being arbitrarily assigned characteristics, but the society then collectively attributes agreed-upon and consistently reified characteristics to that construct until it has definition and tradition (Bourdieu 1995). In this study, I apply the theory of habitus to the social construct of slavery and the various social constructs that contribute to its continued existence. Furthermore, I explore the establishment of the three forms of capital — economic, cultural, and social — to unpack the assertion that slavery is dependent solely upon an enslaver’s insatiable greed for amassing economic capital. Via the process of habitus, by which arbitrary tangible and intangible objects are assigned meaning and characteristics, capital was created in order to measure the differences between castes or classes (Bour-

dieu 1995). Economic capital refers to money and objects that can be easily transformed into money; cultural capital includes those items and ideas that are deemed valuable to the structure of the culture, and which can sometimes be transformed into economic capital; social capital refers to those connections and obligations that provide for access to and movement within spaces with greater proximity to economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). The acquisition of social and/or cultural capital can serve as non-economic motivations for enslaving another human being; for example, a person with less economic capital than the average slaveholder may invest substantial economic capital into owning a slave with no real prospect for economic returns on this investment.

However, by owning a slave, s/he has access to social capital. S/he believes that owning a slave will allow him/her to move in social spaces and establish social connections that will lead to opportunities for social mobility; these spaces and connections are otherwise not accessible to him/her. Conversely, a person living in slavery may have zero or negative economic capital but a sizeable amount of cultural capital, and, depending upon the particulars of his/her enslavement, might also move within the same spaces (albeit with a very different power dynamic) as members of the slaveholding class. The great abolitionist Frederick Douglass is a clear example of an enslaved person with no economic capital but a wealth of cultural capital, who, due to the presence of very specific circumstances, was able to transform that cultural capital into social capital, and finally, economic capital. Understanding the three forms of capital and their relationships to slavery provides a more nuanced perspective of the motivations for both the enslaver and the enslaved for entering into relationships with one another, for remaining in those relationships, and/or for disrupting those relationships. Furthermore, the theory of habitus provides that because slavery manifests according to the social, historical,

political, cultural and geographical context in which it developed, the unstable structures characterising and defining slavery are malleable to those who wield any of the three forms of capital.

The investigation of Hegelian and Bourdieusian perspectives on slavery, and particularly the relationship between the enslaver and the enslaved, provides insights into the many dynamics at play within this relationship. Nearly twenty years of case studies and casework have aided me in identifying four primary categories of enslaver-enslaved relationships. It is my assertion that these four categories of the enslaver-enslaved relationship add much needed explanatory power to our understanding of slavery. In order to test this framework of relationship categories, or types, I will analyse each type from Hegelian and Bourdieusian perspectives. I will further provide a case study into the relationship type from primary or secondary data, and determine whether or not the framework retains its characteristics after theoretical and practical analysis. The recognition of specific relationship types, and these four types in particular, is useful for many reasons. First, a widespread illiteracy on the spectrum of slavery manifestations requires more easily accessible, nuanced information for both stakeholders and the general public. This framework, containing a specific four types of relationships, is not meant to describe the totality of enslaver-enslaved relationships; rather, it is meant to examine the four types of relationships that I perceive as being both prevalent and under- or mis-analysed. The framework below describes my categorisation of four types of enslaver/enslaved relationships.

### **Framework for 4 Types of Enslavement**

*Type I: Normative Hierarchy* – If a culture has historically taught that some groups are

naturally subservient to others, and this discourse is dominant within the society's concept of why slavery exists, then the notions of consent and coercion currently deployed within the contemporary slavery policy discourse are irrelevant.

In some cultures, the dominant discourse provides that some groups within the culture are naturally subservient or inferior to another group within the culture. When slavery is maintained via a discourse such as this, which I have termed 'normative hierarchy' or 'Type I enslaver - enslaved relationship,' the enslaved believes it is his/her duty and honour to be subservient, and the captor believes it is his/her right to own another human being. Because the Type I relationship is traditionally accepted in these cultures, slavery is practiced in the open either legally or with relative impunity.

*Type II: Exploitative Bondage* – Exploitative bondage, or the Type II enslaver - enslaved relationship, exists where the enslaver is motivated to exploit other by the acquisition of material resources. This type of relationship is often situated within formal and/or informal large-scale operations that involve both labour and sexual exploitation. As with Normative Hierarchy relationships, there may be spaces in which Type II enslavers operate openly and/or with impunity; however, Type II enslavers may also operate concealed slavery behind the facade of a legitimate business. Those enslaved in an Exploitative Bondage relationship may either be tricked into the situation or may enter it believing that they can temporarily handle the abuse in pursuit of survival and/or social mobility. The enslaved are often kept in bondage via the barriers of high exit costs, including personal injury or death, familial injury or death, and extreme social marginalisation.

*Type III: Hierarchy-Fixated* – As governments across the globe adopt and enact policies establishing and protecting the basic human rights of all citizens, the ideologies that support hierarchy find themselves at greater odds with ideologies supporting equality. Individuals and groups that are devoted to maintaining hierarchy may become fixated on replicating micro versions of fading hierarchical systems. In this relationship, which I have named ‘Hierarchy Fixated’ or ‘Type III enslaver - enslaved relationship,’ the enslavers may seek to enslave others purely as an outlet for frustration over their perceived loss of power and privilege. Their enslavement activities are primarily enacted on a small scale; they take place in their own homes, within their small businesses, or they may serve as clientele in others’ commercial enslavement operations. They typically seek to enslave persons whom they identify as ‘other.’ The enslaved in the Type III relationship are often vulnerable to exploitation when they meet their enslaver: they are children, immigrants, addicts, impoverished, incarcerated, religious minorities, ethnic minorities, women, disabled, already enslaved, or are otherwise marginalised. Either before coming in contact with their enslaver or in the process of enslavement, the enslaved in a Hierarchy Fixated relationship may be vulnerable to subscribing to the enslaver’s perspective, thus believing themselves inferior and/or deserving of such treatment.

*Type IV: Normative Exploitation* – The Type IV enslaver - enslaved relationship, which I have termed ‘Normative Exploitation,’ is a situation in which both the enslaver and the enslaved are coerced into the relationship by a third actor. In this relationship, the enslaver is either consciously or subconsciously aware that s/he could easily be in the po-

sition of the enslaved and therefore carries out the enslavement out of a sense of fear or self-preservation. Both parties recognise the injustice of the situation, but neither feels powerful enough to change it. This relationship type is present in both forced labour and sexual slavery situations.

While all four relationship types within the framework share certain characteristics, they are each identified by a unique constellation of characteristics that distinguish it from the others. Below is a table of a few of these characteristics and to which relationship type these characteristics apply.

**Table 1.1** Characteristics of the Four Types of Enslaver-Enslaved Relationships

Characteristics	Type I: Normative Hierarchy	Type II: Exploitative Bondage	Type III: Hierarchy-Fixated	Type IV: Normative Exploitation
large-scale	x	x		
small-scale	x		x	x
overt	x	x		x
covert		x	x	x
intercultural		x	x	x
intracultural	x		x	x
enslaver & enslaved have kinship ties			x	x
enslaver & enslaved are initially strangers	x	x	x	x
enslavement is short term		x	x	x
enslavement is long term	x		x	x
relationship is hereditary	x			x
high potential for social capital	x	x		
high potential for cultural capital	x	x		

Characteristics	Type I: Normative Hierarchy	Type II: Exploitative Bondage	Type III: Hierarchy-Fixated	Type IV: Normative Exploitation
high potential for economic capital	x	x		x
higher number of enslavers than enslaved			x	x
higher number of enslaved than enslavers	x	x		

This framework is not exhaustive of every manifestation of the enslaver-en-slaved relationship; as I mention earlier in this chapter, I developed this framework from observations of enslaver-en-slaved relationships in my work, in my studies, and in my personal life. Because I only have access to my own experiences and a particular collection of others' experiences due to the research resources that have been available to me since 1997, it is probable that this study stands to be expanded in every direction.

There are some other categories that I considered but did not include. One of these rejected categories is that of fully knowledgeable enslaver and completely unwitting enslaved. In this relationship, an enslaver removes his/her victim from nearly everything familiar so as to completely jar the victim from his/her reality to create an entirely new reality, removing the victim's ability to maintain any parts of his/her identity. Some tactics for achieving this include removing the victim from his/her town, country, or hemisphere; keeping the victim in a confined space without access to natural light to disrupt the victim's concept of time and space; sleep deprivation; food deprivation; forcefully addicting the victim to a controlled substance; changing the victim's hair; applying brands, tattoos or scarification to the victim's skin; removing the victim's name; speaking in a language unknown to the victim but not often enough for the victim to

learn the language; and not allowing the victim to bond to any other living things. The enslaved then becomes completely dependent upon the enslaver(s) for human interaction. I have chosen not to explore this relationship type in this study because I believe it to be more explored and better understood than most enslavement cases; furthermore, this situation can be categorised as various relationship types depending on how the enslaver and the enslaved view each other, interact with each other, view themselves and interact with themselves for the duration of the relationship. A second category that I considered including but eventually removed is one in which the enslaver seeks someone willing to be enslaved, and the enslaved willingly enters slavery because s/he has a socially deviant desire to live in a mutually consenting master-slave relationship. Because both parties are consenting to this relationship that is not motivated by survival, it does not actually qualify as forced enslavement.

## **Conclusion**

My intention for this study is that it will expand the existing knowledge about slavery. To this end, I have identified a number of knowledge gaps in contemporary slavery studies as well as in popular opinion about contemporary slavery, and have explored others' critiques of current anti-slavery rhetoric and policies. I identify a particular knowledge gap as my entry point: seeking to understand what motivations other than the acquisition of economic capital drive some people to enslave others. In creating a profile of the enslaver that is driven by something other financial profit, I discovered patterns that emerged as four separate types of relationships between an enslaver and an enslaved person. These four typologies are influenced by the historical, social, political, cultural, and geographical contexts in which they exist. By developing a more nuanced

understanding of these contexts, we can also develop more nuanced slavery preventions and interventions. Furthermore, by developing a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics that motivate a perpetrator and a victim to enter into a relationship of enslavement, rather than operating from the idea that enslavers and slaves are each monolithic, we can create more relevant and sustainable applications of justice for the enslaver and the enslaved.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

Since 2000, there has been a meteoric rise in the number of published academic studies on contemporary slavery. While slavery studies is an established academic discipline, the particularity of contemporary slavery studies is relatively new. There is much debate about the basics of the discipline that should, perhaps, be static: definitions, terminology, scope, and causes, for starters. While much of the literature in the study of contemporary slavery is basic and necessarily speculative, I review in the following paragraphs the works of a number of contemporary slavery scholars whose research represents the primary concepts and debates in the field. The literature explored below impacted the directions I took in developing this monograph by both filling and exposing knowledge gaps in the discipline.

My advisor and mentor, Kevin Bales, has focused much of his academic investigation of slavery on its economics. He explains that he "looked very deeply into slave-based businesses because this is an economic crime. People do not enslave people to be mean to them. They do it to make a profit" (Bales 2010b). His second book, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves*, explores the cost of purchasing slaves, how that cost has changed over time, and the amount of money that slaveholding produces each year. A more recent article by Bales & Datta (2013) found that while slavery is immediately profitable for slaveholders, it "undermines social and economic output on a macro level." His latest book, *Blood and Earth: Modern Slavery, Ecocide, and the Secret to Saving the World*, outlines the intersections between slavery and climate change. He finds that those who are willing to exploit human bodies for profit are often also willing to exploit natural resources for profit. In Bales' 2010 TED Talk, he explains how much

economic capital it will take to sustainably liberate 27 million enslaved persons: \$10.8 billion USD. While Bales' valuable contributions to the study of contemporary slavery include several aspects of the economics of the trade, he does not address those enslavers who invest more financial capital into owning a slave than they receive in returns, or what might motivate enslavers other than financial gain.

Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick's forthcoming study on contemporary slavery in India examines the relationship between the enslaver and the movement for liberation. In order to gather data on this relationship, Choi-Fitzpatrick

"conducted 150 semi-structured interviews with four groups of respondents in rural India: employers (current and former slaveholders); laborers (currently and formerly enslaved individuals); community leaders (village heads and others); and key informants from social movement organizations." (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 25)

He finds that abolition movements provide some necessary tools for mobilising and liberating the oppressed, but do nothing to heal and rehabilitate the oppressors from their desire to enslave (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming). This blind spot in abolitionist movements allows for a group of frustrated and aggrieved persons -- who happen to be the targets of the movement -- to remain, imbalanced and with relatively more access to resources than those they formerly enslaved (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming). Choi-Fitzpatrick's study is focused on smaller-scale landowners in rural India who enslaved people from lower castes in forced labour, and seeks to understand how these enslavers are processing and adjusting to the shift in socio-cultural stratification. In examining how elites are affected by movements for justice for private wrongs, Choi-Fitzpatrick explains that "it is not the type of exploitation that matters, but the level of social accept-

ability" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 28). Before liberation, the enslaver-enslaved relationship prevalent in his study subjects was what I identify as Type I: Normative Hierarchy; the enslavement that both parties participated in was sanctioned by the society even if it is deemed illegal. Choi-Fitzpatrick's study illuminates a great deal about the Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship, and provides some insight into the Type III: Hierarchy Fixed enslaver-enslaved relationship, but bears little on the other two typologies.<sup>3</sup>

Zoe Trodd's contributions to slavery studies literature have a variety of foci, from establishing basic definitions and deployment to curating survivors' stories to research into manifestations of American protest throughout the history of slavery. I am particularly interested in her research that focuses on the images and narratives used to drive anti-slavery campaigns throughout the four waves of abolitionist movements.<sup>4</sup> It is my understanding that thus far, abolitionist movements have not been successful at eradicating slavery because there are significant gaps in our understanding of why slavery exists and persists. Trodd's examination of the slogans and symbols that are appropriated from movement to movement provides some insight into some of those gaps. For example, Trodd illustrates how the image of the helpless, supplicant slave is pervasive throughout all four movements. This recurrent symbol "invites not solidarity with the enslaved but paternalistic association with the morally righteous abolitionists,"

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<sup>3</sup> Choi-Fitzpatrick's research is less applicable to Type II because the enslavers that participated as research subjects ran relatively small-scale forced labour operations that were based more upon a cultural entitlement to the enslaved's labour than on a desire for greater financial capital. Choi-Fitzpatrick's research is less applicable to Type IV because of the absence of a third party with relatively more power than the landowners who pressured the landowners into enslaving the lower castes. Perhaps an argument could be made that the society's acceptance of the caste system is that powerful third party, but the landowners do not enslave the lower castes for fear that if they do not, they themselves will be exploited.

<sup>4</sup> These four abolitionist movements include the movement to end the Transatlantic Slave Trade and chattel slavery, the moralist movement against 'white slavery' in the early 1900s that resulted in the Mann Act, the Civil Rights Movement, and the current movement against 'modern slavery'.

which obstructs rather than enables agency and liberation (Trodd 2013, 340). Trodd suggests that the current abolitionist movement "should salvage a visual culture of slave rebellion and black activism, rather than slave passivity and white paternalism" (Trodd 2013, 352). Indeed, my work seeks to expand on this idea, asserting that we should examine a number of missteps from movements past to inform our interventions today. Jo Doezema's contribution to the contemporary slavery academic landscape is an in-depth critique of the wholesale vilification of commercial sex by anti-slavery abolitionists. In *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking* (2010), Doezema traces the origins of this movement from the moral panic about the "white slave trade" of the early 1900s through the current movement's inability to apply nuance to the varying dynamics of power and agency present in sex work. Doezema addresses three important points in her critique: first, she frames the white slavery movement as a myth. Second, she shows the ways in which sexual slavery and white slavery are widely conflated with prostitution. Third, she demonstrates how the same myth-making and conflation tactics are being used in current anti-slavery campaigns. While contemporary slavery is not a myth, it is my opinion that there is an inordinate amount of resources dedicated to simply counting enslaved persons, particularly in proportion to the amount of resources allotted to providing the means for sustainable liberation of known survivors. Furthermore, varying cultural and political perspectives on human sexuality clash bitterly in the arena of commercial sex, preventing progress on the common goal of protections from exploitation. Both of these issues, in my opinion, are distractions from actual solutions. Doezema's work inspired me to look critically at the aspects of contemporary anti-trafficking/anti-slavery rhetoric that serve more as a comfort to the abolitionist and an opportunity to deepen class hierarchies than as a tool for justice. Perhaps most im-

portantly, it encouraged me to learn about the process by which an enslaved person might accept or reject self-identification as a slave, which greatly informs the ways in which s/he interacts with his/her enslaver.

Melissa Farley's research<sup>5</sup> is focused squarely on prostitution; she touches on contemporary slavery only in the spaces at which it intersects with commercial sex. Her organisation, Prostitution Research & Education, consistently conducts and publishes research on prostitution. A good deal of her work examines men who buy sex. While a small cross section of men who buy sex qualify as enslavers, some of Farley's interviews with them expose perspectives on sex workers that demonstrate the belief systems that are present when extreme exploitation occurs. The beliefs that some of Farley's research subjects subscribe to regarding the intersection of race, class, gender, and nationality with sexual desire mirrored the stories that sex workers have shared with me over the past twenty years. Farley's work, therefore, was useful in the development of the Type III: Hierarchy Fixated enslaver-enslaved relationship.

In much the way Doezema unpacks the co-opting of moral panic around slavery to manipulate the masses' perspectives on sex work, Julia O'Connell Davidson's book, *Modern Slavery: The Margins of Freedom* (2016), examines the co-opting of the moral panic around slavery to fuel political fervor on several security issues, such as immigration, terrorism, and the powers granted to law enforcement. Davidson also discusses the refusal of liberal Western societies to self-identify as societies in which slavery thrives. She explains,

"The new abolitionists, too, are emphatic that the anti-slavery impulse is rooted in Western liberal societies. Slavery may have persisted in 'traditional' societies

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<sup>5</sup> Works of Melissa Farley's from 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009 and 2011 are quoted directly in this monograph.

after the nineteenth century, but when what is described as 'slavery' is found in modern liberal societies, it is held to be an unwanted import from lawless and 'uncivilized' regions of the world –it has been 'trafficked' onto the territory of the modern liberal state." (Davidson, 2015, 7)

This group of anti-slavery activists, whom Davidson calls 'the new abolitionists,' wield the horrors of contemporary slavery as a means for self-glorification, for diplomatic and political control, and, still, for moral superiority. Furthermore, in Davidson's article "Mastery, Race and Nation: Prisons and Borders, Afterlives and Legacies of Transatlantic Slavery," she points out that much of the rhetoric of the new abolitionists is centered around "simultaneously [dissociating modern slavery] from transatlantic slavery...and decoupling it from race" (Davidson, 2015, 81). Rather than looking honestly and critically at the abolitionist movements of the past to learn from those mistakes that prevented complete eradication of slavery, the new abolitionist movement is preoccupied with cherry-picking those symbols and slogans that will allow for assuaged white guilt, the 'rescuing' of slaves they will likely never meet, and minimal behaviour change from those practices that keep us complicit in globalised systems of slavery. In my investigation into who benefits from creating and maintaining monolithic archetypes of evil enslavers and innocent victims, Davidson's contributions provide clear explanations of the major actors in the anti-slavery space and the power dynamics with which they interact.

Siddharth Kara approaches the study of contemporary slavery from a business perspective; he states that his first book, *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*, is the first "systematic business and economic analysis of the [sex trafficking] industry, conducted to identify strategic points of intervention (Kara 2009, 3). He argues

that "the enormity and pervasiveness of sex trafficking is a direct result of the immense profits to be derived from selling inexpensive sex around the world" (Kara 2009, 3-4). He goes on to theorise that poverty and economic globalisation are the conditions that cause sex trafficking to exist in the first place (Kara 2009). Kara's second book, *Bonded Labor: Tackling the System of Slavery in South Asia*, focuses similarly on the economic aspects of this form of contemporary slavery. Kara asserts that the enslavers -- or 'producer-exploiters' -- are motivated by money to "maintain this ancient system for their economic benefit" (Kara 2012, 16). While Kara pays some attention to the cultural and historical context of South Asia as the setting for his two books, he ignores the other forms of capital and views the issue solely through an economic lens.

Louise Shelley's work, entitled *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective*, examines manifestations of contemporary slavery around the world. Shelley's approach posits the effects of globalisation as the primary cause of contemporary slavery. According to Shelley, globalisation has increased migration flows, provided access to a relatively unlimited labour force, increased consumer demand for inexpensive products, caused tourism to skyrocket, widened the disparity between the rich and the poor, and empowered transnational criminals to expand their operations (Shelley 2010). Shelley discusses the hyper local manifestations of contemporary slavery in Asia, Europe, the US, Latin America and Africa, but focuses primarily on the role of economic capital in motivating enslavers to exploit the vulnerabilities exacerbated by globalisation. Shelley's work contributed to my understanding of Type II: Exploitative Bondage enslaver-enslaved relationships, but much like Kara's work, only in the area of economic capital. Shelley's work functions from the implication that there was a gap between the 19th century and the advent of globalisation in which slavery either did not exist or it operated at a mini-

num, which distracted me from a fuller appreciation of her book; however, I do find her assertions about the role of globalisation in shifting some market dynamics around contemporary slavery intriguing.

## **Conclusions**

I am indebted to each of the scholars mentioned in this chapter for the foundations they laid and for the gaps they left for me to fill. Bales, Kara and Shelley have established an important foundation from which anti-slavery initiatives can begin to work on all facets of the economics of contemporary slavery. Their work grew my understanding of some of the enslaver characteristics included in my typology profiles, particularly the Type II enslaver. However, because my primary research question seeks to understand those enslavers who have greater investments in slavery than returns, their work provided me the opportunity to explore a new area in slavery studies.

Farley and Doezema provide the necessary perspective of those involved in commercial sex, and especially the points at which commercial sex and sexual slavery converge and diverge. Farley's work confirmed many of my own experiences with 'tricks', or men who buy sex, and the process of psychological othering necessary for sexual desire and dehumanisation to take place within the same space.

Doezema also joins Davidson and Trodd in influencing the ways in which I critically examine the policies, campaigns, actions and rhetoric of anti-slavery movements. Analysing these movements for weaknesses is key in understanding why they have not yet found success, and what we must do in order to strengthen our approach. Of particular importance for me is understanding how attempts to co-opt and manipulate anti-slavery work to achieve peripheral ends has alienated survivors, obstructed justice, and

wasted resources. By investigating the actors who benefit from this manipulation, I can begin to understand the psychology of those who are vulnerable to either becoming enslavers or being complicit in the enslaving of others.

## **Chapter 3: Field Research**

### **Methods**

#### *Secondary Research*

I conducted both primary and secondary research in pursuit of relevant data. My secondary research comprises searching national and international databases of human trafficking and contemporary slavery cases from 2000-2015 for testimonies, depositions and other statements that contain information about the intentions and motivations of the victim and perpetrator in entering into a relationship. I have coded the information, although publicly available, to protect any parties who may be identifiable via descriptors present within the case files.

#### *Primary Research*

I have collected primary data via surveys, focus groups and interviews with four different groups: diamond miners, corrections officers, young people in foster care that identify as sex workers, and slavery survivor-advocates. In these interactions, I seek an understanding of each participant's personal motivations for entering into and remaining within an enslaver/enslaved relationship. Due to the sensitive nature of participation by the interviewees and, at times, my role as interviewer, the format of the data collection was created in constant consultation with the participants and/or an advocate for the participants. I collected data from these groups via informal and opportunity samples. As you will see in greater detail below, I was introduced to advocates for each group through personal and professional connections; therefore, a good portion of the respon-

dents form a network sample. Those connections then introduced me to others that were interested in participating, forming a snowball sample.

### 1. Diamond Miners

In February 2012, I visited the diamondiferous Kono district of Sierra Leone in order to gather data on the miners' notions of coercion and consent as they related to the past 20+ years of artisanal mining in peace and conflict. I conducted semi-structured interviews with a total of 34 diamond miners during visits to three different mines. The youngest miner I spoke to gave his age as being 14; I do not know how old the oldest miner was, but some of the older-looking miners discussed memories of professional mining before the war, which would have put them at least in their 40s. By my guess, some of them looked older than 40s. The conversation invariably moved to the miners' motivations for working in that industry and discussions of their expansive knowledge of extractive minerals in global markets. Diamond mining in Sierra Leone is considered men's work; however, during the war, some women and girls were also forced to dig for diamonds on threat of disfigurement and/or death. My interests in including these open-ended, semi-structured interviews is to examine the relationship between the workers and their past selves as forced labourers; the workers and their neighbours, friends, family members and countrymen who transformed into their enslavers within the circumstances of war, and the few who transformed back; and the relationship of the workers to the work itself—in the past as a location and undertaking of absolute powerlessness, and the present as a location and undertaking of both exploitation and gainful employment.

## 2. Corrections Officers

Following a high profile case of organised sexual slavery in a women's prison in Alabama, detailed in Chapter 8 of this study, I became interested in the corrections officers' complicity in the exploitation of inmates at the behest of their superiors. I made several attempts to conduct in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with three corrections officers that I know personally, and although each initially agreed to participate, they each demonstrated through their actions that they were extremely uncomfortable with participating. I stopped trying. Months later, I was introduced to a corrections officer through a mutual friend who was enthusiastic about participating in my research. In order to protect her privacy, I created an online survey via SurveyMonkey.com and sent her a link to it. She offered to send it around to other corrections officers, so I developed an introduction to be sent along with it. She received 14 verbal confirmations to participate in the survey. After one month, 6 people had completed the survey in its entirety. The survey consists of 58 multiple choice and short answer questions. The questions and anonymous responses are available for examination in Appendix A. Because I have never met the corrections officer who aided me in person, I only know her name, the state in which she lives, and her occupation. I have had no direct contact with any of the other survey respondents, so my knowledge of their demographics is limited to the answers they provided.

## 3. Foster Children with Sex Work Experience

I have an acquaintance that works as a high school teacher in an area of California well known for its poverty, transient population, high instance of drug abuse and large proportion of at-risk teens. Having a family member who engaged in pimping, this teacher

quickly recognised the indicators of sex work among several of her students. She began approaching them privately and offering herself as a confidante and ally. She has since established a non-profit organisation in order to garner resources for assisting those of her students that are involved in sex work and has begun working officially as a youth advocate. My interest in conducting research with these students is their direct involvement with contemporary slavery, their relative freedom within the confines of the school, the intersection of the foster care system and the commercial sexual exploitation of children, and the students' knowledge of the nuances of the pimp/sex worker relationship. I gathered data from 13 students. Nine of the respondents identified as female, two identified as male, and two identified as transgender. Nine of the respondents identified as Black, three identified as Latino/Latina, and one identified as Asian. All of the students were at or under the age of 18.

#### 4. Survivor-Advocates

I conducted in-depth interviews with four survivors of contemporary slavery who now advocate on behalf of trafficking victims. Three of these survivor-advocates reside in the United States and one resides in the United Kingdom. They range in age from 25 to 67. I consider each of them a friend, which provided that I deploy a different set of assurances and behaviours in order to maintain trust than what was required of me with each of the other groups. I conducted each interview in person, in a public setting, and in only one interview did I actively record, per the interviewees' requests. Also by request, only two of the interviews were conducted using pre-written questions and conversation topics. Two of the survivor-advocates were child victims of commercial sexual exploitation by parents or guardians; one survivor-advocate was given over to forced

domestic servitude due to religious beliefs; the fourth survivor-advocate was legally adopted and forced into domestic servitude by her adoptive family. All four are women; all four experienced sexual violence as an intrinsic part of their enslavement. I consulted these women as experts in the field of contemporary slavery, and their insights are included throughout this study to provide clarity and focus.

## **Methodology**

The research methods I employed in pursuit of answering my research question are chosen specifically to test my framework, which serves as my hypothesis. The framework has four types of enslaver/enslaved relationships, and my primary and secondary research methods were selected to determine the integrity of the categories and to provide further context for the categories; namely, what trends and patterns may be illuminated in analysis of the collected data.

For my secondary research, I utilised library/archival research because it provides me unfettered access to the same information that my contemporaries have access to, and that prospective researchers will continue to have access to in the future. As well, I sought to draw from cases that represent a wide array of socialisations, socio-cultural experiences, origins and destinations, forms of slavery and types of work.

My primary research is divided into four very different groups, requiring four different data collection methods. I traveled to Sierra Leone in the student researcher capacity, but in the company of an NGO for which I worked at the time. I did so in order to ensure the necessary introductions and to allow the members of the community to vet me for a few days before I began my research. I arranged to be escorted to three separate artisanal mines by a gentleman who would serve as my translator, driver and

security. At each mine, the translator assisted me in selecting a location that was distant enough to be out of earshot of people working in the mine, near enough to be visually observed by the workers in the mine, and comfortable enough to encourage open conversation. I would settle into this location and he would approach the miners, introduce my interests, explain my terms of anonymity and informed consent, and invite them to share their experiences with me. The introductory speech we composed together is as follows (in English):

“Hello friends. How are you today? I have brought with me a friend of Tiffany Persons. You all know her from Shine On, and you all know her to be a good and trustworthy person. Some of you have seen my friend here in the township in the company of Kadie and Tiffany, so you know that she is good and trustworthy. She is not here to work for Shine On. She is a student, and she is here to learn from us. She wants to learn about diamonds, and she wants to learn from the people that come from the same land as the diamonds rather than the people who take the diamonds and sell them. She wants to know three things about diamonds in Sierra Leone: How has diamond mining changed from before the war, to during the war, to the ten years since the end of the war? Some of you worked here all those years; some of you did not. No matter when you worked, you have something to teach my friend.

My friend wants to learn from you only if you want to teach her something. If you do not want to teach her, please do not approach her. She wants to record what you say with a tape recorder and by writing down notes, but she does not want to know your name. She will never allow anyone to listen to the tapes besides her. She will use what she learned to write about Sierra Leone, and

diamonds, and the mining industry. What you teach her will be shared in her writings, but your name will never be associated with it.

My friend and I will stay here for (varying lengths of time). If you want to speak English with her, you may. If you want to speak in Krio, I will translate what you say to her in English. If you want to speak to her alone, tell me and I will arrange it. I will go and sit with her now. We welcome you.”

In the first mine, we spent two hours. The first miner to come and talk to me was a 14-year-old boy. After a few minutes, a middle-aged man joined us and began speaking very loudly and animatedly, which attracted several more miners. A lively discussion ensued, during which I asked four questions besides my initial question. They were:

- 1) Why don't Sierra Leoneans own the diamond mines?
- 2) Why have you chosen to be a diamond miner instead of choosing another occupation?
- 3) If you were the owner of this piece of land, what would you do with it?
- 4) How much are you paid for the work you do here?

The final question was not a welcome one. The translator informed me that this question is not discussed in the open, nor is it discussed with strangers, nor is it discussed with women.

At the second mine, we spent just under an hour. Three miners approached me to talk with me; one on his own and two more at the same time. All of the miners who spoke with me were middle-aged and had wives and children. I did not ask any additional questions, as they wanted to tell me the stories of their lifelong relationships to

the diamond mines.

At the third mine, a group of seven young miners came immediately to speak with me at the close of the translator's introductory speech. They did not talk to me about diamond mining; they talked only of education. After about twenty minutes, several more miners of varying ages joined the group. They began talking about the corruption involved in the mining industry and their hopes for rebuilding the country without diamond mines. I asked them six additional questions:

- 1) Why don't Sierra Leoneans own the diamond mines?
- 2) Are you forced to work as a diamond miner?
- 3) Do you believe you are being paid adequately for the work you do?
- 4) Is it easy or difficult to work alongside former rebels?
- 5) Why have you chosen to be a diamond miner instead of choosing another occupation?
- 6) If you were the owner of this piece of land, what would you do with it?

We spent just under two hours at this mine.

From these semi-structured group interviews, I have gleaned data regarding the subtle and not-so-subtle shifts in power dynamics in the three phases of diamond mining over the past 20 years. For those miners who experienced forced labor under threat of disfigurement or death, I have extracted quotes to determine whether or not they fit within the framework.

For my data collection from corrections officers, I discovered early on that fears around confidentiality and reprisals, and particularly the possibility of losing their jobs,

made an anonymous online survey the best tool for gathering information. I developed a survey on SurveyMonkey.com and retained the assistance of an acquaintance who works as a corrections officer to distribute the link to the survey along with an introduction. The introduction read,

"Hello, my name is Zhaleh Boyd and I am a student at the Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation (WISE) in Hull, England. I am currently trying to learn more about mass incarceration in the United States and its effects upon those employed as correctional officers. This survey is designed to protect your privacy and confidentiality; your participation is absolutely anonymous. I am grateful for your participation and for all that your experiences can teach me. Thank you for taking this survey and thank you for your service."

The survey was distributed to fourteen corrections officers from a variety of states and facilities. Six corrections officers in all responded, representing a number of facilities but only public correctional facilities in the state of Texas. The survey comprises 58 questions divided in six topic areas: Facility, Power Dynamics, Labour, Sexual Contact, Role Reflection, and Demographics. The anonymous responses are available for review in Appendix A.

With the assistance of a youth advocate, I conducted two focus groups with foster care students with experience in sex work. The advocate and I agreed that focus groups will offer the greatest number of advantages to the students, the advocate, and me. We agree that she should conduct the focus group and that I should review the recorded sessions with her to gain clarity and insights. In all, 13 students participated. The first focus group included male, female and transgender students. The focus group activities included both written and verbal interactions. I received copies of the written

products and an audio recording of the verbal interaction. The questions and other prompts for the written activities can be reviewed in Appendix B. The second focus group was a round-table discussion facilitated by the youth advocate and co-facilitated by an older student who is in foster care and had experience in sex work. I received an audio recording of this session. The advocate and I discussed the data and its context over two review sessions.

The survivor-advocates comprise a convenience sample. I asked each of them to dictate clearly to me the terms and conditions of the interviews, including as many or as few specifications as they desired. They are all willing to be quoted verbatim on the condition of anonymity, due to their high visibility and the conditions of their roles as spokeswomen. Therefore, throughout the study, they will be referred to individually as SA1, SA2, SA3 and SA4. Conversation topics were generally limited to personal experiences before, during and after enslavement; the state of the anti-slavery movement today; the particulars of my research; and the gaps in popular understanding of slavery.

It is important to mention here that my original field research plan targeted five groups; the fifth group I intended to interview was enslavers. I made several attempts to collect data from a few different groups of enslavers. The first group I approached was persons convicted of human trafficking in the United States. I discussed at a length with a colleague in the FBI the possibility of interviewing convicted enslavers that are housed in California prisons, but ultimately, the final round of approvals were not granted. Next, I contacted 3 people who I know personally and who actively work as pimps or independent sex workers. I asked them for introductions to other pimps who have minors in their 'stables' or who use various violent tactics to keep anyone from leaving 'the life.' Despite the proposal I presented, each of the three refused, unconvinced that

all parties involved could remain safe during and after such an exchange. By chance, I gathered data from a young person who was forced by family members to assume the role of pimp while still a minor, and who was greatly traumatised by the experience. The experiences he shared were enlightening, but he requested that he not be directly quoted, and that his age and race remain confidential.

The lack of voices and perspectives of enslavers in this monograph is an enormous omission. Throughout these pages, I assert that more attention must be paid to enslavers, their vulnerabilities, their traumas, their pathologies, their perceptions and perspectives. While I include a small number of direct quotes from enslavers gleaned from secondary sources, and I rely upon victims' perceptions of enslavers' actions and behaviors, it is imperative to the discipline that we continue to search for safe ways to build our understanding of how and why a person decides to engage the practice of enslavement.

## **Target Groups**

**a. Corrections Officers** include three male and three female respondents.

They identify as white, black, and multiracial. They all live and work in Texas. They all work at public correctional facilities. They all fall within the age range of 18 to 54, with the majority falling between 25 and 34.

They represent minimum and medium security, close security, supermax security, federal, and jail facilities. Only one respondent works at a women's facility; the others work at men's or co-ed facilities. One respondent works in the death row wing of the facility. Half of the respondents work in facilities that are at or over capacity, and all respondents

work in facilities that utilise solitary confinement as a form of punishment.

- b. Diamond miners** are male, generally older than primary school age, and living in poverty. The underage miners are working in lieu of attending secondary school in order to contribute to the household income. The adult miners have wives, children, and often other family members to support. All have been mining since they were children. Some miners work seasonally in agriculture or tourism hospitality, working in mines only in the off-seasons. Most of the miners have experiences in forced labor. Some of them also have experience as forced and child soldiers.
- c. Foster children with sex work experience** are under the age of 18 and are in high school. They identify as male, female, and transgendered. They are all either students of the youth advocate or they attend the school in which she teaches. These students are also in the foster care system. Recent studies indicate that there is an extremely high occurrence of foster kids entering sex work while in foster care and/or after aging out of the system (Saar 2013). The advocate has registered a 501©(3) organisation in order to begin acquiring resources to assist her students.
- d. Survivor-advocates** are adult females. Three live in the United States and one lives in the United Kingdom. As a group, they have experience in both sexual and labour slavery. None of them is currently enslaved. Each currently identifies as working within the contemporary anti-slavery movement. Each consistently provides expertise to slavery intervention programs and organisations. They represent a spectrum of ages, ethnici-

ties, formal education attainment, and tax brackets. They also subscribe to differing anti-slavery philosophies.

### **Ethical Concerns**

I ensure the quality and integrity of my research by adhering to best practices and deferring to the decisions of the participants' advocates regarding format, safety and security, and inclusion in the final product. Participants reserve the right to exclude their participation from my published product, and can do so until the final product is submitted for publication. Participants will have access to codified, analysed data sets, findings, and any works I submit for school or publication.

I fully intend to do no harm. I carefully negotiated with participants and their advocates to ensure that their best interests are fully protected throughout this process and beyond publication.

To show that my research is independent and impartial, I provide full transparency. I independently designed my research instruments. The data I sought is for the purpose of providing empirically-based research in a field in which there is a significant gap in data driven academic study (Goździak & Bump 2008).

I have sought informed consent with each of my participants. In the case of the Sierra Leonean diamond miners, I obtained verbal consent rather than written consent.

With the corrections officers, my written introduction and the distributor's in-person discussions with respondents informed the participants of my name, my institution,

assurances of confidentiality, and the focus of my research; their participation illustrates consent. Due to the particularly special circumstances of the young people in foster care with experience in sex work, I had no direct contact with the participants. Their advocate facilitated negotiations and we developed the methodology, data collection tools, assent forms, and debriefings together. Some data collection tools and the assent forms are available for review in Appendices B and C, respectively. The survivor advocates are perhaps the most informed target group on the topics of informed consent and research ethics; I requested that they dictate the terms of the interviews in their entirety to me. Participants reserve the right to withdraw their participation at any time up until the work is submitted, agreed upon as September 2015.

I have respected the confidentiality and anonymity of each participant. Names, dates, locations more specific than states or regions, and identifiable facts of the relevant cases will only be seen by the participants, the advocates, and me. Advocates may only view identifiable information of their own clients, and participants may only view identifiable information of themselves. I am the only person that has access to all of the information imparted by the participants. I have drafted, distributed and signed legally binding non-disclosure agreements for the participants and advocates to retain for their records.

I have ensured that participants are voluntarily participating in my study. At each interaction, I have expressed an interest only in voluntary participation, and have discussed some possible scenarios that might make participation uncomfortable or

dangerous. If I interacted with participants and advocates more than once, we discussed voluntary participation each time.

### **Limitations of this Study**

This study has several limitations. First, due to a gap in sociological literature on non-economic motivations for relationships between the enslaver and the enslaved, many of the sources used throughout the chapters are from other disciplines. While interdisciplinary examinations of any topic are extremely useful in creating a balanced perspective, there is also great advantage to drawing on a well-established and nuanced trove of knowledge. This is particularly true in studies that seek to develop new perspectives on old topics, such as this one.

Next, in testing the framework I developed in the field, I came up against a wide variety of limitations. Due to the vulnerable status of all of the research participants, there were a number of questions that I could not have asked and maintained their trust. Similarly, there were some questions that I asked that the participants and/or my research assistants patiently explained were too inappropriate to answer. There were other questions that they politely ignored. These unanswered questions account for gaps in my own understanding of some of the dynamics present in the enslaver-enslaved relationship, as well as in the ways in which enslavers and enslaved persons perceive themselves. I have left some of the gaps alone, allowing them to yawn invitingly to future researchers and their contributions to the discipline. Others I have attempted to bridge with theories and experiences of my own that I have cobbled together, but that may completely miss the mark.

Another limitation I met in the field is that of the constantly shifting relationship

between researcher and participant. The relationship between trauma and memory recall of traumatic events is a troubled one, by academic standards. For purposes of self-preservation, the resilient and courageous people who braved the recalling and sharing of their personal experiences with horrific violence can sometimes relate these experiences in an adulterated way. Sometimes it is a conscious decision to leave out, alter, or fabricate details of their experiences; other times, it is a completely subconscious defence mechanism. I cannot say for sure whether any of the participants in this study consciously or subconsciously shared details that were not ‘true,’ but it is important to acknowledge the probability and to also appreciate the important processes at psychological play in victims, survivors and perpetrators of slavery.

Furthermore, I had direct interaction with very few of the research participants. This measure was in place to protect the participants, their advocates, me, and my sponsoring institution. I had direct contact with the four survivor-advocates; all other data collected in this study via primary research was collected with the assistance of advocates who served as facilitators. It is possible that there are contextual dynamics that were lost in translation and transfer of communication.

An arguable limitation of this study is the amount of direct quotes from enslaved persons included in this monograph. It is possible that, for the claims I am making about the importance of having the voices of the perpetrators and victims central to my research, there are far too few easily perceptible voices in these paragraphs. This is an area in which I am still an ardent student, so I explain it thus: Better safe than sorry. Each of the courageous human beings who offered to serve as a primary source of data for this study deserves every safety precaution available to me. Although I am at least once removed from two of the four groups of respondents, I have been visibly and vo-

cally present in the spaces in which the currently and/or formerly enslaved participants frequently move. I took great care to select direct quotes that would not give away recognisable speech patterns, references, slang terms, circumstances, stories, or identities.

Furthermore, I am cautious about re-exploiting the research participants, particularly those with compounded vulnerabilities (Boyd & Bales 2016). SA2, SA3 and SA4 shared with me the anguish they experience in having their entire existence regularly reduced by well-meaning activists to that of slave, even decades after having left a situation of enslavement. SA2 refers to the hunger she sees in the eyes of her audiences for details of her enslavement as "torture porn," particularly because it is coupled with the general dismissal of her "expertise in solutions" and interventions (Personal communication, 2014). It is important to me that this monograph presents a balanced amount of direct and indirect voices of those enslaved and otherwise vulnerable. I understand that I may not know for some time whether or not I have achieved that balance.

An important limitation to discuss here is one of identity. Some of the participants in this study self-identify as victims of slavery; some self-identify as survivors of slavery; many did not identify as victims at all, despite fitting the textbook definitions of enslavement. Not one of the participants self-identified as an enslaver. This is of particular importance to this sociological examination of the relationship between the enslaver and the enslaved, because that relationship can only be processed within established decisions of how the enslaver and the enslaved self-identify. I have, therefore, described certain participants as 'enslaved' who would not describe themselves in this way. Because the ultimate aim of this study is to enhance and advance the field of anti-slavery so that it can become more adept at identifying and respecting the needs of vic-

tims, survivors and perpetrators, this issue of identifying participants in ways they would not self-identify can seem counter-intuitive and perhaps hypocritical. I look forward to continuing my research in this area of service provision, and I hope that others will use these missteps as stepping stones to furthering our collective understanding.

## **Conclusion**

Testing my theoretical framework of typologies in the field presented some very interesting challenges. Some of these challenges I bested, while several of them bested me. While I have long been aware of the unique dangers that people with compounded vulnerabilities face as subjects of research, putting the time and energy into designing collection tools that would reduce the harm involved in such data collection was endlessly interesting and cathartic -- and I am sure that my tools were not perfect. Also challenging was sifting through the whirlwind of secondary sources for those that are driven more by empirical data than by myth and invention. Secondary sources offered up so much conflicting and even contradictory information. Developing a set of standards by which to measure the validity and relevance of secondary sources was key in data collection.

The four groups that agreed to participated in my research are all extremely different from one another, and each group holds plenty of diversity within itself. None of the participants self-identify as enslavers and very few self-identify as being or having been enslaved. Their understandings of the power dynamics and the legal definitions that determine their status as enslaved, enslaver, or neither vary across a wide spectrum. They also varied in their decisions to accept or reject participating in an exploitative relationship, which was key information in testing my theoretical framework.

## **Chapter 4: Conceptual Framework**

### **Introduction**

In order to analyse the typologies through an established sociological lens, I am required to select a sociological theory that will assist me in explaining the structure and function of the typologies' theoretical framework. After sifting through quite a few theories, I narrowed it down to two but could go no further. Neither theory could completely explain my theoretical framework, but when they worked in tandem, the framework made perfect sense. The first is recognition/misrecognition theory, which is built upon the foundation of Hegel's master-slave dialectic and expanded by Taylor and Honneth. The second has its basis in Bourdieu's theory of habitus but is truly supported by his theory of the three types of capital. I utilise recognition/misrecognition theory to explore how the enslaver and the enslaved perceive themselves, each other, and the power dynamics that characterise their relationship. I utilise habitus and the three types of capital to determine which of the three is most influential on the enslaver's and enslaved's motivations for entering into a relationship of enslavement.

### **On Recognition and Misrecognition Theory**

Recognition theory is based on the act of recognising, which means “to acknowledge the existence, validity, or legality of” (Oxford Dictionary n.d.) In sociological terms, one can only recognise the self in relation to another (McQueen n.d.). Despite this social interdependence, in recognising another’s existence, it is possible to not see that other as an equal. It is on this possibility that Hegel builds his famed ‘master-slave dialectic’ (Hegel 1977). In this exchange, the master recognises the slave as existing,

but as less than; it is only through the decision that the other is 'less than' that the master can identify himself as 'greater than.' The master provides the slave the choice to recognise him as the master or die. In choosing to live, the slave identifies the other as the master, but in doing so, identifies himself as the slave. However, to force the slave into recognising the master as superior is not true recognition; it was not made freely or intelligently. It is not recognition at all. Hegel believes that the master knows that the slave has not truly and freely recognised his dominance and is aware that he is in a constant battle to convince both the slave and himself that he is the master. In this way, the master is enslaved by the slave. "For Hegel, relations of domination provide a vicious spiral of recognition. They lead nowhere but to their own destruction. Hence recognition must always take place between equals..." (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2011, section 2 para 5).

In *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, Charles Taylor (1994) applies this dialectic to several unequal political relationships. He asserts that the formation of identity is dependent upon recognition. This takes the dialectic a step further, allowing for another set of conversations to take place: within the master-slave dialectic, there are simultaneous master-master and slave-slave dialectics, in which perhaps the master recognises the master as the master, and perhaps he does not; likewise, perhaps the slave identifies as a slave, and perhaps he only pretends to recognise the master as the master in order to live, but inwardly perceives his own mental freedom in contrast to the master's mental anguish. "Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being [and] can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred" (Taylor 1994, 26). Recognition and misrecognition can effectively validate the

existence of the self or the other, or it can invalidate the existence of the self or the other. Taylor goes on to explain the simultaneous processes of recognising every human being as simultaneously the same and different. Recognising a common citizenship and equal humanity provides a universal unity, while recognising that every person has characteristics unique to his existence provides a universal diversity.

Axel Honneth builds upon Taylor's dual modes of recognition with a set of three modes of recognition: those of love, rights, and solidarity (Honneth 1995). These three modes produce self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem, respectively. Recognition through love provides for the physical and emotional needs, which allows us the self-confidence to form relationships with others, and to then provide love through recognition to those around us. Recognition through rights provides for the development of social responsibility, so that we can still provide recognition to those we come in contact with whom we do not love, but must recognise and respect nonetheless. The third mode, recognition through solidarity, provides for the development of our self-esteem. Self-esteem is built through a realisation of our individual traits and abilities, which speaks to Taylor's theory of recognition of difference.

Hegel, Taylor and Honneth provide theories that allow for a more profound examination of the enslaver/enslaved relationship. By assuming that enslavers seek ownership of another purely for the amassing of economic wealth, we may overlook the underdevelopment of the self from which the enslaver suffers. From further study of this aspect, we can design more efficient interventions based on prevention. The enslaved, however, have few determining factors for entering into an enslaver/enslaved relationship. While there are some who are taken suddenly and by force by a person known or unknown to them, there are others who believe that they understand the risks associated with behav-

iours that make them vulnerable to enslavement, such as migrating for work, running away from home to escape abuse or other depraved conditions, or voluntarily participating in bonded sex work or forced marriage. In the case of willingly participating in risky endeavours, it is important to note that the only alternative—whatever it may be—is known to the voluntary participant as being even riskier.

Once a person is enslaved, however, there are varying degrees to which the entire self is absolutely controlled by another. Variables that may determine the degree to which one is enslaved can be discussed via the aforementioned theories of recognition and misrecognition. By understanding a survivor's recognition of humanity and difference in the self and in others, and the development of that survivor's recognition and application of love, rights and solidarity, perhaps we can begin to determine the proper access points and processes for recovery and social reintegration. Furthermore, the exchange of recognition and/or misrecognition between two persons and themselves within an enslaver/enslaved relationship may be static or dynamic, depending upon a variety of circumstances. Perhaps the enslaved recognises the enslaver as master in the beginning out of shock, fear, violence, or other imbalanced forces. However, as is commonly observed in relationships between an oppressor and an oppressed, the oppressor never really develops the ability to recognise the oppressed as a complete and complex human being, but the oppressed learns the ways, means, and processes of the oppressor as a matter of survival. In learning the enslaver in order to survive, the enslaved could either increasingly recognise him/her as the master and the self as the slave; or, the enslaved may begin to recognise the weaknesses that causes the enslaver to desire ownership of another and learn to exploit those weaknesses to his/her benefit.

## **On Habitus and the Acquisition of Capital**

My research question seeks to understand what motivations exist, beyond economic capital, for the enslaving of one human being by another. It is possible that the pursuit of social and/or cultural capital represent two such motivations for a person to become an enslaver. Bourdieu's theories of habitus, social space and three types of capital are useful in determining how to posit slavery within a society.

Habitus, according to Bourdieu (1995), are those structures that are constructed for the purpose of defining an identity; those structures are generative, and lead to the further structuring of themselves and of other structures. Any behaviour attributed to a particular constructed group is done so arbitrarily in the first place, but once it is assigned and structure is provided to it, that structure begins to characterise that particular group, as well as to characterise it in relation all other groups. Over time, the structure may come to characterise different groups in differing ways; one characteristic of a group structured as 'wealthy' may, over time, be abandoned by the wealthy and acquired by a group structured as "working class." Bourdieu deploys this explanation of his theory of habitus to explain that class does not exist; 'classes' are structured groups that, via the process of habitus, continue to generate structures to define itself in relation to others.

The theory of habitus provides a useful lens for examining attempts to separate 'contemporary slavery' and 'historical slavery' or the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. More importantly, habitus allows us to take stock of what characteristics we attribute to 'slavery,' 'enslavers,' 'slaves,' and 'slavery survivors.' Habitus provides a means for analysing the shifting definitions of slavery, as well as the social circumstances that allow for those definitions to shift. For example, until recently, the exploitative versions of sharecropping in the antebellum South were not characterised as slavery under the

law at the time, but similar practices today are identified as an illegal form of slavery called debt bondage. Another example is the identification of certain practices in the larger society as 'slavery' or 'slavery-like practices,' but within the setting of prison, those same practices are not readily recognised by the laymen nor the law as being 'slavery.' Perhaps most interesting in the application of this theory to the nuances of slavery is the characteristics that a 'victim of slavery' may choose to recognise or not recognise in his/her decision whether or not to self-identify as a 'slave.' There are certain structures that we have agreed, as a society, to attribute to slavery and to slaves. Although a victim may recognise the presence of those structures, s/he may yet refuse to self-identify as a slave. On the other hand, it is quite popular for a person to recognise the presence of one characteristic tenuously related to the structure of slavery, such as manipulation of standard work hours, and quickly proclaim himself or herself to be a 'slave' despite maintaining the freedom to quit that job without grave injury or death to the self or family members. Finally, habitus is useful in understanding the shift in identifying which persons are vulnerable to becoming enslaved and which persons are vulnerable to becoming enslavers. Between the 1500s and 1800s, people commonly identified as slaves had the characteristics of being of the African Diaspora, regardless of the presence of the systematic enslavement of Native Americans, Chinese and Irish, among others. In recent years, contemporary slavery discourse provides the structure that allows slaves to be identified primarily as female, poor, migratory, innocent, and hidden from sight, despite an abundance of cases that contradict each of these characteristics. There is a push to begin providing structures that will allow for the recognition of and provision for male slaves, which has the potential to shift the current defining characteristic of contemporary slaves as female-identified.

Bourdieu's theory of social space provides a means for understanding the relationships of different agents within a society by co-opting terms used to describe physical space, such as 'near,' 'far,' 'above' and 'below.' These descriptive juxtapositions tend to reify by manifesting in physical form as well. He explains social space as "an invisible set of relationships which tends to retranslate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties" (Bourdieu 1995, 12). Agents with similar distributions of capital find themselves near to each other in both social and physical space. Those agents possessing sizeable amounts of economic and cultural capital are near other agents with sizeable amounts of economic and cultural capital, while agents possessing moderate or minimal amounts of economic and cultural capital find themselves in the physical and social company of those with similar means. Agents possessing minimal amounts of economic and cultural capital find are spaced below those with more, in both physical and social spaces. Agents with moderate amounts of economic and cultural capital may find themselves in closer physical and social proximity to either those rich in capital or those poor in capital, and may seek to be closer to one than the other. However, in terms of the structure of economic and cultural capital relative to each other within the two groups with moderate or minimal absolute holdings of capital, the distribution of each of the types of capital determines the ways in which the social spaces are further fractured into internal divisions.

For example, in the US, those with massive amounts of economic and cultural capital, popularly referred to as 'the 1%,' occupy very specific and exclusive physical and social spaces (The Economist 2012). The American middle class, shrinking though it is (Pew Research Center 2016), fractures itself into a multitude of divisions both social

and physical. They identify as ‘upper middle class’ or ‘lower middle class’ and are passionately loyal to political parties, sports teams, tax brackets, intellectual schools of thought, religions, ‘races,’ traditions, states and cities, and any other tangible or non-tangible factions. Their differences are necessarily defined by virtue of being different: by virtue of being tall, I am not short—unless there are no short people within my society, at which point differentiation by height ceases to exist within said society.

The implications of Bourdieu’s theory of social space for slavery are multi-tiered. The enslaver and the enslaved exist at opposite ends of a given social space, but contrary to Bourdieu’s diagram, often exist quite intimately within a physical space. This is true in both legal and illegal forms of slavery. In popular understandings of slavery, the division of economic capital is definitively disproportionately distributed between the enslaver and the enslaved. One of the indicators that a person is enslaved is that s/he is prevented from collecting economic capital for the work s/he performs, and that the enslaver reaps the economic benefit produced by the work of the enslaved. The enslaver may provide the enslaved with objects that the enslaver identifies as being valuable, often requiring performances of gratitude from the enslaved before, during or after the distribution of the objects. These objects are generally not useful as compensation for forced work; they are either basic necessities for survival, such as food, clothing, shelter, medication, or means of transportation, or they are baubles meant to be more beautiful than functional, and intended to serve the enslaver’s interests more than the enslaved. Examples of the second type of object include jewellery, costumes, instruments of torture, musical instruments, photo or video recording devices, and tattoos.

Furthermore, regardless of the obvious difference in economic capital, the enslaver or the enslaved may see himself or herself as possessing more cultural capital than the

other. The cultural capital of the enslaved in determining his/her ability to survive slavery and to recover and socially re-integrate is a variable that is worthy of academic study.

Capital is accumulated labor in its material form (Bourdieu 1986). Capital is also synonymous with power in the sociological context. The three types of capital identified by Bourdieu are economic, social and cultural. Economic and cultural capital are discussed above, but I will define them and discuss them in greater detail here, and introduce the concept of social capital. Economic capital is the form of capital recognised by economic theory. It is represented materially as money, or objects immediately and directly convertible into money, such as property rights (Bourdieu 1986). Cultural capital is institutionalised as forms of educational qualifications, which exist as a sort of wild card in comparison to economic capital. The amount of economic or social capital someone has is not a determinant of the amount of cultural capital s/he has the ability to amass. Cultural capital is only convertible to economic capital in certain conditions, however. Social capital is comprised of social connections and their attendant social obligations. Social capital is institutionalised in the forms of a title of nobility, and is convertible into economic capital under certain circumstances (Bourdieu 1986).

Enslavers are known to have measured a portion of their economic capital by the number of slaves they owned. The number of slaves was often proportional to the extent of the land owned by the enslaver or the magnitude of an enslaver's businesses. For those members of society with less economic capital who seek to increase their economic capital by amassing social capital and then converting it to economic capital, the acquisition of certain symbols of social status becomes an important investment. To acquire one or more slaves provides a social connection to those members of society for

whom the owning of slaves is commonplace; it allows the aspirer to move in some of the same physical spaces and to consider some of the same concerns as those with more economic capital. When there is a thing in common with a group outside of one's economic group, there exists the opportunity to develop or discover more things in common with members of that other economic group. It is then possible that a certain combination of 'things in common,' or social connections, and access to increased economic capital could lead to upward social mobility. However, even if upward social mobility is never realised, the close physical proximity of a person possessing zero economic capital and zero social capital may provide the enslaver with the sentiment that s/he is sufficiently wealthy or powerful. It is in cases such as this that we can observe an enslaver investing economic capital into acquiring and maintaining a slave but receiving no measurable economic profit from this investment; the enslaver may receive, to his/her satisfaction, a return in the form of social capital or perceived social capital.

The work of Hegel, Taylor and Honneth on establishing and expanding the master-slave dialectic into recognition/misrecognition theory is important for understanding the four types of enslaver-enslaved relationships because it provides direction on how to apply justice. If we begin with a Type I: Normative Hierarchy enslaver, we can understand that part of his/her motivation for enslaving comes from growing up in a culture that finds at least one form of contemporary slavery socially acceptable. Because the role of enslaver is socially acceptable, s/he has likely never been taught that s/he should hide his/her enslavement of others, or to feel ashamed about it. In fact, it is most likely that s/he has been brought up with age-old narratives about how his/her enslaving class is charged with being caretakers of the less developed and more childlike enslaved class -- that being an enslaver is honourable and benevolent. An enslaver in India says of

those he holds in bonded labour, "Since he is the source of income for me, it is my duty to look after him. The workers is my cash machine, my fate" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 8). For this reason, the Type I enslaver may very likely recognise himself/herself as master of the enslaved. However, if the enslaver is at all aware of the how interdependent his/her class and the enslaved class are, then s/he may be aware that it is necessary to keep the enslaved 'in their place' by force. In understanding this, the enslaver then is conscious of his/her need for the enslaved; s/he becomes conscious that without the enslaved, the enslavers would have no one over whom to rule and would need to do away with entire aspects of his/her lifestyle. In this case, the Type I enslaver can decide to recognise himself/herself as a slave to the enslaved, or s/he can decide to misrecognise himself/herself as the master and to utilise violence to ensure that the enslaved misrecognise him/her as the master as well.

The same process takes place with the Type I enslaved. S/he likely has been taught narratives in which his/her enslavement is the natural order or that s/he deserves it for some unavoidable past wrong. S/he, in this case, may misrecognise himself/herself as deserving of being a slave, and misrecognise his/her enslaver as deserving of being his/her master. If s/he has any inkling, however, of how dependent the enslavers are upon the enslaved to create and maintain structures that make the enslavers feel superior, then s/he recognises the enslaver as being enslaved to the desire for superiority.

The Type II: Exploitative Bondage enslaver is motivated by a desire for control over excessive amounts of resources. Depending upon how s/he justifies this desire to himself/herself, s/he may recognise himself/herself as being enslaved to this desire, and by extension, to those s/he enslaves. Or, s/he may misrecognise himself/herself as deserving of these resources, necessitating that s/he also misrecognises those s/he enslaves

as being undeserving of the same. The Type II enslaved person requires intense and sustained dehumanisation in order to consciously accept that s/he is undeserving of enough resources to meet his/her basic needs. Therefore, the Type II enslaver will need to be committed to the process of othering and dehumanising those s/he seeks to enslave. There are a number of variables that determine the points at which an enslaved person will stop rejecting his/her enslaver's insistence that s/he is the master and misrecognise the enslaver as such. These include age, gender, mental health, historical social status, class, religion, length of time in captivity, and degree of brutality of enslaver, among others. The Type II enslaved may decide to perform 'slave' for the enslaver, however, but still secretly recognise himself/herself as not being inherently inferior to his/her enslaver.

The Hierarchy Fixated enslaver misrecognises himself/herself as socially and/or naturally superior to those s/he enslaves, but lives within a society that does not deem slavery socially acceptable and perhaps does not recognise him/her as superior. For this reason, the Type III enslaver must engage in enslavement informally and illegally. Those enslaved in a Hierarchy Fixated relationship may either misrecognise his/her enslaver as master or will recognise him/her as enslaved to the desire to be superior and will perform 'slave' for him/her for survival.

Enslavers in a Type IV: Normative Exploitation enslaver-enslaved relationship are consciously aware of the injustice of the relationship and can choose to either accept their role as enslaver or reject it. Those who accept it misrecognise themselves as superior to the enslaved, and often must commit themselves to engaging in an extensive campaign of dehumanising the enslaved in order to convince themselves that they truly are masters. Those who reject it may recognise themselves as being dependent upon the

enslaved to fill that space; if the enslaved should escape captivity, or should some other minute circumstance change, the enslaver may be required to join or take the place of the enslaved by a more powerful third party. In this situation, the enslaver is motivated by fear to maintain the subjugation of the enslaved. The enslaved in a Normative Exploitation relationship may misrecognise himself/herself as a slave and his/her enslaver as a master; or, s/he may recognise the enslaver's precarious dependence upon him/her remaining enslaved. In each of the four types of enslaver-enslaved relationship, the two persons engage in a dynamic exchange of recognising their interdependence or misrecognising themselves as unequal.

While recognition/misrecognition theory provides a foundation for understanding the nature of the relationship between the enslaver, the enslaved, and their perceptions of themselves, Bourdieu's theories of habitus and the three forms of capital provide keys for understanding what motivates both enslavers and the enslaved to enter into that relationship. Because habitus comprises all of those social conventions that a society has agreed upon, a Type I enslaver relies upon the society's expectations of him/her to enslave others and to utilise the economic, social and cultural capital afforded him/her as an enslaver to wield power. In fact, in some cultures, the ownership of slaves affords the enslaver economic, social and cultural capital simultaneously. The enslaved in a Type I relationship have zero or limited access to economic and social capital, but can rarely utilise cultural capital to achieve social mobility. The enslaved's relationship to the enslaver counts as social capital, but is actually not; the enslaver can be approached for loans, marriages or other business arrangements, but the value of the debts incurred from the loan often far outweigh the value of the loan itself, from the perspective of the enslaved. The enslaver, however, may see it another way. After the liberation

of labourers he held in bondage, a Type I enslaver explains,

"They used to stay here itself, even their children and their wives and all. Even food, clothes and everything, their expenditures and health and everything...Nowadays, the relationship has changed. Now the cases are being filed, even against me...some of them refused to lodge a case against their master, because they were treated well." (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 167-168)

In this case, the Type I enslaver felt so justified in his enslavement of others that he finds equal value in paying workers in kind rather than a providing a fair living wage and living a life of freedom and self-determination. A similar narrative lingers regarding the 'loss' of enslaved persons after the end of the American Civil War. There is an enduring fairy tale passed down among White Southern families that their slaveholding ancestors were kind, and treated their slaves with dignity; that they provided houses for them to live in, and clothes to wear, and food rations, and gave them gifts at Christmas. How the value of those things equal the value of nonstop, sunrise to sunset, intense forced labour for an entire lifetime continues to evade me. However, the existence of the narrative indicates the profundity of the Type I enslaver's commitment to misrecognising himself/herself as a benevolent master: it endures even a century and a half later.

A Type II enslaver is motivated by the acquisition of all three types of capital, but ultimately seeks to convert social and cultural capital into economic capital. The Type II enslaved may seek legitimate employment from the Type II enslaver in order to acquire the economic and social capital necessary for social mobility, but becomes trapped by fraudulent and coercive means in a situation of enslavement.

A Type III enslaver's primary motivation is social capital, but if s/he identifies en-

slaver others as an integral part of his/her subculture, then s/he may also be seeking to acquire cultural capital as well. Type III enslavers believe that they are inherently superior to those they seek to enslave and that by enslaving others, they can regain the social standing that is rightfully theirs. Type III enslavers tend to engage in the practice of slavery at great risk to their own financial and social standing, because they live in societies that frown upon slavery. They may engage in a subculture that supports their involvement in enslaving others, however; the subculture may be as small as an immediate family or as large as a transnational network. Those enslaved in a Type III relationship may have been fraudulently and/or coercively deceived into entering the relationship. They may have been seeking social mobility via economic or social capital, or they may simply have been abducted.

Type IV enslavers are enticed into their role by a more powerful third party with the promise of social capital. It is possible that economic capital figures less prominently in the endeavour as well. Within the confines of the geographic or political space in which the Type IV enslavement exists, the enslaved can create and retain cultural capital and may create their own version of economic capital, but are nearly devoid of social capital.

Determining which forms of capital the enslaver has access to and which forms s/he seeks to acquire through the enslavement of others will not only allow for a more appropriate application of justice, but will also allow for more precise and effective preventative and rehabilitative programs. Determining which forms of capital the enslaved sought when s/he came in contact with the enslaver and which forms of capital s/he had access to during his/her enslavement will allow for more appropriate applications of justice, more creative exit strategies, and more effective and sustainable preventative and

rehabilitative interventions.

### **Conclusions**

At the basis of these two theories that I have espoused in this study is the two ideas that 1) humans are all created equal; and 2) there are more than enough resources for everyone to live comfortably. At the heart of the master-slave dialectic is the idea that no person is natural a master of or a slave to any other person. To recognise or misrecognise oneself or another as master or slave requires the presence of several social imbalances. Likewise, the compulsion to amass more capital than one can use, and especially at the cost of depriving others of basic needs, stems from social imbalances as well. I do not believe that it is human nature to favour excess over the dignity of others; dehumanisation for the purpose of exploitation is a practice that must be carefully taught and re-taught to each generation.

There is much we still do not understand about the compulsion to enslave another person, but the application of recognition/misrecognition theory and the theory of habitus and the three forms of capital assist us in identifying entry points for the development of efficient and sustainable anti-slavery interventions. Seeking to understand how an enslaver recognises or misrecognises himself/herself as a 'master' or as a 'slave' will provide much needed insights into the vulnerabilities that ordinary people have to becoming enslavers. Seeking further to determine if the primary motivations for enslaving another were based on the acquisition of economic, social or cultural capital can provide insights into how to stabilise and rehabilitate the perpetrator.

Similarly, recognition/misrecognition theory can be useful in understanding the process of breaking a person's will in order to enslave him/her, as well as the ways in

which the enslaved can perform 'slave' as a survival and escape strategy in order to lull the enslaver into complacency. Identifying the types of capital that the enslaved was seeking when s/he came into contact with his/her enslaver will allow for more strategically placed interventions.

## Chapter 5: Analytical Framework

### Type I: Normative Hierarchy

If a culture has historically taught that some groups are naturally subservient to others, and this discourse is dominant within the society's concept of why slavery exists, then the notions of consent and coercion currently deployed within the contemporary slavery policy discourse are irrelevant. If the enslaved believes it is his/her duty and honour to be subservient, and the enslaver believes it is his/her right to own another human being, the enslaver-enslaved relationship qualifies as this type. Participants of this type rarely attempt to hide their enslaver-enslaved relationship, or they only feel obligated to conceal it in the company of those who disapprove. Many people living in socially accepted forms of slavery do not understand that they have internationally-recognised and protected rights if they are enslaved, or they do not feel confident that they will be able to successfully access justice for the violation of those rights. Enslavers may not be aware of or understand that those they enslave have those rights, or they are confident that those they enslave can not or will not successfully exercise those rights or access justice for the violation of those rights. Conversely, the enslaver is convinced that s/he is helping the enslaved by enslaving them. Following interviews with two enslavers in particular, Choi-Fitzpatrick asks, "But who are the perpetrators? Do Aanan and Ahmed not see the scene -- debt bondage, child labor, trafficking -- as I do? My conversations with contemporary slaveholders suggests they do not" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 11). One example of this type of relationship is found in the *restavec* system in parts of West Africa and the Caribbean. Other examples are *devadasi* brides and caste stratifications in parts of South Asia. Yet another example is the relationship between American victims of sexual slavery and the pimps and johns to whom

they are enslaved. While each of these examples is recognised by select observers of and participants in these situations of slavery as illegal, there exist those participants who through deliberate or forced lack of awareness believe it to be the natural and/or unavoidable order.

The *restavec* system in Haiti is a tradition in which children from rural areas are sent to live with a relatively wealthier family member or friend in an urban area (Hoffman 2012). According to a 2001 study of Haitian households, "close to ten percent (9.8%) of children between the ages of five and 18 were child domestic workers or *restavecs*" (Valmond 2015, 22). The understanding is that in exchange for helping around the house, the child will have opportunities not available to him/her in the countryside; namely, regular meals, education, healthcare, and, once they grow up, jobs (Hatloy 2005). In fact, the term *restavec* is Creole for "to stay with." It is important to first note that not all *restavecs* are enslaved (Hatloy 2005). Many *restavecs* are welcomed warmly into their new homes and raised in a safe and loving environment (G. Addison, personal communication 2012). However, the potential for exploitation within this system exists, and has proven to be widespread (Hatloy 2005; Kennedy 2014). Some *restavecs* are enslaved by the relative or friend with whom they were sent to live (Hoffman 2012; Kennedy 2014). Their movements are restricted, their basic needs are withheld, they are denied access to education, they are forced to perform labour that is dangerous for their age, size, and developmental abilities, and they are verbally, psychologically, physically and/or sexually abused (Kennedy 2014). The relationship between the *restavec*, the parent who sent him/her to the city, and the caregiver qualifies as a Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship because the relationship is deemed acceptable through a combination of entitlement, desperation, lack of awareness, social acceptance,

and cultural tradition.

The Type I parent who sends his/her child into a situation of enslavement does so either knowingly or unknowingly (Valmond 2015). The parent who sends the child knowingly into a situation of enslavement may believe that enslavement is preferable to starvation, or a life of illiteracy, or some other degradation through which the family is already struggling (Hatloy 2005; Valmond 2015). The parent may also have lived through enslavement as a *restavec* or in some other form of slavery in his/her childhood and holds the belief that, although it was difficult and dehumanising, it is an inescapable aspect of life in Haitian society (Walk Free Foundation 2014, 73). The parent who unknowingly sends a child into a *restavec* situation may believe the best about the relative or friend to whom s/he is sending the child (Valmond 2015). Even if the parent hears reports of abuse from the child through letters or visits, the parent may dismiss the outcry due to feelings of helplessness or fear that the child is not showing adequate gratitude for what the parent imagines the caregiver is providing (Kennedy 2014; Valmond 2015).

The Type I caregiver who enslaves a *restavec* believes it is his/her right to treat the child with less humanity than s/he treats the rest of the family; "*restavek* is more than just a source of free labor. It is a practice that has become so naturalized that the children do not appear to be children at all but merely means of production just as in the days of slavery" (Valmond 2015, 73). If the caregiver has not inquired within the family to be sent a *restavec*, perhaps s/he holds resentment against the parent and the *restavec* for requesting assistance in this way; the caregiver might perceive himself/herself as less wealthy than s/he is perceived by the rest of the extended family, but does not want to admit to being "hardly better off than the sending family" (Valmond 2015, 66). Per-

haps the caregiver did request within the family to be sent a restavec, but upon receiving the child, discovers that s/he has not been able to or can not foster a sincere, caring connection with the child, resulting in an abusive relationship built on frustration and resentment (Valmond 2015). Perhaps the caregiver was a restavec himself/herself and is continuing a cycle of violence based on unresolved childhood trauma (Hatloy 2005; Kennedy 2014; Valmond 2015). Perhaps the caregiver grew up in a family with a restavec whom they enslaved and believes this is the way restavecs must live (Valmond 2015).

The Type I enslaved restavec is either unaware of his/her rights to be free of slavery, to have access to education, and to live free of abuse; or, s/he does not feel empowered to exercise those rights (Hatloy 2005). Developmentally, children are much more vulnerable to psychological abuse and control than adults. A survivor-advocate (SA1) who was enslaved as a child domestic worker explained to me that for the first few days of her captivity, she rejected it. She cried, she hid, and she attempted to escape. SA1's enslaver allowed it for the first day, and even let her call a family member. He began brutalising her on the second day. By the end of the first week, SA1 had "surrendered completely. He had my mind and my spirit. He had already stolen my body, but then he had the rest of me" (SA1, personal communication, March 2014). If there are other children in the home with whom the restavec is able to form a bond without inviting further abuse from other family members, the restavec may be able to envision himself/herself with a higher standard of living, and might therefore reject his/her enslavement and either escape or develop a perception of his/her enslavement that includes a modicum of agency. If s/he achieved this state of mind, s/he would no longer qualify as enslaved in a Type I relationship.

In order to understand the conditions that cultivated the social acceptance of enslaved restavecs, we must consider the cultural, social and historical contexts in which this manifestation of slavery exists. The restavec system is not unique to Haiti; in fact, going to live with a relative in order to increase one's access to opportunity is normal to a wide variety of cultures (Mbanaso Njemanze & Njemanze 2011). The specifics of Haiti's traditional restavec system mirrors that of several West African nations (Dottridge 2002; Alber 2004; Antislavery International 2011; Mbanaso Njemanze & Njemanze 2011), which suggests that Africans brought these notions of kinship and family ties with them across the Atlantic. In rural Haiti, as in many parts of rural West Africa, kinship is centred upon one's association with a multi-dwelling, multi-family 'household,' or compound (Hoffman 2012). In Haiti, this compound is known as a *lakou*, which is also used to refer to a multi-generational extended family that does not necessarily live in the same geographical space (Haggerty 1989; Hoffman 2012). As Western practices of land ownership and inheritance favoured individual owners over jointly-held properties, the compound *lakou* began to disappear (Haggerty 1989). The extended family *lakou* remained, and the communal practices of child rearing and other shared resources have shifted into their contemporary manifestations (Haggerty 1989). The restavec system of extended family child fosterage is one such manifestation (Hoffman 2012).

Furthermore, shared labour was an important facet of a compound *lakou*; one's place in the *lakou* hierarchy was based upon his/her labour contribution (Haggerty 1989). Children are taught to partake in the distribution of labour from very young, even if their participation can best be described as imitation for educational purposes (Hoffman 2012). In this context, although the physical *lakou* is no longer a norm, children

within the same extended family must fully expect to share in domestic tasks without complaint (Haggerty 1989). Complaining about domestic work would indicate that a child has not been raised with the right work ethic and respect for elders, and would therefore shame both the child and his/her parents.

The primary motivator for becoming a restavec is social mobility. Diane Hoffman studies out-of-school children and youth in Haiti, particularly the means by which they self-educate and exhibit other forms of agency and vulnerability. In Hoffman's (2012) interviews with restavecs and parents of restavecs, she found that the majority of children were sent to a relative's household following a divorce or the death of a parent. The placement of the child was primarily facilitated by a female relative, "very frequently a mother's sister" (Hoffman 2012, 108). G. Addison, a Haitian woman living in the United States and a friend of mine for 20 years, provided some insights into Haitian culture and the restavec system. I sought her input specifically because she was raised with a restavec as a sister; the three of us attended university together. Addison explained that a family with the means to feed and shelter an additional person might request a child; there is the social expectation that to have means and not send for a relative is improper and selfish (G. Addison, personal communication, April 2014). Cara Kennedy (2014) conducted two linked studies on former restavecs and caregivers, the results of which had important implications for the exit costs that restavecs must face, including mental health issues, economic instability, and homelessness. In Kennedy's interviews with the parents of restavecs who have returned home, the most common problems the parents found with the returnees were that "they are unwelcome by their parents, their parents do not have the economic means to take care of them, and they cannot go to school" (Kennedy 2014, 764); furthermore, "responses also reflected par-

ents' despair and disappointment when the hope they had placed in the child is dashed by his/her return" (G. Addison, personal communication, 2014). The desire for social mobility for the child is also shared by the child. Kennedy found that the returnees' most common complaint was that "their parents cannot afford to send them to school" (Kennedy 2014, 765). It is important to note that when children are preparing to become restavecs, the majority do not self-identify as victims. Hoffman found that "88% said that when the opportunity arose, they agreed to move and actually wanted to become a restavek in a new household" (Hoffman 2012, 109). Furthermore, the vast majority of children discussed their moving into a new home with terms that denote agency: "I left my mother,' or 'I left my family,' instead of saying 'I was sent...' or 'I was taken...' thus evoking their own will in the process" (Hoffman 2012, 110). Within this context, parents and children in restavec Type I enslaver-enslaved relationships perceive the sending of the child into a restavec situation as not just a cultural norm, but also the best means for obtaining a better life.

A nuanced understanding of culturally different perspectives on work performed by children is also key to understanding the context of the restavec system and the characteristics that make it a space in which Type I enslaver-enslaved relationships occur. In Haitian society, the work that one undertakes is an important factor in the development of personhood and identity; as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the division of labour within the extended family determined the familial hierarchy. In Haiti, domestic work is heavily gendered; women and girls take on most of the labour relating to the inside of the house, such as cooking, cleaning, and child-rearing (Hatloy 2005; Hoffman 2012). For this reason, the vast majority of restavecs are girls (Hatloy 2005; Blagbrough 2012; Kennedy 2014). Because Haitian society is one in which work is valuable to the

development of child identity, the means by which enslaved restavecs are distinguished from other restavecs is the following criteria: “children not living with their parents, who have a very high workload of domestic work for their age, and have not achieved an education level corresponding to their age” (Hatloy 2005, 13). Within these cultural contexts regarding work, social mobility and kinship, it is feasible that a restavec would understand his/her enslavement as normal and even dutiful.

Another example of a Type 1 enslaver-enslaved relationship within the context of socially acceptable slavery is the devadasi tradition in India. The majority of my research on devadasis comes from three in-depth studies on devadasis: Catherine Rubin Kermorgant's *Servants of the Goddess: The Modern Day Devadasis*, Treena Orchard's article, "In This Life: The Impact of Gender and Tradition on Sexuality and Relationships for Devadasi Sex Workers in Rural India," and Maria Costanza Torri's article, "Abuse of Lower Castes in South India: The Institution of Devadasi." While restavecs are nearly two-thirds female, the devadasi tradition in southern India is traditionally exclusively female (Orchard 2007; Torri 2009; Kermorgant 2014). As well, consecration as a devadasi is similarly believed to bring honour to the child and the family and to bring abundance to the community (Kermorgant 2014). The dedication of a devadasi is a Hindu tradition in which a pre-pubescent girl, normally between the ages of six and thirteen, is wedded to the goddess Yellama (Orchard 2007; Torri 2009; Kermorgant 2014). This offering, like prayers and offerings in any spiritual tradition, is done to curry favour with a deity in order to solve a problem or to show gratitude (Kermorgant 2014). The role and duties of the devadasi have changed drastically over the past two millennia, and the modern manifestation of the tradition has caused a hot debate about cultural context, ethnocentricity, gender inequalities and child protection (Torri 2009).

Once a girl is wedded to Yellama, she then becomes the wife of the entire community (Torri 2009). As a wife, she must remain sexually available to any man in the community who desires sexual contact with her, even in pre-pubescence; the practice is sometimes referred to as 'sacred prostitution' (Orchard 2007). One devadasi describes her duties as:

“The most important is that you cannot claim to be the wife of any one man. On Tuesdays and Fridays you must go begging with a joga, a begging bowl, in your hand and visit at least five upper-caste houses . . . what else . . . if you are hungry you shall not tell others, nor shall you ask for food. If you are beaten or abused, you shall not retaliate. You must provide shelter to strangers, and never tell untruths . . . you must never separate a nursing calf from its mother, and if you cross death, you must bathe.” (Kermorgant 2014, 86)

Other devadasi duties may include singing and/or dancing at weddings and other important ceremonies and leading parades on holy occasions (Torri 2009).

The devadasi qualifies as enslaved in that she has no say in whether or not she is dedicated; it is a decision made entirely by adults, usually her parents (Orchard 2007). While there are some devadasis who participate in the decision to dedicate their lives to Yellama, they are usually near or in adulthood when they are consecrated, and therefore have the option to exercise agency (Kermorgant 2014). Once consecrated, a girl may not leave her position as devadasi or she will risk extreme violence and/or shame to herself and her family, perhaps for multiple generations (Kermorgant 2014). Because devadasis are selected exclusively from the lower Dalit sub-castes, they have no means for accessing justice (Torri 2009). While there are some exceptions, devadasis are rarely empowered to exercise reproductive rights or safe sex (Kermorgant 2014). The relation-

ship between the devadasi, her parents, and the community qualifies as a Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship because the structures holding the enslaved in her captivity are those held most valuable by the society: caste, spirituality, gender roles, and honour. The parents-as-enslavers offer their daughter as a sacrifice in the most desperate situations (Orchard 2007; Kermorgant 2014). The intention is to appease the goddess so that hardships relating to disease, death, food shortages, natural disasters, loss of property and other forms of capital, and conflicts can be abated (Torri 2009). The community-as-enslaver places hope for its very survival on the ability of this girl to be a pleasing sacrifice to Yellama, which places immense pressure on the shoulders of a child (Orchard 2007). The devadasi-as-enslaved, as a child, knows only to obey or risk shaming her family and failing her community (Kermorgant 2014). Devadasis are vulnerable to violence and disease from their sexual partners, and are prohibited from retaliating or even complaining (Kermorgant 2014). One devadasi explains,

“a devadasi’s life is full of pain. From the day they tie the beads, it starts. Many women fall to illness; many take their own lives. Devadasis do not live to an old age. Take a look around this village. How many old devadasis do you see?” (Kermorgant 2014, 87)

Due to the multiple and complex intersecting inequalities that characterise the devadasi — child, Dalit, female, sex worker — her options are enslavement or death.

The Hindu tradition of the devadasi was not established to enslave. The tradition of enslaving devadasis in sexual servitude did not begin until approximately 400 years after the establishment of the devadasi role. Torri found

“there is absolutely no evidence to show that during the period from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. the dancing girls at temples were prostitutes, sacred or

secular. The connection of devadasis with prostitution seems to have been established after the 10th century” (Torri 2009, 37).

There are several hypotheses regarding how and when sexual contact became associated with devadasis, but the earliest mentions of sex with devadasis began to appear after the 11th century (Torri 2009). For hundreds of years before that point,

“devadasi had very prestigious status, a consequence of their religious dedication and their proximity with the leading or ruling families in a community. As they played many types of roles in the ritual and religious life of the community, in reward they were given praise and financial support.” (Torri 2009, 36)

Devadasis were a sub-community based within or near a temple, and were learned in the arts (Orchard 2007; Torri 2009). It is unclear how or why these women with social status, financial means, and agency were transformed into slaves of the same temple to which they once brought prestige. One theory is that as religions and philosophies came with waves of intruders over the centuries, the Hindu worship of the feminine was displaced by worship of the masculine, and the movements and activities of women and girls became more restricted and less empowered (Torri 2009). Devadasis have since become symbols of divine sexuality, sought after for pleasure and spiritual favour (Torri 2009; Kermorgant 2014).

The practice of dedicating girls as devadasis has been outlawed in India since 1982 (Torri 2009). Despite this legal development, in the modern manifestation of the devadasi tradition, up to ten thousand girls are dedicated to temples each year in southern India (Torri 2009). The practice remains popular in the states of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (Orchard 2007; Torri 2009). In Andhra Pradesh alone, it is

estimated that there are 27,000 devadasis (Torri 2009).

Caste plays a central role in the contemporary manifestation of the devadasi tradition. “[The] devadasi’s consecration is deeply embedded both in the rural social structure and religious beliefs and represents a form of dominance and social control of upper castes over lower ones” (Torri 2009, 34). As was mentioned earlier in this section, devadasis only come from the lower Dalit castes, which provides an important context for understanding the specifics of their duties (Torri 2009). Devadasis represent the consummate servant; they must never complain, must always be pleasant, must entertain everyone but themselves, and must receive abuse and contract disease with silent reverence (Kermorgant 2014). In much of the work assigned to the scheduled castes, these themes of silent acceptance of dehumanisation are present. Torri explains that Dalits are brutalised with impunity. “Police statistics averaged over the past five years show that every day three Dalit women are raped, eleven Dalits are beaten up and for every eighteen minutes a crime is committed against a Dalit” (Torri 2009, 38). Violence against Dalit women and girls is almost always sexualised. The irony of the ‘Untouchable’ designation is that, especially in contrast to women of the upper castes, the bodies of Dalit women and girls are always perceived by the men of the upper castes as available and impure, and therefore disposable (Orchard 2007; Torri 2009). Devadasis are consecrated before puberty; following the first menses, they undergo a ritual to prepare them for sex with adult men (Kermorgant 2014). The ‘honour’ of de-flowering a devadasi is an expensive one, and the arranged price can be a boon to the family of the devadasi (Torri 2009; Kermorgant 2014). The ‘honour’ usually goes to a nearby wealthy landowner, after which he may cover her living expenses for a period of time (Orchard 2007). Once that period of time is over and the landowner has moved on, the devadasi will continue

to provide sex to all males in the community for the rest of her life.

In addition to caste, gender plays a key role in maintaining the devadasis' subjugation. The cultural preference for boys is often the first motivation for a family to sacrifice a daughter to Yellama. "Many Dalit women are dedicated to the goddess at a very young age by poverty-stricken parents unable to pay their future dowries and hopeful that a pleased goddess will make the next pregnancy a boy" (Torri 2009, 39). In fact, the structure of the caste system is heavily gendered. Torri asserts that "endogamy (a crucial feature of the caste system) should be seen as a mechanism of recruiting and retaining control over the labor and sexuality of women" (Torri 2009, 33) Delineations by caste and then within caste by gender determine in what spaces women move, reside, and work; furthermore, they determine the types of tasks that Dalit women can do and in what ways they can perform them. The structure that only allows Untouchable girls to become devadasis is the very same structure that identifies the Dalit female body as sexualised public property. In this Type I relationship, the agency of the enslaved in determining how her body will be used is stripped in the name of honour, collective well-being, and piety.

The next example of a Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship also has to do with caste, but is characterised by dishonour rather than honour. In the United States (US), victims of sexual slavery are primarily identified within the sex work arena. It is important to note here that not all sex workers are victims of slavery or even of exploitation; on the contrary, many sex workers have as much labour agency and self-determination as their counterparts in the formal economy. However, a number of sexual slavery victims that are intermingled within the sex work industry are in Type I enslaver-enslaved relationships with their pimps and/or their clients, colloquially known as 'johns' or

‘tricks.’

The enslaved in this situation may either believe himself/herself to be deserving of the situation, or s/he may believe that there is no viable alternative to submitting to the demands of the pimp and johns. If s/he believes that s/he is deserving of enslavement, it is likely s/he was vulnerable to exploitation before being enslaved. Research by Human Rights for Girls, a New York-based advocacy firm, found that 60% of domestic minor sex trafficking victims identified by the FBI in a single 2013 sting were foster children, a group with a particularly high risk of vulnerability to exploitation (Saada Saar 2013). If s/he believes himself/herself to have no viable alternative to ‘the life,’ perhaps s/he has received violence or the threat of violence to herself/himself or to loved ones as coercion, or perhaps s/he has never witnessed or experienced alternatives. A survivor-advocate (SA2) who assisted me in understanding this enslaver-enslaved relationship is a survivor of domestic minor sex trafficking. SA2 explained, “I was first trafficked by my mom, but she was trafficked too so she was just doing it out of her own trauma. I didn’t get out of the life until a couple of years after I was ‘rescued,’ if you know what I mean. But I just didn’t really know how to think of myself as anything else” (personal communication, July 2012).

The pimp-as-enslaver may view the enslaved as indebted to him/her, allowing the pimp to create a hierarchy in which s/he provides basic needs and the enslaved pays him/her back for the provisions by earning money through commercial sex. The john-as-enslaver engages the enslaved in commercial sex, believing that the currency paid provides him/her with temporary ownership of the enslaved’s body and companionship performance. The john-as-enslaver may or may not know that the person is enslaved to the pimp. If the john knows that the person is enslaved, and s/he believes the enslaved

deserves to be enslaved due to some form of otherness, then this relationship no longer qualifies as Type I; it is Type III. However, if the john believes the enslaved deserves enslavement because s/he is indebted to the pimp, or because s/he is involved in commercial sex out of greed or nymphomania, it qualifies as Type I. If the john does not know that the person is enslaved to the pimp but perceives him/her as enslaved to the john for the duration of the session, it also qualifies as Type I.

Radical feminist analysis of the space sex work inhabits in American society suggests that the gendered dimensions of sex work have their foundations in Puritanical ideals of feminine purity and chastity. Andrea Dworkin, a radical feminism theorist, argues that girls who have engaged in any sort of sexual contact before a certain age and outside of the bounds of a relationship in which a male has declared a commitment are widely considered less valuable by American society (Dworkin 2004). There exists an unspoken standard of behaviour in which males are at the mercy of unbridled sexual passion, and females both possess the means for men to indulge this passion and must not themselves indulge in sexual passion of their own. It is not considered virtuous or acceptable for a woman to own and enjoy her own sexuality; her achievements and accomplishments must never have anything to do with her womanhood (Dworkin 2004). If they are, it is assumed that she accomplished nothing on her own merit, but gained everything by manipulating that uncontrollable sexual passion that men are so powerless to restrain. Therefore, if a woman or girl is involved in sex work — the outright earning of livelihood via sex — she has engaged in the ultimate manipulation of the weaknesses of men. In a patriarchal society, she who dares to manipulate men is the most devious and the least worthy of respect (Schulze, et al. 2014). It is also assumed that women who engage in sex freely are not skilled nor intelligent (Schulze et al.

2014). This suggests to me that women engaged in sex work, in particular, are viewed as deciding to do so because they were not smart enough or skilled enough to do anything else.

Such cultural beliefs about gendered sexuality foster an environment of fear, shame and secrecy in which girls must come to terms with living in their bodies. Subjection to sexual contact as a child, particularly from an adult, has the power to incur enough shame and fear to convince the child that her dominant characteristic is a sexuality over which she has little to no control (Silbert & Pines 2001). In many ways, people enslaved in a Type I relationship are informed by the society around them that their bodies are not their own. This miseducation begins in childhood, during the crucial developmental phases (Silbert & Pines 2001). Messages about body ownership, sexualisation and value come primarily from people who are known to and trusted by the victim, such as family members.

“Familial sexual abuse functions as a training ground for prostitution. Survivors link childhood physical, sexual, and emotional abuse as children to later prostitution. Many studies lend support to this analysis. Seventy percent of the adult women in prostitution in one study said that their childhood sexual abuse led to entry into prostitution.” (Farley 2006, 113)

Because American society prefers that women and girls not be empowered in making decisions about their own bodies and their sexuality, sex work models that include a male pimp acting as proprietor of a female sex worker’s body is one that is highly recognisable and normalised. In fact, 90% of sex workers worldwide “are dependent upon a procurer” (Schulze et al. 2014, 6).

In popular culture, the pimp is celebrated and the john incurs sympathy or pity.

This sentiment has long been reflected in criminal justice: of the three involved in this relationship, it is the sex worker who is most likely to be harassed and arrested by law enforcement (Farley 2006). S/he is also likely to be blamed for his/her own victimhood if s/he endures rape, torture, or other forms of violence from pimps, tricks, other sex workers, police, or any other member of society (Farley 2006; Saada Saar, et al. 2015). The ramifications for victims of sexual slavery that are held within the sex work arena — a prevalence estimated at 1 in 7 (Schulze et al. 2014) — is that their enslavement is compounded by a society that offers disdain and incarceration rather than protection and solidarity (Saada Saar, et al. 2015). In fact, only recently has law enforcement become trained in identifying children in sex work as enslaved rather than criminals (Powell 2014; Saada Saar, et al. 2015). Law enforcement so regularly re-traumatizes victims during ‘rescue’ that Brunovskis & Surtees, who conduct research on the Nordic model of sex work, conducted a study on sexual slavery victims in Albania, Moldova and Serbia who refuse services. Some of the reasons that victims decline assistance include a lack of trust in the service providers, a desire to be left alone to cope and recover, miscommunication via language barriers, and fear of bringing shame to the family. Brunovskis & Surtees also detected the following trend in which victims decline to be rescued:

“Where offers of assistance paralleled a trafficking dynamic, this also leads to victims declining. We found in several of our interviews that some features of assistance seemed to victims to mimic the trafficking experience. Typically victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation have been deceived, often by someone they trust, with false promises of assistance and support in building a new life. They are moved to a new location, with hopes of realising this new life

but, in the end, are exploited and abused.” (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007, 8-9)

In the face of re-traumatisation at the hands of law enforcement, albeit with good intentions, victims may prefer to remain within a more familiar trauma than to venture into a fresh one.

Whereas the other examples of persons enslaved in a Type I relationship are motivated to remain within slavery for reasons relating to honour, I have found that persons enslaved in this example remain so for reasons relating to shame and fear — which may be thought of as the inverse of honour. The enslavers in this relationship reinforce this shame and fear through physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse. Law enforcement can unwittingly further reinforce the shame and fear by re-traumatising victims through lack of training on how to identify and report victims of slavery (Farrell & Owens, et al. 2012). Society at large reinforces the fear and shame through popular depictions of sex workers, through ridicule and disdain in everyday interactions, and through the perpetuation of stigma attached to those who attempt to leave ‘the life.’ Precedents have now been set in the US for upgrading the crimes of pimping, soliciting and purchasing sex with a victim of sexual slavery from a misdemeanour to a felony, which may begin to impact the ease with which pimps and tricks enslave their victims (Polaris Project 2015).

### **Context for the Enslaver**

The Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship intersects with Hegel’s master-slave dialectic in that both the Type I enslaved person and the Type I enslaver can either recognise himself/herself as the master or the slave. The Type I master that recognises himself/herself as the master has the benefit of having that recognition reinforced by the

society in which s/he lives (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming). This master has no real consequences to engaging in enslavement and therefore does not behave shamefully about his/her role in enslaving another.

The master may recognise his/her own dependence upon the enslaved entering into or remaining in slavery. The parent and caregiver of the restavec, the parent and community of the devadasi, and the pimp and the john might each vacillate between feeling enslaved to the slave and feeling as if s/he is the master of the enslaved. The parent of the restavec cannot provide basic needs to the child, yet feels a strong obligation to provide for him/her (Kennedy 2014; Valmond 2015). That vulnerability can return in an emotionally overwhelming way if the child escapes his/her captivity and returns home (Kennedy 2014). The caregiver of the restavec can perhaps perform all of the domestic tasks necessary without taking on a child, but social norms require that if s/he has the means, and if the relative has the need, that s/he must take on a restavec in order to maintain an honourable reputation (G. Addison, personal communication, 2012; Valmond 2015).

The parents of the devadasi might feel a similar obligation to a girl child that the parent of the restavec feels: an inability to provide but a conflicting obligation to provide. The parents might sacrifice to Yellama a daughter for whom they do not have the means to provide a marriage dowry (Kermorgant 2014). Those parents might also wager the amount a wealthy landowner might be willing to pay to deflower their daughter against some impending need, like a medical procedure or the purchase of livestock or building materials for protection against natural disaster or even for the costs of educating the other children in the family (Orchard 2007). Perhaps the community recognises the devadasi as a sex worker, or perhaps it recognises her as a means for prayer (Or-

chard 2007). Either way, they could vacillate between holding her in disdain or being grateful for her enslavement (Orchard 2007).

The pimp may be the slave of the enslaved in that s/he is dependent upon the enslaved for income; the pimp may have no other means for supporting himself/herself than what the enslaved earns (Boyd & Bales 2016). As well, I have observed that a pimp's social standing is dependent upon how other pimps perceive his/her 'stable' of sex workers; if one leaves for any reason, the pimp's social standing is greatly compromised. Men who pay for sex have spaces in which it is socially acceptable to do so and spaces in which it is not socially acceptable to do so. In the spaces in which it is socially considered pitiable to pay for sex, johns might feel like s/he is a slave to the enslaved and may resort to violence to regain a sense of power over the enslaved. "I think about getting even [during prostitution] – it's like a kid's game, you're scoring points,' one man told us. Another trick said, 'Prostitution is an act of force, not of love. She gives up the right to say no'" (Farley 2007).

Bourdieu's notion of habitus plays an important part in the perpetuation of a Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship. In that habitus is the production of culture and the subsequent production of ideas and processes that reify that culture, habitus effectively provides for well-established cultural products the illusion of being natural or infallible. Ilahiane interprets the notion of habitus as:

“Society keeps its status quo going and its social structure functioning because people in it expect it to work as it is, in spite of the fact that some members may express ambivalent feelings of resistance and collaboration toward any given component of the social field.” (Ilahiane 2001, 381)

In the case of parents and caregivers enslaving a restavec in a Type I relationship, both

parties expect the *lakou* to function as it always has, despite the transformations it has undergone in the past 200 years (Hoffman 2012). The parent expects to be able to rely on it for the survival of his/her child and the caregiver expects to be able to rely on it for the maintenance of social status as well as for assistance with the daily tasks of keeping house (Haggerty 1989; Hoffman 2012).

In southern India, the parents of a devadasi and the surrounding community also expect that tradition to continue, despite the massive changes it has undergone since the 11th century and the more recent outlawing of the tradition thirty years ago (Orchard 2007). The parents expect to use the possibility of temple dedication as a wild card to be able to afford raising a girl child in that society (Torri 2009). The community expects Yellama to allow blessings and abundance to flow after having wed a virgin (Torri 2009). The landowners expect to be able to pay for the right and the honour of raping a divine child, as do the rest of the men in the community once the man who has purchased her virginity has moved on (Kermorgant 2014).

The pimp and john, too, harbour expectations for the status quo to remain intact. The recent changes in policy that not only protect children from the sex trade but also carry harsh penalties for both pimps and johns have nearly solidified the shift from outdoor commercial sex spaces to indoor/online commercial sex spaces (Latonero & Musto, et al. 2012). Both pimps and johns were dependent upon the social constructs that devalue the lives of sex workers as well as those vulnerable to exploitation in sexual slavery. In my conversations and interactions with pimps, it was clear to me that they expect to have free reign to have complete control over the lives of those in his/her stable, and to enjoy the social status that accompanies that lifestyle. Johns expect to be able to determine the space and time in which s/he can access sexual contact without needing

to perform social niceties necessary for ‘respectable’ sexual partners (Farley 2007).

Bourdieu’s theory on the use of habitus for securing the three forms of capital illuminates the Type I enslaver’s motivations for becoming dependent upon society’s acceptance of the terms of the enslavement in which s/he is engaged. Social capital comprises opportunities and connections, as well as mobility into spaces in which other forms of capital are accessible (Bourdieu 1986). While the parent of a restavec may not amass social capital by sending a child away, there is the potential for an increase in social capital (Valmond 2015). If that child succeeds in getting an education and becoming gainfully employed, the parent can then capitalise on the social connection. The caregiver can maintain social capital by acquiring a restavec once s/he has the means to do so. Having the means and declining to ‘share the wealth’ by taking on the child of a poorer relative would cost the caregiver social capital (G. Addison, personal communication 2012). The parents of the devadasi can amass social capital by dedicating a daughter to Yellama, as it is considered honourable to make such a sacrifice to benefit the entire community (Kermorgant 2014). In addition, the family might establish limited social connections with men of higher castes who seek to deflower the child (Orchard 2007). Pimps stand to amass significant social capital by engaging in a Type I relationship by the connections and opportunities it has the potential to generate with other pimps, with other voluntary and enslaved sex workers, and with johns and prospective johns (Schulze, et al. 2014). Johns have the potential to amass social capital via the enslaved by connecting with his/her pimp, others under the pimp’s control, and other johns in hobbyist communities (Farley 2007).

Cultural capital comprises the tangible and intangible objects that characterise an identity group (Bourdieu 1986). Those in Type I enslaver-enslaved relationships are

often motivated by the acquisition of cultural capital to perpetuate the relationship.

While the parent of a restavec does not have the opportunity to acquire immediate cultural capital by sending away a child, s/he has the potential to acquire cultural capital via the child should s/he become successful in the city. The caregiver acquires cultural capital by acquiring the experiences and jargon necessary to discuss the keeping of a restavec with other caregivers and family members, as well as the affect of performing his/her power over the restavec for the entertainment of guests.

The dedication of a daughter to Yellama affords her family access to increased cultural capital in a number of ways. First, they now have a familial connection to a deity (Orchard 2007; Torri 2009). Second, should their daughter prove to excel in her duties, the entire family could benefit from a boost in prestige (Kermorgant 2014). Third, any relief from difficulties that plague the entire community that coincides with the consecration of their daughter as a devadasi may be credited to their sacrifice (Kermorgant 2014). The community stands to acquire cultural capital if they are host to a particularly well-known temple that boasts talented and dutiful devadasis (Torri 2009). Furthermore, the more devadasis are consecrated in spite of the law prohibiting the practice, the more conviction they can feel in favouring religious and customary law over state law (Orchard 2007). In the same vein, if they perceive blessings and abundance to have increased immediately following the consecration of a new devadasi, they will acquire more cultural capital via religious and customary conviction.

In enslaving a person in sex work, pimps can enjoy increased access to cultural capital by offering access to culture via the enslaved. For example, in the commercial sex arena, sex workers are normally qualified by their bodily dimensions, their race, their eye, hair and skin colour, the languages they speak, and the sex acts in which they

are willing to engage (Farley, Bindel & Golding 2012). Some sex acts are characterised as having their roots in particular cultures, such as ‘Greek,’ ‘batin,’ ‘lotus,’ or ‘Russian.’ If a pimp has enslaved persons from eastern Europe, s/he can acquire cultural capital by offering johns the option of engaging in ‘Russian’ with a Russian — regardless of the actual national origin of the enslaved.

The johns can amass cultural capital in a similar way. I have observed that hobbyist communities, particularly online hobbyist communities, often have systems by which members are ranked. The systems award points according to number of sex workers engaged, physical characteristics, diversity of race and nationality, infamy of the sex worker, and spectrum of sex acts completed.

The third form of capital identified by Bourdieu is economic capital (Bourdieu 1986). This is the only form of capital that the parent of a restavec has immediate access to once the child is sent away. There is not always an exchange of economic capital that accompanies the acquiring of a child, but there will be capital freed up from being relieved of the responsibility to feed, clothe and shelter the child (Valmond 2015). Caregivers can increase economic capital by acquiring a restavec if the caregiver runs a small business and can increase production without increasing overheads (Valmond 2015).

The parents of devadasis have access to increased economic capital via the arrangements for the child’s deflowering and money from a lifetime of clients, should the devadasi continue to share her earnings with her family past childhood (Orchard 2007). Similar to the parents of a restavec, they are often relieved of the responsibility of feeding, clothing and sheltering the child. They are also relieved of the duty of amassing a dowry for that child. The community in which the devadasi is enslaved

stands to benefit in an indirect way from increased access to economic capital. Part of the daily duties of the devadasi is visiting the homes of the upper castes and singing, dancing or begging for donations (Torri 2009). Those donations go to the temple, the upkeep of which indirectly benefits the community. Also, in some areas, sex tourism brings economic capital to the community. Villages that are situated along shipping routes receive a steady stream of clientele in truckers and businessmen (Kermorgant 2014). Those who stop to visit the devadasis may also spend money in other nearby establishments before leaving again.

Pimps are likely to gain economic capital from the enslavement of others. Each client must exchange economic capital to engage in sexual contact with the enslaved, and pimps always receive a sizeable percentage of that capital (Schulze, et al. 2014). Johns, however, lose economic capital by engaging in the enslavement of others.

### **Context for the Enslaved**

In this section, I will apply the Hegelian and Bourdieusian lenses to the situation of a person enslaved in a Type I relationship. According to Hegel's master-slave dialectic, the enslaved can either recognise himself/herself as a slave or as the master of the master. I interpret that to mean that the enslaved that recognises himself/herself as the slave does so because the exit costs are prohibitive to the point that s/he must convince herself/himself that leaving is not an option. The enslaved that recognises himself/herself as the master understands that the parent and caregiver, or the parents and community, or the pimp and johns are dependent upon him/her for something valuable to their self identities, and understands that they will each resort to violence to reify their dominance over him/her.

Habitus, for those enslaved in a Type I relationship, represents both the struc-

tures keeping them in captivity and the structures with the potential to disrupt their enslavement. For the restavec, the *lakou* structure represents both the opportunity for social mobility and the risk of enslavement: one system, two extremes. For the devadasi, the system means sacrificing one's entire individual life and giving up all access to 'abundance,' but it also means the honour of providing abundance for the family and the community. For the sex worker, the system means the freedom to engage in the informal economy on one's own terms, and at the other end of the spectrum, the complete lack of agency to determine what happens to one's own body. In Haiti, India, and the United States, the exploitation of restavecs, devadasis and sex workers is strictly prohibited and criminalised. The laws are new products of habitus, however, and the customary traditions that allow for the enslavement of these three groups are much older and much more established products of the habitus process.

Bourdieu's three forms of capital are not often accessible to persons enslaved. However, in the examples of Type I enslaver-enslaved relationships explored in this chapter, there are opportunities for enslaved persons to have access to capital. Social capital is heavily accessible to restavecs. In relocating to the city, restavecs have access to new family members, new neighbours, and other restavecs. Once in the city, if a restavec is abused, it is not uncommon for him/her to attempt escape to find a new caregiver (Kennedy 2014). If s/he is unable to find a new caregiver, s/he may join a 'family' of street children, which provides an entirely new social setting, including vulnerabilities to new forms of enslavement; namely, commercial sexual exploitation of children and survival sex (Kennedy 2014). Devadasis, too, have access to social capital in their new setting. They will develop social connections with other devadasis, with the temple priest(s), and with clientele (Torri 2009). Victims of sexual slavery within the sex work

arena can also develop social connections with other sex workers and with clientele.

The forms of cultural capital available to enslaved restavecs include city accents and jargon, new domestic labour skills, new media, artistic expressions, and other forms of entertainment, and knowledge of a new geographical space. In some situations, an enslaved restavec may be allowed to learn to read and write. Devadasis can acquire cultural capital in the learning of her duties, including learning new songs, dances, stories about Yellama, and how to conduct religious rituals and ceremonies. They may acquire the tangible and intangible cultural products relating to both sacred and secular sex work. Finally, they may acquire knowledge about other places, religions, philosophies and art from their clientele. Enslaved sex workers will also have access to cultural capital relating to 'the life,' including jargon, sex acts, and business models, among other things. They may acquire cultural capital relating to travel throughout the country and the nuances that distinguish the local cultures in each geographic location.

Economic capital is not likely available to enslaved restavecs for acquisition. If a restavec is hired out to other households for domestic labour, it is more likely that the exchange of economic capital will take place between the caregiver and the hirer, and that the caregiver will perceive that capital as his/her due for providing for the restavecs basic needs (Hoffman 2012). Devadasis have limited access to economic capital; what she earns or receives through begging often must first go to the temple and her family before she can take any for herself (Torri 2009). Enslaved sex workers are usually paid directly from their johns; however, the full amount must first go to the pimp, at which point s/he can decide if the enslaved deserves to have any of it for himself/herself.

## **Case Study: Foster Children with Sex Work Experience**

While we often conflate the *restavec* tradition in Haiti and West Africa with the contemporary form of slavery known as forced domestic servitude, the reality is that not every *restavec* is enslaved (Hatloy 2005). Both anecdotal and empirical data illustrate that boys and girls sent to live with family members in the city or kidnapped or sold into households for domestic work are regularly exploited, forced to work long, gruelling hours, abused physically, sexually and psychologically, unable to move freely, and denied access to education (Kennedy 2014; Valmond 2015). There are, however, children in Haiti living as *restavecs* who are loved, cared for, and raised as one of the family's own (G. Addison, personal communication, 2012; Valmond 2015). In the United States, the foster care system has a similar relationship between its reputation and its reality, though inverted. The foster care system is a state-run social safety net that provides a social worker and a host family for any child that does not have a home and family or who was removed from his/her home and family for neglect or abuse. American foster care children are thought to receive at least basic love and care in orphanages and foster homes, and we believe that a large number of them are adopted into 'forever families' and loved unconditionally for the rest of their lives. We are aware that a few 'slip through the cracks,' as we like to say, but we certainly do not conflate the foster care system in the US with slavery in the way that we do the *restavec* system in Haiti and West Africa.

The unfortunate reality of the American foster care system is that it is rife with corruption, social workers are overworked and underpaid, and foster parents are often not properly vetted or trained; the result being that abuse and negligence in foster homes, group homes and juvenile corrections facilities are the norm (Boyd & Bales

2016). Furthermore, the rate at which children in ‘the system’ transition into domestic minor sex trafficking, another form of contemporary slavery, is astounding. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, 60% of children rescued from one FBI human trafficking sting were found to have been foster children (Saada Saar 2013).

A sense of belonging is essential to social development; because foster children often lack a stable family structure during crucial developmental phases, the desire to belong can become overwhelming — and easily exploitable (Boyd & Bales 2016). Although the US government established the foster care system to provide for the children’s basic needs through adulthood, the system is broken. The vulnerability of foster children has allowed for multiple intersections with the commercial sex arena (Saada Saar 2014).

I have an acquaintance that works as a high school teacher in an area of California well known for its poverty, transient population, high instance of drug abuse and large proportion of at-risk teens. Having a family member who engaged in pimping, this teacher quickly recognised the indicators of sex work among several of her students. She began approaching them privately and offering herself as a confidante and ally. She has since established a non-profit organisation to garner resources for her students who are involved in sex work and has begun working officially as a youth advocate. My interest in conducting research with these students is their direct involvement with contemporary slavery, their relative freedom within the confines of the school, the intersection of the foster care system and the commercial sexual exploitation of children, and the students’ knowledge of the nuances of the pimp/sex worker relationship.

I chose to conduct field work with foster children who have also self-identified as sex workers for this particular project because they provide a unique perspective on

both contemporary slavery and the foster care system, and have much to teach us about the many ways these two realms intersect. An important feature of the US foster care system that posits it to intersect so cleanly with contemporary slavery is that it ensures that foster children are highly aware that foster and adoptive parents receive an allowance for their care. This association of a child with the calculated amount required to provide for said child creates a situation in which the child can develop a belief that the amount of this allowance is a measure of their personal value. In anti-slavery discourse, a person's monetary value as a slave is also widely accepted as a measurement of their personal value. In these interviews, we hope to discover what patterns and variables involving concepts of personal value may exist at the intersection of foster care and contemporary slavery.

With the assistance of a youth advocate, I conducted two focus groups with foster care students with experience in sex work. The advocate and I agreed that focus groups will offer the greatest number of advantages to the students, the advocate, and me. We agreed that she should conduct the focus group and that I should review the recorded sessions with her to gain clarity and insights. In all, thirteen students participated. The first focus group included male, female and transgender students. The focus group activities included both written and verbal interactions. I received copies of the written products and an audio recording of the verbal interaction. The questions and other prompts for the written activities can be reviewed in Appendix B. The second focus group was a round-table discussion facilitated by the youth advocate and co-facilitated by an older student who is in foster care and had experience in sex work. I received an audio recording of this session. The advocate and I discussed the data and its context over two review sessions.

I extracted quotes and other verbal indicators from the surveys and recorded interviews that referenced the participants' motivations for entering into and remaining in a relationship with their enslavers. Each participant used language that indicated a Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship. Three of the thirteen participants used language that indicated a Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship. Only one of the participants used language indicative of Type III, but more than half of the participants used language indicative of Type IV.

**Table 4.1.** Characteristics of respondents' descriptions of relationships with their enslavers

	Type I: Normative Hierarchy	Type II: Exploitative Bondage	Type III: Hierarchy Fixated	Type IV: Normative Exploitation
R1FB	X			X
R2FB	X	X		
R3FL	X			
R4ML	X			
R5FL	X			
R6TB	X	X		X
R7TB	X			X
R8FA	X			X
R9FB	X			X
R10MB	X	X		
R11FB	X			
R12FB	X		X	X
R13FB	X			X

All of the respondents identified as teenagers; in legal terms, they all qualify as children. The respondents that identify as black comprised nearly 70% of the sample; 23% identify as latino/latina, and 8% identify as asian. Sixty-nine percent of respon-

dents identify as female, 15% identify as male, and 15% identify as transgender. The majority of cisgender respondents identify as heterosexual, but 27% identify as bisexual. The respondents who agreed to share with us the age at which they first engaged in commercial sex identified ages in the pre-teens and teens. Each of the respondents had been placed in four or more foster homes or group homes since entering the system. Three had been placed in homes across state lines. Ninety-two percent of respondents had suffered some form of abuse from a parent or first-known guardian; 23% were introduced to commercial sex by a parent or first-known guardian. As well, 77% had been introduced to commercial sex by a foster parent or other authority figure, such as a worker in a group home. One respondent describes the treatment she received in foster homes and in her adoptive home:

“My adopted mom used to curse at me and tell me that I wasn’t shit, never gonna be shit, and who gonna want my ugly skinny ass. [My foster parents] always made me feel like I was nothing. She used to beat the crap out of us. Throw us down stairs and stuff all because she was in a domestic violence abuse relationship...I experienced sexual abuse for many years but I didn’t turn into a ho at first. I started acting defiant and turning away and I shut down and then I just went to what I didn’t want: men.”

Although all of the respondents defended their engagement in sex work as having been necessary for survival, they all mentioned wanting to get out of the life and responded passionately to prompts asking what advice they would share with a younger sibling or a friend interested in entering the life. In fact, the language they deployed most often urged the friend or sibling to understand how valuable they are and that they should not devalue themselves by engaging in the life.

The Type I enslaver-enslaved relationship requires that the enslaved hold the belief that it is their place in society to be enslaved, and that their enslaver believes it is his/her place in society to enslave another. As was mentioned earlier in this case study, each of the respondents to this survey used language that suggested that s/he/they held this belief. One respondent was very forthcoming about details of her current engagement in the life, but refused to discuss the way in which she was first introduced to it. She says, “See, y’all gonna make me have to explain this shit. I mean...I was fourteen and...shit happens, I’m gonna just leave it at that. So then I started learning about the life, getting money, traveling around...” Her characterisation of the experience is that it was expected and unavoidable, and therefore not worth discussing. Another respondent uses language indicating that she was at fault for her own abduction, rape and for having been sold for sex. She explains, “If I didn’t do a certain type of drug, I wouldn’t have gotten raped because they took advantage of me. I didn’t know what I was doing, I was lost for two days...I didn’t want to, but I still went.” Another respondent shared the following experience:

“When I was 12 he came back from jail he didn’t have any money so he start telling me that I have to go make money for him. I [cried] and said no because I was a virgin but he didn’t care. When I said no he started beating me. After he was done hitting me we laid in the bed. He start telling me he loved me and he didn’t mean to hit me that he just need some money. He told me he promise never to hit me again and then he took off my clothes and I lost my life to him that day. Once you have sex with a pimp he owns you forever...”

The respondent clearly remembers refusing to enter the life and expresses a socially acceptable reason for refusing. However, her storyline suggests that once her virginity was

compromised, and specifically that it was compromised by a pimp, she was automatically relegated to a life of sex work. She uses language that further suggests that her powerlessness to leaving the relationship is gender-based. She says,

“In November I found myself pregnant with my now 10 month old son. My pimp was going to beat me if my son was a girl. When I got pregnant with my daughter last year my pimp push me down the stairs. I learned the hard way never love anything [you’re] not sure [you’re] going to keep.”

While she accepts her pimp’s violence against her own body and that of her daughter’s, she also says, “One thing I know is if my little sister ever wanna join something like this I would tell her no and have her read this too.”

This respondent describes her relationship with her pimp in this way: “They wonder why I don’t just run away and leave but you see it’s so hard for me. I love my pimp. I’m actually in jail right now over him.” While she explains her reasons for staying as centring on love for her pimp, she also uses language that suggests that she identifies him as being her means for economic survival, rather than perceiving the economic income from sex work as something she earned through her own labour. She says, “Once you fall for that lifestyle [you’re] addicted to the money... Maybe one day I’ll leave but for right now I don’t know. I want my son to grow up with fine things.” While the respondent describes her motivation for staying as being an addiction to having access to economic capital, she also uses language that suggests that the money is not worth the trauma. In describing her interactions with tricks, she says,

“He had put me on my first track in [city] called [street name]. All I have to do was get in the car with old white man [sic] and charge them \$40-60 dollars for

blow jobs and \$100-\$150 for sex. I was [scared and] I panic every time those man [sic] was on top of me. They use and abuse me and my insides.”

The respondent is clear that she does not like the labour of sex work — that it sends her into a panic, and that she feels used and abused by tricks. However, she identifies the exit costs as including poverty, a lost sense of love and belonging, fear of reprisals, and diminished personal value.

One of the male-identified participant’s experience in sex work was as a pimp. His uncles forced him into this role from his early teens, and he suffers physical and psychological trauma from the experience. While he self-identifies as having participated in sex work, he does not self-identify as a slavery victim and vacillates on self-identifying as a forced labourer. He uses language that indicates that the coercion used to force him into the life included violence, gender-based shaming, and a form of familial piety. He explains that explicit within the violence and threats of violence was language suggesting that he could not be considered a man and could not remain in the home unless he learned the family trade. He was forced to engage in physical violence and sexual violence against women and girls that he knew and cared about. Of his experiences, he relates, “A person who recruits females to make money is wrong and is a sucker, straight up. No respect. Because all they do is abuse them, mistreat them, and beat them. All they really want is love...Some are forced to do it and that’s foul. Pimps get no respect for that.” He explains that while he was living with his uncles, he did not believe that he would be able to escape becoming a pimp. He discusses the prohibitive nature of the exit costs and admits to contemplating suicide at one point.

A fifth respondent expressed a desire to leave the life but a stronger belief that society will not allow her the dignity to leave. She says,

“Yes, I do want help but who will help a girl like me who had sex with over 200 guys in her life? I’m a loser. All I think about is sex money drugs. I’m a [sic] uneducated African American girl who barely knows school work and its [sic] sad but I guess its [sic] a part of being in that life. We run away, don’t go to school. All we doing is [expletive] just so we can make sure we have somewhere to stay and eat so yes I would like help.”

This respondent was then asked what we can do to help, and she responded,

“How can someone help me get out the life? It’s kind of hard to answer that. Well I’m going to start off by saying it depends on who I’m trusting. People can say a bunch of things but what can they do to make me stop thinking every Mexican is a trick? Can that person help me see life different than just having sex for money? Because I don’t know nothing about having a boyfriend so I really can’t answer this question. Sorry.”

When this respondent was asked what the community can do to prevent young girls from entering the life, she responded,

“You just can’t help stop it because some girls’ minds are already gone. It’s like they mind is stuck on selling their body. That’s all they know and what I think about people who try to help them is only causing problems to themselves and others. What I think how people can help the community is to don’t walk up on them with a bunch of questions cause that would scare them away and would make them go deeper into the life.”

This participant’s responses illustrate the extent to which society’s relegation of sex workers to the lowest social caste has impacted the way in which she perceives herself, her relationship to her enslavers, and possibilities for exiting the life. This is a clear ex-

ample of how the process of habitus on the production of sex work, those members of society who engage in it, and those members of society that are vulnerable to entering it has given rise to structures that serve as static coercion to remain enslaved.

The insights that these participants shared make it clear that Type I enslaver-en-slaved relationships in the sex work arena are present. Within this sample, this relationship type is prevalent. Interestingly, this sample group was primed for Type I relationships not just by gender-based discrimination and the relegation of sex workers to the lowest caste in American society, but also by the intersection of physical, psychological and sexual abuse, lack of a stable family structure during the formative years, and a dearth of evidence that they can successfully access justice should they attempt to exit.

## **Conclusions**

The Type I enslaver-en-slaved relationship is heavily contextualised by the culture in which it manifests. However, regardless of whether we are discussing chattel slavery in Mauritania, domestic minor sex trafficking in the US, sacred prostitution in India or domestic servitude in Haiti, the characteristics of the relationship are the same. This manifestation of slavery is socially acceptable in the society in which it exists, even if it is illegal -- as each of the aforementioned manifestations are. The enslaver is primarily viewed as being within his/her rights to enslave another, and is often praised or lauded for doing so. The enslaved is viewed as being naturally suited to enslavement, and sometimes even fortunate to have been enslaved.

Each of the foster children that participated in the case study used language that indicated them having been in a Type I enslaver-en-slaved relationship at some point. Some of the foster children self-identified as having been exploited, while others state

that exploitation is just the natural order of life, refusing to self-identify as victims. Some of them misrecognise pimps and tricks as masters, or at least as being more powerful than they are. Others recognise that the pimps' industry is dependent upon them, and they view the tricks with pity and disgust. According to American cultural habitus around both commercial sex and foster children, the respondents believe that there is a numerical value attached to them. They also subscribe to the belief that the life is a temporary means to an end; the end involves enough economic capital to have basic needs and some luxuries, and enough social capital to get out of the life.

For Type I enslavers and enslaved, entering into a relationship of enslavement does not necessarily include an evil perpetrator and an unsuspecting victim. Because slavery in these situations is usually socially acceptable, both enslaver and enslaved participate in the relationship with at least some degree of consent and heavily nuanced manifestations of coercion. For this reason, interventions need to include recognition of the presence of deep-seated traditions and respect for how gradual behaviour change will be in response to those interventions.

## **Chapter 6: Analytical Framework**

### **Type II: Exploitative Bondage**

The individuals or groups identified as enslavers in a Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship are motivated by the acquisition of economic and social capital, and often run large-scale systems of labour and/or sexual exploitation in order to increase economic capital from a registered business and/or to establish or increase social capital. Depending upon the societal constraints on the slaveholding class, enslavers may or may not attempt to conceal their engagement in slavery; or, there may be spaces in which they must conceal it and spaces in which it is safe for them to practice slavery openly. Various types of manufacturing, agricultural, construction, and care labor, and various forms of sexualised labour (prostitution, exotic dancing, pornography) are common examples of this type of slavery. The individuals or groups identified as enslaved in this type of relationship are most often fraudulently or coercively introduced to the conditions of their captivity and often find the exit cost so high as to prohibit escape. Such exit costs include personal or familial injury or death, and issues around the difficulty of social re-entry, such as those relating to honour and shame.

In a Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship, the enslaved are not completely unwitting. They often are familiar with the risks involved in entering the relationship. They may not know the extent of the exploitation awaiting them, or they may exist in a situation that they believe is equally as dangerous or more dangerous than the circumstances of the Type II relationship. The Type II enslaver is well acquainted with the intersecting vulnerabilities the potentially enslaved carry, and is prepared to exploit those vulnerabilities in order to maintain or increase economic and social capital. In Type II

enslaver-enslaved relationships, the consumer of the product plays an enormous role. At times, the consumer is aware of the human cost of his/her brand loyalty or product acquisition. At other times, the consumer is either unaware or frozen in a state of inaction. This chapter will explore Type II enslaver-enslaved relationships that exist in the organ trade along the Eastern Migration Route to Sinai and in the construction industry in Qatar in preparation for the FIFA World Cup in 2022.

The organ trade is quiet and diffuse. As with any transnational industry, it has aspects that are illegal and aspects that are legal. Efrat (2013, 81) characterises “the trade in organs [as] inherently exploitative and unjust, since it is the poor and vulnerable members of society who are driven to sell their organs to the rich.” Despite increasing evidence of its prevalence, as well as international standards prohibiting the illegal trade in organs, organ trafficking is one form of modern slavery that is not commonly recognised in state anti-slavery law. Perhaps this blind spot is because the organ trade involves so many parties that are not actually interested in breaking any laws. Efrat points out

“The patient in need of a transplant; the paid donor; the medical team that performs the commercial transplantation, led by the transplant surgeon; the hospital administration; labs that conduct tests and evaluations prior to the transplantation; and medical insurers—while all of these directly or indirectly contribute to an illegal practice, they are otherwise legal actors whose interests and concerns may affect governments’ calculations.” (Efrat 2013, 84)

How are so many parties legally complicit to an illegal trade? And how can we protect those most vulnerable to exploitation by this trade? According to the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT), there are three types of organ

trafficking cases:

“Firstly, there are cases where traffickers force or deceive the victims into giving up an organ. Secondly, there are cases where victims formally or informally agree to sell an organ and are cheated because they are not paid for the organ or are paid less than the promised price. Thirdly, vulnerable persons are treated for an ailment, which may or may not exist and thereupon organs are removed without the victim's knowledge.” (UN.GIFT 2015, para 2)

In this section, I will explore the organ trafficking trade currently taking place along the Eastern Migration Route from the Horn of Africa to Sinai, which qualifies as the first type of organ trafficking case outlined by the definition above. I will give some background on this interesting example of enslavement and will illustrate why it fits within the Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship criteria.

Eritrea is a small and relatively young country in the Horn of Africa. Control of the Eritrea passed from the Ottoman Empire to Italy during the Scramble for Africa in the late 19th century (Taddia 2002). Italy only controlled Eritrea for 50 years before it passed to the British as a UN trust (Taddia 2002). The UN decides, against the vote of the Eritrean people, that it should become part of Ethiopia in 1952 (Taddia 2002). A short decade later, Ethiopia annexed Eritrea and the Eritrean Liberation Front engaged Ethiopia in a 30 year war for independence (Taddia 2002). It gained its independence in 1991, and currently its population is about six and a half million people (Taddia 2002; Trading Economics 2016). Though it had several peaceful years as a new nation, the conflict with Ethiopia has taken a staggering human toll (Mekonnen & Estefanos 2011). As the conflict continued, the government ordered conscription to go into effect across the new nation (Tadia 2002; Mekonnen & Estefanos 2011). The decree was initially

popular but inhumane military practices quickly changed popular opinion.

“Many have been conscripted in the Eritrean army for more than a decade without a formal salary and pay. In addition to this, conscripts suffer from unbearable treatment and abuse, including routine torture and other forms of human rights violations. The [National Military Service Program] NMSP is equally applicable to male and female adults. Female conscripts are more vulnerable to abuses such as sexual exploitation, which is very common in the Eritrean army.” (Mekonnen & Estefanos 2011, 12)

Other effects of the forced conscription included drastically reduced education and employment opportunities, economic stagnancy, and an unstable infrastructure (McKennon & Estefanos 2011; Fisseha 2015; van Reisen & Rijken 2015). What can only be described as mass exodus began in 2001. Conditions were so inhumane that in 2008, Eritrea became the second-largest refugee sending country in the world (McKennon & Estefanos 2011).

There are several migration routes out of Eritrea. After routes to Yemen and Saudi Arabia were abandoned due to conflict in the former and mass deportation of refugees from the latter, the most traveled routes are relatively shorter migrations into eastern Sudan and northern Ethiopia, where refugee camps are well-established. These camps are primarily used for immediate escape from Eritrea and as a staging ground for a second phase of migration onward (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat 2015). Smugglers and traffickers work in and near the camps, meeting with prospective clients and setting prices and plans (van Reisen & Rijken 2015). The Eastern Migratory Route, which runs south-to-north from the camps in Sudan along the desert and into Egypt before breaking east to the Sinai Peninsula and along the Mediterranean into Israel, is the

setting of this story. In the Sinai desert, the migration route runs through the homelands of several Bedouin tribes, from whom many of the traffickers originate (Fisseha 2015). It is in this desert that the sites of abduction, torture, rape, organ removal, murder, and mass graves are described by survivors (McKennon & Estefanos 2011; Fisseha 2015).

The Badu are desperate. Since the 1990s, ancestral Bedouin lands have been sold out from under them under the guise of tourism development. Bedouin farmlands were auctioned off to the highest foreign bidders, leaving the people without their primary source of subsistence (Gerges 2012). The development projects promised to bring jobs to the area and boost the economy, but employers were not hiring Badu (Gerges 2012). Economic growth has left them in abject poverty. At the turn of the century, the Rashaida and al-Tarabin Bedouin tribes turned to the informal trades of smuggling food, medicine, weapons, and other goods into Palestine, growing illegal drugs, and smuggling people (Gerges 2012). Once the mass exodus from Eritrea began, two desperate groups of people clashed in the desert.

Refugees end up in the Sinai Desert either by wilfully engaging a smuggler or by having been kidnapped. Once refugees have made arrangements with smugglers whom they met in the camps, they begin their trek north toward the desert. However, there are several interviews with refugees who report having been abducted from fields, rivers and other areas near the refugee camps and forcibly brought into the desert (Mekonnen & Estefanos 2011; Amnesty International 2013). Upon reaching a certain point, they are sold to another group of smugglers who can take them through the desert to Cairo (EveryOne Group 2011; Amnesty International 2013). This group informs the refugees of their smuggling price and that they must pay now. Those that do not have the exorbitant price on them in cash are taken to a holding area where the torture and

ransom calls begin (EveryOne Group 2011).

“The refugees are kept in open areas with no bathrooms and very little food and water. They are forced to work in marijuana fields, and the women are raped repeatedly. Fees for release can be from \$20,000 to \$30,000 USD. Refugees are required to ask friends and family for the money, and are tortured while they are speaking to their loved ones in order to stimulate payment. If payment is not forthcoming, the level of the torture is increased. Organs are taken if necessary, to pay the fee.” (Fisseha 2015, 10)

On the other hand, despite the fact that most reports pit Badu against Eritreans and Sudanese, there are reports that the politics of human trafficking in the Sinai are not that clean cut. Many in Bedouin communities are developing interventions, reporting neighbours they believe are involved in harming refugees, and assisting refugees whom they come across (EveryOne Group 2011). The Rashaida are said to have ties and loyalties to both Bedouin and Eritrean cultures and peoples (Mekonnen & Estefanos 2011). Furthermore, several high-ranking Eritrean officials are said to be complicit in the trafficking of Eritreans (Mekonnen & Estefanos). The networks necessary to carry out such an extensive operation require more branches than just the Eritrean and Bedouin; there must be complicity as well by Egyptians, Israelis, Libyans and Sudanese.

Evidence of organ removal and trafficking is still considered anecdotal; however, the most consistent anecdotes include various mass graves of African bodies with evidence of surgical incisions and missing kidneys, livers and eyes, a car crash involving a well-known doctor who had several small refrigerators containing human organs in the vehicle, and mobile clinics with connections to hospitals in Cairo that handle the organ removal and transport (Pleitgen & Fahmy 2011; Mekonnen & Estefano 2011;

EveryOne Group 2011). Moreover, Israel has long been a hub for the organ trade (Efrat 2013). It is not likely coincidental that in a crisis involving illicit organ removal, the intended destination of a large percentage of the forced donors is Israel.

For religious reasons, Israel has an extremely low number of organ donors, giving rise to a market with very low supply but high demand (Padilla, Danovitch & Lavee 2013). Beginning in the early 1990s, Israel has been the nation that popularised transplant tourism, or travel for the purpose of commercial transactions for organs (Efrat 2013). While plenty of wealthy people from developed nations were traveling in search of organs and plenty of poor people from underdeveloped nations were traveling or receiving travellers in order to sell an organ, the Israeli government was paying its citizens to go out into the world in search of body parts (Budiani-Saberi & Delmonico 2008; Padilla, Danovitch & Lavee 2013). "As many as 20 patients from Israel may currently undergo kidney transplantation in the Philippines each month" (Budiani-Saberi & Delmonico 2008, 927).

“With authorization from the Ministry of Health, the Israeli Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) reimbursed patients for commercial transplantations performed abroad. In other words, public funds turned organ purchasing from a prohibitively expensive exercise into an affordable option that was within reach even for patients of modest means.” (Efrat 2013, 83)

This practice allowed for an industry around brokering organs for Israeli patients to flourish: locating donors, arranging travel, and securing medical staff and facilities (Efrat 2013). Due to the severe organ shortage and the custom transplant tour packages available, more and more Israelis chose to secure organs from foreign bodies (Efrat 2013; Padilla, Danovitch & Lavee 2013).

As awareness of the ways in which transplant tourism violated state laws in many of the source countries and exploited the desperation of the poor increased, Israel enacted legislation in 2008 that would prohibit the exchange of organs for commercial purposes (Budieri-Saberi & Delmonico 2008). Now, Israeli organ-seekers cannot pay another person for his/her kidney and must rely upon altruistic donation—in a country with one of the lowest rates of organ donation in the world. Within two years from the date of the enacting of this legislation, mass graves of Eritrean bodies with expertly stitched surgical cuts to the abdomen were dotting the Sinai desert (EveryOne Group 2011; Pleitgen & Fahmy 2011).

This Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship involves Eritrean migrants-as-enslaved, Bedouin and Eritrean traffickers-as-enslavers, Egyptian surgeons-as-enslavers, Israeli organ brokers-as-enslavers and organ recipients-as-enslavers. I categorise the Egyptian surgeons in this scenario as enslavers because the organ removal and transport is being executed by at least one surgeon from Egypt (Pleitgen & Fahmy 2011). If this surgeon is willing to travel out into the desert and operate on dead and dying Eritrean abductees, s/he must be aware of the signs on the donors' bodies of torture, and I am of the opinion that this surgeon does not follow consent protocols before removing and transporting the organs. This level of participation in organ trafficking exceeds complicity and settles squarely in perpetration. Similarly, the organ brokers must, as part of their job, be knowledgeable about the organ procurement methods. If the broker has a limited awareness that the organs are not procured in a way that is in compliance with international and Israeli law but has asked to be spared the details, I categorise him/her as complicit. However, if the broker is fully aware that the organs are being harvested from trafficking victims from the East African Migratory Route, that broker is an enslaver.

The organ recipient pays for the organ without ensuring that it was obtained via altruistic consent, s/he is complicit in the enslavement of forced organ donors. If the organ recipient is aware of the organ trafficking operation in the Egyptian desert, travels to Egypt in order to participate, and pays the broker and the surgeon to arrange for his/her receipt of an illicitly obtained organ, s/he is an enslaver.

Type II relationships are large-scale corporate and/or organised crime operations that tend to have several working parts. All of the enslavers involved in this relationship are motivated by the acquisition of economic and social capital, though the surgeons may also be motivated by cultural capital. The Bedouin enslavers may be indirectly motivated by the perceived loss of cultural capital as a by-product of disenfranchisement by the Mobarak regime. Although Eritrean migrants are aware of the risks of taking the Eastern Migratory Route, perhaps they are hearing more stories of survivors in Israel than they are of survivors from the Eritrean military and believe that migrating is the lesser of two great risks.

A different migration story taking place on the other side of the Arabian Peninsula shares the Type II designation with Sinai organ trafficking. On December 2, 2010, FIFA announced that Qatar's bid to host the 2022 World Cup was accepted (Human Rights Watch 2012). The bid included massive construction projects, including what would be the longest bridge in the world, multiple new stadiums, new hotels and an expanded airport (Human Rights Watch 2012). Qatar already has an enormous foreign workforce. Imported labour makes up "94 percent of Qatar's workforce—1.2 million of its 1.7 million residents—the highest percentage of migrants to citizens in the world" (Human Rights Watch 2012, para 3). The proposed construction projects for the World Cup would require more than a million more workers (Human Rights Watch

2012). The primary labour exporting countries that contribute to Qatar's workforce include Bangladesh, the Philippines and Nepal (Endo & Afram 2011).

Theoretically, the labour relationships between exporting South Asian nations and importing Gulf nations should be mutually beneficial. The natural resources of Qatar earn enough revenues for the government to provide generously for its citizens, the right to which is protected by the Constitution (Williams, Bhanugopan & Fish 2011). Citizens receive free education, free healthcare, free utilities, virtually free housing (Williams, Bhanugopan & Fish 2011). Qataris primarily work in the public sector, leaving a vast number of private sector jobs available.<sup>6</sup> All manner of low- and medium-skilled jobs need filling in all private sector industries, from care to construction to sanitation to customer service to manufacturing (Williams, Bhanugopan & Fish 2011). Several smaller South Asian nations have less jobs than people needing employment. Labour exportation allows jobs for workers who need them and remittances to families that would not have basic needs without them (Endo & Afram 2011). In fact, Bangladesh, the Philippines and Nepal credit 9.2%, 9.8%, and 29% of their respective GDPs to remittances from exported labour (World Bank 2013). Unfortunately, the exchange is not quite balanced.

While each labour exporting nation has unique issues surrounding protecting their migrant workers, several problems are similar across borders and cultures. For example, each country must deal with the dichotomy of regular and irregular migration; developing a labour migration process that is easy to navigate, accessible across ethno-linguistic, socio-economic, and gender lines, and consistently enforced is an important objective for labour exporting countries (Endo & Afram 2011). As well, establishing,

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<sup>6</sup> I have several Qatari friends who explained this to me; I also have a number of non-Qatari friends who live and work in Doha and who related the same information.

staffing, training and/or otherwise empowering a consular presence in Gulf states remains a distant goal for some nations (Endo & Afram 2011). A few exporting nations have an embassy in one or more of the Gulf states, and some even have appointed labour attachés (Human Rights Watch 2012). Most are still in the process of establishing and/or empowering these protections, however (Human Rights Watch 2012).

The initial problem is that workers from labour exporting countries are going into debt in order to get jobs. Labour recruiters — who tend to target rural areas populated by people with less access to education and information on intersecting topics such as labour law, migration, the Gulf states, the *kafala* system, or bilateral relations — are often unscrupulous in their practices (Endo & Afram 2011). Although most labour exporting nations now regulate international labour recruiters, there are workers among their populations that remain vulnerable to recruiters that manipulate the regulations. “The problem is caused by discrepancies between regulations, lack of enforcement of these regulations, as well as an unclear mix of legitimate and illegitimate fees” (Endo & Afram 2011, xii). The result is that workers are being charged exorbitant fees by recruiters for securing jobs, arranging visas, arranging travel, and even processing remittances.

“In order to pay for migration, Nepali workers borrow money from their family members and in 43 percent of the cases from local moneylenders (who charge high interest rates). As a result, remittances sent by migrant workers during the first year are typically used to repay their migration loans, limiting the amount of remittances available for their families.” (Endo & Afram 2011, 33)

Workers find themselves deeply indebted to labour recruiters, loan sharks, or both.

To complicate this initial issue, when workers arrive in Qatar, there are a number

of new problems to navigate. Some workers, upon arrival, are presented with a contract that is different from the one they signed in their home country, and is in a language they cannot read (Human Rights Watch 2012; Crocombe 2014). Many have their passports confiscated and are introduced to living and working conditions that are substandard, dangerous and different from what they were promised (Pattison 2013; Crocombe 2014; Beck 2015; Wells 2015). Many report doing jobs that are different from what they agreed to before migrating (Human Rights Watch 2012; Pattison 2013; Crocombe 2014). Many report having their movements and communication restricted, as well as food, water and salaries withheld (Human Rights Watch 2012; Pattison 2013; Crocombe 2014; Beck 2015; Wells 2015). There are numerous reports of violence against those who attempt to leave (Human Rights Watch 2012; Crocombe 2014). There is also the steady stream of workers who return home in coffins (Pattison 2013; Beck 2015; Wells 2015). More than a million construction workers are held in a dusty, hidden, enclosed housing complex in Qatar (Wells 2015). Dozens are stuffed into tiny rooms without electricity, proper ventilation, air conditioning, or running water, after having worked up to 12 hours in temperatures that can exceed 40 degrees Celsius (Beck 2015; Wells 2015). The sewage systems serving the complex are overflowed (Beck 2015; Wells 2015).

The deaths are perhaps the most concerning, however. Qatar's Ministry of Labor stated that from 2009-2012, work-related accidents had claimed six workers (Human Rights Watch 2012). In just 2010, however, the Nepali embassy stated that 191 Nepali workers had died (Human Rights Watch 2012). While 19 of those took place at work sites, 103 more died from cardiac arrest "though workers do not fall into the typical age group at risk for cardiac failure" (Human Rights Watch 2012, para 15). According to an

investigation by *The Guardian*, workers from Nepal “died at a rate of one every two days in Qatar in 2014,” and Play Fair Qatar estimates “[m]ore than 62 workers will die for each game played during the 2022 tournament” (Wells 2015, para 16-17). Back home, family members who may have mortgaged their homes or sold all their belongings or taken out loans with high interest rates in order to send someone to Qatar for work must now find ways to handle these debts without any hope of Qatari remittances, and must add burial costs to their ledgers (Endo & Afram 2011).

Journalists, NGOs, and the international community have applied consistent pressure on the Qatari government, FIFA, and the building contractors and subcontractors to ensure that the violations of the workers’ human rights are addressed and redressed. Unfortunately, not much has changed (Wells 2015). Responses from the offending organisations tend to regurgitate language around policies and their theoretical applications rather than practical protections and interventions (Human Rights Watch 2012); meanwhile, “[a] total of 441 migrant workers from India and Nepal died in Qatar last year, subjected to dangerous working conditions, extreme temperatures, slave-like employment terms, and squalid living conditions” (Wells 2015, para 2). The Qatari Ministry of Labor points to labor inspection records showing few to no violations. However, “Qatar employs only 150 labor inspectors to monitor the conditions of 1.2 million workers. According to labor ministry officials, none of these inspectors speak languages commonly spoken by workers in the country and inspections do not include worker interviews” (Human Rights Watch 2012, para 18). The *kafala* system of visa sponsorship effectively ties a worker to his/her employer with little oversight on violations of regulations governing the employer-employee relationship (Crocombe 2014). Therefore, if workers can find a way to lodge a complaint with the Ministry of Labor,

there are no protections while the complaint is investigated. “Workers who turned to the Complaints Department stopped receiving salaries and could no longer stay in company camps after their employers received notice of their complaint” (Human Rights Watch 2012, para 20). The exploited workers must effectively accept the dehumanising circumstances or risk being homeless, jobless, penniless, without ID and without a visa in a foreign country.

The relationship between the labour migrant, the Qatari government and its contractors, and FIFA qualifies as a Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship because although these organisations are all legal, well-known and even claim to have functional policies to prevent enslavement, they are still enslaving workers for the purpose of amassing economic and social capital. The Qatari Ministry of Labor as well as the Supreme Committee, which is in charge of all plans for World Cup 2022, have agreed publicly to address the complaints of the workers and their advocates, but are powerful enough to pay only lip service to this agreement and maintain its winning bid (Amnesty International 2015). For example, the Ministry of Labor has amended the law to require employers to pay workers exclusively via direct bank deposits; however, employers had until the end of August 2015 to implement this law and the Ministry of Labor retains the option to extend this deadline indefinitely (Amnesty International 2015). The primary construction contractors, including CH2M HILL, Lusail Real Estate Development Company, Bechtel, Aspire Logistics, and Carillion, also released statements of their policies and that they will investigate the claims, but nothing has changed in the three years since the first comprehensive reports of slavery-like conditions were released (Human Rights Watch 2012). While FIFA released a statement in response to the findings of the Ethics Committee on allegations of bribes in connection with Qatar’s win-

ning of the 2022 bid (FIFA 2014), the organisation has yet to say a word regarding the enslavement of 1.5 million migrant workers in the carrying out of that same bid.

### **Context for the Enslaver**

As was mentioned earlier in the chapter, the Bedouin-traffickers-as-enslavers have been systematically disenfranchised in their ancestral lands by the Egyptian government, and have turned to organised crime in order to survive. This organised crime includes the cultivating of marijuana, refugee smuggling and the trafficking of supplies to Palestine. While those activities could easily qualify as self-defence and means for survival, not to mention solidarity with peoples also being pushed out of their homelands, the brutality of abduction, rape, torture, and organ extraction that they have added to their list of income generators requires a different psychological state. It is possible that the brutality exacted upon the Badu by the Egyptian government and the private development firms that took over their lands has bred a desperation that translates into hostility toward any foreigner who seeks to enter Bedouin lands without permission, but it is important to note that all of the Badu in that area are being marginalised and only two tribes are participating in the brutalising of Eritrean refugees. Unless there is a dimension to this that escapes me, it seems to me that the Bedouin-traffickers-as-enslavers misrecognise themselves as the masters of the Eritrean-refugees-as-slaves, when in a Hegelian sense, they are enslaved to both the Egyptian government and to whomever they sell the extracted organs. If their primary motivation for participating in the organ trade involves a desire to maintain complete control of everything that happens in their ancestral lands, then perhaps they are enslaved to an image of themselves that they fear is vanishing.

It is also important to note that the Bedouin traffickers and the surgeon(s) with

whom they work carry out what is the most glaringly illegal aspect of the ring's operation. Once the organs are supplied to a broker or directly to a recipient, the rest of the transaction is above board in most countries, and certainly in Israel. The surgeons likely misrecognise themselves as the masters of both the traffickers and the forced donors; they may even feel as if they are in control of the brokers and the brokers' clients. On both sides, they recognise themselves as holding lives in their hands. Due to the massive demand and what is globally perceived as a limited supply, the surgeon-as-trafficker is alone in his/her understanding that as long as there are kidnappers for hire and people seeking to extend their lives, there is an endless supply of slaves on either end of the transaction.

The broker-as-enslaver may or may not know that the organ was ill-gotten. If the surgeon that the broker is working with convinces him/her that the organs are from near-death or recently deceased altruistic donors, then the broker may not be aware that s/he is involved in the enslavement of others. However, if the broker is aware and either chooses to remain ignorant of the details or is fully aware of the details, s/he is consciously involved as an enslaver. The broker profits directly from this illicit trade. S/he recently had to adjust to new organ acquisition laws and is more likely than not aware of what it takes to get someone to give up a part of one's body for a stranger. The broker misrecognises himself/herself as the master of the slave, but when the laws were passed in 2008 and the legal means for bribing a kidney off of a poverty-stricken person was no more, s/he likely felt like a slave to the enslaved. When the broker's booming business was curtailed the broker found himself/herself facing poverty; having made a lucrative business from exploiting the poor, the possibility of joining their ranks would have been an enormous motivation.

The recipient-as-enslaver also may or may not know that the organ was ill-gotten. His/her broker may have gone to great lengths to convince him/her that there is a donor near death who heard of the recipient's need and has requested to altruistically donate his/her organ to this particular recipient. In that case, the recipient likely does not perceive of himself/herself as a master or a slave. However, if the recipient is aware that the organ is ill-gotten, s/he misrecognises his/her life and health as more important than any other person's life, but simultaneously feels enslaved to those with healthy organs and self-determination to refuse to donate them altruistically.

In the case of Qatar, recruiters-as-enslavers are often co-ethnic and co-gendered with their target market, and but for an opportunity or two at social mobility, would have been in the same position as their target market. Just like the Bedouin traffickers, they may feel an immense pressure to exploit others in order to ensure their own survival. In this way, they will likely vacillate between misrecognising themselves as masters of those enslaved and recognising their own vulnerability to being slaves to the enslaved. Furthermore, as with the Israeli organ brokers, the recruiters are attempting to maintain their livelihoods while adjusting to new government regulations; in this way, they may feel as if they are masters of the enslaved but slaves to the government.

The Qatari government-as-enslavers enslaves by proxy. By deliberately importing labour and then deliberately not sufficiently intervening when that labour is severely exploited by contractors and sub-contractors, both the Ministry of Labour and the Supreme Committee are sponsoring the enslavement of migrant workers. In this way, the government participates in enslavement but recognises itself as the master of the enslaved. While Qatar needs 1.5 million migrant workers to complete its proposed projects, there are far more than 1.5 million workers seeking to enter Qatar to fill those

positions; in this way, the Qatari government perceives its enslaved as expendable and endlessly replaceable. Furthermore, the Qatari government is much more concerned with maintaining its bid than it is with bilateral relations with the governments of nations from which it imports labour. FIFA's Ethics Committee reviewed Qatar for corruption, but only in relation to allegations of bribery in winning the bid — not for violations of migrant workers' human rights. There are those in the international community and in the human rights private sector to whom the Qatari government behaves as if it answers to, but in the five years since the bid was won, no measurable interventions have been implemented.

The contractors-as-enslavers misrecognise themselves as masters of the enslaved. In much the same way the Qatari government quickly imports plane-load after plane-load of workers, the contractors happily replace those workers that complain, escape, or die. The contractors' misrecognition, however, is based upon the fact that they are not actually masters of the enslaved; they are slaves to the enslaved. The contractors must answer to shareholders in a much more substantial way than any of the other enslavers involved. The contractors' brands are susceptible to drastic shifts in consumer perception and loyalty, and subsequently, shareholder loyalty. Should the allegations get too loud and the evidence become too irrefutable to ignore, contractors could be forced to give up the bid mid-contract. Just as Qatar can replace migrant workers, it can replace contractors.

FIFA-as-enslaver, much like the surgeons-as-enslavers, is too important to care. It recognises itself as master of the enslaved. It is not beholden to the enslaved. It is not beholden to the Qatari government, just as it was not beholden to the Brazilian or South African governments when football stadiums were raised on the backs of exploited

labour in World Cups past. By uniting the world in its love for football, FIFA has positioned itself as infallible.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus inhabits an interesting space in Type II enslaver-enslaved relationships. Because the structures that hold Type II enslavement in place tend to be systemic, the enslavers tend to participate as members of a network. Because the process of habitus — or the process by which we produce and reify cultural norms, mores and objects — encourages normalisation, the process that allows for exploitation to become systemic also normalises that exploitation. We become accustomed to associating enslavement with certain groups.

The same process applies to our understandings of 'health' and 'football.' The ways in which the human body is constructed in various societies is dependent upon the culture in which that body lives and moves. The value of each individual body, too, depends upon the culture in which those bodies live. In cross-cultural and transnational situations, miscommunications about the value of bodies, health, work, and autonomy abound, because the constructs that comprise the cultural contexts of all those topics have formed differently. Both examples of Type II relationships in this chapter feature the valuing of the life of a person in one cultural context over the life of a person in another cultural context.

In the organ trafficking example, even definitions of vital and non-vital organs is different. In societies in which poverty does not reach a low at which selling an internal organ is considered an attractive opportunity, the definition of 'vital organs' is relatively different than those with a more prevalent and profound variety of poverty. The juxtaposition of a government that covers costs for its citizens to purchase organs from people who are not dead or near death with a government that does not even provide universal

healthcare for its citizens provides a clear representation of the cultural differences that make up the context in which health and the human body are defined.

In the example of Qatar's bid for the World Cup, although Qataris and migrant labourers may share many cultural values — such as a love of football, a desire for social mobility, and perhaps even adherence to Islam — they exist within very different paradigms of what entails quality of life. For Qataris, free education, housing, and healthcare are their birthrights; for labour migrants, they are the end goals of dreams. These differing cultural contexts allow for differing definitions of work and fair compensation, of nationalism, of xenophobia, of poverty, and of social mobility.

The Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship is motivated by the acquisition of social and economic capital; but in the following paragraphs, I will explore the importance of all three Bourdieusian forms of capital to the Type II relationship. The trafficker-as-enslaver stands to acquire large amounts of social capital via the organ trade. While the terminally ill represent a huge demand in the organ market, there are many others that demand organs as well. Some of these include medical schools and teaching hospitals, pharmaceutical laboratories, certain spiritual communities, and bio-tech research laboratories. Having control of a seemingly endless supply of desperate bodies that are vulnerable to abduction and organ extraction could make these traffickers very popular across the globe. This social capital can easily be transformed into economic capital, as each of the connections would be interested in economic exchange. Since the Bedouin traffickers are likely motivated by a drastic loss of economic and cultural capital, and the amassing of social and economic capital could allow for the buying back of ancestral lands, the Badu may be motivated to enslave via all three forms of capital.

The surgeons-as-enslavers are motivated by all three forms of capital. Surgeons-

as-enslavers stand to acquire social capital by participating in the organ trade by meeting new suppliers, new brokers, and an endless list of new recipients. Because the surgeon is breaking the law, particularly during the extraction, s/he may desire to limit the number of brokers s/he engages in order to continue operating undetected by the authorities. Surgeons also are motivated by the acquisition of economic capital. The organ trade is extremely lucrative in this form of capital. Finally, surgeons are highly motivated by the acquisition of cultural capital. While all human bodies have similarities, they are all different as well. Each time a surgeon performs an operation, s/he gains new insights into the range of possibilities of the human body. This topic alone is often enough motivation for a person to become a medical professional; therefore, the ability to conduct clandestine surgeries that focus on a few particular organs in repetition on one's own terms positions the surgeon to collect an impressive epistemology on which to expound to his colleagues.

The brokers-as-enslavers are motivated by social and economic capital. They seek an ever-expanding client list, as well as a steady supply of donors. Depending on how they operate, they may seek to amass a long list of surgeons to conduct the transplant, or they may seek to work exclusively with a few whom they trust. These social connections represent social capital. As Israeli transplant tourism brokers single-handedly inflated the costs of traveling for transplants, it is clear that they are motivated by the acquisition of economic capital.

The recipients-as-enslavers are motivated strictly by social capital. They invest economic capital in bypassing legal means for acquiring an organ transplant, and they do not stand to gain cultural capital from the exchange — unless learning to identify as a transplant tourist qualifies as acquiring cultural capital. Perhaps it does; more research

needs to be conducted with this particular group. Recipients stand to maintain their entire social existence by contributing to the enslavement of another in order to gain access to his/her organ.

The recruiters-as-enslavers in labour exporting companies are motivated to enslave migrants in debt bondage and to participate in their enslavement in the Qatari construction industry by the acquisition of social capital and economic capital. I do not believe recruiters to be motivated by the acquisition of cultural capital besides developing a rudimentary knowledge of how to interact with foreign contractors and other employers. Labour recruiters are motivated by social capital in that social mobility in labour exporting countries, such as Bangladesh, Nepal, India, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka, is quite low. In societies with low social mobility, social and economic capital often exist in the same or adjacent spaces. Therefore, access to one can increase opportunities for access to the other. By creating unnecessary fees and charges to labour migrants, recruiters are able to ensure debt bondage for at least a year in the best of employment circumstances. The remittances sent to repay loans that workers take out from recruiters for travel, visas and recruitment fees will allow the recruiters and their families access to education, neighbourhoods, and other social spaces that will contain opportunities for the acquisition of more social and economic capital. If the motivation were there to continue learning about the cultures into which the recruiters were sending the enslaved, perhaps they would be able to better equip those labour migrants.

The Qatari government-as-enslavers is motivated by economic and cultural capital. Winning the World Cup bid will bring a massive number of tourists to Qatar and Bahrain. Specifically, it will bring tourists who might not otherwise consider Qatar an exciting travel destination. However, once football fans get to see and experience the

many attractions available to tourists, they may return with their families and encourage others to visit via the sharing of positive experiences. This exercise of what is known as ‘soft power’ will swell the nation’s coffers with tourism and corporate sponsorship capital, and will also grow the production of tangible and intangible cultural objects that are understood as Qatari.

The contractors-as-enslavers are motivated by the acquisition of social and economic capital. By bidding with high budgets but hiring cheap labour and refusing to provide them with basic needs, such as adequate housing, operational air conditioning, potable drinking water, sufficient food, and the necessary protective gear, they are able to refrain from spending economic capital. By finishing the construction projects quickly and under-budget, they can expand their reputation throughout the international community, which will allow them to secure more contracts in the future.

FIFA-as-enslaver is motivated by economic and cultural capital. FIFA is not motivated by social capital because it already has enough social capital to manipulate governments. In order to maintain that power, however, it must continue to amass economic capital. Most importantly, however, FIFA seeks to amass cultural capital around the trans-global, unifying passion that people have for football. There are public and private organisations that implore FIFA to apply pressure on both governments and contractors to cease violations of the human rights of the poor in the process of preparing for the World Cup, but FIFA never gets involved.

### **Context for the Enslaved**

The Eritrean refugees-as-enslaved are extremely vulnerable both physically and psychologically. Escaping the violence of the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict and disillusioned by the brutality of their own government, they have embarked upon a journey in

which they are extremely dependent upon the kindness of others. As such, they likely feel enslaved to the whims of the smugglers even if they engaged the refugees with kindness and reassurances. Although the Bedouin traffickers and smugglers are vulnerable as well, the Eritrean refugees may or may not be aware of these political dynamics; furthermore, they may or may not have the capacity nor the interest in leveraging those dynamics in their interactions with the Badu. On the other hand, those refugees with cultural links to the Rashaida, as well as knowledge that certain Eritrean officials are complicit in the abductions plaguing Eritrean refugees, might be fully aware of the political dynamics motivating the Bedouin traffickers. In those cases, the Eritrean refugees-as-enslaved may recognise the Bedouin as slaves to the enslaved. In both situations, however, the Eritrean refugees may recognise themselves as vulnerable, but regardless of the violence perpetrated upon their bodies and the bodies of their fellow refugees, they may never subscribe to the belief that the Badu are their masters. In fact, as Eritreans are likely Christian or Muslim, it is unlikely they perceive their Muslim neighbours who are oppressing them as inherently greater.

The Eritrean refugees forced to give up an organ may, similarly, feel physically and mortally vulnerable to the surgeon(s)-as-enslaver(s). Additionally, after weeks of torture and deprivation by their traffickers, they may have suffered such psychological and physical trauma, they may be in such a state as to misrecognise the surgeon as master. The surgeon, in extracting an organ, has provided the means for settling the enslaved's debt to the Badu, thus signalling an end to the torture. However, if the Eritrean-as-enslaved maintains a perception of each enslaver that s/he comes in contact with as sub-human because of the violence they have the capacity to perpetrate upon their fellow man, then the enslaved would never actually recognise such a person as his/her

master. It is possible that a broker-as-enslaver accompanies the surgeon on trips to the desert to secure organs. If an Eritrean refugee-as-enslaved comes into contact with a broker-as-enslaver in the company of the surgeon-as-enslaver, the refugee will likely perceive the broker in much the same way that s/he perceives the surgeon.

The migrant labourer in Qatar might similarly feel physically and psychologically vulnerable to those parties that are participating in his enslavement, but it is not likely he will recognise those parties as being his master. The migrant labourer likely views the recruiter in a positive light until the reality of the debt bondage robbing his remittances to his family sets in. Although the labourer is financially and legally at the mercy of the recruiter, he may or may not recognise himself as enslaved. He likely does not recognise the recruiter as his master, however. The labourer-as-enslaved is more likely to feel physically and psychologically enslaved to the contractor, particularly if he has witnessed co-workers dying of heart attacks or accidents, or co-workers becoming indigent after lodging a complaint. He likely would not believe the contractor to be his master, however. He likely sees the power dynamic as imbalanced and unjust, and may feel powerless to change it. It is not likely, however, that he believes that the contractor-as-enslaver is his master.

The labourer may, however, vacillate between moments of recognition and moments of misrecognition in his perceptions of the Qatari government and FIFA. Both organisations are immensely powerful and are not represented by a single human being upon which the frustrations of oppression can be projected by the oppressed. Both organisations are unknowable entities, at least in comparison to a single recruiter and a group of contractors. On the other hand, once the initial impression has worn off through continued dehumanisation at the sponsorship of both the Qatari government

and FIFA, it is possible that the labourer-as-enslaved will perceive Qatar as corrupt and detestable and FIFA as exploitative rather than celebratory.

In Bourdieusian terms, the process of habitus is instrumental in the construction and perpetuation of ideas of survival, of sacrifice, and of migration. In both examples of the Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship, the enslaved are motivated to migrate away from dangerous spaces and toward dangerous spaces as a means for survival. The dangers are present regardless of whether or not the migrants are moving through regular or irregular channels. As well, the dangers increase as the journey progresses. During their migration, both groups of enslaved are asked to further sacrifice their dignity and their bodies for the benefit of their enslavers; however, they may submit to the sacrifice for the benefit of their loved ones instead. The refugees are asked to encourage their families to sacrifice everything, under torture, in order to allow the refugee to continue on his/her journey. If the terms are not met, the refugees must sacrifice their organs and their lives. The labour migrants are asked to leave all that they know, and to go into debt doing so, in order to gamble on a wage high enough to raise the standard of living for their loved ones. In much the same way that the Bedouin traffickers ask the families of the enslaved for ransom in order to allow passage through Sinai and on to Israel, the recruiters ask the families of the enslaved for exorbitant travel costs, fees, and interest in order to allow passage to Qatar. Once in Qatar, the migrants are then asked to further sacrifice their work, their safety, their health and their mental stability for the benefit of organisations that have no respect for them or for the work they have already contributed.

The enslaved are motivated to enter into Type II relationships by the acquisition of social, economic and cultural capital. The refugees-as-enslaved seek to develop new

social connections before, during and after the journey in order to successfully escape the violence in Eritrea to settle in Israel, and to pave a migration route that is safe for others to follow. They also seek to settle in countries that will allow them to work and earn economic capital with which to cultivate a new life. Finally, the refugees are motivated by the acquisition of cultural capital through joining the Habesha Diaspora in Israel, as well as learning the culture of a temporarily adopted nation and striking a balance between assimilation to a new culture and the keeping alive of the old.

The migrant labourers-as-enclaved are also motivated by social, economic and cultural capital. They have elected to travel to Qatar for the expressed purpose of earning a higher wage than is available to them in their home countries. This decision will allow them to amass economic capital, of course, but that economic capital provides access to social capital, understood as social mobility. Remittances from Qatar will provide basic needs for loved ones, such as adequate food, water, housing, education, clothing and healthcare for their family members. Furthermore, it can take the form of investments in small business ventures that will ensure sustainable economic growth and sustained access to social mobility for generations to come. As well, creating employment connections with a good and trustworthy recruiter and contractor can ensure remittances for many years, as well as job security for younger family members once they reach the acceptable age to migrate internationally for work. The opportunity to acquire cultural capital is attractive as well. Living in a new country provides opportunities for learning new languages, cultures, philosophies, methods, arts, and histories. In joining more than a million other migrant labourers from all over South Asia, it also provides the opportunity to create lasting bonds across borders.

### **Case Study: Diamond miners**

The diamond industry has created a situation in which diamonds are a resource curse to the communities in which they are discovered. Diamonds continue to be a source of disenfranchisement for the communities in which they are discovered. Although atrocities surrounding the diamond trade are popularly attributed to African civil wars, disturbing mining practices are rampant in mines around the world regardless of their proximity to armed conflict (Wilson 2010). Due to their immense economic worth, it would seem that the communities that have diamond mines would be economically stable; however, the situation is just the opposite. “In 2004, worldwide sales of rough diamonds hit a record level of \$11.2 billion, and diamond jewellery sales increased by 6 percent to a total of \$65.5 billion” (Wilson 2010). DeBeers Sociéte Anonyme sold 48 percent of the world’s total—and reported earnings for the year of \$652 million (Wilson 2010). That wealth is not reinvested in the mining communities in any substantial manner. The miners are paid a pittance for their role in diamond extraction and collection. “For an entire day’s work of digging or washing, a digger will only receive a cup of rice and a few thousand leones (around 50 cents to \$1)” (Parmar & Wells 2008, para 8). The discovery of diamonds in communities such as the Kono diamond mining region of Sierra Leone has produced the opposite of economic development. The nation currently has 35% literacy rate and a life expectancy of 40 years (Parmar & Wells 2008).

Informed consumption is on the rise, and precious metals retailers and consumers have been primed to begin contributing to a more balanced retail industry. There is an increased demand for diamonds, particularly from China, India and the Middle East, but the US remains the world’s largest market for retail diamonds (Bradley 2009). People still want to show love with diamonds, but they want to also be socially con-

scious consumers. The market is ripe for a campaign that will encourage consumers to favour retailers with proven methods of working for fair and just supply chains.

Diamond retailers are concerned enough with their image to start making some changes. A few "industry leaders such as Helzberg Diamond Shops, Sterling (Signet), and Tiffany & Co. have taken stronger measures" than most "to combat conflict diamonds, including third party auditing" (Gooch 2008, 204). Even the Diamond Trading Company (DTC) - formerly DeBeers – claims that it produces 40 percent of the world's diamonds from its industrialised conflict-free mines and stopped buying on the open market in the mid 1980s (Doulton 2006). At the 2007 Oscars, De Beers spent millions to persuade stars to wear diamonds in return for a donation to South African charities (Doulton 2006).

“It is surprising that on the whole people are not interested in the provenance of diamonds,’ says Bob Gannicott, CEO of Aber Corporation. ‘But we are not being glib and, in the future, people will be more interested in where their diamonds are from.’ Daniel White of the DTC agrees: ‘Even if the consumer doesn't care, we have to be conflict free.’ So in the end it comes down to trust and the big names have a reputation to maintain.” (Doulton 2006, para 1)

As consumers increasingly have access to information about the practices of their favourite brands, it is extremely important for corporations to be able to show a strong track record of best practices.

In the pre-World War II/post-Depression era of the 1930s, The De Beers Company created the image of the diamond solitaire as a symbol of eternal love (Gooch 2008). This proved to be one of the most successful US marketing campaigns to date. The campaign first targeted US consumers, but it found continued success throughout

North America and Western Europe since the 1940s, in Japan since the 1960s, and now consumers throughout Northeast Asia and the Middle East also buy into the concept that a diamond engagement ring is the 'traditional' engagement token (Pequignot 2010). In addition to re-shaping the way in which consumers think about diamonds, DeBeers also began massively stockpiling rough-cut diamonds in order to maintain market scarcity, and subsequently, high market value (Spar 2006). The result of this type of market control is that no matter how common diamonds actually become, they will continue to be marketed as the most rare and precious of stones. DeBeers' control of the diamond trade is so absolute that extremely few have successfully negotiated for more than a modicum of control.

“In 1981, for example, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now Congo) decided to stop selling his country's industrial-grade diamonds to the syndicate. DeBeers responded by flooding the market with industrial diamonds from its stockpile, bringing the price of Zairian diamonds down by 40 percent. By 1983, Zaire agreed to renegotiate its contract with DeBeers on far less favorable terms than before.” (Spar 2006, 199)

This sort of market manipulation, coupled with the tradition of corporate and government corruption around African natural resources, has given rise to a diamond mining industry that is unrivalled in the dichotomy that exists between the value of the resource and the destruction its extraction wreaks upon the mining communities.

In 2006, Amnesty International encouraged the Kimberley Process “to start considering moving beyond conflict diamonds and including in the certification system other human rights implications of the trade in diamonds” (Parmar & Wells 2008, para 23). In Sierra Leone, “while the AK47's and the child soldiers have since disappeared,

many Sierra Leoneans still struggle to gain a decent livelihood, despite six years of postwar aid and development programs” (Parmar & Wells 2008, para 2). Lots of workers turn to mining despite the brutality of the mining companies because few opportunities exist, ironically, amid so much natural wealth. Many children are forced to mine because their families are too poor to put them in school. Some dig to support younger siblings’ education (Parmar & Wells 2008). Due to corporate trickery and government corruption, the miners and their communities not only are kept from benefiting from the diamonds that their home yields; the discovery of diamonds is destroying their lives.

The extent of the corruption in the diamond trade is astonishing. The Kimberley Process for Certification is a voluntary system of warranties that ensure a gem’s conflict-free origin. Recently, “the organisation suspended [Zimbabwe’s] official sales in November after allegations that troops guarding the fields had, among other atrocities, massacred more than 200 suspected illegal panners” (The Economist 2010, para 2). Although the Kimberley Process is taking measures to punish wrongdoing, there is little confidence in its ability to enact change. I will go into this at greater length elsewhere in this memorandum, but this is due in no small part to the Kimberley Process’ own rampant internal corruption. According to a recent report in *The Economist*,

“Abbey Chikane, a former boss of the South African Diamond Board who was appointed the [Kimberley Process]’s first head, recommended in a report leaked earlier this month that Zimbabwe be allowed to resume sales, despite reports of continuing human-rights abuse and the sale of uncertified diamonds on the black market, with proceeds going into the pockets of a group of ZANU-PF bigwigs and army officers.” (Zimbabwe’s Diamonds: Blood and Dirt 2010, para 5)

If the system of guaranteeing the cleanliness of a diamond is itself dirty, how can we call it a solution? The Kimberley Process doesn't concern itself with objectionable practices like the use of child labor in India, where most diamonds are polished. Most critics agree that a boycott isn't the answer, as diamond-mining communities still would not benefit (Navarro 2006). To ensure that the diamond industry does not support deeper cycles of exploitation, the elimination of the practice of child mining and inhumane mining conditions is a crucial next step.

Over the past few decades, DeBeers and the diamond cartel has faced major political shifts that have rocked the diamond industry, including the fall of South African apartheid, the fall of communism in Russia, the opening of major mines in Canada and the emergence of a worldwide movement against “blood” or “conflict” diamonds (Spar 2006). People still want to show love with diamonds, but they want to also be socially conscious consumers.

“Bridal experts say the preference for diamonds will surely endure because of aesthetic and cultural factors. But at the same time, many brides have been emphasizing individuality by forgoing the traditional for the unique or cool, and some have ditched the diamond altogether for a colored gem like a pink or blue sapphire. Other customers shun diamonds from Africa in favor of diamonds from Canada, antique diamonds or synthetic stones.” (Navarro 2006, 2)

Knot.com, a popular wedding preparation website, states that illicit diamonds are the topic of intense debate on its message boards. “This is supposed to be a symbol of all things good and I don't want to look down on my finger and think of women and children being killed.' It undermines the entire meaning of that ring” (Navarro 2006, 1).

Rights groups suggest going to retailers who can show a guarantee that the diamonds are conflict free. A recent 2007 survey by Amnesty International USA and Global Witness shows that the \$33 billion per year American jewelry retail industry fails to take adequate measures to help consumers avoid conflict diamonds (Gooch 2008). Most stores don't have a policy, a survey by the human rights groups showed (Gooch 2008). Instead of relying upon diamond retailers to make choices about supply chains, consumers would benefit greatly from becoming more educated and selective. Buy from retailers that invest in the communities from which they take so heavily.

In my field research in Sierra Leone, I conducted semi-structured interviews with diamond miners in three different alluvial mines in the Kono region. From these semi-structured group interviews, I learned much regarding the subtle and not-so-subtle shifts in power dynamics in the three phases of diamond mining over the past 20 years. For those miners who experienced forced labor under threat of disfigurement or death, I have extracted quotes to determine whether or not they fit within the framework.

Diamond miners are male, generally older than primary school age, and living in poverty. The underage miners are working in lieu of attending secondary school in order to contribute to the household income. The adult miners have wives, children, and often other family members to support. All have been mining since they were children. Some miners work seasonally in agriculture or tourism hospitality, working in mines only in the off-seasons. Most of the miners have experiences in forced labor. Some of them also have experience as forced and child soldiers.

The mineral extraction industry has been so fraught with conflict, exploitation and bloodshed that the relatively calm yet still exploitative working conditions that miners experience now seems almost tolerable. In an interview with an alluvial miner in

the second mine I visited, he told me:

“I am now making 2,000 leones per day (\$0.50 USD), and with that I must feed my family. It is not enough to feed my family, so it is bad. I have my wife and 3 small children. For me to provide for my family, I need 10,000 leones per day, but for my work I receive only 2,000.” (Personal communication 2012)

In the same mine, on that same day, I interviewed three other miners. Each miner received a different wage for performing the same tasks; one receives 5,000 leones per day, one receives 3000 leones’ worth of rice per day, and one only receives pay if he finds a diamond. I was informed that miners do not discuss their wages with each other unless they are the closest of friends and can trust each other. Of the 23 miners I interviewed during the trip, not one made the living wage of 10,000 leones per day for the backbreaking work of diamond mining.

When I asked them if anyone is forced to work in the mines, every single person I interviewed in each of the three mines said no. In the second mine, two men took turns explaining to me that during the war, many of them were forced to work in the mines under threat of dismemberment and death. But now, people can freely choose to work in the mines for a wage and without fear of physical harm. However, when I asked why they had chosen to become diamond miners, rather than agricultural workers, teachers, or carpenters, they all told me that mining is the only work available to them because they did not receive an education. The other jobs require literacy and mathematical skills, which they were deprived of during the war.

Before Sierra Leone’s bloody civil war broke out in 1992, the country was 65% literate. Sierra Leone is now 65% illiterate. During the decade that the conflict raged, communities were constantly on the move in search of safety, schools were burned

down or otherwise destroyed, and men, women and children conscripted into the mines to dig for diamonds. An entire generation was denied a formal education. Those children who were ten years old when the war broke out are now in their twenties, raising families, and largely unskilled and illiterate.

At the first mine I visited, as a group formed around me for a lively discussion, I asked if anyone working in the mine was under the age of 18. A chorus of convincing ‘no, no’ and the shaking of heads was my response. Approximately thirty minutes into the discussion, however, the youth who was the first to approach me explained that he was fourteen years old and had been working in the mines for many years. He said that he dreams of going to school but that he cannot and his siblings “cannot eat selfish dreams” (Personal communication 2012). He told me later that he wants to become a carpenter, but without courses in reading, writing, and math, none of the carpenters can take him on as an apprentice (Personal communication 2012).

An older gentleman who was not working in the mines but who, as he was passing by, noticed the discussion taking place and decided to join in, shared a very interesting piece of the resource curse puzzle. He said that the community is caught between “diamond companies and the NGOs,” and that the only hope for anyone who wants “to get out of the dirt” was to find a place in what he termed “the NGO economy.” I was to hear this term several times over the next few days. The NGO economy refers to the impact of large NGOs moving into an area in order to engage in charity or aid work, but who functionally ask the locals to perform poverty or some other type of oppression, take photos and videos of that performance, and then use the performance to solicit donations (Personal communication 2012). “Then they keep that paper money in their pocket and drop a few coins to the people for the show. No matter if you say diamonds

or petrol or poverty or babies, the outsiders benefit from everything our country makes. Everything” (Personal communication 2012). Some of the miners agreed with him and some did not. I was aware that those that did not agree with him may have been doing so in performance for my benefit; I was there with the backing of an NGO.

A few of the miners at all three mines had machete scars or amputated hands, feet, or limbs. At the first mine, I asked one young man to share the story of his experience working in the mines during the war, but he declined quietly to the interpreter, and after a half-beat of silence, the conversation moved on. Later, the interpreter informed me that some people can talk about losing a limb with ease and some cannot, and it seemed to him that the young man lost his limb in a way that still brings him shame. “You can think maybe he was to protect someone else, a sister or aunt or younger brother, and was not able to protect that person and also not himself. And now that person is lost together with his limb. This can make one to feel shame,” he explained.

Although the conflict has ended, the circumstances that led to it are still in place: the World Diamond Corporation (formerly known as De Beers) maintains control of about 80% of the diamonds that come out of that nation’s soil (Wilson 2010; Fisher 2007; Harvard Law International Human Rights Clinic 2009; Hilson 2003; Maconachie 2011). The remunerations go to corrupt government officials, foreign landowners and complicit local chiefs (Wilson 2010; Personal Communication 2012). The infrastructure continues to be too weak to support education programs for adults or children, and the nation is completely without electricity. Though it is oil-producing, fuel crises continue to restrict trade and other movements from the interior to the capital. NGOs continue to receive funding to continue operating in Sierra Leone with little sustained growth to show from their interventions. And with no opportunities other than to dig, there is no

place for conversation about ‘coercion’ and ‘consent.’ Digging is still a matter of life and death; the difference is death by machete or death by starvation.

## **Conclusions**

The Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship is perhaps the most recognisable of the four types delineated in this monograph, as this type of relationship receives the most media attention. It involves large-scale sex and/or labour exploitation operations in which the enslaver seeks to amass economic and social capital, and the enslaved becomes vulnerable to exploitation due to seeking any form of capital that will ensure survival and social mobility.

The situation of organ trafficking along the East Africa Migratory Route (EAMR) involves a number of actors that must work together in order to make sure that this slavery operation is successful. Eritreans (along with the occasional Somali, Ethiopian and Sudanese victims) must be driven out of their homelands and onto the EAMR. Eritrean officials and Sudanese security personnel must communicate with the Badu traffickers so that they can abduct their victims unchallenged. Various Badu tribes must provide safe passage through their territory for the traffickers, or be willing to purchase victims from those traffickers to continue along the route. The families of the victims must be frightened enough to send ransom money. Egyptian surgeons must be willing to participate in organ extraction and transportation. Israeli recipients must be willing to receive organs the origins of which are either unknown or known to be harvested illegally and immorally.

Similarly, migrant workers in Qatar must continue to be unable to find suitable work in their home countries, and their home governments must continue to rely upon

exported labour to bolster GDP while not providing adequate protections for their workers abroad. Qatar must continue to outsource any jobs requiring manual labour, and the purpose must be that manual labour is beneath Qataris. FIFA must continue to turn a blind eye to the practices of its contractors. If all of these circumstances continue to work together, the enslavement of migrant workers in construction in Qatar will continue unabated.

The process of othering in these spaces requires misrecognition of the enslaver groups in Eritrea, Sudan, Egypt and Israel as masters in order for the enslaved to survive. The enslaved may not need to ever actually misrecognise themselves as slaves, but they must perform 'slave' amidst torture and murder. Due to the disenfranchisement of the Rashaida and other Bedouin tribes, some of the traffickers among them may recognise themselves as enslaved to the income that the slaves' families and organs can provide. The Qatari government and FIFA leadership likely misrecognise themselves as masters, while the migrant workers likely perceive themselves and their enslavers in a variety of ways. Among each of the aforementioned parties involved, the acquisition of economic, social and cultural capital is omnipresent. Economic and social capital are the most sought-after in the Type II enslaver-enslaved relationship, but there are some parties that seek to acquire cultural capital as well.

The diamond miners do not self-identify as being enslaved, and therefore do not misrecognise themselves as slaves. They are clear that DeBeers/WDC and their middlemen are desperately dependent upon their backbreaking work as miners; the ten year civil war and the continued obstacles to diversifying the Sierra Leonean economy is proof enough of that.

The organ trafficking and forced labour examples explored in this chapter in-

volve multiple governments and private organisations. The case study involves a government, rebel forces, and a multinational corporation. These actors require interventions on a much different scale than do the domestic issues of restavecs, devadasis, and domestic minor sex trafficking. Issues of sovereignty and jurisdiction ensure that the arrest and even conviction of any one person will dismantle the enslavement operation. Interventions will need to include programming at each entry point mentioned in the second and third paragraphs of this conclusion, along with sincere interest in protections for those vulnerable to enslaving as well as those vulnerable to becoming enslaved.

## Chapter 7: Analytical Framework

### Type III: Hierarchy Fixated

As global society becomes increasingly egalitarian,<sup>7</sup> those that seek to resist this trend may become fixated on maintaining systems of hierarchy on a micro level. These individuals may seek to acquire a domestic servant for purposes of forced housework and/or physical, emotional and psychological abuse, they may seek to run a business in a manner that exploits workers that they identify as ‘other’; or they may undertake even less sustained activities in the control of othered bodies, such as ritual torture or bondage in pay-as-you-go outlets. Those enslaved in this relationship may or may not be aware of his/her rights, or may not perceive justice as being accessible, but were most likely vulnerable to exploitation before coming in contact with the enslaver. In this chapter, I will explore the phenomenon of the Type III enslaver-enslaved relationship within the sphere of international family building. Specifically, I will examine the existence of slavery within the practices of international marriage and international adoption. I will then examine the roles of both the enslaver and the enslaved in this type of relationship via a sociological lens. I did not collect primary data on this specific relationship type; however, I will discuss a case study from a secondary source and will deploy some insights from Survivor-Advocates in analysing this case study.

The institution of marriage and family is the cornerstone of virtually every society throughout history (Quale 1988). Strong, healthy families are the foundation upon which thriving societies are built. For this reason, the ways in which marriages and fam-

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<sup>7</sup> I am aware that there are strong arguments for and against this statement. To review some of the arguments for the global trend toward equality, see (Eberstadt 2014), (Ehrenfreund 2014) and (Tupy 2015). For arguments for the global trend toward egalitarianism, see (Darius & Alwin 2010) and (Baslevnt & Kirmanoglu 2015). For arguments showing simultaneous trends in both directions, see (Stille 2011) and (Ukhova 2015).

ilies are constructed are immensely regulated; kinship rules, marriage rituals, child-rearing norms, and familial power dynamics are among the most protected traditions of any culture (Quale 1988). As information, communication, market and migration flows increase in number, speed and frequency, and cultures continuously collide, we find ourselves re-evaluating and re-defining marriage and family in a global context. It is within this context that the international matchmaking industry is making its transition from a private, family-oriented affair to the public-facing, wholesale event it is today.

Internet matchmaking via international marriage brokers (IMBs) is a regulated industry in several countries, including the United States, the Philippines, South Korea and China (Jackson 2007; Jones 2011; Lee 2012; Kamler 2015). In 2010, as many as 15,000 marriages between American men and foreign women were arranged by the more than 400 internet matchmaking sites operating within the US, representing a marked increase from 6,000 marriages by 200 agencies in 1999 (VanderMey 2013). In South Korea, the number of IMB-facilitated marriages reached almost 30,000 in 2011 (Lee 2014). Internet matchmaking involves the introduction of men from developed countries to women from developing countries by a third party via an Internet website. The overarching idea is that men with financial stability and discontent with the marriage options in their immediate vicinity are able to meet women in relative or actual poverty who seek social mobility via marriage (Pehar 2003; Tran 2012). Both parties are, of course, also looking for love, companionship, and intimacy (Lee 2014). The internet matchmakers' websites usually hosts profiles of girls and women, a limited version of which can be easily perused for free by men (Pehar 2003; Jones 2011; Tran 2012; VanderMey 2013). Internet matchmaking sites can host as many as 150,000 profiles of women and girls seeking marriage (Tran 2012). If the men would like access to

more information about a particular girl or woman, such as her email address, he can purchase access (Tran 2012; VanderMey 2013). He can also purchase opportunities to chat with her, to video chat with her without audio, or to video chat with audio (VanderMey 2013). When a man and a woman or girl have communicated for a while, often with the assistance of a translator, they can decide to meet. The man will pay for a travel package, provided by the IMB, that will include airfare to her country, lodging and ground transportation, supervised introductions, dates, and a few formalities. These packages normally cost tens of thousands of dollars (Jones 2011; Kawaguchi & Lee 2012; Scobey-Thal 2015). Alternatively, a man can choose multiple online profiles that catch his eye and arrange travel via the IMB. When he arrives, all of the women and girls whose profiles he selected will be lined up for him to inspect. He can talk with each of them, choose the one he likes, and begin the marriage process. In some countries, they can marry during this trip should they decide to do so (Lee 2012; Kawaguchi & Lee 2012; Scobey-Thal 2015). Other countries require more proof of an established relationship and more sustained contact if they are going to issue a marriage visa to the bride-to-be (Jackson 2007). Once they are either formally engaged or married, and the visa from the groom's home country is issued, the new couple can begin a life together in his country.

Cross-cultural marriages are nothing new; they have for centuries been sources of joy and sources of terror and everything in between. The interesting intersections between traditions of inter-cultural family building and traditions of enslavement include socio-economic and geographic movement, imbalanced power dynamics, mis-matched expectations, the commodification of intimacy, and the enormous policy gaps that allow for extreme forms of exploitation. It is prudent to note here that not all marriages, cross-

border or not, Internet-facilitated or not, arranged by a matchmaker or not, result in slavery. Many arranged marriages have resulted in strong, happy unions. However, reports of women who have escaped enslavement via bride trafficking — and those who have died trying to escape — are common enough to warrant not only investigation, but official protection (Tahirih Justice Center 2015). “Immigration attorneys report that they are ‘frequently consulted by women [who came to the United States through an IMB listing] who are looking to escape from their abusive United States citizen spouse[s]’” ([Ignatius 2006] in Jackson 2007, 900). While abusive marriages are often categorised as domestic violence and not slavery, it is the added dimension of the husband having ‘purchased’ a wife, internationally displaced her under false pretences, restricted her movements, and controlled her through violence or the threat of violence that places it within the purview of slavery.

One of the red flags that makes ‘e-brides’ vulnerable to enslavement — and perhaps more importantly, attracts the kind of man who may be vulnerable to desiring ownership of another person — is the commoditised manner in which the brides-to-be are presented. Internet matchmaking sites feature profiles of available women and girls in a format that is similar to online catalogue shopping; you just scroll until you see something you like, spend a little time admiring it from different angles, then input your credit card information (Jones 2011). The superficial and generalised descriptions of the women and their cultures even have wording that is similar to online catalogues. The descriptions are both physical and behavioural (Jones 2011). The physical descriptions include height, weight, eye colour, hair colour, bodily dimensions, sometimes even bra cup size (Pehar 2003; Jones 2011). The behavioural descriptions generalise the women in ways that have been developed through years of interacting with prospective clients

to best appeal to their fantasies of how a traditional wife should behave. Here is one example:

“Here’s another wonderful component of the Filipina soul I’d like to talk about: humility. I think Asians are just naturally more humble than their Western counterparts. They haven’t grown up thinking they are entitled to everything they want. They are more realistic in their expectations of life... This is one reason Filipinas are more open to dating older men or men that are not necessarily ‘rich’ by American standards. They just want a guy who will love them and provide them with the necessities of life – that’s all. If more women had this kind of humility I think the world would be a better place.” (Jones 2011, 23)

This essentialist and Orientalist flattening of an entire population of women into a two-dimensional caricature of the humble, grateful, and ever accommodating damsel in distress is dangerous in a few very important ways. First, it creates an expectation of behaviour that originates not in a survey of the actual lives and dispositions of female members on the site, but in the barely informed, stereotyped, colonialist fantasies of the male members (Jackson 2007; Jones 2011). These women are real human beings; in fact, “[if] any generalizations could apply to such a diverse group of women, consider that they are considering leaving their home countries, families, and friends to marry and live in a new environment” (Jackson 2007, 899). Second, it ignores the fact that the vast majority of female members of these sites have joined in search of social mobility, opportunity and are exercising agency (VanderMey 2013). These women and girls “may be seeking greater professional opportunities in countries less beholden to traditional gender roles” (Jackson 2007, 899). After spending tens of thousands of dollars on mem-

bership to the site, brokerage fees, travel, gifts for her family, and visa expenses, a man who finds his wife is not the accommodating, subservient, obedient ‘doll’ he signed up for, would likely respond with resentment and frustration that could turn violent or could otherwise endanger the bride (Lee 2012). One example of how commonplace a reaction like this may be is the fact that many IMBs have a clause that states “if the woman/child is found to be a non-virgin, there is a money back policy” (Jones 2011, 23). Third, it discourages the processes of communication and compromise, which are fundamental to sustainable, healthy relationships (Le, Truong & Khuat 2014). The IMB websites are often structured in such a way that the men do all the perusing and choosing, and the women must wait to be chosen. This model places a valuation on the women based on how often they are chosen and to what extent the men care to develop (and pay for) their interactions. Fourth, by exoticising and fetishising ‘foreign women,’ this matchmaking model reinforces the idea that being white and male is the default setting for ‘human,’ and that everything should be catered to serve that setting (Jackson 2007). Jackson explains,

“IMBs package and promote gendered racism in the form of the fantasy wife of color, contentedly subordinate to husband and home, sexually available at any time, with no individuality or personality. This marketing perpetuates racist and sexist stereotypes, making immigrant women using IMBs attractive targets of people seeking someone to fit into a preconceived ideal, or seeking a servant rather than a spouse.” (Jackson 2007, 899)

While this is an oft-expressed ideal for IMB clients, the women offered to them are instructed to perform this ‘preconceived idea,’ whether it is congruent with their interests, personalities and needs or not. Although these marriages are presented as a balanced

exchange — a home for a homemaker, with love to hold it all in place — studies continue to show that the women and girls that become marriage migrants are highly vulnerable to harm by their husbands and their husbands’ families (Jackson 2007; Tahirih Justice Center 2015). During the conclusion of a trial questioning the constitutionality of the International Marriage Brokers Regulation Act (IMBRA),

“District Judge Clarence Cooper’s opinion noted severe violence directed against mail-order brides in states across the United States, and high rates of domestic violence against immigrant women, as well as the ‘estimated 70% of abusive U.S. citizen spouses, including those who consummate relationships through IMBs, [who] withhold the filing of the proper paperwork necessary to validate the legal status of their immigrant female partners ... to hold the threat of jail or deportation over the woman.’” (Jackson 2007, 921)

Part of the problem is that commodifying intimacy is always a tricky undertaking.

Whether or not a man starts out believing it is a fair exchange and that he is not purchasing a wife, there exists strong conditioning to perceive anything — or anyone — exchanged for money as belonging exclusively to the buyer. This is because “commodification includes not only actual buying and selling but also market rhetoric, the practice of thinking about interactions as if they were sale transactions, and market methodology, the use of monetary cost-benefit analysis to judge these interactions” (Radin [1987] in Lee 2014, 1250).

The fantasies for which the portrayal of the female members of the sites are created are not cultivated from a foundation of love, respect, and admiration for women. On the contrary, they are developed in resistance to the progression of equal gender rights movements. Indeed, the aforementioned descriptions often illustrate how foreign

women compare to the women of the men's home country, with special emphasis on buzzwords that are often identified as coded misogyny (Jackson 2007). "There is a clear hatred (or at best distaste) for the feminist agenda of substantive equality, economic empowerment and rejection of the female as a sexualized object" (Jones 2011, 23). The very decision to search for a foreign woman is often motivated by the rejection of trends toward egalitarian societies; the male, accustomed to being privileged in a patriarchal society, believes himself to be losing something whenever women — or whatever identity group the man perceives as encroaching upon his survival — take a step toward equality.

In China, the legacy of valuing boy children over girl children gave rise to a generation with plenty of male heirs and too few women to marry them and continue their bloodlines (Kamler 2015). This evidence of the indispensable nature of girl children, coupled with the higher marriage value placed on eligible Chinese women, is a feminist movement in itself. In search of more traditional, hardworking, obedient wives, IMBs from across Southeast Asia are sending marriage migrants to China (Kamler 2015).

In South Korea, as boys throughout the countryside took over operation of the family business, girls migrated to urban areas to become educated. The 'brain drain' from the countryside made it difficult for rural Korean men to find brides (Kawaguchi & Lee 2012). As well, the more educated Korean women became, and the more successful their careers, the less interested they were in exchanging the lives they have created for themselves for the more traditional role of housewife and mother — which is nearly inescapable in marriage, even in urban areas (Kawaguchi & Lee 2012; Scobey-Thal 2015). So many Korean women were refusing to marry that hundreds of thousands

of marriage migrants enter South Korea per year, primarily from Central and Southeast Asian nations (Kawaguchi & Lee 2012; Lee 2012; Scobey-Thal 2015). In response, international marriages and the identities of the children of these marriages are of great interest in popular Korean culture. There is even a Korean game show called *Global Talk Show* featuring a panel of foreign women from around the country that answer questions about their perceptions of Korean culture.

In the US, China and South Korea, men seem far more interested in marriage than women; they are willing to go to greater lengths to marry than are women. This is primarily because marriage, historically, provides far more security for men than it does for women (Ploubidis et al. 2015). Men hold a privileged position in traditional marriages; they are kings of their households. The rising notion that women are less interested in participating in that mini-monarchy requires the realisation that traditional marriage dynamics are often a huge sacrifice for women. That feeling of loss of position and privilege, that fear of being treated in the substandard way one has allowed others to be treated, is an extremely exploitable trait in capitalist society. The IMBs, no matter what region they represent, design their marketing and advertising to assuage the customers' fears of being pushed off the top of the hill. For that reason,

“[a]ll women marketed by IMBs are the same in one respect: in sharp contrast to U.S. women, portrayed as materialistic, career obsessed, and aggressive, every woman listed is traditional, home-oriented, loyal, and unselfish, putting husband and family first, with no needs or individuality of her own.” (Jackson 2007, 899)

Furthermore, the process by which a man feels triumphant against his perceived enemy by taking sexual gratification from that enemy's women underpins both rape as a weapon of war (Reid-Cunningham 2008; Kirby 2012) and the hypersexualisation and

fetishisation of foreign or ‘other’ women. Farley, Bindel & Golding explain “[the] ethno-sexualisation of ‘other’ women may be used to justify the objectification and exploitation of women of a different nationality” (Farley, Bindel & Golding 2009, 21). There exists the notion that masculinity is defined by the sexual conquest of women, and that marriage can be deployed as an extension of that conquest.

While sexual objectification and an aversion to feminism help to explain the rise in IMB-facilitated marriages, it is also important to explore the process by which a relationship that began as imbalanced expectations can become a Type III enslaver-enslaved relationship. In both the US and South Korea, there is a period of time in which the bride-to-be can legally be in the new country with her fiancée but does not yet have a permanent visa to remain in said country. In the US, the so-called ‘fiancee visa’ expires after 90 days (Jackson 2007). In South Korea, it can take up to two years for the process to be finalised (Lee 2012). During this time period, particularly if the woman is not extremely well-versed in immigration law and practices, she is vulnerable to the whims and manipulations of the man she has come to marry. Women escaping the conflict in Burma and looking for work in China are often sold into forced marriage. In an interview with Kamler (2015), a Kachin woman relates the following experience:

““That night I got in a fight with the Chinese man. I could speak more Chinese by then. I said, ‘I am not your legal wife. You bought me. I would like to go. I come here for work. I come here not because I love’... The Chinese man, however, responded by telling her, ‘You have no proof. We already paid the money and bought you. We can kill you and no one will ever know.’” (Kamler 2015, 218)

These loopholes are frequently manipulated to accommodate bride trafficking

for enslavement (MacLean 2012; Maclean 2014). In South Korea, I assisted a young woman<sup>8</sup> who had been encouraged to join an IMB's website by her parents, and she did so willingly. She met and married a Korean man and moved to his farm. After two years, she received her residency permit. Shortly thereafter, men who worked for the IMB came to the farm, abducted her, assured her husband they would send him a new wife, and trafficked her to Seoul for sexual slavery in a karaoke bar.

She is dependent upon him for orientation to the new surroundings, for transportation, for basic needs like food and shelter, for introductions to new social connections, and for her legal immigrant status. Bales & Soodalter (2009) discuss a phenomenon in which a person on whom another is heavily dependent begins to develop the desire to control that person. Furthermore, Jackson found that "dependence of one spouse upon the other in matters of daily life 'reinforces the likelihood that women will tolerate physical abuse from their husbands'" (Jackson 2007, 900) What is often meant by the coded word 'traditional' in reference to marriage denotes a dynamic in which the man exercises complete control and exclusive decision-making over the woman, and the division of labour is such that all domestic work is tasked to her. The desire to exercise complete control over another, or to apply the properties of ownership to a person, is the definition of slavery.

A similar phenomenon exists in the manipulation of policy gaps and loopholes in international adoption laws; those seeking to acquire a child slave can legally and relatively easily do so via international adoption (Twohey 2013). Though I had read anecdotal evidence of Korean adoptees in American families having been held in domestic

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<sup>8</sup> At the time, I was working with an organisation in Seoul called The Migrant Marriages Network and had befriended a number of women who had migrated to Seoul for marriage. I worked with this organisation from 2008-2009. The woman was Vietnamese. She did not participate in Migrant Marriages Network activities, but I was put in touch with her by a woman in the Network who knew her from Vietnam, and to whom she had reached out via a phone inside the karaoke bar.

servitude rather than treated like a family member, my first-person introduction to this phenomenon was in Los Angeles in 2010. I was meeting with two members of the Los Angeles Police Department Human Trafficking Task Force, who presented me with some details of a case. A few weeks earlier, a young Somali woman had been found wandering in the desert. A couple, driving through, stopped and offered her a ride. She did not speak English and was clearly in need of assistance. The couple brought her to a police station, where a translator surmised that the woman had been adopted from Somalia by an American family many years earlier and had been held in their home as a slave ever since. She had not been outside of the house in years and could not describe her surroundings. She did not know the full names of the family members and therefore could not identify them to police. She had not learned enough English to understand much about her captors in any context useful for finding and prosecuting them. She was forced to cook, clean and care for the children. As the eldest child grew up, he was tasked with locking her in a cupboard under the stairs each night. One night, he fell asleep watching television. She made a run for it. She had no plan and did not even know in which direction to run. She also was not an orphan; she described her extended family clearly and thoroughly, and described the day she was taken from them.

A similar case of child trafficking under the guise of altruistic child rescue and adoption took place in Haiti in 2010 in the aftermath of the January 12 earthquake. A group of ten Americans were stopped at the Haiti/Dominican Republic border with 33 Haitian children for whom they had insufficient and conflicting guardianship papers (Ferran & Harry 2010). The group identified themselves as volunteers from a church in Idaho who had come to Haiti ‘to help.’ They claimed to be rescuing the children from a collapsed orphanage and moving them to a safe orphanage in the Dominican Republic

(Ferran & Harry 2010). As was the case with the woman from Somalia, several of the children were not orphans and asked to be reunited with their parents (Ferran & Harry 2010). Smolin (2005) refers to this as child laundering: it is the process of illicitly or fraudulently separating a child from his/her family and then creating a paper trail to identify the child as an orphan before adopting the child or marketing the child for adoption. Smolin (2005) argues that current policies on intercountry adoption both legitimise and incentivise child laundering. Child laundering disproportionately affects children from developing countries and benefits adoptive persons from developed nations (Hollingsworth 2003; Smolin 2005). The sphere of intercountry adoption is rife with kidnapping, trafficking, exploitation, fraud and fear (Smolin 2005; Dodds 2015).

The fraudulent or illicit removal of a child from his/her parents is kidnapping, regardless of the motives of the remover, the broker, or the adoptive parents. To deprive a child of his/her biological parents, and to likewise deny parents their biological child, is criminal and unethical (Bromfield & Rotabi 2012). Unfortunately, there are not enough bilateral agreements to properly regulate intercountry adoption (Smolin 2005; Bromfield & Rotabi 2012). American couples lead the world in intercountry adoptions; Americans also lead the world in the number of countries from which they are banned from adopting (Hollingsworth 2003; Dodds 2015). The trend in which Americans and people from other ‘enlightened’ and developed nations decide to arbitrarily make life decisions for a child despite limited contextual understanding of that child’s biological family, history, agency and abilities, culture, or other circumstances purely based on the desire ‘to help’ is especially dangerous for that child (Bromfield & Rotabi 2012), and encapsulates what Teju Cole (2012) refers to as the ‘white savior industrial complex.’ He explains,

“One song we hear too often is the one in which Africa serves as a backdrop for white fantasies of conquest and heroism. From the colonial project to *Out of Africa* to *The Constant Gardener* and *Kony 2012*, Africa has provided a space onto which white egos can conveniently be projected.” (Cole 2012, para 1)

It is in the throes of these fantasies of heroism that many Americans make the hasty decision to grab the nearest brown and/or poor kid and haul it to a strange land in order to ‘give it a better life.’ Once it becomes clear that the fantasy is just that, and that the adopted child is a complete and complex human being rather than a space onto which the parents’ egos can be projected, the child becomes infinitely more vulnerable to enslavement (Smolin 2005; Bromfield & Rotabi 2012).

Here in the US, Thomson Reuters uncovered a practice known as ‘re-homing,’ in which parents who have adopted children from other countries and later regretted doing so can simply and legally hand that child over to a stranger they met in an online interest group (Twohey 2013). There are Yahoo! and Facebook groups for re-homing children adopted from abroad. The posts seeking new homes for the adoptive children make it painfully clear that there are few to no standards regulating who can adopt in an international setting:

“‘Born in October of 2000 – this handsome boy, Rick was placed from India a year ago and is obedient and eager to please,’ one ad for a child read. A woman who said she is from Nebraska offered an 11-year-old boy she had adopted from Guatemala. ‘I am totally ashamed to say it but we do truly hate this boy!’ she wrote in a July 2012 post. Another parent advertised a child days after bringing her to America. ‘We adopted an 8-year-old girl from China... Unfortunately, We are now struggling having been home for 5 days.’” (Twohey 2013, para 18)

The children Twohey interviewed were from various re-homing groups and had been adopted from all over the world. None of the parents involved have been charged because there are no policies governing how guardianship for inter-country adoptees is handled.

Perhaps the most high profile case in recent years of the domestic enslavement of an internationally adopted child was the death of young Hana Williams at the hands of her adoptive parents in Seattle, Washington. Hana and her brother were adopted by the Williams family from Ethiopia (Joyce 2013). The Williamses already had six children when they decided to adopt Hana and her brother (Joyce 2013). The two children were tortured mercilessly by their adoptive family, which is what eventually led to Hana's death (Joyce 2013). The Williamses were religiously devout and sought to save the children from themselves through what amounts to excessive abuse and neglect. Scores of Habesha adoptees in the state of Washington have begun coming together to share their experiences of abduction, adoption, domestic servitude and abuse at the hands of their 'saviours' (Joyce 2013).

The Type III enslaver-enslaved relationship is at intersection of international adoption, the white saviour industrial complex, and slavery. In just the same way that some men seek to 'save' a poor, humble, exotic girl from her life in a developing country in the name of love, so do these adoptive parents seek to 'rescue' energetic little orphans from what they perceive to be a life not worth living. Perhaps they want to convert the child from what they consider to be heathen practices to a new religion. Perhaps the child represents an ethnic or cultural group that the parents harbour prejudices against and they want to prove that they can raise this 'other' child better than the child's own identity group. Whatever the hierarchy-fixated motivation, when the child is

not constantly grateful to the adoptive parent for being ‘rescued,’ but remains fully dependent upon the adoptive parent for all basic needs, both the parent and the child become vulnerable to entering into this enslaver-enslaved relationship.

### **Context for the Enslaver**

Within the context of a Type III enslaver-enslaved relationship, the husband-as-enslaver can either recognise himself as slave to the woman he is enslaving, or he can misrecognise himself as her master. This situation is perhaps most similar to the original master-slave dialectic that Hegel describes. Because the enslaver’s identity is so dependent upon maintaining a hierarchy, he literally cannot remain at the top if there is no one below him. In fact, his self-image is so fragile that he is compelled to invest tens of thousands of dollars into wooing and acquiring a woman he can enslave, and he will continue to invest funds into this venture. His returns, however, will not be financial. Her dependence upon him, her fear of him, and her submission to him are the currency his ego requires.

The marriage brokers-as-enslavers, though they are involved in the supplying of vulnerable women into possible situations of enslavement, may or may not do so from a Type III motivation. If the marriage brokers-as-enslavers intentionally want to exploit both the prospective husbands’ and prospective wives’ vulnerabilities in order to maximise profits, they qualify as Type II enslavers. If they truly believe that women should be subservient to their husbands and know that a particular type of Western men is desperately seeking subservient women, and if they intentionally supply vulnerable women and girls to these men that are seeking wives-as-servants, then the brokers-as-enslavers qualify as Type I. However, if they are knowingly supplying women and girls that they

have othered ethnically or socio-economically to men seeking subservience, and they are using their relative ethnic or socio-economic privilege to traffic these women into exploitative marriages as an exercise in power, then they qualify as Type III enslavers.

The adoptive families in the scenarios explored in this chapter may be aware of their desire to enslave a child from a group they identify as ‘other’; or, they may not be consciously aware of that desire until they find themselves enslaving the child, restricting his/her movements, torturing and abusing him/her, or forcing him/her into sexual contact. If the adoptive parents are aware of their desire from the beginning, they likely believe themselves to be the master of the slave; this is, of course, a misrecognition. They are entirely dependent upon the otherness of that child to affirm their superiority. If the adoptive parents are not initially aware of their subconscious desire to project their fears of equality onto the child, and by proxy, onto everyone who shares that child’s identity, they likely misrecognise themselves as benevolent masters of the child.

The adoption agencies-as-enslavers are similar to the brokers-as-enslavers in that they are enslavers, but they may qualify as a different type. If they participate in the fraudulent acquiring of children for the purpose of selling them into adoption, they can only be identified as enslavers. If their motivation for engaging in the enslavement of children is because they believe the children they have access to will be better off in the ‘orphanages’ than with their biological families or that their lives will be improved if they are in a developed nation, they qualify as Type I enslavers. If they are trafficking in babies and selling them into enslavement primarily for economic and social advancement, they qualify as Type II enslavers. However, if they believe themselves to be higher hierarchically than the children and their parents, and they are destroying family connections and displacing children purely out of an interest in ethnic cleansing or some

other form of identity group subjugation or eradication, they qualify as Type III enslavers.

The notion of habitus is very interesting here, as one of the drawbacks of being a member of a socially privileged group is how reliant those members are on the fixedness of the constructs that maintain their privilege. They are, in fact, extremely fragile. Because everything naturally strives for balance, hierarchy-fixated enslavers must constantly strive to maintain the imbalances that provide them with privilege. This privilege is their most valuable cultural capital, and their motivation in acquiring a family over which they can exercise dominion is primarily in acquiring more cultural capital. As well, acquiring a person of another culture can come to mean, in the enslaver's mind, that s/he has some vicarious claim to or power over that culture. This, too, might serve as motivation.

Because both the husbands-as-enslavers and the adoptive parents-as-enslavers invest sizeable amounts of money into acquiring the person whom they intend to enslave, their interest in amassing economic capital is only a motivator if they intend to hire the child or the wife out to others as a slave. Both adoptive agencies-as-enslavers and marriage brokers-as-enslavers are primarily motivated by the acquisition of economic capital, however.

The agencies and brokers are also interested in acquiring social capital, as social capital will allow them to further expand their business interests. The husbands-as-enslavers are also motivated by the acquisition of social capital; a young, beautiful, exotic wife is a trophy, and one he likely intends to flaunt. The adoptive parents-as-enslavers are also motivated by social capital. The saviour industrial complex is based on the rescuers' need for recognition from others for his/her heroic deeds.

## **Context for the Enslaved**

The enslaved in the Type III relationship may have entered the relationship knowing that it was going to be torturous but believing that s/he could endure it, or s/he may have entered it believing that s/he was achieving social mobility and would receive greater opportunities for self-development. If the enslaved was wary of the husband or adoptive parents, s/he likely recognises the enslaver's need to constantly dominate. S/he may even perform submissiveness in order to survive the ordeal. If the enslaved was caught unawares, however, s/he may have misrecognised his/her enslaver as his/her master for a time. If the enslaved attempted to escape his/her enslavement and sought assistance from the broker or agency who arranged for his/her enslavement, the lack of assistance will likely remove all remaining misrecognition of who is dependent upon whom.

For the enslaved, the constructs that maintain family and kinship functions are in flux, as they are navigating an entirely new culture and society. They may attempt to accept their enslavement as normal for a time. They may also attempt to perform assimilation and acceptance of enslavement until they can gather enough knowledge about their new country and new family to devise a plan for self-preservation.

If wives-as-enslaved join the broker's online collection voluntarily, they are likely motivated by all three forms of capital. They are motivated to acquire social capital by moving through cyber-spaces in which people of higher social classes move. They seek to develop relationships with those people in order to trigger social mobility. They are also motivated by cultural capital in that marriage — and specifically cross-cultural marriage — represents a significant gain in cultural capital. They will move to a new country, learn new cultural ways, and perhaps even adopt the new culture as their own.

They are also likely motivated by economic capital in that there may be ways of earning money in their new country that will allow them to send remittances back home or to acquire objects and experiences that s/he desires.

If the wives-as-enslaved were sold to the broker in the first place, however, they are likely not motivated by capital. Adoptees-as-enslaved are similarly positioned. Particularly if they were very young when they were adopted, their motivations may have been squarely social in that they sought loving parents and perhaps siblings.

### **Case Study: Dai's Story**

Type III enslaver-enslaved relationships are rampant in sexual slavery that takes place within the commercial sex arena. The othering of people through fetishisation is a well-documented aspect of commercial sex. Farley notes

“Historically, colonialism in Asia and the Caribbean promoted a view of women of color as natural-born sex workers, sexually promiscuous and immoral by nature. Over time, women of color come to be viewed as ‘exotic others’ and were defined as inherently hypersexual on the basis of race and gender.” (Farley 2003, 9)

The interest of the Type III enslaver in enslaving a person is first dependent upon him/her defining the enslaved as ‘other.’ It does not make sense to a hierarchy-fixated enslaver to enslave someone who s/he identifies as an equal.

Similarly, in commercial sex, the very sexual arousal of a Type III enslaver can have its foundations in the sense of power derived from othering and dehumanising someone.

“For some sex buyers, the racist degradation was sexually arousing and was integral to his sexual use of Native women. One woman noted that johns often

‘would say degrading things during and after’ prostitution. Another woman said that it was expected of her to tolerate the racist verbal abuse. ‘You don’t get paid if you talk back’” (Farley, et al. 2011, 32)

In this way, sexual conquest mirrors colonial conquest and serves to maintain those constructs that are so necessary to the hierarchy-fixated’s ego. Farley (2003, 9) points out “There is a similarity between the abduction into prostitution of African women by slavers and today’s cruising of African American neighborhoods by johns searching for women to buy.” As well, it is expected of the enslaved that they must not only endure their treatment, but they must perform enjoyment of it, as they are being paid to do so.

Although commercial sex requires both parties to be engaged in sexual contact, there is still the concept that only the sex worker should experience shame for having engaged in sexual contact. It is the sex worker who is hypersexualised, not the trick; it is the sex worker who is lower on the hierarchical scale, not the person who descended it to lie with him/her. In interviews with tricks, Farley, Bindel & Golding (2009) elicited this explanation:

“An interviewee explained that his use of Chinese women in prostitution was in order to fulfil a fantasy that he held about them. ‘You can do a lot more with the Oriental girls like blow job without a condom, and you can cum in their mouths.... I view them as dirty’” (Farley, Bindel & Golding 2009, 21).

Although it is the interviewee who desires to engage in sexual contact that he identifies as being able to ‘do...more with’ and ‘dirty,’ he likely projects his own desire to engage in these acts onto women he others. He misrecognises them as dirty when, in fact, he must pay these women to engage in the dirty acts that are his own desires. He is able to rationalise this exchange with the justification that the Asian sex workers must be dirtier

than he is if they engage in these acts for a living and if they are willing to engage in sex acts for money.

This process of racialised and gendered othering is at the heart of the Type III enslaver's motivation. His/her identity and self-image are dependent upon his/her self-identification as the singular definition of human, and on his/her perception of the self in opposition to anyone identifying with groups different from the Type III enslaver's identity groups. The enslaver cannot conceive of himself/herself without the inverse reflection of the 'other'; yet, s/he must punish the 'other' for being different in order to find himself/herself acceptable.

The following excerpt is the story of a survivor. She details her experiences with a Type III Hierarchy-Fixated husband, a string of Type III tricks, and a Type III trafficker who she refers to as the Master.

*Hi my name is Dai, I'm a survivor of human trafficking and exploitation. I have been an American for nearly 21 years. An integral part of my story is that I, and many other minority women, whether American or not, were shipped from state to state in order to provide specific services for men.*

*In 1995, I fell in love with a military man, who persuaded me to move with him to an undisclosed remote area. There, I was raped and beat continually while handcuffed to a door of an abandoned house. Eventually, through circumstances, I made my escape, but not before he had confiscated my naturalization papers, driver's license and social security card. With no proof of my identity, I could not acquire adequate shelter. I felt like an animal that has been cast into the street.*

*One day, I was approached by a middle-aged woman who had been watching my every move. Unaware that she was a (Female Pimp), she insisted that I come and work for her in the Escort Service (she assured me that it was only a dating service). My unawareness of this proposition was so overwhelmed by my need for food, money and clothing that I desperately accepted her offer. After several weeks I found myself well provided for and economically stable. Then the unthinkable happened: a client bargained me for sex. After I refused his offer, he grabbed me by the hair, forced me on the floor and raped and beat me. In terror, I fled to the police to report the violence. To my astonishment, the police informed me that I had no rights because I had attained the status of a "street-walker". Eventually, the female pimp who recruited me sent me to this gentleman who worked in Nevada where my experience in Human Trafficking began.*

*To this day, I am still haunted by flashbacks regarding certain smells, as well as cold floors which numbed my bare feet. Many times, panic ensues when I find myself in a line of women; it resurrects the nightmares of all the humiliating inspection line-ups I had to endure. We were constantly paraded before a potential client; their lustful eyes examining and perusing us before we became final choices for each predatory customer. Being Korean, I remember the time when a prejudiced 'john' demanded that I dress as a Japanese prostitute/geisha. My vulnerability was made complete when I was taught to speak broken English, fulfilling the racist image of exoticism. Although I was one of the few that spoke and understood English, my required masquerade as a foreigner brought more money to the Master through harboring of immigrants. Most of us were incarcerated in basements, underneath casinos and in abandoned warehouses. While tourists*

*roamed the streets of Las Vegas, we, the victims, were in perpetual fear for our lives. The Master, knowing full well that I was an American, forced me to work both the Escort and the Trafficking. If I refused or didn't comply, I was taken underground and sentenced to various methods of punishment.*

*The vividness of this maltreatment brought back such childhood nightmares of the times I was locked in a closet. Each of these two scenarios mirrored the same cries for freedom; after all, I was the submissive little foreign girl who was threatened not to tell anyone. In both cases, my guilt-ridden confessions of bad behavior resulted in my temporary release. On my knees, I had to convince my Master that I would be on my best behavior. After hours of interrogation, I was given permission to return to do what I did best; being a concubine, and deluding myself into thinking that I enjoyed it. I was involved in trafficking for more than six months. I compare that time to being held hostage in a timeless existence where my mind engaged itself in disassociation with my soul. This mental state was the only way in which I could keep any sanity. Repeatedly, I witnessed the beatings, rapes and murders of innocent women.*

*Most of the time we were transported by trucks with drivers who were not naive to our purpose, and well informed of our identity. After months of these transports for trafficking our self-images had been reduced to cattle being loaded on a cattle car. Thousands of dollars were exchanged on these cross-country trips which kept us silent and our existence a secret. There were times that the warehouse truck would stop, the tail gate door forced opened, then two or three were summoned out. We were given shoes and clothing so we would not appear as homeless refugees. We had to walk a block down to*

*a nearby truck stop, given fifteen minutes to bathe ourselves, then return to the truck. Selections of adult aged women and minor girls (who were under the age of sixteen) usually numbered between twenty and fifty. The adult women were expected to resemble a late teen. If they would not comply they were discarded, cast-out, and some were never heard from again.*

*We were constantly monitored, forbidden to make eye contact with anyone in public areas. When we arrived at our destination, the women were separated into motel rooms. We traversed the very rural area of Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, California, Florida, and New York. We were never paid directly, however, later on I discovered that it would turn more money if clients were deceived into thinking that all of us were immigrants.” (A Survivor’s Story n.d.)*

Dai shares with us her experiences of being othered by race and gender, although one of her exploiters was co-gendered. Othering for the purpose of maintaining a hierarchy can come in many forms. A Survivor-Advocate (SA4) explained to me that she was brainwashed to believe that her enslavement was her fault, because she was too evil to conduct her own affairs. Her enslaver convinced her that she was possessed by demons and that only he could keep them from consuming her entirely. He explained that the demon in her loved sex and it was during sexual contact that she would get her best opportunity to foist the demon onto someone else. This type of othering, a spiritual othering, is used in much the same way that other prejudices of identity groups are used.

The military man that ‘married’ Dai, her madam, her trafficker and her johns repeatedly illustrated to her that her ‘otherness’ is what excited them about controlling

her. It is not difficult to identify the fantasy narrative of “the ‘insatiable East,’ where the customers experience a different reality that is described as exotic and wild” (Martilla, 2003, 8). It has also been noted that many customers differentiate between women of their own nationalities and those from other countries (Sawyer et al, 2001; Black, 2003; Martilla, 2003; Samarasinghe 2009), regardless of if those countries are in Asia or in some other part of the world. This issue is not purely based on ethnic, national or cultural otherness; gender othering is often reason enough for one person to attempt to have complete control over a body. Samarasinghe explains:

“Yet another factor that underlies male customer motivation in seeking commercially available sex is individualized specific sexual needs. These motivations range from what Hughes (2004) identified as narcissistic views of sexual relationships, to feelings of personal inadequacy according to accepted social norms relating to masculinity. This category also includes men who seek commercial sex from subservient sexual partners as an explicit act of defiance against women whom they perceive as gender-equality conscious feminists. Customers who believe that they have the license to enjoy sexual violence and those who buy the sexual services of minors may also be categorized under the rubric of personal factors.” (Samarasinghe 2009, 9)

There are a number of variables that factor into a person’s decision to exploit another, and because monetary gain is not the only factor, it is important to explore these other variables. Racism, xenophobia, sexism and classism may all come into play within the Hierarchy Fixated relationship.

Dai’s experience as enslaved in a Type III relationship is one in which she never misrecognised her enslaver as her master, despite being forced to call one of her en-

slavers by that very name. She even relates the experience of reporting her enslaver(s) to the police in an attempt to access justice, which illustrates that she understood her enslavers to be not just wrong, but criminal. It is unclear whether or not her husband-as-enslaver's motivation in keeping her in captivity for the purpose of torture was motivated by a desire to dehumanise her by race/ethnicity, by gender, or both. Her pimp-as-enslaver, her trafficker-as-enslaver, and her tricks-as-enslavers all sought to control, dehumanise and enslave her based on both her ethnicity and her gender, however.

Dai was likely motivated to marry her husband-as-enslaver to increase her social capital, but it proved to decrease it drastically. She voluntarily entered into a relationship with her pimp-as-enslaver that she knew made her vulnerable to exploitation, but her desperate state left her few options. Perhaps she believed that she could endure it until she was economically stable. Her motivation for entering into this enslaver-enslaved relationship was economic capital and social capital, in that the money she earned could provide her with basic needs, and the connections she made could lead to less vulnerable forms of work. In being forced to work with the Master, her primary motivation was social capital — survival.

## **Conclusions**

International family building is a difficult space in which to measure exploitation. Domestic standards of domestic violence and neglect vary, so transnational cases can become endlessly complex. Pay-as-you-go outlets for various types of dehumanisation exist largely in the informal economy and are also difficult to regulate. It is within these spaces that Type III enslavers can visit harm upon representatives of national, ethnic, age, and gender groups against which they hold prejudices and resentment.

Type III enslavers misrecognise themselves as masters, but can simultaneously be aware of their dependence upon those they enslave to achieve feelings of superiority. Their dependence upon the enslaved in order to feel like a master can compound their resentment toward the enslaved. Type III enslaved persons can react to their enslavement in a variety of ways, and may find themselves vacillating among several reactions. If they misrecognise their enslaver as 'master', they might also misrecognise themselves as deserving of enslavement. However, if they recognise their enslaver's dependence upon subjugating them, they are more likely to recognise that the relationship is imbalanced and unjust.

The examples explored in this chapter, as well as the case study, involve vulnerability that stems from the instability of transnational migration for the purpose of family building. In the case of migration for adoption, there are gaps in US law for the protection of children adopted abroad. In the case of marriage migration via IMBs, there are gaps in support for brides beyond the securing of a visa. The case study provided insights into the fetishisation of sexual violence for the purpose of othering. Creating sustainable and efficient policy interventions for this type of enslaver-enslaved relationship will involve the drafting of at least one new law, the assigning of federal or state agents to maintain contact with the adoptee or the migrant bride in which s/he can speak candidly and without fear of reprisals about his/her experiences with his/her new family. Bilateral agreements, particularly on adoption but perhaps also on marriage visas, should be pursued. Furthermore, support groups involving other adoptive families or migrant marriages within a certain geographical radius can provide a less rigid setting in which to evaluate safety, acclimation and well-being.

## **Chapter 8: Analytical Framework**

### **Type IV: Normative Exploitation**

A Type IV slavery relationship involves a consciousness on both the part of the enslaver and the enslaved that the relationship is imbalanced and unjust; however, neither participant feels powerful enough to change the system. Both participants may feel, in effect, as if they are simultaneously consenting and coerced; however, the enslaved feels the pursuit of survival is much weightier than the pursuit of justice, and the enslaver experiences a more subtle coercion from the realisation that s/he is but a shaky step up from being in the position of the enslaved. Sexual and labor slavery of prisoners by prison staff and administration is often an example of this type, as are some parents who give away, 'sell,' or marry off their children into situations of slavery when assured death from extreme poverty, conflict, or certain customs or traditions is the weightier threat. In this chapter, we will explore the relationship between prison guards and prisoners in corrections systems that qualify as contemporary slavery. We will examine norms within prisons in North Korea and the United States, analyse the enslaver-en-slaved relationship through a sociological lens, and present the primary research undertaken to test the Type IV relationship theory.

North Korea has an extensive and complex incarceration system. This incarceration system, along with widespread famine, is credited for the enormous influx of escapees to China, South Korea and Southeast Asia since the turn of the century (Kim 2005). Although Seoul is less than 35 miles from the North Korean border, escapees tend to go the long way around: crossing one of the two rivers that serve as natural borders between North Korea and China, and then making their way through China, into the Mekong sub-Region, finding a South Korean embassy, and after traveling thousands

of miles, submitting to the process of seeking asylum in the nation of their long-lost brothers. The majority of escapees are either prisoners or prison guards (Liang-Fenton 2007). What prison conditions could push inmates to embark on such a journey? Perhaps a more interesting query is: what prison conditions could push prison guards to make a run for such a harrowing and unknowable trek?

The North Korean prison system consists of two types of prisons. The first is *kwanliso*, massive labour camps created for political prisoners and three generations of their families (Liang-Fenton 2007). *Kwanliso* inmates are often serving life sentences, and the camps are characterised by the notion of purification through hard labour and scant food rations, which consistently leads to deaths of prisoners (Liang-Fenton 2007). Although the families of the accused are incarcerated for being guilty by association, they are often kept in separate parts of the enormous camps, or in separate camps altogether; the families are sometimes unaware of which member was convicted and for what crime (Liang-Fenton 2007). A recent UN human rights report on North Korea estimates that between 80,000 and 120,000 people are incarcerated in the four *kwanliso* (United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) 2014).

The second type of prison is called *kyohwaso*. *Kyohwaso* houses North Koreans that have escaped to China, been caught, and been forcibly repatriated (Liang-Fenton 2007). *Kyohwaso* is made up of four types of facilities: *kamok* and *kuryujang*, which are jails and detention centres, respectively, along the Chinese-North Korean border; as well as *jipkyulso* and *rodong danryeondae*, which are short term detention centres (Liang-Fenton 2007). *Jipkyulso* houses inmates carrying out short-term forced labour sentences for less serious crimes, and *rodong danryeondae* is the staging facility where convicts are trained in the forced labour tasks they are to carry out when they begin their sen-

tences in *jipkyulso* (Liang-Fenton 2007).

While it is perfectly acceptable for any state to incarcerate its criminal element, there are very specific human rights violations taking place within North Korea's incarceration system that place it squarely within the contemporary slavery arena. The following information on human rights violations in North Korea's prison camps comes from a report by the United Nations Human Rights Council. First, the state actively incarcerates its citizens arbitrarily and without due process (UN Human Rights Council [UNHRC] 2014). Second, the incarcerated citizens are subjected to conditions of forced labour that are so inhumane that they literally work to death in mining, agriculture, manufacturing, logging, and other types of hard labour (UNHRC 2014). Inmates are not provided the basic necessities that are their human rights, including adequate living conditions, food, water, sleep, clothing, and medical care (UNHRC 2014). The inmates are subjected to physical, psychological and sexual abuse that is frequently fatal (UNHRC 2014). Finally, the inmates have no legal recourse for appealing to governing bodies to protect their human rights (UNHRC 2014).

The conditions in these prisons are horrific. The escapees' stories of what they have survived are nightmarish. Besides the starvation and forced labour, inmates endure torture, sexual violence, harsh beatings, psychological abuse, murder, humiliation, and substandard living conditions. Mothers are forced to murder their own newborns by drowning them or feeding them to the dogs; ill inmates are beaten to death for not working quickly enough; dead bodies are left to rot in the open to instill fear in the other inmates (UNHRC 2014). Prisoners' attempts at escape are fully understandable; but why do prison guards, who lead comparatively privileged lives, number so highly among escapees? Speaking anonymously, a former prison official at *Kwanliso 16* explains, "It's

like heaven and hell, the disparity between the prison personnel and the inmates” (Amnesty International 2014, 2:25-2:29). Ahn Myong-chol, a former prison guard, describes the precariousness of this privileged position:

“Describing his training, Mr Ahn Myong-chol indicated that ‘we had very intensive ideology training for six months, and that training is to...I guess invoke hostility against the inmates and to imprint in our minds that the inmates are enemies.’ He also described how he and other guards sometimes felt sympathy for the prisoners, but could never show it, because such signs of sympathy would have resulted in punishment of the guard concerned.”

(UNHRC 2014, 245)

In another interview, Ahn details what type of punishment a guard would receive for showing sympathy. He explains that “If we were to help these prisoners in any way or be compassionate, we would be executed and our families as well, and we were given the right to kill any prisoner who attempted to escape” (Blackwell 2013, para 9). Despite his loyalty to the regime, Ahn’s position as prison guard and the entirety of his privileged life was very suddenly upended:

“Mr Ahn Myong-chol described how his father, who was an official managing a public distribution centre, had said to other higher-ranking officials that the food shortage in the DPRK existed because the people on the top were not doing their job correctly. Realizing his political crime, Mr Ahn’s father took his own life. Mr Ahn’s mother and three siblings...were all arrested and sent to a political prison camp. He escaped incarceration only by fleeing across the border into China.” (UNHRC 2014, 239)

These passages from Ahn illustrate a common tactic of oppression known as ‘divide and

conquer.’ By creating a hierarchy based on constructed differences and then pitting the groups against each other, the elites ensure that the groups keep each other from uniting against their common oppressor. Kwon Hyuk, former Head of Security at Prison Camp 22, explains

“We were all led to believe that all the bad things that were happening to North Korea were their fault. That we were poor, divided, and not making progress as a country because of them...In the society, in the regime I was under, I just felt they were enemies, so I felt no sympathy or pity for them at all.” (donjuankims 2011, 5:58-6:30)

Ahn and his fellow guards are clear in their roles as enslavers; they force the prisoners to work under constant threat of violent death. He explains, “The best way to put it is they were the slaves, and we were the slave owners” (Blackwell 2013, para 12). In fact, the camps are designed to ensure that inmates do not survive (UNHRC 2014). Throughout his testimony, Ahn describes the extent to which the guards are trained to believe that the inmates are deserving of the worst punishments for crimes against their fellow countrymen. When he began to learn of the rule requiring the incarceration of three generations of each convict, he began to doubt his training (UNHRC 2014).

Ahn and Kwon are not outliers; anecdotal evidence provides that guards often accept bribes to assist prisoners in escaping, or they plot with prisoners to escape together (UNHRC 2014). Some, like Ahn and Kwon, escape on their own when they are confronted with the reality of their own coerced complicity. The ideal resolution to this Type IV slavery relationship would be for the two groups to join forces against their common oppressor. The prisoners are weak and the guards are brainwashed, and both exist at the mercy of the state, but there are enough escapee stories to prove that in-

stances of this type of rebellious teamwork exist (Harden 2012; Koelbl 2013; Felden 2014).

The United States (US), too, has an extensive and complex incarceration system (Gottschalk 2015). Although the US government condemns its North Korean counterpart in the Annual Trafficking in Persons Report for holding “an estimated 80,000 to 120,000 prisoners in prison camps in remote areas of the country; in many cases these prisoners have not been prosecuted, convicted, or sentenced in a judicial proceeding” (US DoS 2015, 207), the US government is also actively imprisoning vast numbers of its citizens, often with no due process or with sham proceedings (Blackmon 2008; Alexander 2012; Rakoff 2014). Prisoners in the US, like prisoners in North Korea, are then subjected to forced labour, sexual violence, torture, and physical and psychological abuse (Alexander 2012). Just as Kwon explains that he felt no guilt at the barbaric treatment of prisoners because he was taught to believe that they deserved it, Americans, too, dismiss evidence of human rights violations in prisons because we are taught to believe that criminals deserve all the horrors that exist in prison — regardless of the nature of their crime (Liebelson & Brooks 2015). While popular understanding of the particulars of North Korean slavery through incarceration is still developing, the US process of slavery through incarceration is well-documented but heavily nuanced (Blackmon 2008; Alexander 2012); the nuances allow the federal and state governments of the US to escape broader recognition for and condemnation as sponsors of systematic enslavement.

US incarceration facilities are divided by security level, age, and operating organisation (Kaelble, et al. 2016). Security levels include supermax, closed, maximum, minimum & medium, immigration detention centres, and jails (Kaelble, et al. 2016).

Tribal jails in indigenous sovereign territories are also associated with this network of correctional facilities (Kaelble, et al. 2016). Facilities can be for adults or juveniles, but populations are sometimes mixed (Alexander 2012; Gottschalk 2015). Facilities can also be operated by public entities, private entities, the military, or tribal councils (Kaelble, et al. 2016). Supermax, maximum and closed security prisons are for the purpose of housing the most dangerous criminals (Kaelble, et al. 2016). Private prisons and military prisons have little to no transparency or public oversight (Gottschalk 2015). While these might seem to be the most at-risk facilities, corruption is rampant throughout the entire US corrections system.

Roughly one-fifth of all prisoners in the world are incarcerated in the US; as of 2013, 2.2 million people are incarcerated in American prisons and jails (The Sentencing Project 2014). However, the total number of people under all forms of correctional supervision, which includes those on probation, on parole, and in immigration detention centres, numbers from 6.9 million or one in every 35 Americans (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2014) to more than 8 million or one in every 23 Americans (Gottschalk 2015). Although federal funding for correctional facility construction has more than doubled since 1980, prisons, jails, and detention centres across the country remain at or over capacity, endangering the inmates, the staff, and the facility infrastructure (James 2014). The excessive number of Americans living in what Marie Gottschalk refers to as “the carceral state” (Gottschalk 2015, 1) is disturbing, given that the purpose of the corrections system should be crime deterrence and criminal rehabilitation. As in the case of North Korea, when such a hefty proportion of a state’s citizens are identified as criminals, the society and its justice system require a firm and critical assessment.

The key similarity among US and North Korean prisons that posits them within

the contemporary slavery arena is arbitrary detention. The fact that states have every right to imprison its criminal element bears repeating here, for clarity. However, international law decrees that “no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile” (United Nations 1998, Article 9). The United States has a long history of arbitrary detention, particularly of non-citizens or those suspected of being non-citizens, people of colour, and poor whites (Blackmon 2008; Alexander 2012; Gottschalk 2015). America’s history of arbitrary detention is inextricably linked to that form of slavery known as debt bondage. Whereas in North Korea, citizens are arbitrarily accused of treason, then detained and imprisoned without due process, the system of arbitrary detention in the US is slightly more complex. The alleged crimes that lead to arbitrary detention vary according to geographical location, state and municipal laws, the sub-culture of the local law enforcement, and the time period in which the arrests take place.

In the period of American Reconstruction (1863-1877), just following the official conclusion of state-sponsored chattel slavery, vagrancy laws were enacted throughout the US. These laws provided that any non-white person traveling outside of private property could be arbitrarily stopped and questioned about his/her state of employment. If s/he did not or could not produce proof of gainful employment, s/he was arrested for vagrancy (Blackmon 2008).

“The freedman was forced, by bureau and army orders or by contract or vagrancy laws, to contract for his labor with a planter... Even if the cropper were to have a crop plentiful enough to remove his overvalued debts after the harvest, he would have to borrow again to survive the winter... Under pressure to sign a contract, any contract, the freedman was in no position to bargain about his wages. Should he find himself dissatisfied with his contract as it actually

operated and try to leave his employment, he was often subject to arrest for breach, or for vagrancy.” (Novak 2014, 19)

When convicted, the ‘vagrant’ is charged a fine that, needless to say, was too expensive for him/her to pay in that moment. A local landowner would offer to pay the fine for him/her in exchange for work, and the convict would be released into the landowner’s care (Blackmon 2008). The landowner would then put the convict to work, but would devalue his/her work, apply an exorbitant interest rate, and further inflate the debt by charging the worker for use of equipment, transportation, room and board, seed, tools, and the like. In this way, state-sponsored and corporate-sponsored slavery found a way to continue to thrive in the US (Blackmon 2008). Vagrancy laws gave way to Jim Crow codes, which saw people of colour arrested for a wider array of offences that were equally as arbitrary (Blackmon 2008; Alexander 2012). Jim Crow codes were briefly disrupted during the Civil Rights Movement, but the War on Drugs quickly re-established the means by which black and brown bodies could be quickly and quietly disappeared into corrections facilities (Alexander 2012). Just as with vagrancy laws, in which a person could be arrested simply on the suspicion of not having a job, police are provided the discretion to arrest citizens on just the suspicion of drug possession: in many states, a police can declare that s/he smells the odour of a drug in the vehicle or on the person of a suspect, and arrest the suspect on the spot. Whether or not the officer actually smelled drugs cannot, of course, be proven in a court of law, but that fact is generally overlooked by judges and juries (Stoughton 2014).

What happens next in arbitrary detention differs from North Korea in that the charade of due process is often attempted. In most states, simple drug possession is a crime; therefore, those arrested for drug possession can be subsequently booked, pro-

cessed and jailed or imprisoned to await arraignment, which is the part of due process in which s/he officially hears the charges and can enter a plea to said charges. Under the Bill of Rights, “in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury” (US Const. amend. VI). With the advent of mass incarceration and subsequent administrative delays, the length of time the accused must wait in order to receive even this initial step in due process can range from a few hours to several months or even years (Rakoff 2014; Gonnerman 2015; Schwirtz & Winerip 2015). States and courts can individually determine what constitutes an unreasonable delay between arrest and arraignment; therefore, the right to a speedy trial is a difficult right to protect.

In cases that receive a speedy arraignment, another tactic to maintain arbitrary detention is the setting of exorbitant bail and overwhelming pressure to enter into a plea deal. In a holdover from the days of vagrancy laws, the judge can determine a bail amount that is far beyond the defendant’s capacity, effectively denying the defendant bail under the guise of due process. Once the defendant is returned to prison, s/he awaits meetings with his/her defence team in order to prepare for trial. In a 2014 high-profile case in New York City, a teenager named Kalief Browder was randomly accused of stealing a backpack in 2010, arrested, booked, arraigned, and his bail was set at \$3000 (Santo 2015). This is an exorbitant amount for petty theft, particularly for a case with no evidence, and Mr. Browder’s family could not raise the money. Mr. Browder was sent to Rikers Island to await trial; he was in jail for more than three years and never had his day in court (Gonnerman 2015). Rikers Island, New York City’s primary jail facility, is a complex of ten jails that house those awaiting some part of the court process. Rikers is notoriously corrupt and violent. Mr. Browder’s case allowed for other inmates at Rikers

Island to seek justice for being held without trial; more than 1500 other prisoners in that facility alone had waited for more than a year for a trial (Schwartz & Winerip 2015). One man had been waiting for seven years (Cohen 2015). Nationwide, “[a]bout two-thirds of America’s jail population — 450,000 people — are behind bars awaiting trial. And five out of six of those people are in jail because they could not afford bail or because a bail agent declined to post a bond” (Santo 2015, para 5).

While Mr. Browder and the nearly half a million other Americans awaited trial, they were aggressively encouraged to make plea deals to circumvent the time, costs, and risks associated with going to trial (Rakoff 2014). Plea deals, or plea bargains, are agreements in which a person accused of a crime agrees to waive his/her right to a trial and enter a guilty plea in return for a reduced sentence (Rakoff 2014). On the surface, plea bargaining can often seem like a win-win: the judicial system saves time, energy and costs by clearing the docket more quickly, and the defendant resolves the case quickly and quietly and goes forward to pay his/her debt to society. Upon closer inspection, however, plea deals reveal an insidious practice (Rakoff 2014). In fact,

“...our criminal justice system is almost exclusively a system of plea bargaining, negotiated behind closed doors and with no judicial oversight. The outcome is very largely determined by the prosecutor alone. In 2013, while 8 percent of all federal criminal charges were dismissed (either because of a mistake in fact or law or because the defendant had decided to cooperate), more than 97 percent of the remainder were resolved through plea bargains, and fewer than 3 percent went to trial. The plea bargains largely determined the sentences imposed.” (Rakoff 2014, para 5-6)

The rise of what is known as ‘mandatory minimums,’ or long minimum sen-

tences for specific crimes, terrify people into ‘copping a plea’ (Rakoff 2014). Particularly if a person were accused of possession based on the claims of an officer of having smelled drugs on him/her, or if the officer planted small amounts of drugs on a person or in his/her car, I am convinced that the notion of suddenly facing 15 to 20 years in prison is frightening enough to agree to a plea deal despite one’s innocence. While drug-related crimes account for roughly half of all Americans in prison, plea deals are not exclusive to drug prosecutions (Rakoff 2014). Prosecutors are encouraged to seek plea agreements in most cases — as mentioned above, 97 percent of all cases never see a jury (Rakoff 2014). This is coercion masquerading as due process.

Mandatory minimums and sentencing disparities are disproportionately assigned to crimes for which people of colour are vastly overrepresented in arrests, prosecutions and convictions (Alexander 2012; Fellner 2013; The Sentencing Project 2014). Despite studies showing that Americans of different racial identities use drugs at roughly the same rate, Black and Latino Americans are policed more, searched more, arrested more, convicted more, and receive harsher sentences than their White brethren (Fellner 2013). These policing and sentencing disparities give rise to the skewed public opinion that people of colour commit more crimes than do White people, which heavily influences juries. Studies show that juries are more likely to convict defendants in direct proportion to how dark the defendant’s skin is (Anwar, Bayer & Hjalmarsson 2012). Harsher sentencing for people of colour is discernible across the spectrum of crimes.

“Sentences imposed on Black males in the federal system are nearly 20 percent longer than those imposed on white males convicted of similar crimes. Black and Latino offenders sentenced in state and federal courts face significantly greater odds of incarceration than similarly situated white offenders and receive

longer sentences than their white counterparts in some jurisdictions. Black male federal defendants receive longer sentences than whites arrested for the same offenses and with comparable criminal histories. Research has also shown that race plays a significant role in the determination of which homicide cases result in death sentences.” (American Civil Liberties Union 2014, 1)

Death sentences and life sentences are of particular interest in understanding the use of prisons as a vehicle for slavery via political repression. In addition to mandatory minimums and sentencing disparities, defendants considering a plea deal must, in more than half of states in the US, consider the ‘three strikes’ laws. In 28 states, if a defendant is convicted of felonies multiple times, the third conviction automatically garners a sentence of life in prison (Schoener 2015). Considering the high rates of recidivism in US corrections (National Institute of Justice 2014), which is explored in more detail elsewhere in this chapter, getting one strike is a slippery slope away from a life sentence. Copping a plea can, at times, circumvent a conviction that would otherwise count as a strike. Furthermore, racial disparities are apparent in not only life sentences, but also in death row convictions. The Innocence Project has exonerated nearly 350 death row prisoners with DNA evidence or other means, of which 231 are persons of colour (The Innocence Project 2015). This means that at the US courts of law and juries comprised of everyday Americans were so convinced of an innocent person’s guilt, they decided that the innocent person should die — not live in prison for the remainder of his life, but be summarily put to death. This happened at least 350 times, and more often than not, it happened to persons of colour (The Innocence Project 2015).

The aforementioned risks involved in gambling on a trial are often pressure enough to motivate an innocent person to accept a plea deal; however, there is yet an-

other coercive contributor. American corrections facilities are notoriously violent and corrupt. Sexual assault, torture, lack of transparency, and physical and psychological abuse plague US incarceration spaces. During Kalief Browder's three year arbitrary detention, he suffered such horrific violence at the hands of corrections officers and fellow inmates that he attempted suicide multiple times. He spent almost two of the three years in Rikers Island locked up in solitary confinement. His trauma was so severe that even after his release, even after therapy, college scholarships, and the opportunity to not only seek redress, but to influence systemic prison reform, he succeeded in committing suicide on a Saturday afternoon in June 2015 (Gonnerman 2015). There is publicly available video evidence of Mr. Browder being attacked by fellow inmates and by guards, and there is documented evidence that Mr. Browder was not provided mental health counselling following his suicide attempts, but was furthered punished for them instead (Mathias 2015). His experiences are far from unique, unfortunately.

In just the past few years, anecdotal evidence and empirically-based studies detailing the brutal conditions in US prisons have become more available than ever. Last year in California, the state legislature passed a law prohibiting the sterilisation of women in prison without their consent. This law was necessary because a study found that almost a third of bilateral tubal ligations performed by prison physicians were done without the informed consent of the patient, and that physicians had falsified information in the patients' paperwork in order to escape detection (Nicholson 2014). In fact, between the years 2005 and 2013, more than 850 sterilisation procedures were performed on 794 inmates (Nicholson 2014).

Sexual violence in American prisons is legendary in its prevalence, its acceptance, and its barbarity. In a recent study on sexual victimisation in prisons and jails, an

estimated 80,600 inmates took steps to report sexually violent attacks in a 12 month period (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2013). Although popular imagination holds that prison rape is committed by violent prisoners against non-violent or otherwise vulnerable prisoners, a separate Bureau of Justice Statistics study in roughly the same time period found that half of all sexual assaults on prisoners are committed by prison staff (Rantala, Rexroat & Beck 2014).

Torture of prisoners by staff is rampant as well, despite the US government's being party to the UN Convention Against Torture (The American Friends Service Committee 2014). A movement to discontinue the use of solitary confinement has gained strength following disclosures that prisoners are often tossed in 'the hole' for alleged infractions that never happened, and like the high profile cases of Albert Woodfox and Herman Wallace, can be kept in solitary for decades (Cohen 2012). Solitary confinement is not the only form of torture used in American prisons, however. A recent high-profile prison torture case in Miami found that Darren Rainey, a mentally ill inmate, was locked in the toilet and subjected to steam from scalding hot showers overnight, causing his skin to fall off as he died (Brown 2014). Another prisoner was forced to clean up the skin the next morning (Brown 2014).

Earlier this month, an acquaintance of mine who happens to be a Type 1 Diabetic was arrested in Missouri and denied access to insulin when he requested it (Emett 2015). His sister and girlfriend repeatedly called and visited the jail in attempts to administer his insulin, and witnessed his deteriorated state of health (B. Feltus, personal communication, August 20, 2015). As his blood sugar rose, he screamed from the pain. To quiet him, guards allegedly tied him to a chair, hosed him down, and put him in solitary confinement, where he would eventually die (B. Feltus, personal communication,

August 20, 2015). A blood sugar level of 700 is fatal; Michael was found the next morning with levels at 2500, his head so swollen that his eyes had popped out (B. Feltus, personal communication, August 20, 2015). These are just a few very recent examples of a widespread, systemic, and well-established crisis in the American incarceration system (The American Friends Service Committee 2014). While people sit in jails and prisons awaiting arraignment and sentencing, the experiences of witnessing torture taking place around them and/or becoming victims of torture themselves serves as an effective means of coercion into plea agreements.

In the US, convictions carry with them a branding that remains long after the sentence has been served. It is nearly impossible for anyone convicted of a crime to re-enter society with dignity. Applications for nearly everything include the question, “Have you ever been convicted of a crime?” This question is on job applications, university applications, housing applications, even applications for public assistance (Furfaro & Salins 2015; Shouse California Law Group 2015). After serving time, if a person cannot secure a job, an education, a home or even welfare, how are they to become contributing members of society? The re-entry issue is especially important to the discussion on the intersection of prisons and contemporary slavery because the inability to re-enter society with dignity helps to keep prisoners in debt bondage even after they are released (Evans 2014). Across the US, prisons are passing the costs involved in incarceration to the inmates (Michtom 2004; Eisen 2014; Eisen 2015). Commonly known as ‘pay to stay’ programs, prisoners must pay for expenses they incur, such as room and board, transportation to and from court, medical care, phone calls, and participation in work-release programs, to name a few (Clem, Krauth & Stayton 2005; Eisen 2015). These costs are added to those associated with court fines and fees; some states even

charge people for the public defender assigned to them (Sunne 2014).

“Some individuals are leaving jails and prisons with a mountain of debt, much of it stemming from the fees they incurred behind bars, where a short telephone call home can cost as much as \$20. These former inmates can face aggressive collection tactics, including additional fines, driver’s license suspension, or, in some cases, re-incarceration.” (Eisen 2015, 2)

Convicts who leave prison with large debts and are hindered from obtaining jobs, housing, professional licenses, public assistance, higher education, and other keys to social mobility are more likely to turn to the informal economy to make ends meet — and to attempt to pay down their debt. The impossibility of timely repayment and the re-incarceration of those who cannot pay due to either debt collection policies or re-offending contributes to a recidivism rate that is higher than 75% (National Institute of Justice 2014).

In US prisons, inmates are expected to work. Depending on the operating organisation of the prison, inmate jobs can range from working in the facility laundry room or kitchen to high-skilled labour for private corporations that contract prisons to maintain low overhead. Some corporations that regularly use prison labour include Halliburton, Victoria’s Secret, Dell, Microsoft, Starbucks, Boeing, Whole Foods, McDonald’s, Walmart, AT&T, and BP, among others (Winter 2008; Davidson 2015). State governments also put their prisoners to work in agriculture, janitorial services, construction, manufacturing and even as firefighters (LeBaron 2015). Although most US prisoners are amassing a debt while they are incarcerated, and are simultaneously expected to put in a full day’s work at an assigned vocation, the two do not balance each other out. For the work that they do, whether it is for a public organisation or a private corporation, prisoners

are most likely to be paid between \$0.12 - \$0.40 per hour (LeBaron 2015). These wages are grossly inadequate to settle pay-to-stay costs coupled with court fees and fines.

While North Korean prison labour is undoubtedly exploited by public agencies, American prison labour is for the purpose of reducing costs to public agencies as well as to inflate the profit margins of private corporations. Law enforcement agencies are incentivised to meet arrest quotas, which motivates them to resort to arbitrary detention in order to keep corrections facility beds occupied. Prosecutors are lobbied to keep operating costs down by pressuring those arrested into waiving their right to due process and pleading guilty to receive a less terrifying sentence — regardless of actual guilt. Prisoners are saddled with debt to assist in maintaining a captive labour force via a revolving door. While in prison, inmates experience forced labour, sexual violence, and torture to keep them compliant and to further reduce their chances for release and social re-integration.

In some states, the rate of death in prison is as high as 40% (LeBaron 2015). In 2013, 4,446 inmates died in the custody of jails and prisons (Noonan, Rohloff & Ginder 2015). Nearly a quarter of these deaths took place in Texas and California (Noonan, Rohloff & Ginder 2015). This is forced labour, debt bondage and peonage. This is state-sponsored contemporary slavery. It is also protected by the Constitution. Section 1 of the Thirteenth Amendment states “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, *except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted*<sup>9</sup>, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (US Const.). This grants explicit permission for slavery to exist within the carceral state. Section 2 goes on

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<sup>9</sup> Emphasis added.

to provide that “Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation” (13th Amend., US Const.). The contracts and loopholes that exist to allow prisoners to hold full-time jobs for a fraction of minimum wage pay is all above-board. The only legal recourse there is for Americans to contest slavery in US prisons is to take the government to court on violations of international law for arbitrary detention and torture based on the ‘duly convicted’ language. By no means is every person under the supervision of the carceral state enslaved; however, the American carceral state has created for itself a safe and relatively legal space in which to perpetuate an extremely profitable form of slavery.

While the corruption of US justice system does not begin and end with prison guards, it is this particular group of law enforcement officers’ relationship to those enslaved by the prison industrial complex that best exemplifies a Type IV enslaver-en-slaved relationship. In a Type IV relationship, both the enslaver and the enslaved are aware of the injustice that permeates their relationship. As well, both the enslaver and the enslaved feel powerless to change the unjust conditions that provide for their relationship dynamic. Both parties may either accept these conditions or reject them, or they may vacillate between the two throughout the relationship. They may seek deliverance or absolution from each other, and/or they may develop fierce resentment of each other although neither party is the true source of the injustice.

In the past three decades, a burgeoning set of literature on the occupational burnout of prison guards — or correctional officers, as they are referred to in said literature — has appeared (Tewksbury & Higgins 2006; Cheeseman, Kim, Lambert & Hogan 2011; Worley & Worley 2011; Misis, Kim, Cheeseman, Hogan & Lambert 2013; Maiden 2014). In 2012, the National Institute of Corrections formally requested proposals to

properly define and explore the effects of compassion fatigue on correctional officers. Corrections fatigue, a term coined by psychologist Caterina Spinaris, describes the psychological effects of the job on correctional officers. Corrections fatigue is defined as “the cumulative negative transformation of one’s self or personality that develops over time as a result of repeated exposure to corrections workplace stressors, and to a degree that hinges on the relative success of both personal and collective strategies for coping” (Morton, Denhof & Spinaris 2012, para 9). The aforementioned workplace stressors could be organisational, operational, and/or traumatic (Morton, Denhof & Spinaris 2012). The aforementioned studies unanimously report that correctional officers have extremely high work-related stress, which is the precursor to burnout. Correctional officers and other correctional staff have high turnover rates and extremely early turnover rates: “Nearly one-quarter of first year correctional officers leave prison employment, and one study suggests that at least 50% of staff who leave correctional employment do so within thirteen months of beginning” (Tewksbury & Higgins 2006, 248).

While it is generally believed that negative interactions with inmates is the highest stressor on correctional workers, Tewksbury & Higgins (2006) found that

“work stress is primarily generated by organizational issues rather than time spent with inmates...Interestingly, the percentage of time spent with inmates reduces work stress...the stress of correctional work is not so much a product of interactions with clients as it is a product of working in a bureaucratic, paramilitary organizational structure.” (262)

Similarly, in their study entitled *Correctional officer perceptions of inmates and overall job satisfaction*, Cheeseman, *et al.* found that

“the work environment variables accounted for a greater amount of observed variance in job satisfaction than did the measures of perceptions of inmates...

Traditionally, correctional officers who do not have supervisory support or trust their supervisors experience increased stress and decreased job satisfaction.” (Cheeseman, et al. 2011, 96)

The correctional officers’ interactions with their superiors are so stressful that interacting with the inmates serves to relieve stress. In keeping with the experiences of the North Korean prison guards, although the corrections officers in these studies are trained to deal with deviant inmates and encouraged to view them unfavourably, it is actually the organisation running the prison that poses the greatest threat to the correctional officers’ well being.

Some of the dangers of corrections fatigue outlined by Morton, Denhof & Spinaris include higher rates of suicide among corrections staff, work-related post traumatic stress disorder,<sup>10</sup> and emotional callousness that can lead to “hostile or combative attitudes toward offenders” (2012, para 19). Worley & Worley (2011) explore the prevalence of deviant behaviour among correctional officers and its impact upon correctional officers’ perceptions of their own relationships to the organisations that employ them. Worley & Worley found that “an overwhelming number of subjects perceived that their fellow staff members were involved in inappropriate and in some cases, illegal types of behavior” (2011, 314-315). Because this study involved self-reporting by corrections officers, it is interesting to note that nearly all participants reported witnessing co-workers involved in deviant behaviour, but almost none reported having participated in deviant behaviour (Worley & Worley 2011). “Also, subjects who reported ‘feeling cared

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<sup>10</sup> 27% of correctional officers tested PTSD-positive (Morton, Denhof & Spinaris 2012).

for' by at least someone in the prison agency tended to perceive more deviance than other respondents or vice versa" (Worley & Worley 2011, 294). In other words, correctional officers who felt in some way empowered perceived higher instances of deviant behaviour; those who felt less 'cared for' or empowered tended to report witnessing little to no deviant behaviour. These insights into the role of the correctional officer in the American carceral state provides a very clear context for how a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship between a prison guard and a prisoner could develop.

I was first alerted to this developing area of study by a lawyer at the Equal Justice Initiative, with whom I had met to inquire as to the organisation's encounters with activities and behaviours that constitute slavery within the prison system. The lawyer gave me very limited information about a case she was working on at the time involving Tutwiler Women's Prison in Alabama. Julia Tutwiler Women's Prison in Wetumpka, Alabama is a facility opened in 1942 that was designed to hold 400 inmates but that now houses closer to 1000. It was originally called the Wetumpka Prison, but because the majority of the inmates were women, it began exclusively incarcerating women; it is also the intake facility for all arrested females in the state. Tutwiler is the only prison in the country to have a death row facility for women, so it is a maximum security prison and houses women sentenced to death row from all over the US. Because the case was ongoing, the EJI lawyer could not share much information with me, but she encouraged me to do my own research on it and to pay attention to the occupational conditions of the correctional officers that contributed to their complicity in the facility's infamous record of abuse and corruption.

The situation at Tutwiler is dire. At the time of the investigation by EJI and the Department of Justice, the prison's infamy for rampant and unmitigated sexual abuse of

inmates by corrections officers and other prison staff had become an 18 year reputation (US Department of Justice 2014). EJI published six primary findings from their investigation: 1) Incarcerated women are being raped by correctional staff; 2) Incarcerated women are being sexually assaulted by correctional staff; 3) Incarcerated women are subject to pervasive sexual harassment; 4) There is evidence that Alabama officials are under-reporting the number of incidents of sexual assault; 5) Punitive responses to allegations of sexual abuse have created an atmosphere of intimidation and discourage inmate complaints of sexual misconduct; 6) Tutwiler's failure to enforce restrictions on the ability of male correctional officers to view nude inmates creates an increased and unnecessary risk of sexual misconduct and abuse (Equal Justice Initiative 2012). EJI began its investigation into Tutwiler after it took on a client in 2010 who had become pregnant, and subsequently discovered that the rape of their client by a correctional officer was not an isolated incident (EJI 2012).

EJI engaged the Department of Justice (DoJ) in opening a federal investigation, and The Civil Rights Division of the DoJ found a number of the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act (CRIPA) violations, including 1) For nearly two decades, Tutwiler staff have harmed women in their care with impunity by sexually abusing and sexually harassing them; 2) Tutwiler staff also harm women prisoners through a constant threat of sexual violence; 3) Tutwiler has a toxic, sexualized environment that permits staff sexual abuse and harassment; 4) Prison officials have failed to curb the sexual abuse and sexual harassment despite possessing actual knowledge of the harm, including a federal statistical analysis identifying sexual misconduct at Tutwiler as occurring at one of the highest rates in the country; 5) Prison officials discourage prisoner reporting of sexual abuse due to actual and perceived retaliation against individuals who

make allegations; 6) When confronted with allegations of sexual abuse and harassment, Tutwiler fails to adequately respond or investigate; 7) Systemic deficiencies at Tutwiler directly contribute to staff and prisoner sexual abuse and staff sexual harassment that injures prisoners, and creates a substantial risk of further harm (Samuels 2014).

It is clear that something is amiss at Tutwiler, and it is likely that the underlying causes of such a longstanding tradition of cruelty and sexual violence are complex and dynamic. As part of the Department of Justice investigation into Tutwiler, the National Institute of Corrections conducted an on-site visit that included participant observation, facility inspection, focus groups, and structured interviews with prison leadership and staff via telephone and in-person conversations. Some very troubling information was gathered from these assessments, including: “The age and design of the physical plant, overcrowding and inability to recruit female custody staff as well as deferred maintenance have all contributed to a very difficult physical environment to manage” (Poole 2012, 5). The facility is more than 70 years old and is described as unsanitary and inoperable. The design allows for little to no privacy for inmates when they need it — such as in the toilets and showers, and too much privacy for staff and administration when they do not need it — such as in their offices and in the death row corridor (Poole 2012).

“The result has been staff frustration, low morale, and a dependence on a ‘control management style’ to manage daily operations...Neither the staff nor the inmates view the leadership of the facility (primarily the wardens and the captains) favorably. Staff indicated that the facility leadership ‘needs restructuring.’ They noted that the leadership was ‘Unprofessional’ and the style of leadership was best described as ‘Micro Management,’ ‘It is a fear driven leadership,’

‘Oppressive for both staff and inmates.’ They claimed that the culture was one of ‘Intimidation and undue harshness.’” (Poole 2012, 5-6)

All of these conditions — the unsanitary and unsafe facility, the overcrowded, abused and neglected inmate population, the harsh and unprofessional leadership — contribute to stressors on correctional officers and other corrections staff. For those corrections staff who respond to these stressors by forging deeper connections with inmates than they do co-workers or leadership, another stressor might compound existing stress when s/he is perceived by co-workers and/or leadership as being traitorous, unprofessional, or too lenient with inmates (Misis, et al 2013). For those correctional officers who respond to these stressors by becoming numb to the humanity of the inmates, s/he is then vulnerable to becoming an abusive, neglectful, or otherwise deviant agent (Misis, et al 2013; Morton, Denhof & Spinaris 2012).

Although the reality of America’s prison industrial complex provides that there are likely some inmates at Tutwiler who were arbitrarily detained, I do not have any evidence to prove that. Furthermore, although there is extensive anecdotal evidence that inmates at Tutwiler have been forced to exchange sex acts for basic needs on a regular basis with no access to escape, alternatives, or justice, which is widely accepted as constituting commercial sexual exploitation and/or sexual slavery, contemporary slavery scholarship does not discuss these identical behaviours as being within the realm of contemporary slavery when they take place within prison walls. Instead, it is popularly referred to as ‘prison rape,’ and dismissed as justifiable part and parcel of a prison sentence. For these reasons, it is often more comfortable to dismiss the presence of sexual slavery, forced labour, debt bondage and peonage within the US prison system. The na-

tion has done so for more than 150 years, which has no doubt contributed to its having swelled to its current state.

### **Context for the Enslaver**

In order to understand the enslaver's role in the Type IV relationship, I will examine some of the psycho-social contexts in which North Korean prison guards and American correctional officers (COs) operate. I will deploy Hegel's master-slave dialectic and subsequent recognition/misrecognition epistemology, as well as Bourdieu's theory of habitus and three types of capital as sociological lenses. I will examine the Hegelian and Bourdieusian contexts for the enslaver, and then will examine those same contexts for the enslaved.

North Korean prison guards are trained to misrecognise the prisoners they are charged with guarding and disciplining as the nation's worst element, and the source of all of the strife and poverty that the nation suffers. This training allows them to channel any frustration they might harbour with the current state of affairs in North Korea — such as the widespread poverty, the famine, the degradation of the nation's relationship with China and Mongolia, the steady depletion of the country's natural resources — into committing violence upon the bodies and minds of the prisoners (donjuankims 2011; UNHRC 2014). However, if there is even a shred of doubt as to the validity of the demonisation of the prisoners and the deification of Kim regime, the prison guards are then in a position to recognise the reality of their predicament, and perceive their relationship to the prisoners-as-slaves as what I describe as Normative Exploitation, or a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship.

The prison guard subculture is such that should a guard show leniency or com-

passion toward a prisoner, he could suffer retribution from his superiors or from the other guards. Within this context, the prison-guard-as-master may recognise his position as barely better than that of prisoner-as-slave; should his compassion toward a prisoner be interpreted as alignment with the enemy and thus treason, he could draw his next breath as a slave, or be put to death. If the prison guard does not recognise his position as such, and misrecognises himself as being incapable of experiencing the life that prisoners experience, he is much more vulnerable to suffering a clean psychological break if he were to find himself accused of treason. The prison-guard-as-master who recognises his proximity to enslavement, like Mr. Ahn, is more likely to have at least a rudimentary plan for escape. The prison-guard-as-master who misrecognises himself as invincible to ever becoming a prisoner and yet says or does something that could be misconstrued as traitorous, like Mr. Ahn's father, might see the only acceptable courses of action to be recognition of the self as a traitor and submission to imprisonment, or the culturally honourable route of suicide.

According to Hegel's master-slave dialectic, the prison guards need the prisoners much more than the prisoners need the guards; without prisoners, the guards would not hold the positions they do. In this way, the prison guards are enslaved to the prisoners. If the prison guards are aware of this fact, they will respond to this realisation by violently re-asserting their position of power over the prisoners, or they will respond by recognising the prisoners as their equals, which puts both parties in grave danger.

The American correctional officers, on the other hand, may enter the profession with full knowledge of the opportunities available within the US carceral state to enslave, abuse, torture and neglect prisoners. With this knowledge, they might enter with the intention to harm prisoners, or they may enter with the intention to protect prisoners

and effect social change. Those who enter with the intention to take advantage of the corrupt system to satisfy pathological desires do not qualify as Type IV enslavers; however, those who enter with the intention to assist in rehabilitation and/or to ensure that cruelty within correctional facilities is reduced may find themselves vulnerable to becoming Type IV enslavers. Should those COs-as-enslavers find themselves coerced into delivering practices that are cruel, inhumane, abusive, neglectful and exploitative via threats of retribution by co-workers and/or superiors, this would qualify as a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship if the inmates are living in situations of sexual slavery, forced labour, debt bondage and/or peonage. Particularly if the CO has limited alternatives for employment and has loved ones dependent upon him for basic needs, s/he might feel especially coerced by institutional pressures.

Correctional officers may also enter the profession with little to no knowledge of the violence and corruption that plague the nation's correctional facilities. If these COs find themselves in correctional facilities in which sexual slavery, forced labour, debt bondage and peonage are systemic, they may react to the presence of slavery by recognising themselves as complicit in this system. Once they recognise themselves as part of the systemic corruption, they are actively engaging in a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship. They may react to this knowledge by attempting to assist or protect the enslaved whenever possible. Conversely, they may react to their powerlessness to change this systemic issue by numbing themselves to the plight of the enslaved or may even project their frustration and resentment with their own powerlessness onto the enslaved.

In a Bourdieusian context, North Korean prison-guards-as-enslavers exist within the society with relatively high levels of social, cultural and economic capital. Because prisoners are considered the worst part of Korean society, those entrusted with guarding

them must come from trustworthy families and have strong personal credentials (Blackwell 2013). Therefore, though they may not be members of the elite, they are solidly middle class. They are well-educated and connected, and they normally have at least one family member that is a high-ranking official (Blackwell 2013). However, they may perceive themselves as either having high levels of social and cultural capital and low levels of economic capital; low levels of cultural capital but high levels of social capital and economic capital, or low levels of all three forms of capital. Their perceptions of the levels of capital at their disposal depends almost entirely on who they perceive as the standard against which they measure themselves. For example, Mr. Ahn's father was a party official; therefore, his job as a prison guard made him relatively less successful than his father. In fact, it was his father's connections that allowed him to have this job in the first place, illustrating his father's relative wealth in social capital. This may have motivated him to become ambitious, which might have caused him to use his father as the standard against which to measure his own access to the three types of capital. This ambition can serve to bolster the brainwashing Ahn received in training, providing even more reason to brutalise the prisoners. However, once Ahn became unable to ignore the humanity of the prisoners and found that humanity to be in direct contradiction to his training, he may have begun to measure his access to capital against that of the prisoners, rather than against that of his father. He would have found himself with much more social and economic capital than he had previously perceived, but with perhaps less cultural capital than the prisoners.

From a habitus standpoint, North Korea's prison system exists as an extreme means of social control; it maintains a rigid oligarchy through the instilling within the population of a constant fear of imprisonment regardless of wrongdoing. According to

the literature, there are two types of prison guards who escape North Korea. The first is the defector: this escapee has no intention of returning to North Korea, either because s/he has no loved ones for whom to return, or because fear of punishment for escaping is so great, or because s/he has become disillusioned with the nation itself. The second is the migrant: this escapee only intends to leave North Korea temporarily. S/he leaves in search of necessary resources for supporting his/her family and fully intends to return with said resources. S/he does not believe that living outside of North Korea is better than living in North Korea.

In order for the prison system to continue in the massively oppressive role it currently holds, all parts of society must continue to believe in its omnipotence. The very presence of Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationships within the prison system is evidence that a belief in the ultimate authority of the Kim regime and, by extension, the prison system, is beginning to erode. Kang Chol-Hwan, the North Korean escapee to successfully reach South Korea that is largely considered to be the beginning of an increasing trend in defection, left nearly twenty years ago (Kang & Rigoulot 2001). Each year since, the number of escapees has increased dramatically (LiNK n.d.). Furthermore, the appearance of a grassroots free market economy driven by an unprecedented penetration of foreign media has revolutionised the way in which North Koreans perceive the Kim regime, themselves, and the world around them (LiNK n.d.). Chinese cell phones, South Korean entertainment, and access to internet and radio waves have all worked to undermine the state-imposed international communication blockade (Lankov 2016). Increased trade with China and the resourcefulness necessary to survive the famine has given rise to an informal economy that serves to further disrupt the absolute power of the state (Lankov 2016).

It is my opinion that as prison guards become more aware of — and perhaps personally engaged with — the new information flows and goods and services that are increasingly available, the more they are likely to harbour doubts about the ideas taught to them in training. Whether they doubt the portrayal of the prisoners, of themselves, or of the Kim regime, they will become more easily critical of the position and practices of the prison system. Additionally, they will become more vulnerable to engaging in a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship with the prisoners. Engaging in the consumption of free market goods and services, including devices and entertainment from the outside world, could prove to dramatically increase one's access to all three forms of capital. The current dangers involved in just listening to a South Korean pop song could be considered prohibitive for some, but the speed with which international media spreads throughout North Korea is evidence that more people are willing to risk punishment than are unwilling. If access to cultural capital is a strong motivator for Type IV prison-guards-as-enslavers, then it is probable that the advent of new forms of cultural capital will give rise to an increase in Type IV relationships.

In the US prison system, access to Bourdieu's three forms of capital are certainly motivators for entering into an enslaver-enslaved relationship. Most American prisons, particularly those of higher security levels, are situated in rural towns (Huling 2002; King, Mauer & Huling 2003). These correctional facilities often serve as the cornerstone of those rural towns' economies (King, Mauer & Huling 2003). Because they are either government or corporate jobs, and because they require a certain level of physical and psychological risk, these jobs are relatively well-paid and provide highly sought-after benefits that would otherwise be out of reach for residents of these rural areas. In fact, King, Mauer & Huling (2003) found that few residents of rural towns that host

prisons are qualified to work in said prisons. A job as a CO therefore offers access to more economic capital. Because economic capital provides spaces in which to access social and cultural capital, such as educational tuition and social connections for the COs' children, the acquisition of economic capital can be a strong motivator here indeed (Bourdieu 1986). If a CO is in a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship with an inmate, that CO might be fully aware of and even complicit in that inmate's exploitation, but might feel that his/her own well-being and that of his/her family takes precedence over the injustices one of thousands of inmates in that facility is enduring. Furthermore, the CO could feel immense pressure from co-workers and supervisors to actively participate in the inmates' exploitation; that pressure would likely include threats of termination, which would disrupt the CO's access to economic capital, and subsequently, access to social and cultural capital.

On the other hand, the corrections environment may provide access to its own forms of social and cultural capital. Considering the fact that America's carceral state is larger than the populations of more than a hundred other countries, and further considering the extensive subculture of American prisons — which includes its own jargon, kinship and family ties, laws and ethics, behavioural norms, dimensions of time and space, currencies, social hierarchies and has inspired untold amounts of artistic expressions — it is completely plausible that a Bourdieusian analysis of a Type IV relationship requires both an 'outside' and 'inside' context. If the CO is at least equally as immersed in 'inside' culture as s/he is in 'outside' culture, s/he may have a different set of motivations for accessing 'inside' capital that can either dovetail or conflict with the motivations for 'outside' capital.

An analysis of Type IV relationship in US prisons via Bourdieu's habitus theory

provides different set of possibilities than did the same analysis of North Korean prisons. Because the means for enslaving US prisoners is more nuanced and diffuse than in North Korean prisons, and because there is much less uniformity among prison facilities in the US than in North Korea, and because the consequences of an American CO allying himself/herself with an enslaved inmate are not necessarily as immediate and severe as those of a similar alliance in a North Korean prison, the two situations are quite different. One thing that is similar between North Korean and American prisons, however, is the space that those convicted of a crime occupy in society. In both countries, convicts comprise the lowest caste. Regardless of the nature of the crime they have committed, if they are branded with the red 'C', they are lumped in with 'traitors and scum' in North Korea and with 'rapists and murderers' in the US. As in North Korea, the American system of mass incarceration is a means of social control more than it is a means of criminal deterrence and rehabilitation. Although Americans are taught to perceive those convicted of a crime as 'the bad guys' and anyone working in law enforcement, including COs, as 'the good guys,' the reality is that the US convicts many innocent people of crimes and it employs many people with criminal intentions in law enforcement (The Innocence Project 2014). Empirically-based studies on the human rights violations taking place in the US corrections industry are increasingly available, lending the credence of hard data to the decades of anecdotal evidence. The official calls for both official and independent evaluations of the prison industrial complex and corruption throughout the justice system have been sounded, signalling that change is, perhaps, soon to come.

From the perspective of a CO in a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship, these changes should be welcome. Whether the CO responds to this relationship by allying himself/herself with the enslaved inmate(s) or by projecting his/her frustrations with the

system onto the enslaved inmate(s), alternatives to the current system should bring relief — even if relief is on the other side of guilt. However, if the CO entered employment never having had illusions about the system of mass incarceration and intentionally took the position to attempt to effect change, s/he might feel frustrated with the slow arrival of the aforementioned impending change; as well, s/he could begin to buckle under the pressures from the institution, the leadership and his/her peers to contribute to the exploitation of the enslaved. The enslaver in a Type IV relationship consciously recognises the fact that this exploitative relationship, while privileging his/her position, is not substantially beneficial to either party involved. Both feel powerless and are in danger of becoming self-destructive; they can either recognise each other as resources and work together to free themselves from a common oppressor, or they can focus their impotence on each other and carry out the oppressor's scheme for him.

### **Context for the Enslaved**

In any enslaver-enslaved relationship, the enslaved may either identify as enslaved or not. If s/he does not identify as enslaved, perhaps s/he identifies as exploited, or perhaps s/he believes that s/he is deserving of the maltreatment. In a few cases, the enslaved may simply disassociate from the entire experience in a healthy or unhealthy way. Those enslaved in a Type IV relationship, however, self-identify as enslaved. They may identify as deserving of enslavement or not. In this section, I will explore the experience of the enslaved in a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship, deploying Hegel's master-slave dialectic and the theory of misrecognition, as well as Bourdieu's theories of habitus and the three forms of capital to analyse said experience.

Within the context of the North Korean prison system, the enslaved recognise the prison guards as their enslavers, but they may or may not recognise that their en-

slaver is coerced into his role as enslaver. According to Hegel's master-slave dialectic, the master needs the slave in order to maintain his position as master, and he is aware of this dynamic. The slave, however, can either be aware of his power over the master or unaware of his power over the master. North Korean prisoners may be aware that the prison guards' status is owed entirely to the existence of the prisons and, by extension, the prisoners. If they are aware, they may view the prison guards with contempt, or perhaps with pity. Furthermore, they may be aware that the prison guard is also aware of the precariousness of the position he holds between the despotic government and its most abused victims. If they are both aware of the government as their common oppressor, then they may attempt to assist each other whenever possible. The prisoner-as-slave might perform subservience in order to win the guard-as-enslaver favour with his co-workers and superiors, as this might serve to deflect attention from their alliance. However, this awareness may also cause such utter hopelessness as to turn them against each other; the prisoner-as-slave's realisation that the guard is little better off than he, and therefore perhaps even more desperate than he to maintain the status quo, could cause the prisoner to see his enslaver as nothing more than a weapon with which to commit suicide, or an obstacle to escape that must be overcome.

In the context of US prisons, the inmate-as-enslaved often recognises the CO and other correctional staff as enslavers. In situations in which the CO is coerced into actively participating in the inmate's enslavement, the inmate may recognise the CO as powerless to cease complicity, in which case the CO may exhibit signs of guilt or shame. On the other hand, the CO may express his/her powerlessness against the injustice meted out by the institution by projecting that rage onto the inmate, which the inmate may recognise as frustration, or s/he may misrecognise it as sadism. If the CO-as-

enslaver were actually participating in the exploitation of an inmate for the purpose of satisfying psychopathy, the relationship would no longer qualify as Type IV; it would then be Type III, which is explored in Chapter 6 of this study.

If the inmate were to recognise that the CO is not just an enslaver, but has actually been coerced into taking on the role of the enslaver, and were also to recognise that were it not for the opportunity to enslave others, the CO would likely be an inmate as well, the inmate could use this dynamic to either befriend the CO or to belittle him/her. Whether this relationship becomes one of befriending or belittling depends upon the unique personalities of the enslaver and the enslaved.

A Bourdieusian analysis of the enslaved's perspective in a Type IV relationship within the context of North Korean prisons necessitates a discussion on self-image more so than self-identification. Shin Dong-hyuk, the first recorded successful escapee from a North Korean prison to South Korea, relates the experience of being so convinced of his own innate inhumanity and the righteousness of his enslavers that he betrayed his fellow slaves to win favour with the prison guards (Son & Won 2015). Shin's mother and brother discussed escaping the prison camp in which the whole family lived. Shin reported this discussion to the prison guards, as he had been trained to do; he was then tricked into placing blame on his mother and brother for a murder committed by an officer (Son & Won 2015). He and his father were forced to watch the rest of their family be publicly executed (Son & Won 2015).

“On the day of the public execution, my father and I were dragged to the site and seated in the front row...My mother looked at me at the last moment, while they were dragging her, but I was unable to look her in the eye. My mother was hung and my brother was shot. Some ask how I could report my own mother, but

that's how the environment is set up there. In the camp, you feel like that's the right thing to do. In the camp, my father and mother were both just prisoners. I would call her mother in name, but I never got to spend any time with her... In there, everyone is just equal as prisoners. No such thing as emotion exists." (Son & Won 2015, para 11)

It has been mentioned elsewhere in this study that North Korean citizens are taught to believe that prisoners are to blame for country's misfortune, and that they may or may not believe that to be true while they are living outside of the prison. Shin's testimony illustrates that once a person is imprisoned, they may resist succumbing to self-blame and self-loathing, or they may submit to believing it in order to psychologically survive their experience. Shin's case is a bit different in that he was born inside of the prison camp. He never had the chance to develop a perspective on the prison system that contradicted in any way what is taught on the inside. In the passage above, he discusses developing a stronger sense of loyalty to the prison guards — his enslavers — than to his own mother and brother — not just fellow slaves, but immediate family members. At the moment of his mother's public execution, Shin describes a feeling of shame. Perhaps this is an indication that somewhere within him, there was the spark of knowledge that his actions were in some way improper, or even unjust.

Shin's behaviour represents the ideal slave, according to the training that his enslavers receive. The fact that his family members discussed escape as something that exists as a possibility, it is clear that they had not completely submitted to the self-loathing encouraged by their enslavers. In keeping with Bourdieu's theory of habitus, the enslaved must submit to the belief that they are wrong enough to be sentenced to death in the camps, and to receive willingly all the horrors present therein. Furthermore,

they must submit to the belief that the enslavers are right enough to commit unspeakable horrors against them within the confines of the prison camps and still be morally superior. Shin's family did not subscribe to these beliefs, and after witnessing the consequences of having subscribed to those beliefs, Shin began his transformation from submission to rejection (Harden 2015).

In terms of capital, those enslaved in North Korean prison camps who are engaged in a Type IV relationship have zero social or economic capital, but some may still feel that they can claim some amount of cultural capital. Because class does not protect one from accusations of treason, people from all walks of life can be found in the prison camps. Furthermore, once a person has been condemned to spending the remainder of his/her life in the camps, it is possible that s/he may then release all pretence of loyalty and submission to the Kim regime. Those who have reached this political space may turn to finding small ways to uphold cultural traditions that have been deemed disloyal or treasonous, such as speaking openly of loved ones in South Korea or discussing the glory days of the united Han peninsula, which included North Korea, South Korea, and part of China that is still inhabited by ethnic Koreans.

Those enslaved in US prisons who find themselves in a Type IV relationship might subscribe to the Bourdieusian theory of habitus in that they understand that power is dynamic and can therefore be shifted. If an inmate-as-enslaved perceives his/her CO-as-enslaver's predicament within the institution as one of coercion and exploitation, the inmate-as-enslaved could then perceive of himself/herself as equal to or more powerful than the CO, provided the inmate has already refused to subscribe to the belief that the carceral state is the ultimate authority. As I mentioned before, once a person is under the supervision of the carceral state, it is almost impossible to access the level of social mo-

bility which is central to the American justifying mythology (Gottschalk 2015). Those convicted of a crime are relegated to the lowest caste in American society, and with the exception of a few special cases, must remain in that caste (Alexander 2012). However, as was the case with American chattel slavery, the sheer number of people enslaved within this system began to finally work against the system. When the number of slaves vastly outranks the number of enslavers, we see in both cases that the social, cultural, and economic influence of the enslaved begins to have a substantial impact on the dominant culture. Fashion, hairstyles, music, jargon, organisations and philosophies begin to spill over from the captive group into the masses, which provides an astounding amount of cultural capital to the enslaved, and which furthermore harbours enormous potential for transformation into economic capital. This approach to enslavement within the carceral state is an interesting one, as it allows for both a submission to the carceral state's authority to keep the inmate from re-entering American society, but it also provides for an alternate, 'informal' socio-cultural experience within the prison subculture.

However, should the enslaved not be in a facility that affords him/her the capacity for interaction with other enslaved inmates, access to media, or even the time and space for reflection, the enslaved inmate may not be able to perceive himself/herself as a member of an 8 million-strong population. S/he may simply feel alone and enslaved. In this case, like that of Kalief Browder, any perception of the CO-as-enslaver's own coerced existence within the prison context might only serve to further convince the enslaved of his/her insignificance and dehumanisation. In this situation, the enslaved is bereft of social, cultural and economic capital. His/her relationship with a CO-as-enslaver, regardless of whether the CO accepts or rejects his/her role as enslaver, is not perceived as an alliance nor any other useful thing.

### **Case Study: Correctional Officers**

In order to test the theory of the existence of the Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship, I developed a survey for correctional officers that would allow me to ask questions that studies in the existing literature had not yet posed. I prepared a 58-question survey comprised of yes or no, true or false, multiple choice, and short-answer formats. The survey was divided into six sections: Facility, Power Dynamics, Labor, Sexual Contact, Role Reflection, and Demographics (See Appendix A for complete a list of questions and anonymous responses).

The participants include three male and three female respondents. They identify as white, black, and multiracial. They all live and work in Texas. They all work at public correctional facilities. They all fall within the age range of 18 to 54, with the majority falling between 25 and 34. They represent minimum and medium security, close security, supermax security, federal, and jail facilities. Only one respondent works at a women's facility; the others work at men's or co-ed facilities. One respondent works in the death row wing of the facility. Half of the respondents work in facilities that are at or over capacity, and all respondents work in facilities that utilise solitary confinement as a form of punishment.

For my data collection from corrections officers, I discovered early on that fears around confidentiality and reprisals, and particularly the possibility of losing their jobs, made an anonymous online survey the best tool for gathering information. I developed a survey on SurveyMonkey.com and retained the assistance of an acquaintance who works as a corrections officer to distribute the link to the survey along with an introduction.

My primary interest in conducting this survey is to investigate the occurrence of

correctional officers' complicity in the exploitation of inmates at the behest of their superiors. A Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship exists in cases in which inmates qualify under international law as 'enslaved,' and correctional officers are coerced into participating in the inmates' enslavement. In order to test this part of the relationship framework, I made several attempts to conduct in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with three corrections officers that I know personally, and although each initially agreed to participate, they each demonstrated through their actions that they were extremely uncomfortable with participating. I stopped trying. Months later, I was introduced to a corrections officer through a mutual friend who was enthusiastic about participating in my research. In order to protect her privacy, I created an online survey via SurveyMonkey.com and sent her a link to it. She offered to send it around to other corrections officers, so I developed an introduction to be sent along with it. She received 14 verbal confirmations to participate in the survey. After one month, 6 people had completed the survey in its entirety. Because I have never met the corrections officer who aided me in person, I only know her name, the state in which she lives, and her occupation. I have had no direct contact with any of the other survey respondents, so my knowledge of their demographics is limited to the answers they provided.

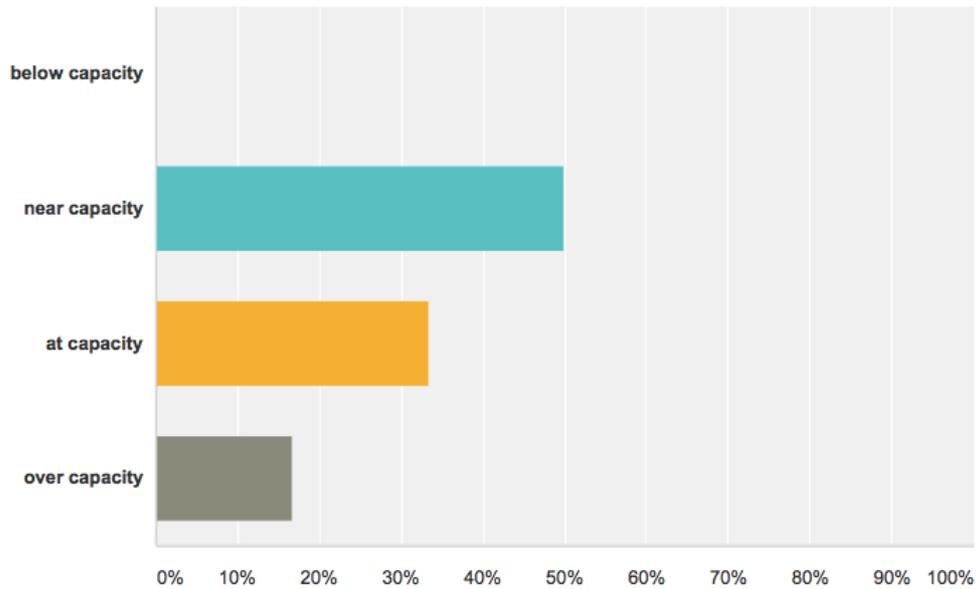
In the first set of questions, the survey asks how the inmate capacity is best described.<sup>11</sup> Fifty percent of respondents describe their facility as being 'near capacity.' One respondent described his/her facility as being 'over capacity,' and 33% describe their facility as being 'at capacity.'

Facility overcrowding is an enormous issue and intersects with the Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship in that overcrowding causes a host of problems for the CO.

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<sup>11</sup> See Table 7.1 below. Complete survey questions and answers are provided in Appendix A.

**Table 7.1.** Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?



First, it causes a shortage of facility resources for the inmates, including space, beds, toilets and showers, food, security, uniforms, clean laundry and other basic needs. The frustrations caused by these shortages can give rise to violence among inmates and violence between COs and inmates. If COs are not supported by the leadership in resolving overcrowding and resource shortage issues, they can become stressors. As was discussed elsewhere in this chapter, the greatest workplace stressor on COs is dealing with bureaucracy and unsupportive leadership (Tewkesbury and Higgins 2006; Cheeseman, et al 2011). If COs are coerced into resolving overcrowding and resource shortage issues without the training, guidance or support of their supervisors, they might attempt to resolve those issues in a variety of ways that violate the inmates human and civil rights. Some of these resolutions might include providing basic needs to certain inmates and not others based on biased criteria; exchanging basic needs to inmates for sexual or labour favours; allowing some inmates to control access to basic needs in exchange for favours from those inmates; and/or using indiscriminate violence and torture to quell conflicts over access to basic needs.

Questions 3, 4, and 5 of the survey are regarding the gender identities of the inmates and that of the COs employed to secure them. The answers to Question 3 inform us that five responders work in facilities that primarily serve male inmates, and only one respondent works at a women's facility. Question 4 asks, "If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?" Although no respondents claimed to have worked in a co-ed facility in Question 3, two survey participants responded to this question as if they have experience in a co-ed facility. Perhaps the respondents do not currently work in co-ed facilities, but have in the past, and are responding from that experience. One respondent states that male and female offenders never intermingle in co-ed facilities; the other respondent states that they only intermingle in the infirmary. Question 5 inquires, "If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?" Only four of the participants responded; perhaps the other two either did not want to answer the question and/or they never worked with female offenders. However, 100% of those who did respond did so in the affirmative.

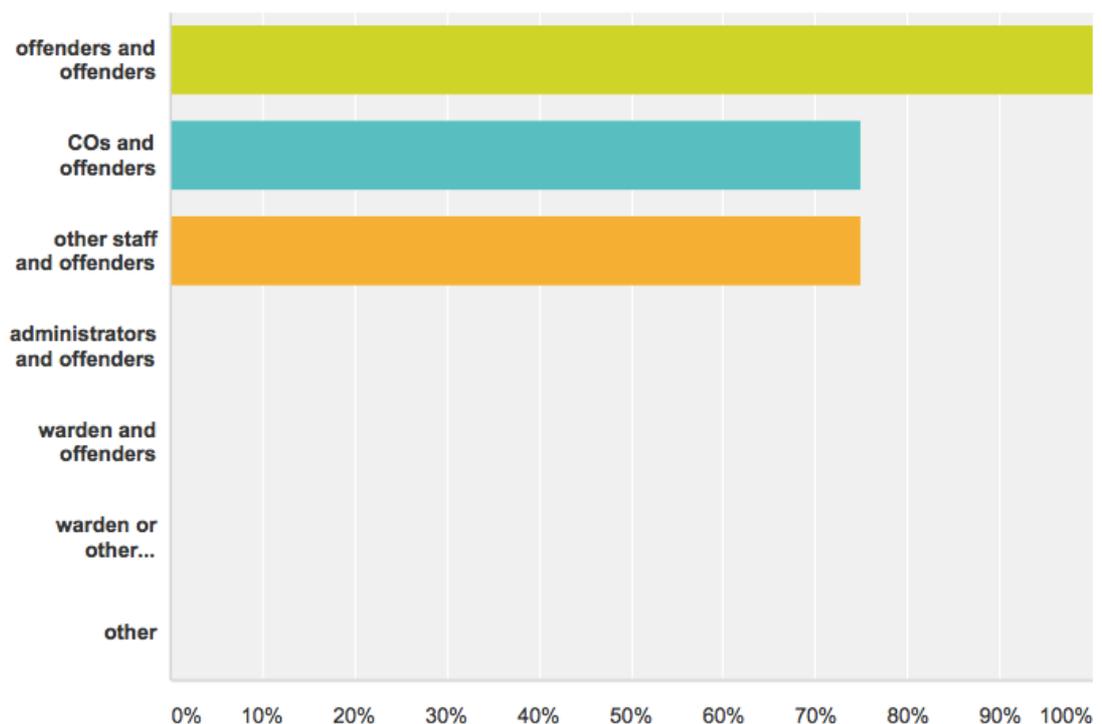
Question 6 asks "Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?" All six respondents participated in this question, and 100% stated that transgender offenders are present. This question is particularly interesting in light of the answers to Question 46, which asks "What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?" Half of respondents provided answers that included terms relating to LGBTQ-identified offenders. One participant responded that "all offenders" are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence.

Questions 3-4 and Questions 6 and 46 provide substantial foreshadowing for the data collected from Section 4: Sexual Contact. As was discussed earlier in this chapter in the section on Tutwiler Women's Prison, male COs guarding female inmates has the

potential for extreme Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act (CRIPA) and human rights violations, particularly in facilities with poor leadership and insufficient resources. Also mentioned earlier in this chapter were the findings of a Department of Justice investigation into sexual assaults in the US prison system, the chief finding of which is that 49% of all sexual assaults against inmates are committed by correctional staff (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2013).

The answers to the questions in Section 4: Sexual Contact are extremely interesting. One hundred percent of respondents state that sexual contact is prohibited in the facilities in which they work. The very next question asks what groups within the facility engage in sexual contact, and four participants responded while two participants declined to answer. Of the four that responded, all state that sexual contact takes place between offenders and offenders; three state the sexual contact takes place between COs and offenders; and three state the sexual contact takes place between other staff and offenders.

**Table 7.2.** Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)



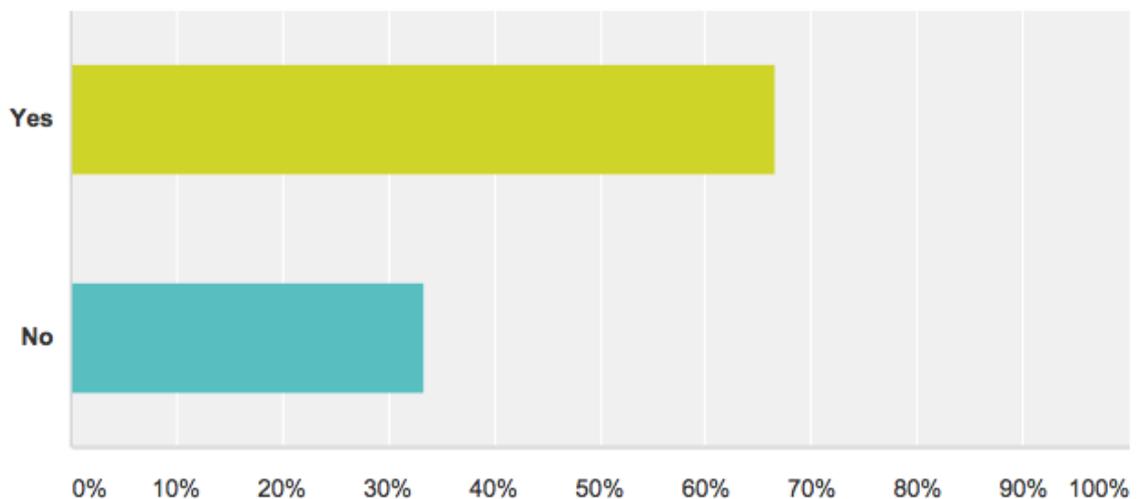
Question 36 asks if “forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take[s] place in this facility,” and one participant declined to answer. Three of the five participants that did answer stated a clear ‘no.’ One participant states, “It may have but I am not aware nor have I witnessed it.” The fifth participant answered that s/he has “witnessed ‘consensual’ sex between inmates” but that the “policy stated that there is no consensual sex while incarcerated” and that those who engage in ‘consensual sex’ are “written up.”

Questions 37-39 continue this conversation about consensual and non-consensual sex, but they specifically concern the exchange of sexual favours for privileges and basic needs. Question 37 asks, “Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?” The responses are evenly split: two of respondents say yes, and two of respondents say no. The remaining participants say other; of these, one respondent states that it is possible that offenders willingly exchange sexual favours for privileges, while the other respondent states “There is no such thing as willing sexual favors in prison.” Question 38 asks, “Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?” To this question, half of respondents say no. Two respondents say yes, and one respondent states that it is possible that offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favours for privileges. The responses to Questions 37 and 38 are fairly consistent. Question 39 asks, “Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?” Although the coding of this question removed the language around willingness due to the presence of the term ‘basic needs,’ the responses remained consistent. Half of participants responded no, while two responded yes and one participant responded that it is possible. However, in Section 2: Power Dynamics, Question 25 asks, “Were offenders’ basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life

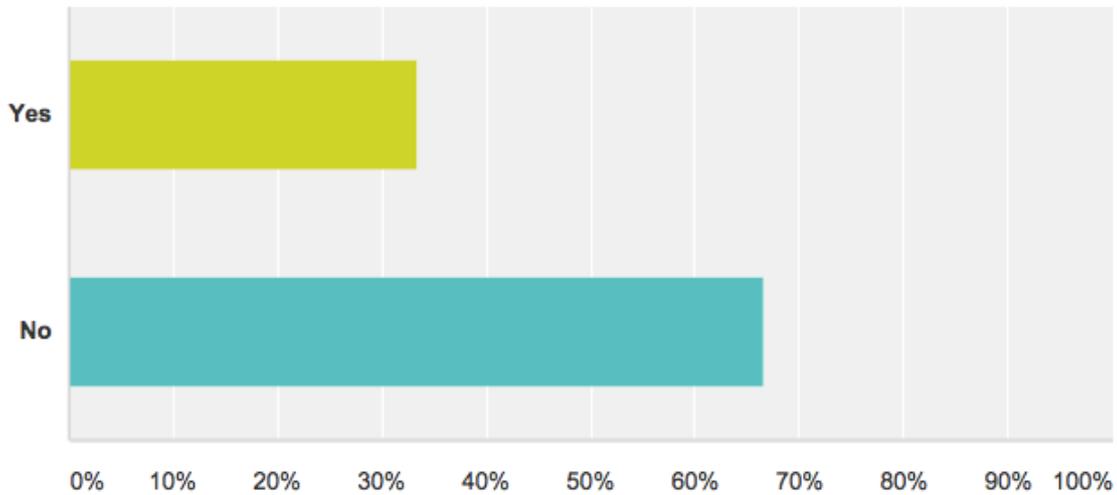
deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?” All respondents answered no. Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, exchanging sexual favours for basic needs can be considered human trafficking.

The next questions are coded specifically to inquire about sexual slavery within the prison system. Questions 40-43 inquire about sexual slavery, colloquially referred to as ‘making someone your bitch,’ while Questions 44 and 45 inquire about forced prostitution. When asked if offenders force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters, four responded yes and two responded no. When asked if COs and/or other correctional staff force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters, the numbers flipped; two responded yes and four responded no.

**Table 7.3.** Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?

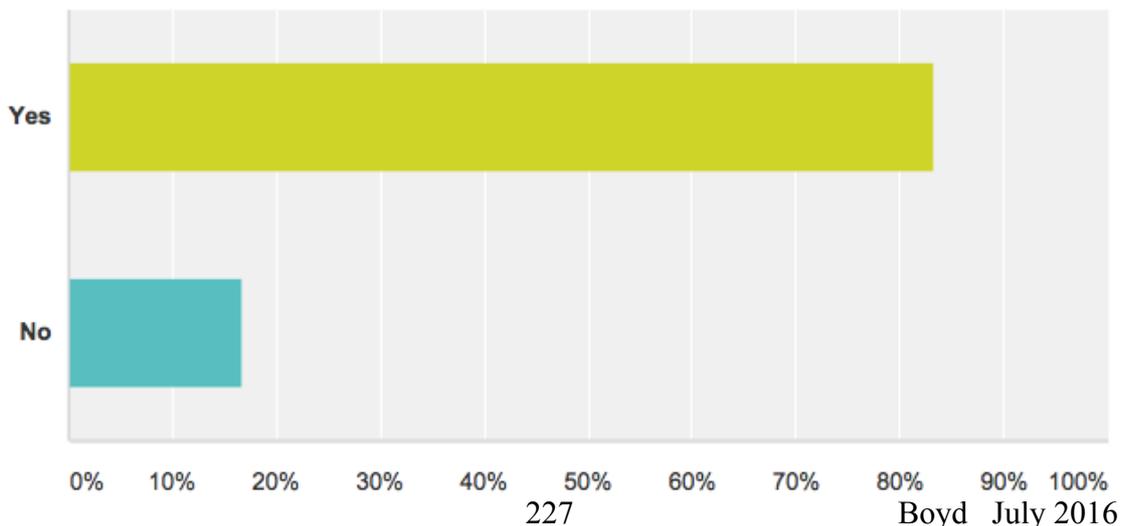


**Table 7.4.** Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?

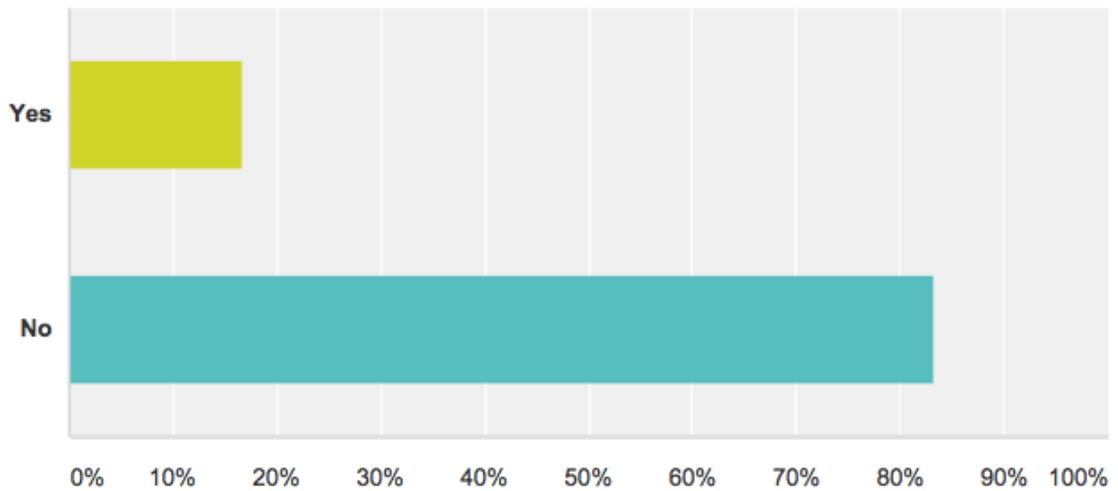


When asked if administrators force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters, only one participant responded yes; the other five participants responded no. Question 43 asks if administrators force COs and other correctional staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters, and all participants responded no. Question 44 asks, “Are there offenders who ‘sell’ sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?” and five respondents answered yes. Question 45 asks, “Are there COs, staff or administrators who ‘sell’ sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?” and the numbers flip again; this time, five respondents answered no. One respondent answered yes.

**Table 7.5.** Q44: Are there offenders who ‘sell’ sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?

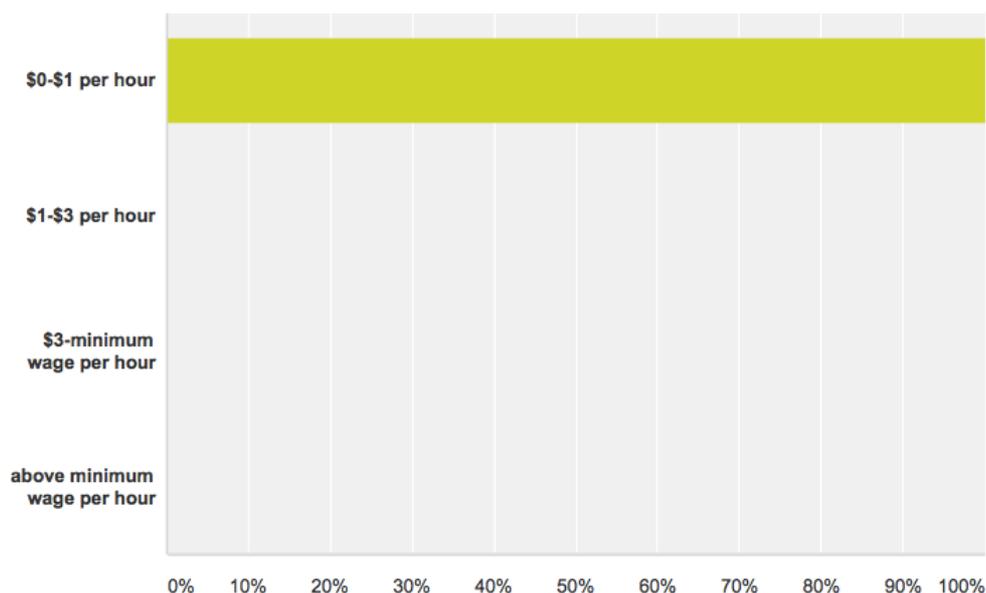


**Table 7.6.** Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who ‘sell’ sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?



Section 3: Labor was coded to elicit responses about forced labour within the prison system. All of the respondents stated that prisoners work in their facilities; some of the jobs include janitorial work, food service, laundry, groundskeeping, barbering, agriculture, electrical work, plumbing, metal fabrication, leather working, sanitation, education, painting, building maintenance, and jobs with UNICOR. Question 27 asks if the offenders are paid a wage for their work. Four of respondents said no and two said yes. Question 28 asks how much offenders are paid for their work, and the four respondents who answered yes to Question 27 responded to Question 28: All respondents stated that offenders are paid \$0 to \$1 per hour.

**Table 7.7.** Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?



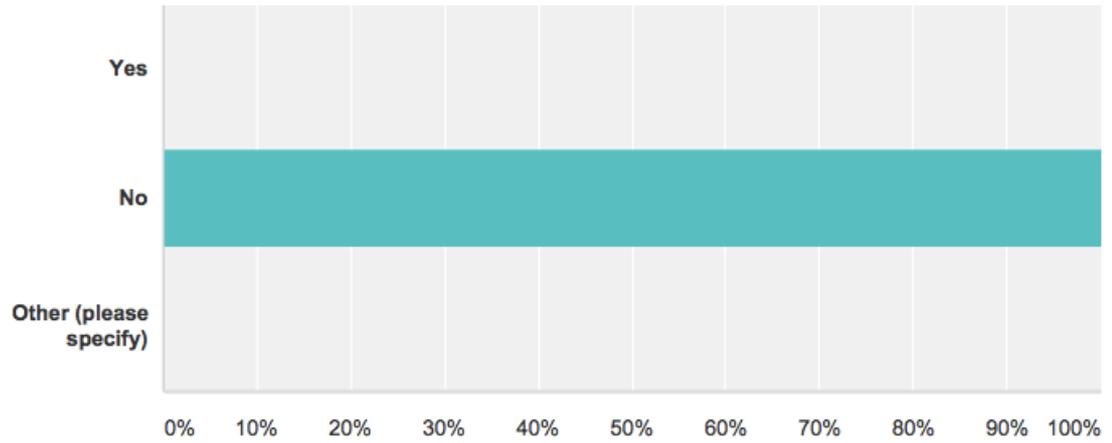
Questions about work hours and length of shifts elicited responses that were consistent with US labour law. However, Question 32 asks if engaging in work was optional or mandatory for offenders, and four responded that it was mandatory. Participants explained in responses to Question 33 that those assigned jobs who failed to show up to work were disciplined unless they had medical reasons for their absence.

On the topic of medical facilities, each of the respondents reported that there was one in the prisons or jails in which they worked. When asked if inmates are charged for the care they receive at these medical facilities, five responded that inmates are charged for care. None of the participants identified their place of work as a pay-to-stay facility, however. Although medical care is available, the correctional facility itself often poses as a health risk, according to survey respondents. Question 11 asks, “Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.” One participant skipped this question, and one partic-

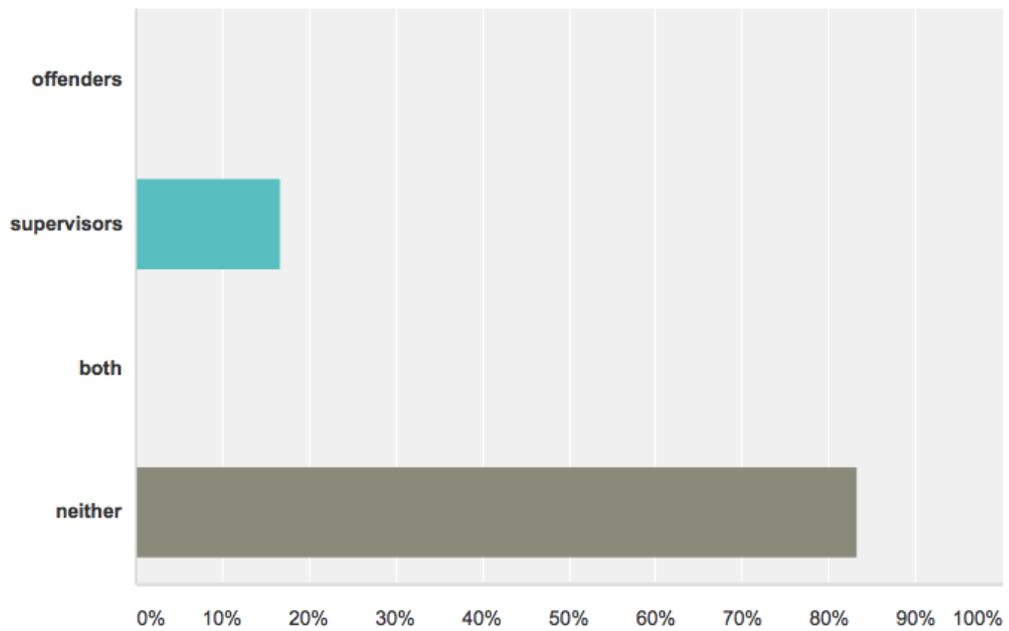
ipant who answered it responded that the question was not applicable to his/her experience. The other four participants responded with lists of dangers; one of the four responded “All of the above.” One responded that there were electrical problems, while another stated that some of the alarms were not functioning correctly. The final participant detailed that there was black mould and that the entire structure was compromised.

Section 2: Power Dynamics and Section 5: Role Reflection contain some questions coded to elicit information about the chain of command, the nature of the leadership in their workplaces, and any coercion they might feel to engage in unjust or inhumane practices. Question 47 asks, “As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?” All six respondents answered no. However, Question 17 asks, “Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?” and one respondent replied yes. Equally as curious are the responses to Questions 49 and 50. Question 49 asks, “Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?” One hundred percent of responses were no. Question 50, a follow-on to Question 49, asks “That pressure to be complicit came from:” None of the participants skipped this question. Five of the participants responded that pressure came from neither offenders nor supervisors; however, one participant responded that the pressure to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes came from supervisors.

**Table 7.8.** Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?



**Table 7.9.** Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:



Finally, Question 51 presents the findings from the aforementioned Department of Justice investigation. It asks, “A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?” All participants answered no.

While this survey had several limitations, the findings were in keeping with much of the literature reviewed earlier in this chapter. Forced prostitution, sexual slavery, and unfree labour are taking place in at least some of the correctional facilities in Texas. Overcrowding, limited resources, and compromised infrastructure are heavily represented in this survey. Furthermore, in at least one correctional facility, it is likely that pressure to be complicit in violent behaviour is tacitly applied by prison leadership, suggesting the presence of a Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship. Further research is required in this area.

## **Conclusions**

The Type IV enslaver-enslaved relationship is dependent on the presence of a third party; there is a more powerful enslaver to whom the Type IV enslaver answers. Perhaps this third party is a Type I or a Type II enslaver, but rarely will s/he/they be a Type III enslaver. The Type IV enslaved person is aware of both the Type IV enslaver and the third party, but is in more constant contact with the former than with the latter. The Type IV enslaver is used as an intermediary between the third party and the enslaved; s/he must carry out the day-to-day business of enslavement. The Type IV enslaver has an exploitable characteristic about him/her that provides the third party with the means to pressure him/her into complicity; the Type IV enslaver is but one misstep

from joining the enslaved.

For this reason, the Type IV enslaver understands that the situation of enslavement is unjust. Type IV enslaver also feels, however, too afraid or too insignificant to change the situation. From that space, s/he can decide either to accept or reject his/her role as enslaver. If s/he accepts it, s/he espouses the narrative that the enslaved deserves to be enslaved and misrecognises himself/herself as being in the third party's favour, or perhaps even his/her equal. If s/he rejects his/her role as enslaver, s/he must deal with the anguish of recognising himself/herself as beholden to both the enslaved and the third party. The Type IV enslaved either recognises himself/herself as being necessary to both the enslaver and the third party so that each can maintain feelings of superiority, or s/he misrecognises one or both of them as 'master' and himself/herself as 'slave.'

The third party likely has economic, social and cultural capital, but also may only have social capital and uses it to present the image of having all three. The Type IV enslaver has less economic and social capital than the third party, but more economic and social capital than the enslaved. The enslaved rarely has access to any capital but retains the ability to create cultural capital within the geographic and political space of enslavement. The enslaved provides economic capital for the third party.

Addressing the unique position of the Type IV enslaver means understanding that s/he may have experience being both an enslaver and an enslaved. In some situations, an enslaved person is chosen by the third party to move into the position of Type IV enslaver after exhibiting complete submission to the third party. Interventions that target the Type IV enslaver must address both the enslaved and the third party, because the Type IV enslaver is traumatised by his/her relationship to both. The application of justice for the Type IV enslaver should take into account the context of coercion that s/

he faced in participating in the enslavement of the enslaved. Furthermore, where relationships such as these are state-sponsored, a complete overhaul of the system is required.

## Chapter 9: Conclusions

I began this journey by peering into several of the knowledge gaps in slavery studies and the contemporary anti-slavery movement to see if there were clues in the blanks for why contemporary anti-slavery interventions seemed so inefficient. I focused in on one gap in particular: the monolithic representations of enslavers and enslaved in popular opinion. While there is some traction on learning to provide services to survivors of enslavement with more nuance, the same consideration has not been applied to interactions with enslavers. Choi-Fitzpatrick muses, "...slaveholders themselves come off as rather crudely drawn villains. While this perception is rooted in the ongoing reality of violent exploitation, it does not help us to better understand human rights violators as human beings in the middle of their own lives" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 11). I used as an entry point the cases I had come across of enslavers who invested more financial capital into the practice of slavery than they were receiving in financial returns, as these enslavers were exhibiting behaviour that contradicted the commonly accepted and widely portrayed enslaver profile. In sussing out patterns of characteristics and behaviour, three other types of enslaver profiles revealed themselves to me, as did behaviours of the people they enslaved before, during and after the period of enslavement.

From these groupings of characteristics and behaviors, I developed a theoretical framework comprising four typologies of enslaver-enslaved relationships. I analysed the framework using the theory of recognition/misrecognition and the theory of habitus and the three forms of capital. I also tested the four typologies against primary and secondary sources and analysed the data. This process yielded four primary conclusions. The first is that the most common motivator for both enslavers and enslaved in the four

relationship types is the acquisition of social capital. The second is that the relationship types are dynamic, not static. The third is that it is necessary that we begin to identify people that are at-risk for becoming enslavers and provide interventions. The fourth is that even more nuance is required if we are to communicate clearly and effectively about what we mean when we discuss slavery.

### Social Capital

According to Bourdieu, social capital is what binds us in society: it is the connections, the network, the ability to navigate disparate norms and behaviours, and the belonging that allows us to maintain access to resources. While each of the three types of capital can be converted into the other, they each retain very important roles in society. As I explored in Chapters 1 and 2, the most prominent voices in slavery studies and the anti-slavery movement assert that greed for financial profits are what drives people to enslave others. This idea is widely accepted as true, and a major research focus in contemporary slavery is looking into the economics of the slave trade -- how much slaves cost, how that cost has changed over time, how much money is made from slavery, and how much it costs to end slavery. While that information is no doubt useful, it is important that we investigate what it is about social capital that makes people willing to engage in enslavement. "Attempts to understand these patterns [of prolonged enslavement] using only resources provided by economics will miss the deeper relational fabric used to stitch together this socio-economic tapestry" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 104).

Perhaps it is because I am writing this monograph at the epicenter of capitalist fervor that I am surprised at this particular conclusion; but even as I contemplate it, I

realise that the reason that I did not know before now that social capital is most influential in motivating people to engage in slavery is the same reason that the relationship between the enslaver and the enslaved is such a key knowledge gap. From a sociological perspective, we will always seek to right the imbalances that we create in our societies. Slavery is perhaps the one of the clearest indicators of a malfunctioning society; for some, the compulsion to seek to acquire social capital, even within a relationship of enslavement, may be a subconscious desire to engage directly with the problem. From a Hegelian perspective, if one person decides that s/he wants to self-identify as a master, then in order for that desire to be fulfilled, someone else must be a slave. If the person who initially wants to be a master is doing so because s/he is seeking to amass social capital, then perhaps s/he is reacting to perceiving himself/herself as having little or no social capital. Furthermore, those who find themselves engaging in slavery as a slave arrived at that point in pursuit of social capital, which means that s/he certainly perceives himself/herself as lacking in social capital. Does at least part of the solution to eradicating slavery lie in creating, maintaining, and deepening our societies' social connections? It is certainly an exciting possibility.

### Dynamic Enslaver-Enslaved Relationships

In the process of analysing each type of enslaver-enslaved relationship within this monograph, it became clear to me that a few variables separate the movement of the participants from one relationship type from another. Those variables are as simple as amount of time in the relationship, ration of enslavers to enslaved, and the type of function the enslaver wants the enslaved to perform. Over the course of the entire enslave-enslaved relationship, or, even over the course of one day, an enslaver and the enslaved

can go from being in a Type II relationship to entering into a Type III relationship. A shift in the understanding of a law or of history can transform a Type I enslaver into a Type IV enslaver. In many cases, the only real difference between a Type I enslaver and a Type II enslaver is popular narrative and self-perception.

Choi-Fitzpatrick's study on how enslavers in India are adjusting to the enforcement of legislation banning the cultural tradition of forced labour and blurring the lines between castes provides some insights into this dynamism. Choi-Fitzpatrick finds that many of the enslavers perceived their relationships with those they enslaved as familial and benevolent. He describes a "broader tendency to ascribe the worst violations of laborers' dignity to earlier generations while framing contemporary bonded labor as the costly but ethical response to the pleading of indigent community members" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 168). The enslavers seem genuinely surprised that those they have held in forced labour would have any reason to complain or to organise against them. One enslaver explains, "In my case in particular they filed a case, but nothing drastic has resulted because I explained that it was because of their vulnerability that they came to me, approaching me for something, and I accepted" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 168). This Type I enslaver is so steeped in the narrative of his burden of benevolence that it does not occur to him that those he enslaved had no dignified options available to them, so they resigned themselves to bonded labour in the hopes of being able to meet their most basic human needs.

Now that the law banning bonded labour is enforceable, the enslavers are forced into engaging their former slaves as daily wage labourers. They have to freedom to work or not work as they please. This has rendered the old ways of running a business unstable. The former enslavers, having believed so fully in their paternalistic benevo-

lence, feel shocked and betrayed that their former slaves have complaints. One former enslaver laments, "Now they pay us no respect; they behave as if we are equals" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, forthcoming, 127). In the US, in the period of Reconstruction (1863-1877), as the nation attempted to rebuild itself after the American Civil War, former slaveowners felt similarly shocked that their slaves wanted to leave. They lamented their loss of property and of 'family.' George Washington famously spent a many years and a small fortune attempting to re-enslave Oney Judge, who spent the rest of her life in hiding in order to remain free (New England Historical Society 2014). Washington signed the highly controversial Fugitive Slave Act in the midst of his search for Oney (New England Historical Society 2014). There is an extreme sense of denial and entitlement present in Washington's response, and in Choi-Fitzpatrick's interviews with former enslavers, I recognised a similarity to Washington.

That sense of shock, loss and betrayal by not just the former slaves but by the social institutions that the former slaveowners relied upon to maintain social stratification hardened into a deep resentment in the US. The backlash, which is well-documented, has been brutal (Blackmon 2008; Novak 2014). Vagrancy laws, widespread and state-sanctioned lynchings, the razing of successful black towns to the ground, Jim Crow laws and mass incarceration are just a few of the indicators that a more thoughtful transition to equal society should have been considered (Blackmon 2008; Alexander 2012). I believe that some of the descendants of those Reconstruction Era Type I or Type II slaveowners were taught to carry forward that resentment, and are part of the group that currently comprises Type III slaveowners. I also believe that it would be prudent to develop some far-sighted programming to assist former enslavers in India so that they do not develop into Type III enslavers.

### At-Risk to Enslave

To build upon the idea that former enslavers in India are in need of transition assistance, this study allowed me to more clearly comprehend that the complete eradication of slavery is not possible unless we develop preventative interventions for people who are at-risk for enslaving others. It never makes much sense to address supply without addressing demand, as we are beginning to see in the US around domestic minor sex trafficking. An important undertaking in both academic slavery studies and practical anti-slavery movement is to identify what characteristics and experiences enslavers exhibited before, during and after engaging in enslavement. That information can be aggregated and analysed to reveal characteristics, circumstances, behaviours and triggers that precipitate a person's engagement with enslaving others.

A program like this, were it successful, could also provide us with data on who, how and why enslavers target specific people as their victims and what they envision engaging in enslavement to look and feel like, as well as how long they intended to allow it to endure.

### Nuanced Terminology

There are several debates in slavery scholarship around terminology, definitions and deployment of terms. In the writing of this monograph, I have been keenly aware that I am severely limited in recognised and accepted terminology with which to describe several of the concepts in this project. Even the simple act of differentiating between the term 'slave' in the Hegelian sense and the term 'slave' in the Type III sense in a single sentence proved a bit confusing. Rather than debating over the meaning of a

few terms that are laden with connotations that differ for users according to historical, political and geographical space, slavery scholars and anti-slavery activists should consider strategically developing new terminology for the wide variety of concepts that are shadowed beneath the slavery umbrella.

Several key points emerged in the course of completing this research. Foremost is that although the motivations and processes of the enslaver are rarely interrogated, and although the experiences of the enslaved are perhaps over-interrogated, they are both under-analysed. One implication of this is that an analytical approach recognising the experiences of the enslaved as dynamic and fluid should allow for more efficient interventions than those in which their passive victimhood is assumed. The second realisation is that this research suggests that there are far more aspects of slavery that are misunderstood than are understood. The framework of four enslaver-enslaved relationship types explored in the preceding pages have brought forth far more questions for me than answers. Thirdly, this work is undeniably inter-disciplinary. In attempts to remain within the bounds of the social sciences, I discovered that the information available simply was not complete. Therefore, I have drawn from literature from social work, health, psychology, criminal justice, history, and law to develop this thesis. Given that each case of enslavement is unique, but also exists at the intersection of culture, economics, policies (or lack thereof), psychological states, all set within a shadowy moral economy that allows enslavement to occur, a multidisciplinary approach is not just preferable, it is essential.

The primary research with young people in foster care who have experience in sex work provided several enlightening findings. First, it is their experiences with foster care that prime them to believe that they deserve to occupy a lower caste. This strongly

suggests that interventions must be preventative, and they must be applied within the foster care system. Second, the respondents seemed resigned to dealing with the indignities of commercial sex, homelessness, violence and hunger, but they were most passionate about others not enduring those same indignities — especially a younger sibling or another foster child with whom they were friendly. Third, their discussions on love and belonging made it clear to me that expressing one’s feelings about one’s pimp as ‘love’ is normative and performative. It is an aspect of the life in which they participate, but it is participation primarily for the purpose of belonging, to ensure the modicum of security the pimp provides.

In the primary research I accomplished with diamond miners in Sierra Leone, I learned that most did not identify as being enslaved, particularly relative to their experiences during the war. However, they did often identify as being exploited. They recognise the extractive minerals corporations, the diamond brokers, the mine owners, and some of the chiefs as exploitative, but they also recognise the government and the non-governmental organisations as being exploitative as well. My most enlightening finding of the entire study was here. In preparation for my journey to Sierra Leone, I read all the literature I possibly could on political economy, on development, on sociology, and on education. When I arrived there and began collecting data, I found that only two books that I had read were applicable: Mariane Ferme’s *The Underneath of Things* (2001) and Sigismond Ayodele Wilson’s doctoral dissertation, *Diamonds, a resource curse? The case of Kono District in Sierra Leone* (2010). None of the other readings portrayed the situation on the ground accurately. So much of the literature on Sierra Leone is based on the concept that the locals are poor because they are too uneducated to know how exploitative the contracts are that they sign. It is assumed that they are uninformed on the

diamond industry. The reality is those miners may not be able to read or write but they know the extractive minerals industry inside and out. They understand exactly what has happened to their country and they know who is behind it. It was perhaps my most valuable piece of data, as it immediately threw all of the other concepts into focus.

The data I collected from the correctional officers was singular for me because although very few of the participants from all four target groups identify as enslaved, the correctional officers did not even identify as intersecting with enslavement in their work spaces. It allowed for responses that were removed from the jargon of anti-slavery, allowing me a fresh context within to analyse their responses.

I am eternally grateful to the survivor-advocates who guided me through this process and who dared to revisit some very painful experiences in order to expand my understanding of the enslaver-enslaved relationship.

My lasting impression from undertaking this study is that the framework can be immediately useful in a criminal justice context. In developing our understanding of the ways in which slavery manifests, nuance can be introduced to our anti-slavery policies that will allow for an unfettered access to justice. In much the same way that assault can be understood as normal or aggravated, or in the way that death can be prosecuted as justifiable homicide, negligence, murder, manslaughter 1 or manslaughter 2, depending upon the intentions and circumstances of the crime, so can the circumstances of enslavement come to bear on how the crime is handled under the law. Similarly, in providing extended and rehabilitative care to slavery survivors, having the capacity to identify the type of relationship in which the survivor was enslaved will allow for a more customised and relevant care plan to be developed. Finally, if enslavers can begin to understand the origins of their desire to enslave, perhaps we can begin to develop preventa-

tive interventions for them as well.

It is my intention that this study will be a useful contribution to the anti-slavery field. Slavery is not a sustainable practice; it is active suicide. Slavery is a very important aspect of how work is carried out and how work is valued in global society, and human advancement in productivity and all other areas of potential are dependent upon the eradication of slavery in all its manifestations.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Survey of Correctional Officers



**#1**

**COMPLETE**

**Collector:** Web Link 1 (Web Link)

**Started:** Saturday, July 11, 2015 3:17:47 PM

**Last Modified:** Saturday, July 11, 2015 3:34:56 PM **Time Spent:** 00:17:09

**PAGE 1: Facility**

**Q1: Which of these most accurately describes the facility where you work(ed) as a CO?**

Federal Prison

**Q2: Is the facility in which you work(ed) operated by a public entity or a private entity?**

Public

**Q3: Which population was primarily served by that corrections facility?**

Male

**Q4: If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q5: If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q6: Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?**

Yes

**Q7: If the facility was designed for adult offenders, were there any juveniles in its population?**

No

**Q8: Does the facility include a death row wing? If so, did you work there?**

No, the facility did not have a death row wing.

**Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?**

over capacity

**Q10: Does the facility utilize solitary confinement as a punishment?**

Yes

**Q11: Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.**

Facility Danger(s)

Some alarms did not work probably. Some guards are not physically fit to defend themselves and help others.

**Q12: Are offenders charged room and board while they are incarcerated at this facility?**

No

**Q13: Was there a medical care facility within the correctional facility?**

Yes

**Q14: Are offenders charged for the medical attention they receive?**

Yes

**PAGE 2: Power Dynamics**

**Q15: Did you report directly to the warden?**

No

**Q16: If not, to whom did you report?**

Lieutenant

**Q17: Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?**

No

**Q18: Were there offenders in your facility that you felt had more power than you had?**

Yes

**Q19: If so, what provided him/her/them with that power?**

Some officers/supervisors would back up the some of the inmates giving them the upper hand in some situations. Like an officer in the cafeteria would give the inmate food to bring to their cell and when you take it from them because they can't have it, they go to the same officer and get more.

**Q20: Did you find that there were unwritten/unspoken rules of engagement between COs and offenders?**

Yes

**Q21: In the facility in which you worked, was power primarily obtained through violence?**

No

**Q22: In the facility in which you worked, were there offenders or groups of offenders who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q23: In the facility in which you worked, were there employees or groups of employees who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q24: Which group(s) in the facility in which you worked held the most power?**

White Male employees hold more power and influence. The supervisor inmate janitors usually receive more benefits than others.

**Q25: Were offenders' basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?**

No

**PAGE 3: Labor**

**Q26: Do the offenders at the facility do work? Please list the jobs available to the incarcerated at this facility.**

Yes, unit janitors, barbers, food service workers, yard workers, trash detail, Unicolor jobs, education jobs, chapel jobs, recreation jobs, etc.

**Q27: Are the offenders paid a wage for working these jobs?**

Yes

**Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?**

\$0-\$1 per hour

**Q29: During what hours do the offenders do their work?**

From 5 AM to 8 PM with different shifts and hours for work. No one works more than 8 hours a day.

**Q30: To your knowledge, did private corporations hire offenders from this facility? If so, please list any corporations that contracted the inmates while you were employed there.**

No

**Q31: To your knowledge, did departments of the government other than Department of Corrections and the Department of Justice hire offenders from this facility? If so, please name those departments.**

No

**Q32: Was engaging in work optional or mandatory for offenders?**

Other (please specify)  
Some can not work so they don't.

**Q33: If work was mandatory, how was it enforced?**

Incident reports are written for inmates that have jobs but do not want to work.

PAGE 4: Sexual Contact

**Q34: Is all sexual contact prohibited in this facility?**

Yes

**Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)**

offenders and offenders, COs and offenders, other staff and offenders

**Q36: Does forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take place in this facility?**

It may have but I am not aware nor have I witnessed it.

**Q37: Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Other (please specify)

There is no such thing as willing sexual favors in prison.

**Q38: Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Yes

**Q39: Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?**

Yes

**Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q42: Are there administrators that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q43: Are there administrators that force COs and/or staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q44: Are there offenders who 'sell' sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?**

Yes

**Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who ‘sell’ sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?**

No

**Q46: What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?**

Homosexuals

**PAGE 5: Role Reflection**

**Q47: As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?**

No

**Q48: Were you rewarded for using excessive violent or sexual force against an offender?**

No

**Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?**

No

**Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:**

neither

**Q51: A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?**

No

**PAGE 6: Demographics**

**Q52: What is your gender?**

Female

**Q53: How do you identify racially/culturally/ethnically?**

Black or African-American

**Q54: What is your age?**

25 to 34

**Q55: Which of these most accurately describes you?**

currently employed as a CO

**Q56: In what state or U.S. territory are/were you employed as a CO?**

Texas

**Q57: Do you identify as disabled, either officially or unofficially?**

No, I do not identify as disabled.

**Q58: What was your most recent salary as a corrections officer or staff?**

\$50,000 to \$74,999



**#2**

**COMPLETE**

**Collector:** Web Link 1 (Web Link)

**Started:** Monday, July 13, 2015 4:38:47 AM

**Last Modified:** Monday, July 13, 2015 5:04:16 AM **Time Spent:** 00:25:29

**PAGE 1: Facility**

**Q1: Which of these most accurately describes the facility where you work(ed) as a CO?**

Minimum & Medium Security Prison, Close Security Prison

**Q2: Is the facility in which you work(ed) operated by a public entity or a private entity?**

Public

**Q3: Which population was primarily served by that corrections facility?**

Male, Other (please specify)

worked a two state prisons, one was male the other was mostly male but had co-ed medical

**Q4: If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?**

only in the infirmary

**Q5: If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?**

Yes

**Q6: Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?**

Yes

**Q7: If the facility was designed for adult offenders, were there any juveniles in its population?**

No

**Q8: Does the facility include a death row wing? If so, did you work there?**

No, the facility did not have a death row wing.

**Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?**

at capacity

**Q10: Does the facility utilize solitary confinement as a punishment?**

Yes

**Q11: Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.**

Facility Danger(s)

black mold, compromised structure (built on a former rice field )

**Q12: Are offenders charged room and board while they are incarcerated at this facility?**

No

**Q13: Was there a medical care facility within the correctional facility?**

Yes

**Q14: Are offenders charged for the medical attention they receive?**

No,

Other (please specify) not that I am aware

## **PAGE 2: Power Dynamics**

**Q15: Did you report directly to the warden?**

No

**Q16: If not, to whom did you report?**

chain of command was as follows: CO's, Sergeants, Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Assistant Warden (sometimes two depending on the size of the unit) and Warden

**Q17: Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?**

No

**Q18: Were there offenders in your facility that you felt had more power than you had?**

No

**Q19: If so, what provided him/her/them with that power?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q20: Did you find that there were unwritten/unspoken rules of engagement between COs and offenders?**

Yes. Respect me and I will respect you.

**Q21: In the facility in which you worked, was power primarily obtained through violence?**

No

**Q22: In the facility in which you worked, were there offenders or groups of offenders who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q23: In the facility in which you worked, were there employees or groups of employees who received special privileges?**

No

**Q24: Which group(s) in the facility in which you worked held the most power?**

Officers that worked in the metal fabrication and maintenance departments

**Q25: Were offenders' basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?**

No

**PAGE 3: Labor**

**Q26: Do the offenders at the facility do work? Please list the jobs available to the incarcerated at this facility.**

Electrical, plumbing, field workers, metal fabrication, cleaning crews, barbers, law library, laundry, cooks, commissary, farm hands, and many more.

**Q27: Are the offenders paid a wage for working these jobs?**

Yes

**Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q29: During what hours do the offenders do their work?**

depending on the job some are on call but most times a regular 40 work week.

**Q30: To your knowledge, did private corporations hire offenders from this facility? If so, please list any corporations that contracted the inmates while you were employed there.**

Police departments would ask leather workers (privileged offenders allowed to pick up the trade and make paid contracts with CO's and civilians) to make their leather equipment, wood workers made toys, painters did portraits. Other than that not sure.

**Q31: To your knowledge, did departments of the government other than Department of Corrections and the Department of Justice hire offenders from this facility? If so, please name those departments.**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q32: Was engaging in work optional or mandatory for offenders?**

Other (please specify)

A bit of both. Depending on the offenders skill before prison they would be put to work. For some work is used as a means to keep them busy.

**Q33: If work was mandatory, how was it enforced?**

If an inmate didn't go to work he'd be written up. Like people in the free world.

**PAGE 4: Sexual Contact**

**Q34: Is all sexual contact prohibited in this facility?**

Yes

**Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)**

offenders and offenders, COs and offenders, other staff and offenders

**Q36: Does forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take place in this facility?**

I was an investigator for alleged raped. I've also witnessed "consensual" sex between inmates. For that they are written up. Our policy stated that there is no consensual sex while incarcerated.

**Q37: Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Yes

**Q38: Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Yes

**Q39: Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?**

No

**Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**Q42: Are there administrators that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**Q43: Are there administrators that force COs and/or staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q44: Are there offenders who 'sell' sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?**

Yes

**Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who 'sell' sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?**

Yes

**Q46: What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?**

Young first time offenders, feminine male offenders, small offenders

#### **PAGE 5: Role Reflection**

**Q47: As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?**

No

**Q48: Were you rewarded for using excessive violent or sexual force against an offender?**

No

**Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?**

No

**Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:**

neither

**Q51: A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?**

No

**PAGE 6: Demographics**

**Q52: What is your gender?**

Female

**Q53: How do you identify racially/culturally/ethnically?**

Black or African-American

**Q54: What is your age?**

25 to 34

**Q55: Which of these most accurately describes you?**

employed long-term as a CO in the past

**Q56: In what state or U.S. territory are/were you employed as a CO?**

Texas

**Q57: Do you identify as disabled, either officially or unofficially?**

No, I do not identify as disabled.

**Q58: What was your most recent salary as a corrections officer or staff?**

\$50,000 to \$74,999



**#3**

**COMPLETE**

**Collector:** Web Link 1 (Web Link)

**Started:** Monday, July 13, 2015 5:11:12 AM

**Last Modified:** Monday, July 13, 2015 5:40:50 AM **Time Spent:** 00:29:37

**PAGE 1: Facility**

**Q1: Which of these most accurately describes the facility where you work(ed) as a CO?**

Minimum & Medium Security Prison, Close Security Prison,  
Supermax Security Prison, Jail

**Q2: Is the facility in which you work(ed) operated by a public entity or a private entity?**

Public

**Q3: Which population was primarily served by that corrections facility?**

Male

**Q4: If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?**

The never do.

**Q5: If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?**

Yes

**Q6: Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?**

Yes

**Q7: If the facility was designed for adult offenders, were there any juveniles in its population?**

No

**Q8: Does the facility include a death row wing? If so, did you work there?**

Yes, the facility had a death row wing and I worked there.

**Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?**

at capacity

**Q10: Does the facility utilize solitary confinement as a punishment?**

Yes

**Q11: Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.**

Facility Danger(s) Would electrical problems

**Q12: Are offenders charged room and board while they are incarcerated at this facility?**

No

**Q13: Was there a medical care facility within the correctional facility?**

Yes

**Q14: Are offenders charged for the medical attention they receive?**

Yes, Other (please specify)

\$100 for their first time going to medical after that there's no charge

**PAGE 2: Power Dynamics**

**Q15: Did you report directly to the warden?**

No

**Q16: If not, to whom did you report?**

My shift supervisor.

**Q17: Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?**

No

**Q18: Were there offenders in your facility that you felt had more power than you had?**

No

**Q19: If so, what provided him/her/them with that power?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q20: Did you find that there were unwritten/unspoken rules of engagement between COs and offenders?**

Yes

**Q21: In the facility in which you worked, was power primarily obtained through violence?**

No

**Q22: In the facility in which you worked, were there offenders or groups of offenders who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q23: In the facility in which you worked, were there employees or groups of employees who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q24: Which group(s) in the facility in which you worked held the most power?**

The STG Security Threat Groups

**Q25: Were offenders' basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?**

No

### **PAGE 3: Labor**

**Q26: Do the offenders at the facility do work? Please list the jobs available to the incarcerated at this facility.**

Field squad, janitors, barbers, kitchen workers, painters, and maintenance.

**Q27: Are the offenders paid a wage for working these jobs?**

No

**Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?**

8-5pm

**Q29: During what hours do the offenders do their work?**

\$0-\$1 per hour

**Q30: To your knowledge, did private corporations hire offenders from this facility? If so, please list any corporations that contracted the inmates while you were employed there.**

No

**Q31: To your knowledge, did departments of the government other than Department of Corrections and the Department of Justice hire offenders from this facility? If so, please name those departments.**

No

**Q32: Was engaging in work optional or mandatory for offenders?**

mandatory

**Q33: If work was mandatory, how was it enforced?**

If they didn't go they've get written up if they didn't have a medical pass.

**PAGE 4: Sexual Contact**

**Q34: Is all sexual contact prohibited in this facility?**

Yes

**Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q36: Does forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take place in this facility?**

No

**Q37: Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

No

**Q38: Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

No

**Q39: Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?**

No

**Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q42: Are there administrators that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q43: Are there administrators that force COs and/or staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q44: Are there offenders who ‘sell’ sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?**

No

**Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who ‘sell’ sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?**

No

**Q46: What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?**

All offenders

#### **PAGE 5: Role Reflection**

**Q47: As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?**

No

**Q48: Were you rewarded for using excessive violent or sexual force against an offender?**

No

**Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?**

No

**Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:**

neither

**Q51: A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?**

No

#### **PAGE 6: Demographics**

**Q52: What is your gender?**

Male

**Q53: How do you identify racially/culturally/ethnically?**

Black or African-American

**Q54: What is your age?**

18 to 24

**Q55: Which of these most accurately describes you?**

currently employed as a CO

**Q56: In what state or U.S. territory are/were you employed as a CO?**

Texas

**Q57: Do you identify as disabled, either officially or unofficially?**

No, I do not identify as disabled.

**Q58: What was your most recent salary as a corrections officer or staff?**

\$25,000 to \$49,999



**#4**

**COMPLETE**

**Collector:** Web Link 1 (Web Link)

**Started:** Monday, July 13, 2015 8:16:37 AM

**Last Modified:** Monday, July 13, 2015 8:30:00 AM **Time Spent:** 00:13:22

**PAGE 1: Facility**

**Q1: Which of these most accurately describes the facility where you work(ed) as a CO?**

Minimum & Medium Security Prison

**Q2: Is the facility in which you work(ed) operated by a public entity or a private entity?**

Public

**Q3: Which population was primarily served by that corrections facility?**

Female

**Q4: If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q5: If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?**

Yes

**Q6: Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?**

Yes

**Q7: If the facility was designed for adult offenders, were there any juveniles in its population?**

No

**Q8: Does the facility include a death row wing? If so, did you work there?**

No, the facility did not have a death row wing.

**Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?**

near capacity

**Q10: Does the facility utilize solitary confinement as a punishment?**

Yes

**Q11: Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.**

Facility Danger(s) all of the above

**Q12: Are offenders charged room and board while they are incarcerated at this facility?**

No

**Q13: Was there a medical care facility within the correctional facility?**

Yes

**Q14: Are offenders charged for the medical attention they receive?**

Yes

**PAGE 2: Power Dynamics**

**Q15: Did you report directly to the warden?**

No

**Q16: If not, to whom did you report?**

lieutenant

**Q17: Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?**

Yes

**Q18: Were there offenders in your facility that you felt had more power than you had?**

No

**Q19: If so, what provided him/her/them with that power?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q20: Did you find that there were unwritten/unspoken rules of engagement between COs and offenders?**

Yes

**Q21: In the facility in which you worked, was power primarily obtained through violence?**

No

**Q22: In the facility in which you worked, were there offenders or groups of offenders who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q23: In the facility in which you worked, were there employees or groups of employees who received special privileges?**

No

**Q24: Which group(s) in the facility in which you worked held the most power?**

Wardens

**Q25: Were offenders' basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?**

No

**PAGE 3: Labor**

**Q26: Do the offenders at the facility do work? Please list the jobs available to the incarcerated at this facility.**

Kitchen , Yard squad and maintenance

**Q27: Are the offenders paid a wage for working these jobs?**

No

**Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?**

\$0-\$1 per hour

**Q29: During what hours do the offenders do their work?**

begins at 3 am

**Q30: To your knowledge, did private corporations hire offenders from this facility? If so, please list any corporations that contracted the inmates while you were employed there.**

No

**Q31: To your knowledge, did departments of the government other than Department of Corrections and the Department of Justice hire offenders from this facility? If so, please name those departments.**

No

**Q32: Was engaging in work optional or mandatory for offenders?**

**Q33: If work was mandatory, how was it enforced? Case was written then privileges were taken**

mandatory

PAGE 4: Sexual Contact

**Q34: Is all sexual contact prohibited in this facility?**

Yes

**Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)**

offenders and offenders, COs and offenders, other staff and offenders

**Q36: Does forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take place in this facility?**

No

**Q37: Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Yes

**Q38: Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

No

**Q39: Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?**

Yes

**Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q42: Are there administrators that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q43: Are there administrators that force COs and/or staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q44: Are there offenders who 'sell' sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?**

Yes

**Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who ‘sell’ sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?**

No

**Q46: What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?**

Poor are mentally ill

**PAGE 5: Role Reflection**

**Q47: As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?**

Yes

**Q48: Were you rewarded for using excessive violent or sexual force against an offender?**

No

**Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?**

No

**Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:**

supervisors

**Q51: A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?**

No

**PAGE 6: Demographics**

**Q52: What is your gender?**

Female

**Q53: How do you identify racially/culturally/ethnically?**

From multiple races

**Q54: What is your age?**

35 to 44

**Q55: Which of these most accurately describes you?**

currently employed as a CO

**Q56: In what state or U.S. territory are/were you employed as a CO?**

Texas

**Q57: Do you identify as disabled, either officially or unofficially?**

No, I do not identify as disabled.

**Q58: What was your most recent salary as a corrections officer or staff?**

\$25,000 to \$49,999



**#5**

**COMPLETE**

**Collector:** Web Link 1 (Web Link)

**Started:** Wednesday, July 15, 2015 7:07:00 PM

**Last Modified:** Wednesday, July 15, 2015 7:18:57 PM **Time Spent:** 00:11:57

**PAGE 1: Facility**

**Q1: Which of these most accurately describes the facility where you work(ed) as a CO?**

Minimum & Medium Security Prison, Close Security Prison

**Q2: Is the facility in which you work(ed) operated by a public entity or a private entity?**

Public

**Q3: Which population was primarily served by that corrections facility?**

Male

**Q4: If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?**

N/A

**Q5: If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q6: Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?**

Yes

**Q7: If the facility was designed for adult offenders, were there any juveniles in its population?**

No

**Q8: Does the facility include a death row wing? If so, did you work there?**

No, the facility did not have a death row wing.

**Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?**

near capacity

**Q10: Does the facility utilize solitary confinement as a punishment?**

Yes

**Q11: Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.**

Facility Danger(s) N/A

**Q12: Are offenders charged room and board while they are incarcerated at this facility?**

No

**Q13: Was there a medical care facility within the correctional facility?**

Yes

**Q14: Are offenders charged for the medical attention they receive?**

Yes

**PAGE 2: Power Dynamics**

**Q15: Did you report directly to the warden?**

Yes

**Q16: If not, to whom did you report?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q17: Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?**

No

**Q18: Were there offenders in your facility that you felt had more power than you had?**

No

**Q19: If so, what provided him/her/them with that power?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q20: Did you find that there were unwritten/unspoken rules of engagement between COs and offenders?**

NO

**Q21: In the facility in which you worked, was power primarily obtained through violence?**

No

**Q22: In the facility in which you worked, were there offenders or groups of offenders who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q23: In the facility in which you worked, were there employees or groups of employees who received special privileges?**

No

**Q24: Which group(s) in the facility in which you worked held the most power?**

OFFICERS OF WHITE ORIGIN

**Q25: Were offenders' basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?**

No

**PAGE 3: Labor**

**Q26: Do the offenders at the facility do work? Please list the jobs available to the incarcerated at this facility.**

YES, LAUNDRY, KITCHEN, FIELD WORK, CLEANING BUILDING, GROUNDS KEEPING, SUPPORT SERVICE, BARBER SHOP

**Q27: Are the offenders paid a wage for working these jobs?**

No

**Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q29: During what hours do the offenders do their work?**

BASE ON THE DEPARTMENT NEED

**Q30: To your knowledge, did private corporations hire offenders from this facility? If so, please list any corporations that contracted the inmates while you were employed there.**

NO

**Q31: To your knowledge, did departments of the government other than Department of Corrections and the Department of Justice hire offenders from this facility? If so, please name those departments.**

NO

**Q32: Was engaging in work optional or mandatory for offenders?**

mandatory

**Q33: If work was mandatory, how was it enforced?**

ROLL CALL TO GO TO WORK, REFUSAL WAS A DISCIPLINARY UTILIZED A TRACKING SYSTEM FAILURE TO WORK LOSS OF GOOD TIME EARNING STATUS

PAGE 4: Sexual Contact

**Q34: Is all sexual contact prohibited in this facility?**

Yes

**Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q36: Does forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take place in this facility?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q37: Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Other (please specify) IT IS POSSIBLE

**Q38: Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

Other (please specify) IT IS POSSIBLE

**Q39: Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?**

Other (please specify) IT IS POSSIBLE

**Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q42: Are there administrators that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q43: Are there administrators that force COs and/or staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q44: Are there offenders who 'sell' sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?**

Yes

**Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who 'sell' sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?**

No

**Q46: What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?**

I WOULD IMAGINE FEMALE OFFICERS

**Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**PAGE 5: Role Reflection**

**Q47: As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?**

NO

**Q48: Were you rewarded for using excessive violent or sexual force against an offender?**

No

**Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?**

No

**Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:**

neither

**Q51: A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?**

NO

**PAGE 6: Demographics**

**Q52: What is your gender?**

Male

**Q53: How do you identify racially/culturally/ethnically?**

Black or African-American

**Q54: What is your age?**

45 to 54

**Q55: Which of these most accurately describes you?**

employed long-term as a CO in the past

**Q56: In what state or U.S. territory are/were you employed as a CO?**

Texas

**Q57: Do you identify as disabled, either officially or unofficially?**

No, I do not identify as disabled.

**Q58: What was your most recent salary as a corrections officer or staff?**

\$50,000 to \$74,999



**#6**

**COMPLETE**

**Collector:** Web Link 1 (Web Link)

**Started:** Friday, July 17, 2015 9:25:05 PM

**Last Modified:** Friday, July 17, 2015 9:33:53 PM **Time Spent:** 00:08:48

**PAGE 1: Facility**

**Q1: Which of these most accurately describes the facility where you work(ed) as a CO?**

Minimum & Medium Security Prison

**Q2: Is the facility in which you work(ed) operated by a public entity or a private entity?**

Public

**Q3: Which population was primarily served by that corrections facility?**

Male

**Q4: If you worked in a co-ed facility, in what spaces did male and female offenders intermingle?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q5: If the facility housed female offenders, were there male COs employed there?**

Yes

**Q6: Were transgender offenders present in the incarcerated population?**

Yes

**Q7: If the facility was designed for adult offenders, were there any juveniles in its population?**

No

**Q8: Does the facility include a death row wing? If so, did you work there?**

No, the facility did not have a death row wing.

**Q9: Which of these best describes the facility's inmate capacity?**

near capacity

**Q10: Does the facility utilize solitary confinement as a punishment?**

Yes

**Q11: Were there any aspects of the facility that posed a danger to the inmates and/or the COs? If so, please list the danger(s) below. For example: asbestos, black mould, electrical problems, compromised infrastructure, etc.**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q12: Are offenders charged room and board while they are incarcerated at this facility?**

No

**Q13: Was there a medical care facility within the correctional facility?**

Yes

**Q14: Are offenders charged for the medical attention they receive?**

Yes

**PAGE 2: Power Dynamics**

**Q15: Did you report directly to the warden?**

No

**Q16: If not, to whom did you report?**

Shift supervisors

**Q17: Were you ever instructed by a superior to carry out policies or punishments that you felt were unfair or unjust?**

No

**Q18: Were there offenders in your facility that you felt had more power than you had?**

No

**Q19: If so, what provided him/her/them with that power?**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q20: Did you find that there were unwritten/unspoken rules of engagement between COs and offenders?**

There are.. Some good some though shouldn't be in place

**Q21: In the facility in which you worked, was power primarily obtained through violence?**

No

**Q22: In the facility in which you worked, were there offenders or groups of offenders who received special privileges?**

No

**Q23: In the facility in which you worked, were there employees or groups of employees who received special privileges?**

Yes

**Q24: Which group(s) in the facility in which you worked held the most power?**

H card officers

**Q25: Were offenders' basic needs ever left unmet as a punishment? For example, was food, sleep, exercise, safety, healthcare, shelter or life deliberately withheld or taken away as a means for punishment?**

No

**PAGE 3: Labor**

**Q26: Do the offenders at the facility do work? Please list the jobs available to the incarcerated at this facility.**

Janitorial , food service , laundry , field squad

**Q27: Are the offenders paid a wage for working these jobs?**

No

**Q28: How much are offenders paid for their work?**

\$0-\$1 per hour

**Q29: During what hours do the offenders do their work?**

All hours , depends what Job and shift

**Q30: To your knowledge, did private corporations hire offenders from this facility? If so, please list any corporations that contracted the inmates while you were employed there.**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q31: To your knowledge, did departments of the government other than Department of Corrections and the Department of Justice hire offenders from this facility? If so, please name those departments.**

*Respondent skipped this question*

**Q32: Was engaging in work optional or mandatory for offenders?**

mandatory

**Q33: If work was mandatory, how was it enforced?**

Informal counseling and disciplinary cases

**PAGE 4: Sexual Contact**

**Q34: Is all sexual contact prohibited in this facility?**

Yes

**Q35: At this facility, sexual contact takes place between: (Check all that apply)**

offenders and offenders

**Q36: Does forced or other non-consensual sexual contact take place in this facility?**

No

**Q37: Do offenders willingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

No

**Q38: Do offenders unwillingly exchange sexual favors for privileges?**

No

**Q39: Do offenders exchange sexual favors for basic needs?**

No

**Q40: Are there offenders in your facility that force other offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**Q41: Are there COs and/or staff that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

Yes

**Q42: Are there administrators that force offenders into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q43: Are there administrators that force COs and/or staff into long-term or repeated sexual encounters?**

No

**Q44: Are there offenders who 'sell' sexual contact with a fellow inmate to others in the facility?**

Yes

**Q45: Are there COs, staff or administrators who 'sell' sexual contact with an offender to others in the facility?**

No

**Q46: What groups within the facility are at greatest risk for being victims of sexual violence?**

Young offenders or homosexual offenders

**PAGE 5: Role Reflection**

**Q47: As a CO, did you ever feel that you were forced to engage in unjust behavior?**

No

**Q48: Were you rewarded for using excessive violent or sexual force against an offender?**

No

**Q49: Did you feel pressured to be complicit in violent or sexual crimes within the facility, either by pretending not to know the crimes were taking place or by under-reporting them?**

No

**Q50: That pressure to be complicit came from:**

neither

**Q51: A 2011 Department of Justice study found that 49% of all substantiated allegations of violent abuse within correctional facilities involved sexual abuse by facility staff. Does your experience as a CO support this statistic?**

No

**PAGE 6: Demographics**

**Q52: What is your gender?**

Male

**Q53: How do you identify racially/culturally/ethnically?**

White

**Q54: What is your age?**

25 to 34

**Q55: Which of these most accurately describes you?**

Other (please specify) Shift sergeant

**Q56: In what state or U.S. territory are/were you employed as a CO?**

Texas

**Q57: Do you identify as disabled, either officially or unofficially?**

No, I do not identify as disabled.

**Q58: What was your most recent salary as a corrections officer or staff?**

\$25,000 to \$49,999

## **Appendix B - Assent Form**

### **Introduction and Assent Form**

*Hi, my name is Zhaleh Boyd. As Tyesa probably told you, I'm a PhD student at WISE in the UK. I'm originally from Atlanta but I've lived all over, and I lived in LA for three years. For my PhD, part of what I'm trying to learn more about is the life: how it works, and how it doesn't work. Most of all, I want to learn about all the different factors that influence people get into the life and to stay in the life, as well as the factors that make people want to get out of the life. I want to learn about sex workers and the people they work with. My main goal in learning about this topic is that I think the lawmakers do not know enough about sex work. I think that I can help lawmakers draft better laws and policies with my analyses that can make society safer for sex workers. I have friends and family members who are sex workers or have been sex workers, and I have learned a lot from them. There is still more for me to learn, and I would love to learn anything you can teach me.*

*Below are descriptions of my research methods. I ask at the end of each one whether or not you consent to that method. Please mark YES or NO and initial it. We will go over*

*this form at our first meeting, and you are fully empowered to change your answers then. You are also empowered to change your answers during the interview and for up to 90 days after the interview.*

*It is important to me that you feel completely safe and empowered throughout the research process. Interviews will be completely confidential. The only people who will ever hear what is said between us, or read the transcript, or listen to the recording — if you consent to an audio recording — are you, me, and Tyesa. Is that okay with you?*

YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_

*The recording will be stored on my laptop and will be password protected. Your name will never be used; in fact, this interview is tagged only with a code made up of letters and numbers. I will only use your state, (CA) gender, ethnicity, and whether you are under 18 or over 18 in my data descriptions. Is that okay with you?*

YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_

*I will compile your answers with answers from other interviews to create qualitative and quantitative data, but your answers will be mixed in with all my other interviewees. In certain situations, I may ask to use a direct quote from our interview, but I will only do so with your expressed permission. This quote will not be attributed to any descriptors; I will only write that “an interviewee” stated the quote. Is that okay with you?*

YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_

*If there is any point during the interview, or within 90 days after the final interview, that you decide that you no longer want to participate in my research, I will delete your interview, destroy the consent form hard copy and delete the electronic copy, remove your data from my analysis, and reconfigure my statistics. Is that okay with you?*

YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_

*If you would like to receive a file containing the audio and/or transcript of your interview, I will gladly provide it to you in a timely manner.*

*These completed consent forms will only be seen by you, me, and Tyesa. Upon publication of my research findings, these forms and any other hard copy will be destroyed, audio files and transcript files will be deleted. If you have received copies of the interviews in any format, you are free to maintain those at your own discretion. Is that okay with you?*

YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ Initials \_\_\_\_\_

Your signature below will confirm that you are interested in participating in this project, and that you agree to an initial meeting with Tyesa and me to discuss the particulars of an interview. Once the conditions of the interview are agreed upon, we will schedule an interview for very soon thereafter (‘very soon’ means anywhere from later that day to within one week). Thank you for considering this project, and I look forward to meeting you.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix C - Focus Group Written Activities**

Survey 1 (developed and administered by advocate)

What do you believe about...

-people who exchange sex for money, stuff or drugs?

-people who recruit and/or profit from selling others for sex?

-people who pay for sex?

What would you say to your 12-13 year old sister/brother/cousin about that lifestyle?

What music stations or websites and social media sites do you visit?

Are there any other internet or radio stations that would be good to reach youth?

How can a local community member help stop human trafficking?

How can someone help you since you have been in the life for 4 years?

Do you want help and who can you trust to help you?

Is it easy to ask for help?

When you are in need, do you ask for help?

When should someone ask for help?

Do you help others in need?

Do you ask for help or prefer to hold everything in?

Do you feel people should help other people? Why or why not?

Have you or anyone you know ever experienced these types of abuse?:

-Sexual

-Verbal

-Emotional

-Physical

-Substance

-Cyber bullying

## 2. Survey developed by researcher and administered by advocate

### Question Set 1: The Life

1. Please tell me about the first time you ever heard of ‘pimps’, ‘hoes’, ‘prostitution’, or ‘the life’.
2. Do you think of pimping as a job, a lifestyle, or both? Please give some reasons to support your answer.
3. Do you think of exchanging sex for money, food, shelter, or other needs as a job, a lifestyle, or both? Please give some reasons to support your answer.
4. What do pimps look like?

5. What do prostitutes look like?
6. What do tricks look like?
7. What are the good things that result from prostitution?
8. What are the bad things that result from prostitution?
9. What makes prostitution dangerous?
10. Do you know of anyone who works as a prostitute because he or she wants to?
11. Do you know of anyone who works as a prostitute but he or she does not want to?
12. What could make prostitution safer?
13. Why do people enter the life?
14. Why do people get out of the life?
15. How do people get out of the life?
16. How do pimps choose which prostitutes they want?

17. How do prostitutes choose which pimps they work with?

18. How do tricks choose which prostitutes they want to purchase sex from?

19. Why do pimps sometimes use violence against prostitutes?

20. Why do tricks sometimes use violence against prostitutes?

#### Question Set 2: Sentence Completion

1. Pimps are \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Prostitutes are \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Tricks are \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Pimps should \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Prostitutes should \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Tricks should \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Prostitution is okay if \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Prostitution is not okay if \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The track is \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Online prostitution profiles are \_\_\_\_\_.
11. The differences between online dates and track dates are \_\_\_\_\_.
12. Sex trafficking is \_\_\_\_\_.
13. If I \_\_\_\_\_, I would become a pimp.
14. If I \_\_\_\_\_, I would become a prostitute.
15. If I \_\_\_\_\_, I would become a trick.
16. If I \_\_\_\_\_, I would never get into the life.

#### Question Set 3: Human Trafficking

1. What is the difference between a slave and a trafficking victim?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
2. What is the difference between a slave and a prostitute?

3. What is the difference between a trafficking victim and a prostitute?
  
4. Should slavery be illegal?
  
5. Should trafficking be illegal?
  
6. Should prostitution be illegal?

#### Question Set 4: Personal Questions

1. Age \_\_\_\_\_
2. How many of your family members are you in touch with? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Are you in the foster care system? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_
4. Who do you currently live with? (Please list relationships, not names).  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Are you currently using drugs?
6. Are you currently addicted to drugs?
7. What racial or ethnic group(s) do you identify with?
8. What sexual orientation(s) do you identify with?
9. Do you have any children?
10. Do you have any close, trustworthy friends or siblings?
11. Do you have any close, trustworthy adults in your life?
12. What is your favorite thing about yourself?
13. What would be your dream job?
14. If I had \_\_\_\_\_, I would be successful.