

NONGRIEVABLE BODIES: SEX TRAFFICKING SUBJECTS EMBODIED IN SOCIAL  
MEDIA RHETORIC

A Paper  
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
of the  
North Dakota State University  
of Agriculture and Applied Science

By  
Lindsay Jo Campbell

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS

Major Department:  
English

April 2020

Fargo, North Dakota

North Dakota State University  
Graduate School

---

**Title**

NONGRIEVABLE BODIES: SEX TRAFFICKING SUBJECTS  
EMBODIED IN SOCIAL MEDIA RHETORIC

---

**By**

Lindsay Jo Campbell

---

The Supervisory Committee certifies that this *disquisition* complies with North Dakota  
State University's regulations and meets the accepted standards for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS**

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:

Dr. Holly Hassel

---

Chair

Dr. Emily Wicktor

---

Dr. Elizabeth Crisp Crawford

---

Approved:

4/27/2020

---

Date

Dr. Rebecca Weaver-Hightower

---

Department Chair

## **ABSTRACT**

Every year thousands of women, men, and children are trafficked for sexual exploitation (sex trafficking) around the world. Legal, social, scholarly, and theoretical discourses all discuss sex trafficking, yet often times the individuals who are in the middle of these conversations are sex trafficking subjects themselves –who ultimately matter the most—yet are often the most ignored and impacted. Implementing mixed method research, I investigate the social media rhetoric, specifically Facebook, from the nonprofit organization, Truckers Against Trafficking (TAT), to examine how the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are represented visually and measure to what degree this representation impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. If the selected public discourse enacts troubling rhetorics of estrangement, victimhood, and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects, I aim to call a change in rhetorical awareness.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There were many people who helped me when writing my MA paper and I would like to thank them. First and foremost, I would like to thank Ali Froslic, Deborah Haley, and Kaitlyn Grube. Without them, this most definitely would have not been completed. I appreciate the support, humor, and love they have given me during this process. Secondly, I would like to thank my chair, Dr. Holly Hassel, and my committee members, Dr. Emily Wicktor and Dr. Elizabeth Crisp Crawford, for their wonderful support, feedback, and guidance throughout this process. I really appreciate their dedication and time spent when working with me during this process. Last, but not least, I would like to thank my former colleagues, Hannah Stevens and Krista Aldrich, for their support during my MA degree. Please know I appreciate you both as you always made me feel like I belonged.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY .....	21
CHAPTER IV: RESULTS .....	28
CHAPTER V: LIMITATIONS, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION .....	33
REFERENCES .....	48

## LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Codes and descriptions for each of the emotions found in the study .....	26

## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. This is a Facebook post posted on November 13 <sup>th</sup> , 2019. It was coded as ‘unidentifiable’ from: Truckers Against Trafficking. ....	23
2. Here are the results of the descriptive coding, specifically looking at how the body and head of the sex trafficking subject is represented. ....	28
3. Here are the results of the emotion coding, which examined the emotions of the sex trafficking subjects in the selected visual rhetoric. ....	30
4. Here are the various different types of content produced and published on the public discourse. ....	31
5. This figure demonstrates the quantitative results of the race of the sex trafficking subjects featured in the selected rhetoric. ....	32
6. This is a Facebook post posted on November 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2019. It is example of a sex trafficking subject represented as body parts from: Truckers Against Trafficking. ....	34
7. This is a Facebook post posted on November 9 <sup>th</sup> , 2019. It is an example of a sex trafficking subject’s emotion coded as ‘unidentifiable.’ ....	36
8. This is a Facebook post posted on January 10 <sup>th</sup> , 2020. It is an example of a sex trafficking subject ‘looking away’ from: Truckers Against Trafficking. ....	38
9. This is a Facebook post posted on January 27 <sup>th</sup> , 2020. It is an example of the what counts as the other 91% content from: Truckers Against Trafficking. ....	39

## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The *United States Department of Justice* defines human trafficking as exploiting a person for labor, services, or commercial sex. According to The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, sex trafficking is defined as the “recruitment, harboring, transportation, provisions, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.” A commercial sex act includes “prostitution, pornography, and sexual performance done in exchange for any item of value such as money, drugs, shelter, food, or clothes” (“What is Sex Trafficking”).

Human trafficking, especially sex trafficking, is often a hidden crime, which causes statistics to be difficult to determine. However, *The International Labor Organization* reported the following in 2016: appropriately 24.9 million people trapped in forced labor; 16 million people exploited in forced domestic work, construction, and/or agriculture; 4.8 million people in forced sexual exploitation, and 4 million people in forced labor imposed by state authorities (“Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking”). Even with so many individuals trapped in human trafficking, there are still many people who believe that human trafficking does not exist or it only happens in ‘other countries.’ However, human trafficking is occurring everywhere both nationally and internationally, especially sex trafficking as it is the “third largest source of profits for organized crime, following the sale of drugs and guns” (Barnett 205). Since sex trafficking is the third largest source of profit for organized crime, it can be considered as a ‘business,’ as sex trafficking is fueled from demand by buyers and most often involves a ‘pimp,’ who is an individual that exploits victims to earn revenue from buyers.

While anyone can be sex trafficked, there are certain vulnerabilities that lead to a higher chance of an individual being trafficked. Class, gender, age, race, nationality, disability status, and various intersections of these categories impact the probability an individual could be



trafficked for sexual exploitation and/or other types of exploitation. Additionally, individuals can be ‘pushed’ into sex trafficking by “poverty, lack of education, sexual abuse, or ‘pulled’ from their homes by the promise of higher wages, secure jobs, and a better quality of life” (Barnett 206). However, women and girls account for 99% “in the commercial sex industry and 58% in other sectors [of human trafficking]” (“Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking”). This demonstrates how women and girls are disproportionately impacted by sex trafficking.

With sex trafficking being one of the largest illegal criminal businesses in the world, increased public awareness of sex trafficking has been enabled through various discourses, including public mass media discourses. However, examining to what degree this representation of sex trafficking and its subjects is accurate must be examined further, especially since not all representation is accurate. Often times some discourses represent a clear, similar image of who is and who is not a subject of sex trafficking subject.

In this study, I examine how the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are represented visually in social media rhetoric. By analyzing the selected social media rhetoric, I can gain an understanding of the meanings attached to the bodies of sex trafficking subjects and measure to what degree the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects is impacted. Understanding and discussing which bodies of as a sex trafficking subjects are represented through social media rhetoric is significant because misrepresentation of sex trafficking and its subjects can cultivate public misperception about sex trafficking, set a dangerous precedent for U.S. public and political agendas (such as US anti-trafficking policies), and may hinder the help and support sex trafficking subjects need because of the public misperceptions.

## Trucking Against Trafficking

Truckers Against Trafficking (TAT) is a nonprofit organization which aims to “raise up a mobile army of transportation professionals to assist law enforcement in the recognition and reporting of human trafficking, in order to aid the recovery of victims and the arrests of their perpetrators” (“What We Do”). In addition, TAT aims to educate, equip, empower, and mobilize the transportation and travel plaza industries on “the realities of human trafficking and how they can combat it” (“What We Do”). For this study, TAT was chosen because of the close association truck drivers have with human trafficking endeavors. According to *The National Hotline of Sex Trafficking* truck stops are ideal locations for traffickers due to the remote locations and transient customer base, which results in many individuals associating sex trafficking with the trucking industry. As TAT explains on their website, truck drivers are the “the eyes and ears of our nation’s highways” and can “close loopholes to traffickers who seek to exploit our transportation system for [traffickers] personal gain.” With a lot of passion and dedication for human trafficking awareness, TAT has a large social media following, specifically on Facebook.

As of March 25th, 2020, there are 186,865 individuals who have ‘liked’ TAT’s Facebook page and 184,9614 ‘followers.’ A Facebook ‘like’ is when an individual with a Facebook account has chosen to like a specific Facebook page and become considered a ‘fan,’ while a ‘follower’ is when an individual with an account chooses to receive page updates that are posted in their news feed. With so many individuals who have ‘liked’ and are ‘following’ TAT’s Facebook page, TAT has a lot of influence when it comes to the representation of sex trafficking and its subjects involved.

## Theoretical Framework

Along with the literature review, my research and results will be examined and guided by my theoretical framework for this study. My theoretical framework consists of perspectives and work from Gayle S. Rubin, Luce Irigaray, Judith Butler, bell hooks, and Kimberle Williams Crenshaw. The primary perspective for this study comes from Judith Butler and her idea of what is considered a 'grievable life' and what is considered not grievable life<sup>1</sup>, which is from her book *In Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Nevertheless, these perspectives from Gayle S. Rubin, Luce Irigaray, Judith Butler, bell hooks, and Kimberle Williams Crenshaw fall under feminist theory and critical race theory, which helps not only to guide the configuring of my results, but also to assist in the measuring of the selected visual rhetoric in order to examine how the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects is impacted.

### *Luce Irigaray and Gayle S. Rubin*

While examining the bodies of sex trafficking subjects in this study, Luce Irigaray and her ideas from *This Sex Which is Not One* help explain why sex trafficking subjects, and their bodies, are most often ignored in discussion of sex trafficking. As discussed in *This Sex Which is Not One*, living in a patriarchal society results in women being "only a more or less obliging prop for the enactment of man's fantasies" and the bodies of women are seen more as commodities rather than bodies who are apart of individuals (Irigaray 25). The commodification of the woman body helps explain why men drive the demand for buying and selling sex (regardless of the circumstances). If women are objectified, and their bodies are seen as mere commodities, they are in turn ruled by a supply and demand system in our patriarchal capitalist system and phallic society, which places them alongside signs and currency.

---

<sup>1</sup> Also called 'nongreivable' life

In addition to Luce Irigaray, Gayle S. Rubin helps situate sex trafficking as an oppression of women and the commodification of the female body. As from her book *Deviations*, Rubin writes in chapter “The Traffic in Women,” that “sex as we know it—gender identity, sexual desire and fantasy, concepts of childhood—is itself a social product” (Rubin 39) and is run by our patriarchal capitalist system. Her contributions, as in the ‘trafficking in women,’ relates not only to a long history of women’s oppression under patriarchy, but also furthers explains that this history is tied to using women’s bodies as commodities in the male-to-male exchange system of marriage culture. In particular, this marriage exchange cements male/patriarchy practices of men treating and viewing women’s bodies as only that of bodies. In addition to situating sex trafficking of women and the commodification of the female body, Rubin, provides a historical perspective of the trafficking in women, which is important when examining how the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are represented in the selected rhetoric for this study. Similar to Irigaray, Rubin discusses how women are seen as commodities, specifically capital, rather than individuals. However, Rubin dives into the past and current debates surrounding trafficking, the nature of the problem, and the social movements rooted in trafficking. Both Irigaray and Rubin’s ideas help provide context and historical frameworks of trafficking, which is especially important when examining the public discourse, TAT, for this study.

#### *Judith Butler*

Besides drawing perspectives from Irigaray and Rubin for this study, I also refer to Judith Butler and her idea of what constitutes as a ‘grievable’ and ‘nongrievable’ life in our society. In her book *In Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, specifically from her chapter “Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life?” Butler explains and discusses which lives, and thus which bodies, are deemed valuable, according to biopolitics. Butler defines biopolitics as “those

powers that organize life, even the powers that differentially dispose lives to precarity as part of a broader management of populations through governmental and non-governmental means, and that establish a set of measures for the differential valuation of life itself” (Butler 10). In this chapter, “Can One Lead a Good Life In a Bad Life?” Butler argues that leading a ‘good life’ is biopolitical and that those lives who are ‘worthy of living’ are the same lives that are ‘grievable.’ Butler explains, “If only a grievable life can be valued, and valued through time, then only a grievable life will be eligible for social and economic support, housing, health care, employment, rights of political expression, forms of social recognition, and the conditions for political agency” (Butler 10). Not only does Rubin help situate sex trafficking as an oppression of women, but Butler’s idea of what constitute as a ‘good life’ helps encourage me to ask the following questions when observing the selected social media rhetoric for the study: ‘whose lives matter and whose lives do not matter as lives [according to the discourse]’. Those lives that are not grievable, or the nongrievable bodies, are not seen of ‘worthy’ of the support and protection needed. Furthermore, in this study, the lives—and thus the bodies—that are represented through the selected visual rhetoric are considered as grievable lives bodies, while the lives and bodies that are *not* represented are *not* considered grievable or valuable lives.

Furthermore, drawing on from Butler, Irigaray, and Rubin helps provide me the historical and theoretical frameworks needed for observing the selected visual rhetoric for this study. In addition to drawing from feminist theory, critical race theory also adds another lens to this study as it directly focuses on how race impacts vulnerable populations like women/girls/people of color and indigenous women amidst sex trafficking, as race is a structural oppression which is inherently linked to sex trafficking

*bell hooks and Kimberle Williams Crenshaw*

While examining the bodies of sex trafficking subjects in this study, bell hooks' work adds another layer by discussing how race, capitalism, and gender have the capability to produce and perpetuate systems of class domination and oppression. Specifically drawing from her book, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, hooks discusses the history and experiences of Black women with intersectional racism and sexism and examines how race and gender are two separate phenomena, insisting that the struggles to ending racism and sexism are inextricably intertwined. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* examines how society treats Black women – including the mistreatment of their bodies—and how they were (and still are) oppressed by both White men, Black men, and White women from the seventeenth century to the present day. This mistreatment and oppression of the Black, female body is demonstrated in sex trafficking, as both race and gender are vulnerabilities that increase the susceptibility of a person being sex trafficked.

Similar to bell hooks, scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw examines the intersections of race and gender, yet in terms of the violence against women and how various identity dimensions impact individuals, specifically women of color. Crenshaw provides an additional lens, especially when observing the bodies of Black women and girls in the selected visual rhetoric, to the study as she argues that the violence against Black women is completely different than that of White women. Drawing from “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,” Crenshaw examines the intersections of race and gender and observes the ways in which structural intersectionality, specifically race and gender, impacts women of color in terms of rape, domestic violence, and remedial reform and how it differs from that of White women. While this study is not examining violence against women of color in

terms of rape, domestic violence, and remedial reform, Crenshaw's ideas help situate that mass media misrepresentation of the Black female body of sex trafficking subjects can be considered a form of violence and exploitation.

#### *Possible Call for Increased Rhetorical Awareness*

Feminist and critical race theories help employ lenses I can distill and place over my mixed-methods study when observing the selected visual rhetoric involving the bodies of sex trafficking subjects. Ultimately, these feminist and critical race theorists help articulate a potential recipe for rhetorical awareness and public sensitivity toward the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. My ultimate aim is to not only to observe how the body of sex trafficking subjects is represented in this particular public discourse, but to also call for a change to public discourses, if necessary, if the selected public discourse enacts troubling rhetorics of estrangement, victimhood, and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects. If troubling rhetorics of estrangement, victimhood, and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects is implemented by this particular public discourse, then the subjects – and their bodies - of sex trafficking are further violated and exploited. As a society, we must reject the commodification and abjection that is placed onto the bodies of sex trafficking subjects in mass media rhetoric, specifically social media rhetoric, because the process of estrangement, specifically the commodification, is what removes a necessary subjectivity needed for the bodies of sex trafficking subjects. If not, sex trafficking subjects are further violated and exploited. The next section is the literature review, which will include a review the conversations and representation revolving around sex trafficking and its subjects, which all directly impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. Understanding and analyzing whether or not these news sources employ problematic visual rhetoric in terms of thoughtfulness, sensitivity, and awareness of the most

vital subject in these stories or in these crises: the women, men, children of vulnerable populations themselves.



## **CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **The Influence of the ‘White Slavery’ Metaphor and Racism**

Who is represented and not represented as a sex trafficking subject in social media rhetoric is impacted by the ‘white slavery’ metaphor. White slavery is the “procurement, by force, deceit, or drugs, of a White woman or girl against her will, for prostitution” (Doezema 25) and is a term often used interchangeably with terms like white slavery, white slave trade, and white slave traffic. The ‘white slavery’ metaphor intrinsically focuses only on White women as subjects of sex trafficking, while other bodies are excluded from the metaphor which is inherently rooted in racism. Understanding how the ‘white slavery’ metaphor influenced the coverage of sex trafficking is crucial to keep in mind when observing the bodies of sex trafficking subject in social media rhetoric. It must be examined in this research because the term in itself makes the skin color of the trafficked individual the focus and it impacted coverage of sex trafficking.

Authors Jo Doezema, Gretchen Soderlund, Julietta Hua, and Cheryl Nelson Butler all discuss white slavery in their research. Jo Doezema, Julietta Hua, and Gretchen Soderlund examine the history and mass media coverage of white slavery. Providing historical background on the metaphor, Doezema explains the ‘white slavery’ metaphor originated during the beginning of the twentieth century when White women in the United States and Europe were trafficked by nonwhite individuals. The term ‘white slavery’ was coined and circulated throughout mass media discourses, causing the widespread of panic, fear, and anxiety amongst individuals (Doezema). The ‘white slavery’ metaphor was inherently a metaphor for the number of fears and anxieties of individuals rather the actual number of cases of ‘white slavery,’ as these were significantly low in both the United States and Europe. Julietta Hua, researcher and author

of *Trafficking Women's Human Rights*, expands on the metaphor by explaining, “the anxieties surrounding foreign bodies as potential [ offenders of sex trafficking] has historical resonance with the fear of the threat of moral and sexual degeneracy of immigrants” (Hua 36), which is inherently rooted in racism. This demonstrates that there were not as many cases of White women being forced in sex trafficking than individuals thought, but rather an influx of mass media coverage of sensationalized coverage of White women being sex trafficked. Nevertheless, ‘white slavery’ laws resulted in order to halt the national and international trade of women (Doezema 25), which was created partly due to the overwhelming media coverage of white slavery narratives.

Examining white slavery narratives further, Gretchen Soderlund is known for examining white slavery narratives in various discourses. In her article “Covering Urban Vice: The New York Times, ‘white slavery,’ and the Construction of Journalistic Knowledge,” Gretchen Soderlund discusses one of the first muckraking articles published about white slavery. Soderlund explains *McClure* magazine published a muckraking article in 1907 that detailed individuals profiting from kidnapping and selling native and foreign White women into the sexual slave trade (438). Ultimately, this was the start of the proliferation and sensationalism of white slavery narratives in the discourse of commercial print media. In addition to examining white slavery narratives, examining racism involved with white slavery metaphor is imperative as it may impact of the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects.

Jo Doezeema and Cheryl Butler Nelson discuss how inherently racist the term white slavery is and how it prioritizes the skin color of the trafficked individual. Doezeema explains, “The very name of ‘white slavery’ is racist, implying that slavery of White women was of a different, and worse, sort than ‘Black slavery’” (Doezeema 30). Agreeing with Doezeema, Cheryl

Butler Nelson, professor at Southern Methodist University Dedman School of Law, explains how the antitrafficking movement has historically ignored or otherwise failed to address the racial disproportionality of domestic sex trafficking and the efforts to represent sex trafficking subjects as only being White women, which further victimizes people of color who are trafficking victims or who are at risk of being trafficked (Butler Nelson 1489). If the image of a young, White, female is constantly perpetuated as a sex trafficking subject in mass media discourses, the result is women, men, and children of vulnerable populations, specifically those of color, become invisible subjects—and nongrievable bodies—of sex trafficking.

### **Blurry Definitions: Sex Trafficking and Prostitution**

The definitions of sex trafficking and prostitution are often blurred as they are terms that can overlap. An example of this overlapping is some cases of sex trafficking can include prostitution, yet not all prostitution involves sex trafficking. This overlapping of definitions impacts both individuals who are, have been, or will be trafficked and sex workers. The differences between prostitution and sex trafficking are points of discussion amongst many, especially feminist scholars, and opinions are often split along an ideological line.<sup>2</sup>

This ideological line is generally divided between abolitionists of prostitution and critics of abolitionists. Examining prostitution and its associations with sex trafficking must be examined since a majority of individuals sex trafficked are women who will “most likely work in prostitution” (Barnett 206). With so many opinions and discussions about sex trafficking and prostitution, it is important to examine prostitution because it may impact the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects in social media rhetoric.

---

<sup>2</sup>Amongst this slip, there are various ‘sides.’ However, abolitionists of prostitution and critics of abolitionists are examined in the scope of this paper.

Authors Jo Doezema, Julietta Hua, Louise Gerdes, Siddharth Kara, and Jennifer Musto discuss the differences between prostitution and sex trafficking and conversations amongst these definitions in their research. According to Louise Gerdes, prostitution occurs when individuals pay to have sex with another individual, while sex trafficking is the “purchase, sale, recruitment, harboring, transportation, transfer, or receipt of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex” (Gerdes 19). Statistics on how many individuals involved in prostitution is difficult to determine because prostitution is often a hidden crime and done illegally, resulting in the activity having an underground nature especially since the legal status of prostitution varies from country to country, and depending on the country, even region to region. Since prostitution can be done illegally, it can be underreported. Additionally, statistics are also difficult to determine because of changing legal definitions of what constitutes and qualifies as ‘sex trafficking’ and ‘prostitution’ and because of the various and conflicting views on sex trafficking and sex work.

Jo Doezema, Louise Gerdes, and Julietta Hua examine these conflicting views in their research, specifically how the modern feminist anti-trafficking campaign is split along ideological lines of abolitionists and critics of abolitionists, on their views of prostitution.

<sup>3</sup>Examining the abolitionist ‘side’ of sex trafficking, Jo Doezema discusses how abolitionists consider prostitution a violence against women and believe there is no such thing as ‘voluntary prostitution’ (Doezema 33). Louise Gerdes, author of *Prostitution and Sex Trafficking: Opposing Viewpoints*, furthers the abolitionist viewpoint by explaining abolitionists generally define and associate all prostitution as a form of slavery, which results in the definitions of prostitution and sex trafficking being indistinguishable and ultimately the same (Gerdes 19). In addition to

---

<sup>3</sup> There are many other feminist viewpoints on prostitution and sex trafficking that do not fit on either side of the ideological line.

abolitionists of prostitution, the other side of the ideological line is critics of abolitionists of prostitution. Critics of abolitionists of prostitution generally consist of those who argue that there are clear distinctions between ‘trafficking in women,’ ‘forced prostitution,’ and ‘voluntary prostitution’ (Doezema 33). Unlike abolitionists, critics of abolitionists do not count individuals who have chosen employment in prostitution in statistics on human trafficking and sex trafficking. Examining the two major ideological lines of prostitution is important because various public discourses can often align with viewpoints associated with either the side of abolitionists, critics of abolitionists, and/or a mixture of the two depending on the situation, which all in turn can impact the representation and embodiment of sex trafficking subjects.

The two major sides of the ideological line of prostitution also results in a diversity of feminist viewpoints on prostitution, which can usually either be critical or supportive of sex work and prostitution. In addition, many feminist scholars discuss that the possibility to even sell and purchase human beings has roots in cultural, political, economic, and legal systems that privilege male power and pleasure. Authors like Siddharth Kara and Janice G. Raymond discuss the role power and privilege involving prostitution and sex trafficking.

Siddharth Kara, author of *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*, discusses how some feminist scholars argue that prostitution should be legalized under the premise that women have a right to control their bodies and legalization would mean that prostitutes could enjoy the same benefits that other occupations do like “health care, retirement plans, and unionization” (Kara 100). She further discusses that illegalizing prostitution could threaten the livelihood of individuals, taking individuals’ form of economic survival and stripping their agency. In additional, some feminist scholars see prostitution as a system of gender-based domination and as a practice of violence against women. Janice G. Raymond,

author of the article “Prostitution on Demand: Legalizing the Buyers as Sexual Consumers,” argues that instead of decriminalizing the sex industry, the demand of buying women and children for sexual exploitation should be penalized. She argues that “[some] trafficked and prostituted women in the sex industry suffer the same kind of violence and sexual exploitation as women who have been battered, raped, and sexually assaulted” (Raymond 1174). Returning to the idea that prostitution as a system of gender-based domination, Janice G. Raymond explains legalizing of prostitution “gives more customers what they want and grants more men moral and social permission to practice the prostitution of women and children” (Raymond 1183). With so many viewpoints on prostitution, the definition is prostitution results in complexity.

As mentioned, examining the role prostitution plays with sex trafficking is crucial when examining the bodies of sex trafficking subject and representation in this study because the prioritizing the representation of one body over another body is also be rooted in power and privilege, which inherently impacts the representation and embodiment of past, current, and future victims of sex trafficking subjects. To examine this further, it is also important to observe which bodies are most vulnerable to a higher susceptibility of being sex trafficked.

### **Who is Most Vulnerable to Sex Trafficking?**

While individuals from any race, gender, sexuality, ability-status, background, or location can sex trafficked, there are certain vulnerabilities that lead to a higher susceptibility to being sex trafficked. *The National Human Trafficking Hotline*, Siddharth Kara, Julietta Hua, and Anne Johnston (et al.) discuss certain vulnerabilities that can result in a higher susceptibility to being sex trafficked. According to the *National Human Trafficking Hotline* there is not a single profile for who is a trafficking victim. “Victims of human trafficking have diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, varied levels of education, and may be documented or undocumented” (“The

Victims”). Nevertheless, there are some circumstances or vulnerabilities which lead to a higher vulnerability to the victimization of sex trafficking. These vulnerabilities include runaway and homeless youth, undocumented individuals, individuals who have experienced domestic violence, individuals who have experienced sexual assault, individuals dealing with war and conflict, and individuals enduring social discrimination (“The Victims”). The individuals enduring social discrimination is often due to race, gender, sexuality, ability-status, background of the individual.

In addition, another vulnerability is the specific location an individual is currently living, since in every country there are certain groups of individuals benefit from privileges like political and social power and access to resources. Even though sex trafficking does occur in the United States, it is not the country experiencing increase rates of sex trafficking. Siddharth Kara explains “the sex trafficking industry is growing at a modest annual rate, with Eastern Europe and the Middle East showing the fastest growth and only North America relatively flat” (Kara 17). Even though there are certain vulnerabilities that lead to a higher susceptibility to being sex trafficked, there can be danger in individuals having a predetermined idea of who is a sex trafficking subject is and who is not.

In her book *Trafficking Women’s Human Rights*, Julietta Hua explains that creating a profile of potential sex trafficking subjects can be dangerous as it “predisposes law enforcement, government officials, and social service providers to see some bodies are more likely to be potential victims than others” (Hua 42). However, it may not predispose these individuals, but individuals who could possibly be involved in spotting sex trafficking endeavors and helping and supporting sex trafficking subjects. In addition, this predisposing can also be dangerous because profiling often be racialized because “representing potential victims from specific places

and looking a certain way not only threatens to overlook other possible victims, but it also helps produce connections between ideals of sexual normalcy/deviancy with national belonging and helps naturalize visual cues with racial categories and cultural communities" (Hua 71). This is yet another reminder the sex trafficking is rooted in power and privilege.

Keeping all of this information in mind in the scope of this research is vital because certain discourses may be prioritizing certain bodies over others and failing to visually represented the particular vulnerabilities that lead to a higher susceptibility to individuals being sex trafficked. Observing and understanding these vulnerabilities are important to keep in mind because marginalized groups of people may be targeted for sex trafficking. To examine whether or not discourses are accurately representing subjects of sex trafficking, observing who is most often represented as a sex trafficked individual and how they (their bodies) are represented must be examined.

### **The Physical Bodies of Sex Trafficking Subjects & Narratives Represented in Public Discourses**

Examining the ways in which sex trafficking subjects are represented in public discourses, specifically in mass media rhetoric, is necessary because visual or narrative portrayals may not accurate, which in turn negatively impacts the representation and embodiment past, current, and potential subjects of sex trafficking. Feminist scholars like Julietta Hua, Barbara Barnett, Siddharth Kara, Jo Doezema, Sarah L Steele, Tyler Shores, Rutvica Andrijasevic, Anne Johnson, and Barbara Friedman have addressed the coverage of sex trafficking and discuss the importance of accurate coverage and representation of sex trafficking and its subjects.



Observing public discourses involving mass media is important because news media outlets are a primary source of information individuals get about trafficking. Yet “despite increased media attention, sex trafficking remains poorly understood” due to its complexity (Kara 3). Barbara Barnett, Anne Johnson, Barbara Friedman, and Jo Doezema examine overall coverage and sensationalism of sex trafficking. In her article, “Dividing Women: The Framing of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Magazines,” Barbara Barnett explains that modern mass media news stories do little to illuminate public understandings of trafficking and instead present “sensationalized exposes, focusing on sex or crime, rather than explanatory articles about the depth and causes of trafficking” and that sex trafficking articles often excluded stories of “men who were trafficked, women who were trafficked by other women, men who trafficked women, or men who bought sex” (Barnett 211). Additionally, Jo Doezema in her book *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking* expands on sensationalism by explaining that what is often most reproduced with [sensationalized coverage of sex trafficking] is a conventional narrative of a violent, wicked man threatening and exploiting a passive (usually young) female trafficking subject who needs to be ‘saved.’

In addition to examining sensationalism, observing the framing of sex trafficking is also important since frames may structure the content of media coverage. Framing has been defined as “the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences” (Johnson et.al 422). There is evidence that frames may influence how audiences interpret and evaluate issues presented in the news, depending upon whether the issues were presented without a context (episodic) or with some contextual material (Iyengar). In “Framing an Emerging Issue: How U.S. Print and Broadcast News Media,” Anne Johnson (et al.) found sex trafficking media coverage in American print and broadcast media was

largely “episodic, focused on crime and policy frames, privileged official sources, and neglected survivors’ voices” (Johnson et al. 235). Similarly, Barbara Barnett explains in “Dividing Women: The Framing of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Magazines,” the modern mass media news stories do little to illuminate public understandings of trafficking and instead frame sex trafficking as a “detestable practice but a profitable business that relied on a simple formula for success: women were vulnerable, and their bodies were valuable” (Barnett 211). If these similar frames, narratives, or sensationalism is apparent or reinforced in the selected public discourse for this study, then they could be many consequences since inaccurate representation negatively impacts the truth behind sex trafficking and sex trafficking subjects.

In addition to observing sensationalism, narratives, and framing of sex trafficking, Rutvica Andrijasevic, Sarah L Steele, Tyler Shores, and Barbara Barnett examine how the body of sex trafficking subjects is represented and impacted in various mass media discourses. Specifically, Rutvica Andrijasevic, Sarah L Steele, and Tyler Shores conduct studies on how the body of sex trafficking subjects is being represented in various anti-trafficking campaigns. Rutvica Andrijasevic, author of “Beautiful Dead Bodies: Gender, Migration and Representation in Anti-Trafficking Campaigns,” found anti-trafficking campaigns often produced stereotypical constructions of femininity (victims) and masculinity (criminals) and that sex trafficking subjects are often associated with victimizing images, with females figures “never” looking at the audience [camera] (Andrijasevic 38). This is important information to keep in consideration because the way the body and all its parts - head, face, chest, torso, arms, hands, and legs- represented in visual rhetoric impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects.

Additionally, in the article “Real and Unreal Masculinities: The Celebrity Image in Anti-Trafficking Campaign,” Sarah L Steele and Tyler Shores discovered that the body of sex

trafficked individuals is often not only represented as needing to be saved, but also represented sex trafficking subjects, specifically women and girls, as one-dimensional, abject bodies, and specifically something that is “suffering in pain and to be pitied” (Steele & Shores 420). This representation results in women and girls being stripped of agency, leaving them to be ignored and impacted in the conversation of sex trafficking, and the prioritization of the body - rather than the individual - of sex trafficking subjects

Along with my theoretical framework, examining the influence of the white slavery metaphor and its influence of people of color, understanding the blurred lines of sex trafficking and prostitution, recognizing who is vulnerable to sex trafficking, and examining the coverage and the physical bodies of sex trafficking subjects in mass media rhetoric will all help situate my content analysis as there is little to no research on how the body of sex trafficking subjects is represented in social media rhetoric.

## **CHAPTER III: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY**

### **Methodology**

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research methodology for this project's mixed methods analysis of the body of sex trafficking subjects in the selected visual rhetoric. This mixed methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative research, allows for a deeper understanding on how the body of sex trafficking subjects are visually represented in the social media networking, Facebook, and to what degree this representation impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. Additionally, a mixed methods approach will simultaneously help answer which bodies are represented and absent in selected public discourse. Two research questions were deemed appropriate for this study. The first research question was determined in order to discover in which ways the body of sex trafficking subjects was represented visually. The second research question was determined in discover which bodies were prioritized (and not prioritized in the visual rhetoric) as some bodies are disproportionately no represented compared to other bodies, as demonstrated in the literature review.

### **Research Questions**

RQ1: In what ways is the body of sex trafficking subjects represented visually in TAT's Facebook posts?

RQ2: Which bodies are represented and not represented as subjects of sex trafficking (specifically examining race and gender) and what could be consequences of this representation?

### **Methodology**

This research primarily focused on posts featuring a body of sex trafficking subjects for a three-month period: November 2019, December 2019, and January 2020. The month November is a part of the Fall season and December and January are included in the Winter season. These

months were deemed the most appropriate months due to the time constraints of the study. In addition, the months of November 2019 and December 2019 were chosen for this study because these two months can help give an accurate representation of the types of content TAT produces and distributes on social media networking site, Facebook. The month January 2020 was chosen because the month of January is National Slavery and Human Trafficking Prevention Month, and this month was deemed most appropriate because of the possibility of the visual representation of sex trafficking subjects changing.

For three-month period, a total of 24 posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking subjects were featured and collected. November 2019 featured six posts including bodies of sex trafficking subjects, December 2019 featured nine posts including bodies of sex trafficking, and January 2020 featured nine posts including bodies of sex trafficking. The mixed methods approach to this study contains both qualitative and quantitative research. First, qualitative research was conducted and the data was transcribed quantitatively for the purpose of data representation. Next, quantitative research was conducted to help aid in the qualitative results and to help answer my research questions. For the qualitative research, I determined descriptive coding, subcoding, and emotion coding were the most appropriate coding methods because they help me understand the meanings being attached to the bodies of sex trafficking subjects

### *Qualitative Research*

The qualitative research consisted of qualitative coding, which was conducted in two phases. The first phase of qualitative research consisted of descriptive coding and subcoding. Descriptive coding, also known as ‘Topic Coding,’ is a summary of a word or short phrase of the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data (Saldaña). I determined descriptive coding was the

best approach because it identifies and links comparable contents, and in this study, the comparable contents are the posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking subjects.

After reviewing all of the posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking subjects, I developed possible descriptive codes based on the direction the body was facing. Then, I narrowed down these initial codes to the following five descriptive codes: facing away, facing forward, looking away, looking down, and unidentifiable. The code ‘facing away’ represented any body and head that was turned completely from the camera, with no face of the subject shown. The code ‘facing forward’ was any body and/or head that directly faced the camera. The code ‘looking away’ represented any body and head that was directly facing the camera. The code ‘unidentifiable’ featured any body and head that was difficult to determine for various reasons. An example of a body being coded as ‘unidentifiable’ is demonstrated in Fig. 1. This post was coded as unidentifiable because it is impossible to tell how the body and/or head is positioned in the image as the image only represents an arm of a sex trafficking subject.



**Fig. 1.** This is a Facebook post posted on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019. It was coded as ‘unidentifiable’ from: Truckers Against Trafficking.

All of these descriptive codes represent how the body and head is *positioned* visually in each post, which is important to examine since past studies have revealed that the bodies of sex trafficking subjects rarely look at the camera (Andrijasevic). The process of the body looking without being ‘seen’ equates to the subject—and body—being viewed as passive and violated, which directly impacts the representation and embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. Additionally, it is important to examine how the body is positioned visually because past studies have also revealed that the body of sex trafficking subjects are often represented as one-dimensional, object bodies, and suffering in pain and something to be pitied (Steele & Shores 420). Observing the position of the body and head of sex trafficking subjects in the selected rhetoric will help determine if this representation is different or similar to past studies.

Once descriptive coding was finalized and completed, subcoding was conducted. Aiming to focus specifically on the physical body, subcoding was chosen because it allows for a deeper analysis of which body parts belonging to the sex trafficking subjects were featured in the descriptive codes. First, I developed possible subcodes based on which body parts of sex trafficking subjects were visible. Based on the first round of subcodes, I then narrowed down the initial subcodes to the following: face featured, no face featured, head featured, no head featured, arm/s featured, no arm/s featured, chest featured, no chest featured, leg/s featured, no leg/s featured, torso featured, and no torso featured. These subcodes were chosen because examining what body parts of the sex trafficking subjects featured impacts the representation and embodiment of sex trafficking subjects, as the subcodes demonstrate what body parts are seen as more ‘valuable.’ In addition, this subcoding helps determine if the sex trafficking subjects in the selected were ‘seen’ as an individual or rather as ‘body parts’ or ‘parts of a body.’

The second phase of qualitative research consisted of emotion coding. Along with descriptive coding and subcoding, I determined emotion coding was the best approach as it adds a deeper understanding on how the body of sex trafficking subjects is being represented visually in the selected rhetoric. Emotion coding is “appropriate for virtually all qualitative studies, but particularly for those that explore intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions, especially in matters of social relationships, reasoning, decision-making, judgement, and risk-taking” (Saldaña 125). Emotion representation helps me understand the possible intrapersonal experiences the sex trafficking subjects are experiencing in the selected visual rhetoric, which ultimately helps aids in embodiment and representation.

As there are thousands of words that exist to describe human emotion, my original set subcodes were varied. After a second round of coding, I organized the results in the broader terms of amusement, anger, boredom, confusion, contentment, coyness, desire, disgust, embarrassment, fear, happiness, interest, paid, pride, sadness, shame, surprise, and sympathy. These eighteen emotions were based off of Paul Ekman’s former students, Dacher Keltner and Daniel T. Cordaro, classification of emotions. These eighteen emotions were used for the study in order give structure but still more variety.

Additionally, the codes, emotionless and unidentifiable, were added. Out of these 18 emotions, the codes that reaped results were the following emotion codes: interest (eyebrows raised, slight smile), anger (brows furrowed, smile, eyes wide, lips tightened and pressed together), happiness (wide smile, eyes wide, eyebrows raised), pride (head up and eyes down), sadness (brows knitted, eyes slightly tightened, lip corners depressed, and lower lip raised) (see Table 1).



Table 1

Codes and descriptions for each of the emotions found in the study

Code	Description
Interest	eyebrows raised, slight smile
Anger	brows furrowed, smile, eyes wide, lips tightened and pressed together
Happiness	wide smile, eyes wide, eyebrows raised
Pride	head up and eyes down
Sadness	brows knitted, eyes slightly tightened, lip corners depressed, and lower lip raised
Emotionless	Face neutral, no expression
Unidentifiable	Emotions can be not identified (i.e. no visible face)

### *Quantitative Research*

Besides qualitative research, I conducted quantitative research to help aid in the qualitative results and to help answer the research questions. The quantitative coding methods used in this research focused on an analysis of all posts featuring visual rhetoric for the selected months: November 2019, December 2019, and January 2020. There was a total of 263 posts featuring visual rhetoric. For the month of November 2019, there was a total of 73 posts featuring visual rhetoric. For the month of December 2019, there was a total of 85 posts featuring visual rhetoric. For the month of January 2020, there was a total of 105 posts featuring visual rhetoric.

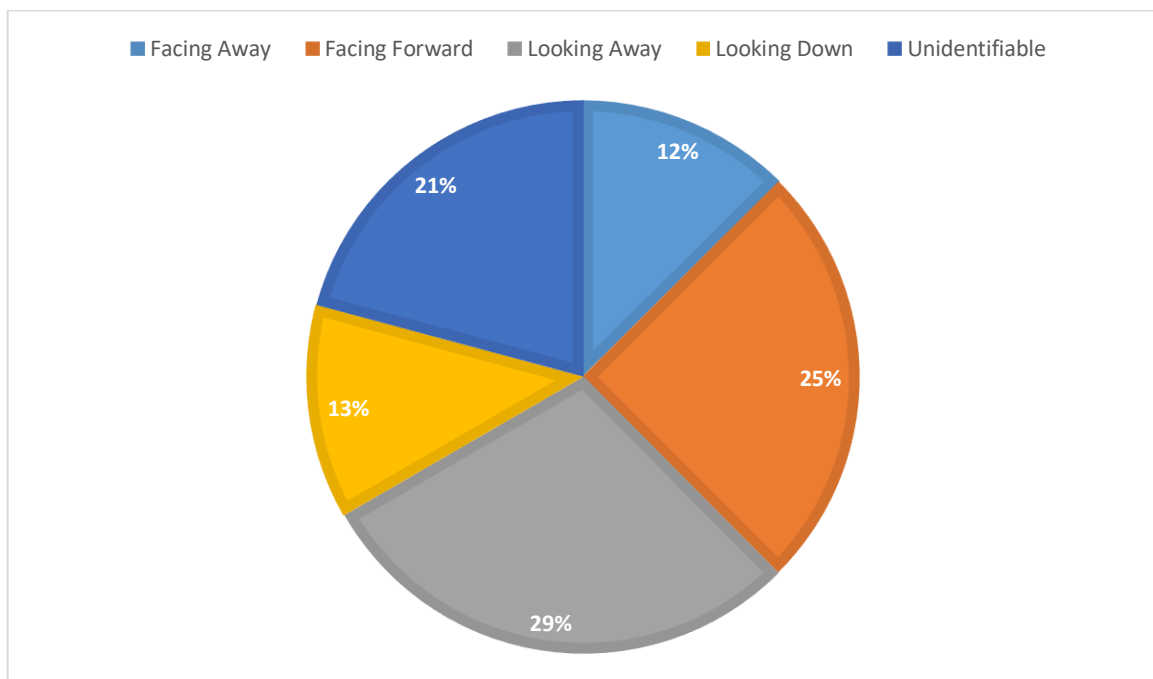
For each post, the following data was collected: date of post, time of post, number of likes, number of shares, number of comments, and the type of posts. The type of post featuring visual rhetoric was organized by the following: posts featuring offenders of sex trafficking, posts featuring subjects of sex trafficking, posts featuring missing children, posts featuring news and legislation about sex trafficking, posts featuring memes and TAT branding posts, posts about TAT'S networking events, and posts about TAT'S Man to Man Campaign.

Besides collecting data from the 263 total posts featuring visual rhetoric, additional data featuring which posts featured a body was collected. This data was collected because it will help answer how often the bodies of sex trafficking subjects were visible compared to the other bodies featured in the other types of posts. All posts that featured a body were categorized in the following way: posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking offenders, posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking subjects, posts featuring bodies of missing children, posts featuring bodies of individuals involved legislation/news articles about sex trafficking, posts featuring bodies in TAT networking events, and posts featuring bodies in memes and other.

## CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

### Qualitative Results

The first phase of qualitative research consisted of descriptive coding and subcoding. The descriptive codes used throughout the qualitative analysis were the following: facing away, facing forward, looking away, looking down, and unidentifiable. Out of the 24 posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking subjects, the results for each descriptive code were the following: 13% facing away (3 total posts), 26.1% facing forward (6 total posts), 30.4% looking away (7 total posts), 13% looking down (3 total posts), and 21.7% unidentifiable (5 total posts). See Fig. 2. for a visual representation.



**Fig. 2.** Here are the results of the descriptive coding, specifically looking at how the body and head of the sex trafficking subject is represented.

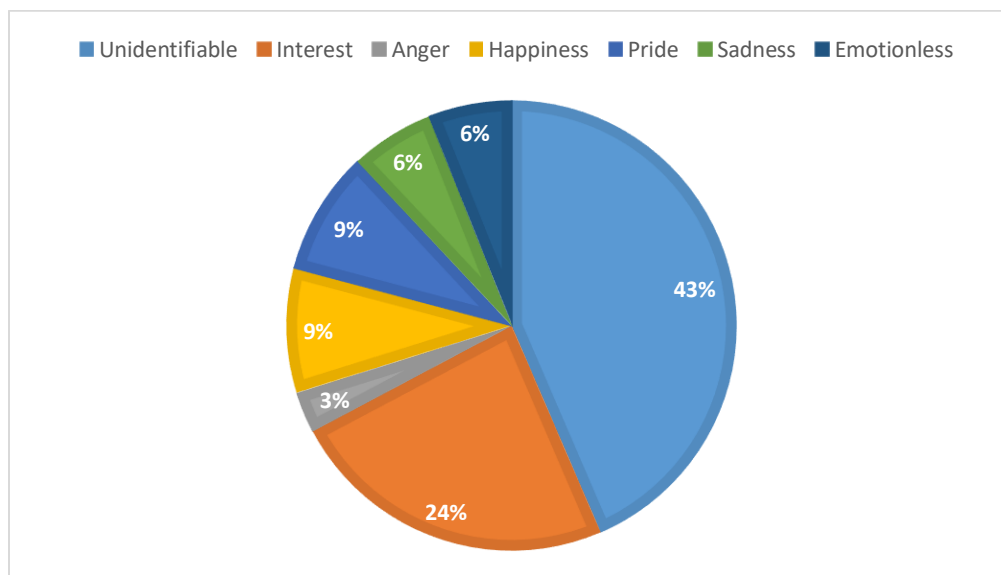
The descriptive code ‘looking away’ was most common code featured on the bodies of sex trafficking subjects with (approximately) 29% of the collected data. The code ‘looking away’ is important to discuss because a body that looks away [from the audience in visual rhetoric] can

be equated to a body that is passive, violated, and victimized, all which inherently impact the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects and the representation. Additionally, out of all of the posts that were coded 'looking away,' 86% had subcodes of 'head featured,' 'face featured,' 'chest featured,' 'no arms,' 'no torso, and 'no legs.' Only one 'looking away' post featured subcodes of 'head featured' and 'face featured,' 'no arm/s featured,' 'no chest featured,' 'no legs featured,' and 'no torso featured.' This means that the 'head featured,' 'face featured,' 'chest featured' codes were prioritized in this selected visual rhetoric. Examining what body parts of sex trafficking subjects are represented in the selected visual rhetoric for this study helps determine what body parts are prioritized and viewed as valuable (and not valuable).

The descriptive codes 'facing forward' was the next most common code featured on the bodies of sex trafficking subjects with each resulting in at (approximately) 25% of the collected data. Out of all of the posts that were coded 'facing forward,' 100% of the posts had subcodes of 'head featured,' 'face featured,' and 'chest featured.' There were no posts that featured legs or torsos. This means that the bodies that were 'facing forward' (and ultimately looking at the camera) had the body parts of head, face, and chest prioritized visually, which is similar to the 'looking away' code. Additionally, out of the six 'facing forward' posts, there was only one post (17%) that featured bodies of women of color. This results in 83% of the posts 'facing forward' represented and prioritized bodies of 'White-appearing' women.

Looking at the 24 posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking subjects, 42% of the posts did not feature the faces of sex trafficking subjects, while 13% of posts did not feature a face or a head. This information is important to observe because the lack of face on the body of a sex trafficking subjects results in the inability for the subject's emotion to be determined, which inhibits the subject to connect with the audience. Out of the 24 posts featuring bodies of sex

trafficking subjects, there were 33 bodies of presumed sex trafficking subjects featured in the selected rhetoric. The most common emotion code was ‘unidentifiable.’ Out of the 33 bodies, there were 14 bodies (42.4%) that were identified as ‘unidentifiable.’ The second most common emotion code was ‘interest’ (eyebrows raised, slight smile), which were 8 bodies (24.2%). The full results of the emotion coding are demonstrated in Fig. 3. Observing the emotions of sex trafficking subjects in visual rhetoric is essential when determining the embodiment of sex trafficking as the ability for sex trafficking subjects to display emotions aids in connection with the audience.

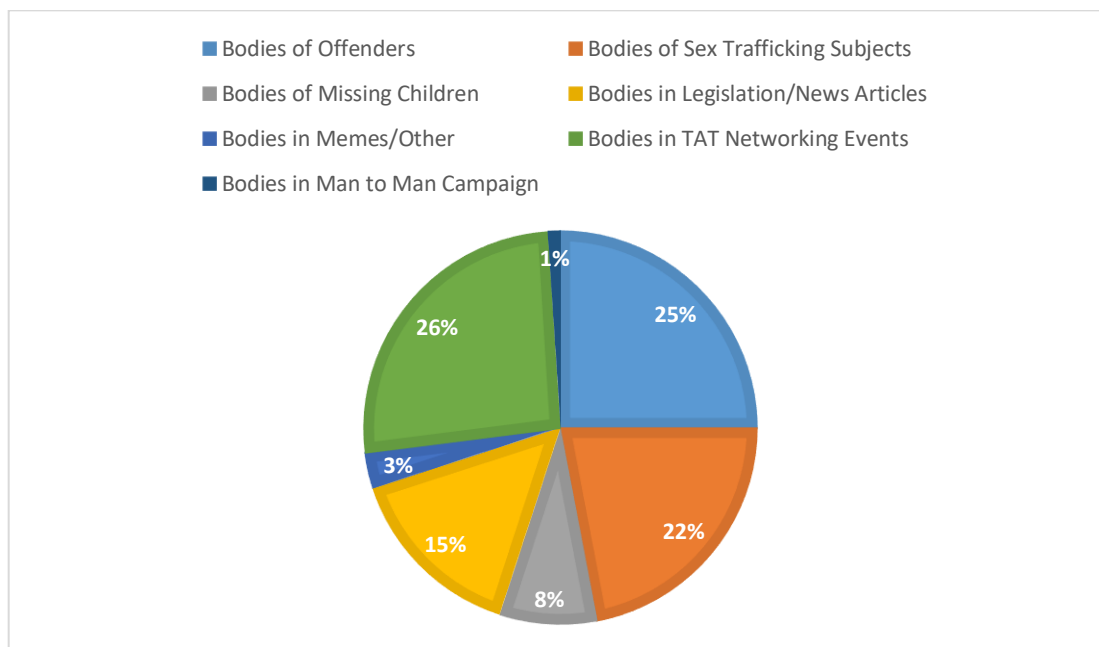


**Fig. 3.** Here are the results of the emotion coding, which examined the emotions of the sex trafficking subjects in the selected visual rhetoric.

### Quantitative Results

There was a total of 263 Facebook posts for the selected three months. 9% (24 posts) of the posts featured bodies of a sex trafficking subjects while 91% featured various other content. The results demonstrate that the bodies of sex trafficking subjects were not represented often. Additionally, out of the 263 total posts, 41% (109 posts) featured a body of some sort. 22% (24 posts) of the posts featured a body of sex trafficking subjects while 78% featured other bodies

including the following: bodies of sex trafficking offenders, bodies of sex trafficking subjects, bodies of missing children, bodies of individuals involved legislation/news articles about sex trafficking, bodies featured in TAT networking events, and bodies featured in memes and TAT’S branding posts. Again, this information helps determine how the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are compared quantitatively to bodies of other individuals featured in TAT’S various types of Facebook posts. Out of the 109 posts featuring a body, the most common type of post was ‘bodies featured in TAT networking events’ at 26% of the total posts featuring bodies. The second most common type of post was ‘bodies of sex trafficking offenders’ at 25% of the total posts featuring a body. The full results of this quantitative data are demonstrated in Fig. 4.

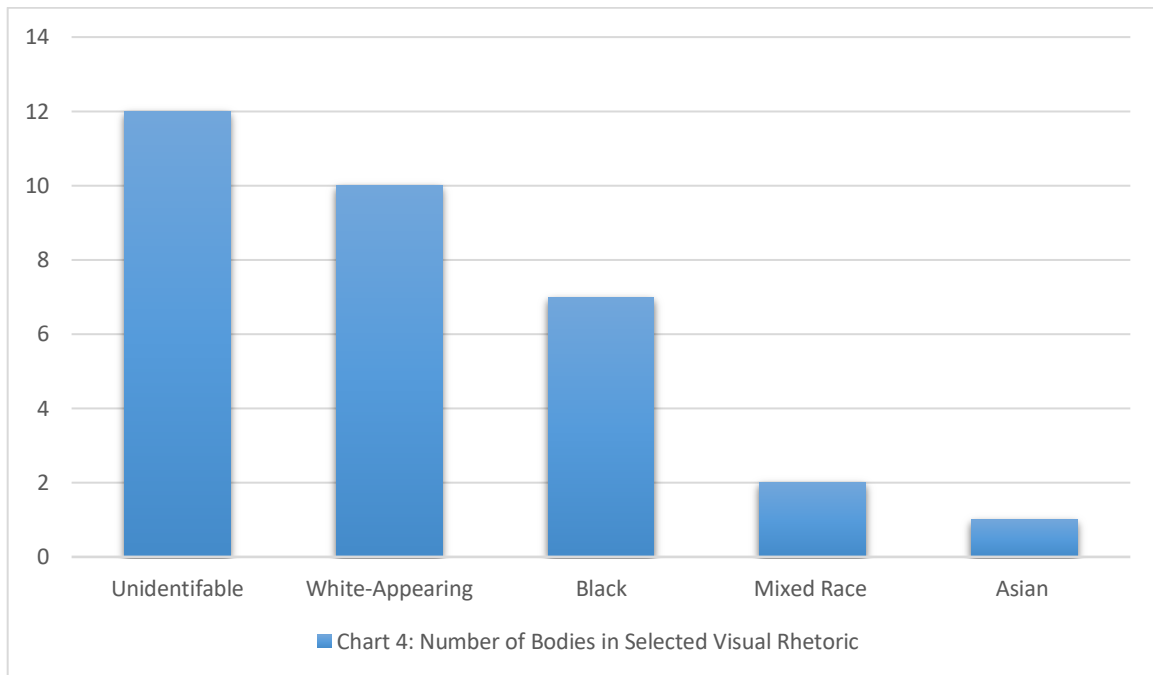


**Fig. 4.** Here are the various different types of content produced and published on the public discourse.

When observing race and gender, out of the 24 posts featuring bodies, there are a total of 33 bodies of presumed sex trafficking subjects represented. The results of the race of sex trafficking subjects consist of the following: race unidentifiable 38% (12 bodies), White-appearing 32% (10 bodies), Black 22% (7 bodies), mixed race 6% (2 bodies), and Asian 3% (1

body). When observing gender, all sex trafficking subjects were identifiable as female (100%).

The full results of the race of the sex trafficking subjects in the selected visual rhetoric is demonstrated in Fig. 5.



**Fig. 5.** This figure demonstrates the quantitative results of the race of the sex trafficking subjects featured in the selected rhetoric.

## CHAPTER V: LIMITATIONS, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION

### Discussion

The purpose of this study conducted was to examine how the bodies of sex trafficking subjects<sup>4</sup> are represented visually in the selected visual rhetoric from Trucking Against Trafficking and measure to what degree this representation impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. The following discusses the ways in which the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are represented in the visual rhetoric and considers what is considered a grievable and nongrievable body in the selected public discourse, which is as follows: Sex trafficking subjects were represented often as body parts rather than full bodies; Sex trafficking subjects emotions were often considered unidentifiable; Sex trafficking subjects were considered ‘looking away’ from the camera; and Sex trafficking subjects bodies were not prioritized compared to other content published on the public discourse.

#### *Sex Trafficking Subjects Represented as Body Parts*

The results from this study show that sex trafficking subjects were represented more so as body parts rather than full bodies. See Fig. 6. as an example. Out of the 24 images, only one image (4%) included full bodies of sex trafficking subjects and 17% of all images were of detachable body parts (i.e. arm or legs). The body parts of sex trafficking subjects that were most prioritized were the head, face, and chest. The face was visible in 14 posts (58%), the head in 19 posts (79%), and the chest in 12 posts (50%). All of the bodies of sex trafficking subjects were of female-appearing bodies.

---

<sup>4</sup> ‘Sex trafficking subjects’ will be used throughout this paper and not sex trafficking “victims” or “survivors.”





**Fig. 6.** This is a Facebook post posted on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019. It is example of a sex trafficking subject represented as body parts from: Truckers Against Trafficking.

However, while the faces of sex trafficking subjects were visible in 14 posts (58%) and the heads in 19 posts (79%), 42% of the images did not feature the faces of sex trafficking subjects and 13% of all images did not feature a face or a head. Representing sex trafficking subjects as body parts and/or prioritizing certain body parts over another is exploitative in nature as the body is not represented as equal to the person, but rather the body is viewed primarily as a physical object (usually a physical of male sexual desire). Throughout history, women's bodies have long been sites of patriarchal control, and the ways in which the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are represented in this public discourse mirrors not only that the body is a site of patriarchal control but also as a commodity. The results of the study show the [female] body of sex trafficking subjects is commodified and objectified, which is ironic given that the ostensible goal of the selected discourse (TAT) is to draw attention to human trafficking and its exploitative nature. The body of sex trafficking subjects in the selected rhetoric is considered commodified

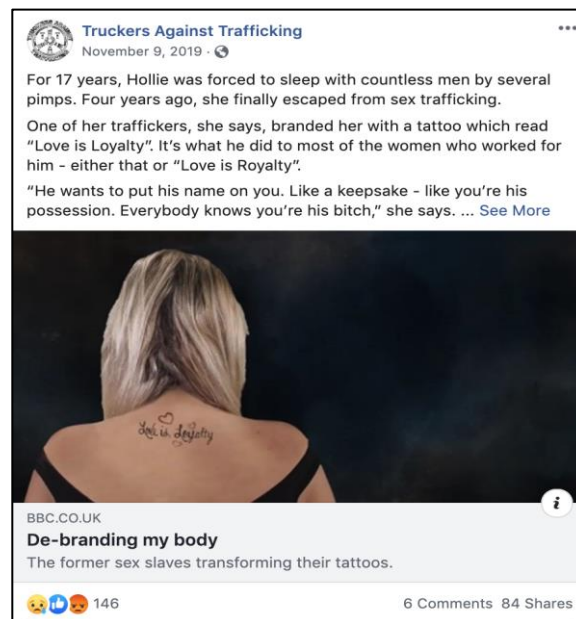
because of the large percentage of the body being represented as parts; parts that ultimately can be sold. In addition, if the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are commodified, then their bodies are objectified and are in turn ruled by a supply and demand system in our patriarchal capitalist system and phallic society, which places them alongside signs and currency.

As what Luce Irigaray explains in *This Sex Which is Not* and Gayle S. Rubin in *Deviations*, women are directly placed alongside signs and currency since all forms of exchange [of trafficking] are conducted exclusively between men. This means that not only were the bodies of sex trafficking subjects physically exchanged during their time when sex trafficked, but the bodies of sex trafficking subjects represented visually in the selected rhetoric are exchanged again, but from public discourse to viewer, as a physical object of male sexual desire. While commodification of female bodies is often common in our phallic economy and society, the act of commodification is concerning for various reasons. Not only does the commodification of the body go against the ultimate goal of the selected discourse, but commodification is especially damaging for the bodies involved – especially for the sex trafficking subjects who identify with their bodies as a vital part of their identity. Public discourses, like TAT, must reject this abjection and commodification onto the bodies sex trafficking subjects as it only further violates and exploits sex trafficking subjects – and their bodies – due to this lack of subjectivity for the sex trafficking subjects represented in the selected visual rhetoric

#### *Sex Trafficking Subjects Emotions Were Highly Unidentifiable*

The results from this study show that sex trafficking subjects were represented in ways that made the emotions of the subjects unrecognizable or ‘unidentifiable.’ There were various reasons to why the emotions could not be identified, such as the face was turned away or the face was not visible since the body was instead represented as detachable parts. An example a sex

trafficking subject's emotion being 'unidentifiable' is demonstrated Fig. 7., as the face of the subject is not shown in the image. The results showed that 42% of the images did not feature faces of sex trafficking subjects, while 13% of the images did not feature a face or a head. While there is a possibility that journalists may purposely excluded faces of sex trafficking subjects to give the intention of keeping the identity of subjects private for respect, the absence of a face on a sex trafficking subject's body does not allow the opportunity for the subject to visually connect with the audience. This lack of connection, again, resorts in sex trafficking subjects being represented as a mere body or detachable body parts in the selected rhetoric, whether it is intentional or not, and enacts troubling rhetorics of estrangement and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects.



**Fig. 7.** This is a Facebook post posted on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019. It is an example of a sex trafficking subject's emotion coded as 'unidentifiable.'

Out of the 24 images, featuring 33 total bodies of sex trafficking subjects, the most common emotion identified was 'unidentifiable.' Out of the 33 bodies of sex trafficking subjects, there were 14 bodies (42.4%) coded as 'unidentifiable.' After 'unidentifiable,' the second most

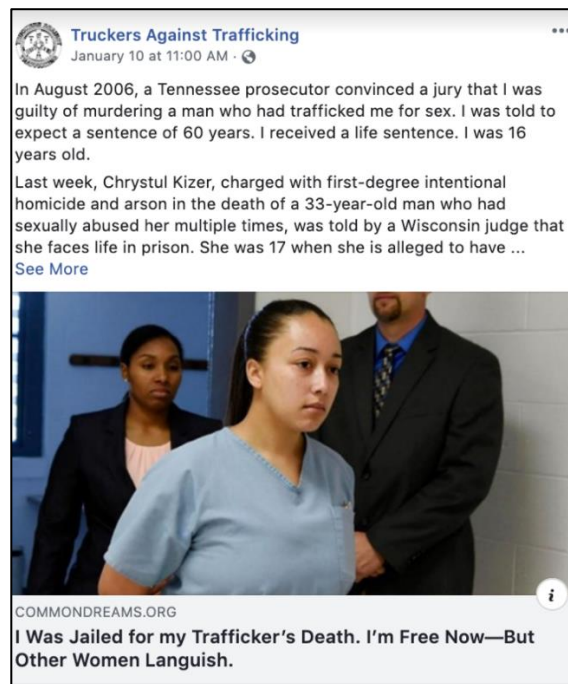
common emotion was ‘interest’ (eyebrows raised, slight smile) with 8 bodies (24.2%). With such a large percentage of ‘unidentifiable’ as an emotion, the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects represented in this selected rhetoric is impacted because if emotions are not represented, the body is instead considered prioritized and deemed more valuable. The prioritization of the body - rather than the individual - results in sex trafficking subjects, specifically girls and women, being stripped of agency, objectified, and represented as abject in the visual rhetoric, which directly and negatively impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects.

Due to the prioritization of the body and the lack of emotion unidentifiable on the faces of sex trafficking subjects, sex trafficking subjects are represented, once again, as commodities in the selected visual rhetoric. In addition, this finding mirrors Irigaray’s argument of the [female] body is considered commodified as the [female] body is “only a more or less obliging prop for the enactment of man's fantasies” since the body is prioritized and deemed more valuable than the individual. Not only does the commodification of the body go against the ultimate goal of the selected discourse, but commodification is especially damaging for the bodies involved – especially for the sex trafficking subjects who identify with their bodies as a vital part of their identity. These findings suggest that the selected discourse is enacting troubling rhetorics of commodification and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects, and this public discourse must reject this abjection and commodification onto the bodies sex trafficking subjects as it only further violates and exploits sex trafficking subjects – and their bodies – due to this lack of subjectivity for the sex trafficking subjects represented in the selected visual rhetoric

*Sex Trafficking Subjects Were Considered “Looking Away” from the Camera*

The results from this study show that the most common position of the body of sex trafficking subjects were coded as ‘looking away’ from the camera and, ultimately, the audience.

Out of the 24 images, 7 (29%) included the bodies of sex trafficking subjects ‘looking away’ from the audience [camera]. The next most common positions of the body were those of ‘facing forward’ (25%) and ‘unidentifiable’ (21%). Observing the position of the body, head, and eyes is important in terms of representation and embodiment because the process of the body looking without being ‘seen’ equates to the body being viewed as passive and violated. An example of this is featured in Fig. 8.



**Fig. 8.** This is a Facebook post posted on January 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020. It is an example of a sex trafficking subject ‘looking away’ from: Truckers Against Trafficking.

If sex trafficking subjects are not looking at the audience [camera] than they are not being ‘seen.’ The results of this study echo the findings of Rutvica Andrijasevic, as she explains females [sex trafficking subjects] rarely look at the audience in antitrafficking campaigns (Andrijasevic 38). Just like the emotion being unidentifiable, sex trafficking subjects ‘looking away’ from the audience [camera] impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects because the body is, again, violated since the body is prioritized, represented as passive, and is violated

because the subject cannot return the gaze and be ‘seen.’ Similar to the previous findings, these findings suggest that the selected discourse is enacting troubling rhetorics of estrangement, victimization, and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects through the representation, which only further violates and exploits sex trafficking subjects and their bodies.

### *Sex Trafficking Subjects Bodies Were Not Prioritized Compared to Other Content*

The results from the show that the bodies of sex trafficking subjects were not prioritized compared to the other content produced and redistributed on the public discourse. For the three-month period, there was a total of 263 posts [images]. However, only 9% (24 posts) of the posts featured bodies of sex trafficking subjects while 91% featured various other content. An example of this other 91% of various content is demonstrated in Fig. 9., as this rhetoric showcases a perpetrator of sex trafficking.



**Fig. 9.** This is a Facebook post posted on January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2020. It is an example of the what counts as the other 91% content from: Truckers Against Trafficking.

It is important to note that if the other 91% of posts featured in the selected rhetoric implemented similar frames, narratives, or sensationalism as discussed by Barbara Barnett, Anne Johnson, Barbara Friedman, and Jo Doezema in the literature review, there could be many consequences to this implementation because inaccurate representation negatively impacts sex trafficking and sex trafficking subjects. However, even if the conversations and representation in the 91% of other various content represented sex trafficking accurately, the results of this study demonstrate that the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are still not commonly represented in conversations revolving around sex trafficking. This reinforces the idea that the individuals who are in the middle of conversations involving sex trafficking are sex trafficking subjects themselves—who ultimately matter the most—yet are often the most ignored and impacted. While TAT’s ultimate goal is to train truck drivers to be able to recognize and report instances of human trafficking, this public discourse is lacking representation of sex trafficking subjects, especially compared to other content produced and redistributed, which hinders the opportunity of increased exposure of sex trafficking subjects.

### **What is a Grievable and Nongrievable Body in the Selected Rhetoric**

Drawing from the results, furthering the discussion above, and pulling from the literature review and theoretical framework, this subsection discusses what is considered a grievable and nongrievable body in the selected public discourse for this study. This examination is important because those lives – and bodies – considered nongrievable are ultimately the bodies that are not represented on the selected public discourse. The absence and/or misrepresentation of the body directly impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects. The idea of what is considered a grievable and nongrievable body comes from Judith Butler’s idea of what is a ‘good life’ from her chapter, “Can One Lead a Good Life In a Bad Life?” In this chapter Butler argues that

leading a ‘good life’ is biopolitical and that those lives who are worthy of living are the same lives that are grievable and considered valuable [according to society]. These grievable and valuable lives are “eligible for social and economic support, housing, health care, employment, rights of political expression, forms of social recognition, and the conditions for political agency” (Butler 10). This means that those lives that are *not* represented in the selected visual rhetoric can be considered nongrievable bodies, which, in theory, does not qualify these bodies in gaining the opportunity and eligibility for social and economic support, housing, health care, employment, rights of political expression, forms of social recognition, and the conditions for political agency. Examining and discussing which bodies are considered grievable and nongrievable in the selected visual rhetoric is vital because this representation impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects since some bodies are not represented altogether or inaccurately. The following discusses which the bodies of sex trafficking subjects are considered grievable and nongrievable in the selected public discourse and the implications of this are discusses.

*White-appearing female bodies are considered grievable bodies*

The results of this study show that what is considered a grievable life and grievable body is one belonging to a White-appearing female. The results showcase that the race of the 33 bodies was most commonly coded as ‘unidentifiable’ and then as ‘White-appearing.’ The following are the results of the racial identification of the sex trafficking subjects: race unidentifiable 38% (12 bodies), White-appearing 32% (10 bodies), Black 22% (7 bodies), mixed race 6% (2 bodies), and Asian 3% (1 body). It is important to note that the 7 bodies of Black sex trafficking subject bodies were distributed amongst 4 posts (17%). There are implications to the



bodies of sex trafficking subjects being mostly coded as ‘unidentifiable’ and then as ‘White-appearing,’ as these results camouflage and misrepresent the realities of sex trafficking.

Whereas any individual can be sex trafficked, there are certain vulnerabilities that lead to a higher susceptibility of being sex trafficked, including race and gender. White-appearing women are sex trafficked, but not as often as people of color and individuals from “Eastern Europe and the Middle East” because of their race. Granted, the variety of race demonstrated throughout the selected visual rhetoric is varied, which is helpful and productive, considering there is danger and consequences of predetermined images of who is and who is not a sex trafficking. However, the bodies of White-appearing females are prioritized compared to non-White individuals. This not only impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects, but it further violates the Black female body as the findings suggest that the ‘white slavery’ metaphor still continues to impact sex trafficking coverage and sex trafficking subjects.

Since the results show that the top identifiable race of sex trafficking subjects was of ‘White-appearing,’ the ‘white slavery’ metaphor is apparent in the selected visual rhetoric. The ‘white slavery’ metaphor intrinsically focuses only on White women as subjects of sex trafficking, since other bodies are excluded from the metaphor, and this is inherently rooted in racism. In addition, the results of this study are in alignment with Cheryl Butler Nelson’s work, as she argues the white slavery campaigns have often ignored the pervasiveness of sex trafficking of Black women and girls (Butler Nelson 1495). While this selected public discourse does not ignore Black women and girls, this selected discourse does inaccurately represent the proportionality of Black [women and girls] sex trafficking subjects.

The consequences of this is, yet again, women of color are intentionally marginalized and unrepresented as sex trafficking subjects in the selected rhetoric. This is considered a form of

violence against their bodies, which echoes Kimberle Williams Crenshaw's work "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," as she argues that the violence against Black women is completely different than that of White women. The mistreatment and oppression of the Black, female body is demonstrated not only in sex trafficking, as both race and gender are vulnerabilities that increases the susceptibility of a person being sex trafficked, but now also in the selected discourse because of the lack of representation of the Black female body and the prioritization of White-appearing females as sex trafficking subjects.

*Male bodies are not considered grievable bodies*

The results of this study show what is considered a grievable life and grievable body is not one of a male or boy body. Throughout the study, there was a nonexistent awareness of men and boys being sex trafficking subjects, especially since all the bodies featured in the selected visual rhetoric featured only female bodies as sex trafficking subjects. The lack of acknowledge and representation of men and boys as sex trafficking subjects is damaging because men and boys are sex trafficked. In addition, the lack of men and boys represented as subjects of trafficking on this public discourse may infer that TAT views men and boys as taboo subjects of sex trafficking as more taboo than women and girls. While women and girls are disproportionately impacted by sex trafficking, the lack of representation of men and boys as sex trafficking communicates that they are not sex trafficked. This results in not only gendered stereotypes, but it also impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects and goes against the ultimate aim of the public discourses.

TAT's ultimate aim is to help truck drivers draw attention to human trafficking and its exploitative nature, yet they are lacking visual representation of populations of men and boys as

sex trafficking subjects. By TAT omitting and eliding images of male sex trafficking subjects, TAT is adding to presumed gendered stereotypes and assumptions often associated with sex trafficking, while unintentionally sending the message that women and girls can only be sex trafficked and not men and boys. The implications of this are truck drivers may not be able to recognize men and boys as sex trafficking subjects, resulting in truck drivers (and TAT's social media following) to inherently believe that only women and girls are sex trafficked

*Bodies of human trafficking subjects are not considered grievable bodies*

The results of this study show what is considered a grievable life and grievable body is not one of human trafficking subjects, but rather of sex trafficking subjects. While a textual analysis could provide information on how often human trafficking, versus sex trafficking, was discussed throughout the selected rhetoric, the results of this study reveal that there were only bodies that had been exploited by sex trafficking, versus human trafficking. These results demonstrate that TAT prioritizes bodies of sex trafficking subjects over bodies of human trafficking subjects, which is ironic since TAT's overall aim is to help truck drivers draw attention to human trafficking, not just sex trafficking, and its exploitative nature. Perhaps, discussing why this particular public discourse, one which is a part of the male-dominated field of trucking, focuses on reporting, distributing, and creating rhetoric to promote sex trafficking, rather than all forms of trafficking. The implications of TAT prioritizing bodies associated with and exploited by sex trafficking, versus human trafficking, results in the potential of truck drivers not being able to recognize and report all instances of trafficking. This may hinder the help and support all trafficking subjects need because of the lack of representation and misperceptions of trafficking.

## **Limitations**

One limitation of this study involves the analysis of the bodies of sex trafficking subjects because the coding in the mixed-methods research involved some level of subjective interpretation which can affect the reliability and validity of the results, discussion, and conclusion. A second limitation is the posts featuring bodies of sex trafficking victims and others from online public spaces do not directly represent the opinions and thoughts of Trucking Against Trafficking. Since Trucking Against Trafficking distributes content that features already predetermined images of sex trafficking subjects, it is not possible to determine if Trucking Against Trafficking agrees or disagrees with the representation of sex trafficking subjects. A third limitation is the posts featured from January 2020 on Trucking Against Trafficking's site may alter on how Trucking Against Trafficking represented sex trafficking subjects because the month of January is National Slavery and Human Month. A fourth limitation is the present literature does not address how sex trafficking subjects are represented in social media rhetoric, due to the lack of research and findings on this topic. A fifth limitation is the selected months for the study. The months for this study (November 2019, December 2019, and January) bled into two seasons. Future studies may look at the entirety of a season and/or more than one season to see if there are any changes in representation.

A sixth limitation is the ways in which girls and boys are represented visually compared to women and men are different because girls and boys are considered minors by the law. Journalists abiding by the SPJ Code of Ethics may choose to enact heightened sensitivity when representing girls and boys because they are minors. Some journalists may not include minors at all due in visual rhetoric due to the fact that girls and boys cannot legally consent to being represented. Various states have considered enacting legislation to make it illegal to photograph

children without parental permission, all of which can reframe journalists to include visual rhetoric featuring children. Finally, the last limitation is the posts featuring images of the bodies of presumed sex trafficking subjects may actually be bodies of individuals involved in legal sex work. While sex trafficking can be closely linked with prostitution, we cannot assume that all of the images are individuals involved in sex trafficking, as some may be involved in prostitution. These concerns are appropriate for future research.

## **Conclusion**

Legal, social, scholarly, and theoretical discourses all discuss sex trafficking, yet often times the individuals who are in the middle of these conversations are sex trafficking subjects themselves—who ultimately matter the most—yet are often the most ignored and impacted. This current study examined the how the bodies of sex trafficking subjects were represented in social media rhetoric and yielded some complex results, helping me gain and understand the meanings being attached to the bodies of sex trafficking subjects.

While sex trafficking subjects were not ignored on this public discourse, they were represented disproportionately compared to the other content created and redistributed by the selected public discourse. The study found sex trafficking subjects were represented as body parts (rather than full bodies), mostly as emotionally unidentifiable, looking away from the camera, and were not prioritized visually, all which negatively impacts the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects as they do not have a subjectivity in the selected visual rhetoric. Lacking subjectivity results in the commodification and abjection onto the bodies of sex trafficking subjects, which only further violates and exploits them.

In addition, and drawing from Judith Butler's idea of what makes a life grievable and not grievable, the study found that White-appearing female bodies are considered grievable bodies,

male bodies are not considered grievable bodies, and bodies of human trafficking subjects not considered grievable bodies. The idea of which lives – bodies—are considered grievable and nongrievable directly impacts the representation and embodiment of sex trafficking subjects as the study found White-appearing female bodies were prioritized over bodies of color, female bodies were prioritized over male and boy sex trafficking subjects, and bodies of sex trafficking subjects were prioritized over human trafficking.

In conclusion, the study revealed the selected public discourse unintentionally misrepresented sex trafficking subjects. It helped me understand the meaning attached to the selected bodies of sex trafficking subjects and to what degree the embodiment of sex trafficking subjects was impacted in the selected visual rhetoric. The results allow an opportunity to call for future change when it comes to the representation of sex trafficking subjects in public discourses. As demonstrated in this study, the selected public discourse for this study unintentionally enacted troubling rhetorics of estrangement, objectification, victimhood, and abjection onto the body of sex trafficking subjects. Future studies may research how public discourses, like Facebook pages, can be more mindful of the sensitivities, awareness, and embodiment of what it means to be the subjects of sex trafficking in social media rhetoric. In addition, future studies may formulate how we, as society, can be more sensitive, accurate, and respectful in crafting visual representation and rhetoric of all subjects of sex trafficking.

## REFERENCES

- Andrijasevic, Rutvica. "Beautiful Dead Bodies: Gender, Migration and Representation in Anti-Trafficking Campaigns." *Feminist Review*, vol. 86, no. 86, Palgrave Macmillan, Jan. 2007, pp. 24–44, doi:10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400355.
- Barnett, Barbara. "Dividing Women: The Framing of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Magazines." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, Routledge, Mar. 2016, pp. 205–22, doi:10.1080/14680777.2015.1052004.
- Benoit, Cecilia, et al. "Prostitution Stigma and Its Effect on the Working Conditions, Personal Lives, and Health of Sex Workers." *Journal of Sex Research*, vol. 55, no. 4-5, May 2018, pp. 457–471. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/00224499.2017.1393652.
- Butler, Cheryl Nelson. "A Critical Race Feminist Perspective on Prostitution & Sex Trafficking 4in America, *Yale J.L. & Feminism*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2016, <https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjlf/vol27/iss1/3>.
- Butler, Judith. "Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life?" *The Radical Philosophy Archive*, vol. 176, no. 5, 2012, pp. 9-18.
- . *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2015.
- Choi-Fitzpatrick, Austin. "From Rescue to Representation: A Human Rights Approach to the Contemporary Antislavery Movement." *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 14, no. 4, Oct. 2015, pp. 486–503. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/14754835.2015.1032222.
- Doezema, Jo. "Loose Women or Lost Women? The Re-Emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women." *Gender Issues*, vol. 18, no. 1, Springer-Verlag, Dec. 1999, pp. 23–50, doi:10.1007/s12147-999-0021-9.

—. *Sex Slaves & Discourse Matters*, Zed Books, 2013.

Foerster, Amy. "Contested Bodies." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 11, no. 2, June 2009, pp. 151–173. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/14616740902789500.

"Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking." International Labor Organization. Accessed 12 Feb. 2020, <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/lang-en/index.htm>.

Gerdes, Louise I. *Prostitution and Sex Trafficking: Opposing Viewpoints*. Greenhaven Press, 2006.

hooks, bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. South End Press, 1981.

Hua, Julietta. *Trafficking Women's Human Rights*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

"Human Trafficking." *United States Department of Justice*, <https://www.justice.gov/humantrafficking>. Accessed 12 Feb 2019.

Irigaray, Luce. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Cornell University Press, 1985.

Johnston, Anne, et al. "Framing an Emerging Issue: How U.S. Print and Broadcast News Media Covered Sex Trafficking, 2008–2012." *Journal of Human Trafficking*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2012, pp. 235-254.

Johnston, Anne, et al. "Framing the Problem of Sex Trafficking: Whose Problem? What Remedy?" *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 14, no. 3, Routledge, May 2014, pp. 419–36, doi:10.1080/14680777.2012.740492.

Kara, Siddharth. *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*. Columbia University Press, 2009



- Lilja, Mona. "Dangerous Bodies, Matter and Emotions: Public Assemblies and Embodied Resistance." *Journal of Political Power*, vol. 10, no. 3, Routledge, Sept. 2017, pp. 342–52, doi:10.1080/2158379X.2017.1382176.
- Miriam, Kathy. "Stopping the Traffic in Women: Power, Agency and Abolition in Feminist Debates over Sex-Trafficking." *Journal of Social Philosophy*, vol. 36, no. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 1–17. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9833.2005.00254.x
- Raymond, Janice, and Raymond, Janice. "Prostitution on Demand. Legalizing the Buyers as Sexual Consumers." *Violence Against Women*, vol. 10, no. 10, Oct. 2004, pp. 1156–86, doi:10.1177/1077801204268609.
- Rubin, Gayle S. *Deviations*. Duke University Press, 2011.
- Russell, Amy M. "Embodiment and Abjection: Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation." *Body & Society*, vol. 19, no. 1, Mar. 2013, pp. 82–107. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1177/1357034X12462251.
- . "The Boundaries of Belonging: Gender, Human Trafficking and Embodied Citizenship." *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3, May 2016, pp. 318–334. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/09589236.2014.987654.
- Saldaña, Johnny. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. 3E [Third edition]., SAGE, 2016.
- Steele, Sarah L., and Tyler Shores. "Real and Unreal Masculinities: The Celebrity Image in Anti-Trafficking Campaigns." *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, Aug. 2015, pp. 419–435. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/09589236.2014.959477.
- Soderlund, Gretchen. "Covering Urban Vice: The New York Times, 'White Slavery,' and the Construction of Journalistic Knowledge." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol.

19, no. 4, Taylor & Francis Group, Dec. 2002, pp. 438–60,

doi:10.1080/07393180216567.

West, Cornel, et al. *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*. The New Press, 1995.

“What We Do.” *Truckers Against Trafficking*. Accessed on 15 Feb. 2020.

Williams Crenshaw, Kimberle. “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color.” *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, Kendall Thomas, The New Press, 1995, 357-383.