Football and Sex: the 2006 FIFA World Cup and Sex Trafficking

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The staging of the 2006 Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) World Cup brought together a wide ranging coalition of interests in fuelling a moral panic around sex trafficking in Europe. This coalition of diverse groups aimed to protect innocent third world women and prevent organized crime networks from luring them into the sex industry. In this article we will argue that as a result of increased attention prior to the World Cup ‘protective measures’ imposed by nation-states and the international community to prevent “disastrous human right abuses” (Crouse, 2006) have seriously undermined women’s human rights, especially in relation to migration and mobility. We survey media sources in the lead up to the World Cup to identify the nature of the coalition seeking to protect women considered to be vulnerable to trafficking and the discourses relied upon that have served to undermine women’s agency and diverse experiences of increased border and mobility controls. We conclude that measures introduced around the 2006 World Cup in relation to sex trafficking did not end with its final whistle.

Key Words: sex trafficking, World Cup, intervention, mobility, agency.

Introduction

There’s a special evil in the abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable. The victims of sex trade see little of life before they see the very worst of life, an underground of brutality and lonely fear.

George W. Bush (Office of the Press Secretary, 2003)

Although trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation has been recognized as an international problem since the mid-nineteenth

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century (Petersen, 2001; Coontz & Griebel, 2004; Kempadoo, 2005), it has garnered increased attention since the early 1990s. Now sex trafficking is routinely referred to as ‘modern day slavery’ (Bales, 1999; Bertone, 2000; Hughes, 2001; Council of Europe, 2002; Jeffreys, 2002; US Department of State, 2006) and described within the rhetoric of ‘evil’ (US Department of State, 2004; Abrams, 2005; Kwon, 2005; Soderlund, 2005). This article will review the ways the 2006 FIFA World Cup brought into focus some of the key debates on sex trafficking in Europe and the pressing issues that it raised relating to the representation of women, human rights and mobility. In this article we are concerned with how the broader debates on sex trafficking can be understood around the international spectacle of the World Cup and particularly how this event served as a lightening rod for increasingly punitive approaches to women considered vulnerable of trafficking and assisted in the enhancement of border controls for specific groups. Initially the article will foreground the prevailing international wisdom on sex trafficking and identify the historical and contemporary impact of interventionism on understandings of sex trafficking. It will then review the ways sex trafficking was highlighted during the World Cup by various stakeholders and the responses of authorities to its increased public profile. It concludes with a review of the broader issues that the World Cup raised for concerns with sex trafficking specifically in relation to the gendered construction of borders and mobility.

This article reviewed media coverage of sex trafficking and the World Cup in the six months prior and during the event. It did so using online news search engines and identified in excess of 46 articles on the topic. We then used textual analysis to identify the key arguments and speakers within the media studied. The prime purpose of this article is to indicate how media discourses around the World Cup impacted the anti-trafficking initiatives and consequently women’s lives, both on the international level and within countries identified as either destinations or sources for sex trafficking.

Mapping the traffic

Despite increased interest, data about trafficking is still exceptionally limited. As Salt (2000: 32) has noted,

"the enormous interest and concern for trafficking and human smuggling in governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, in the media and popular opinion, is running ahead of theoretical understanding and factual evidence."

Although published almost daily, estimates of the scope of trafficking vary to the extent that figures are considered to be arbitrary (Doezema, 2000; Agustin, 2005: 40; Kempadoo, 2005). Women and children are identified as particularly vulnerable categories: an UN representative stated in 2000 that one million women have been trafficked worldwide annually, while the US Department of State (2006) estimated that 80 per cent of all trafficked victims are women. Regional estimates vary as well: the International Organization for Migration (IOM) suggests that 300.000 women have been subjected to trafficking to and within Europe in 1998 (Konrad, 2002), the European Commission (2001) indicates that the number of trafficked women within Europe in 2001 was 120,000, while in 2004 the European Union estimated that around 200,000 women have been brought to Europe that year (Spiegel Online, 8 March 2006). On the local level the picture is not much clearer, and as a result in 2001 the IOM stated there is no European country that could give reliable data about the scope and characteristics of trafficking (Kelly, 2002: 7).

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3 For example, in 2002 the US Department of State (2002: 1) estimated that between 700,000 and four million people are trafficked worldwide annually, while in the 2006 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report figures are reduced to 600,000 to 800,000 (US Department of State, 2006).

4 Regionally, this estimate assesses that 225,000 women came from Southeast Asia, 200,000 from former Soviet Republics, 150,000 from South Asia, 100,000 from Latin America and the Caribbean, 75,000 from Eastern Europe, and 50,000 or more from Africa (Farr, 2005: 4).

5 Data from local or international NGOs and official statistics differ greatly in many countries. For instance, in 2002 the Greek Ministry for Public Order estimated that there are 3000 to 5000 trafficked women and children in the country, while the Research Center for Women’s Affairs estimate was about 60000 women (Kelly, 2002: 20). Some authors argue that NGOs “regularly over-estimate the number of trafficked women” (Davies, 2002). Discrepancies between official data and NGO statistics are documented in other European countries, such as the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium and Germany (Laczko et al., 2002: 5-14).
Although “to any conscientious social scientist, such discrepancies should be cause for extreme suspicion of the reliability of the research” these estimates have nevertheless been widely used and “when it comes to sex work and prostitution, few eyebrows are raised and the figures are easily bandied about without question” (Kempadoo, 1998: 15). Indeed, it appears that within the contemporary anti-trafficking movement agreement has been reached that the phenomenon is growing (Apap et al., 2002; Carrington & Hearn, 2003; Kempadoo, 2005), and that thousands or even millions of women worldwide (Raymond et al., 2002) have been trafficked into the sex industry.

However, not all women perceived to be in danger of being trafficked: the predominant discourse within anti-trafficking framework portrays victims as young, poor and disadvantaged women from developing countries who, because of poverty and lack of opportunity, look for employment and opportunities abroad, and in this process have been tricked or lured into sex work (Bertone, 2000; Clark, 2003; US Department of State, 2006). In addition, trafficking has been increasingly explored within the context of transnational organized crime (Skrobanek et al., 1997: 64; Bruinsma & Meershoek, 1999; Caldwell et al., 1999; Bruggeman, 2002: 4; Council of Europe, 2002; Agustin, 2005; Farr, 2005), and considered as the third largest source of income for organized crime groups (Miko, 2003), although there are inconsistencies in estimates about its value. While there are indications that traffickers might have been associated in structurally and hierarchically organized criminal groups and networks, some research found little evidence of large-scale criminal networks in sex trafficking (UN Center for International Crime Prevention, 2003). In spite of the fact that the nexus between sex trafficking and organized crime is yet

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6 In the European context victims are commonly portrayed as poor women from Central and Eastern Europe (IOM, 1995; Hughes, 2001; Miko, 2003; SIDA, 2006).

7 The US Federal Bureau of Investigation estimated that trafficking in human beings generates approximately 9.5 billion US$ a year (US Department of State, 2006), while Interpol estimates that it reaches up to 19 billion dollars (CATW, 2005).

8 Hughes and Raymond (2001) argue that organized crime ‘holds’ the majority of the sex trafficking market in the US, but at the same time stress that the predominant pattern of organizations involved in trafficking are small-scale criminal networks (Raymond & Hughes, 2001: 9-10, 49-50). Bruinsma and Meershoek (1999: 115-6) identified two main categories of criminal groups involved in sex trafficking in Holland: cliques of professionals (small loosely organized groups) and organized criminal groups (bigger groups with a clear division of tasks). Research conducted in Serbia also shows that traffickers have been organized into more or less developed criminal groups and networks (Nikolic-Ristanovic et al., 2004).
to be established, nation-states and the international community tackle sex trafficking mostly from the law and order framework.

Thus, trafficking has become “an increasing concern of various political, religious, and migration authorities” that “largely position women as victims, who need the protection of vested powerful and institutional interests” (Long, 2004: 7). The most vocal proponent of such an approach to trafficking (and particularly sex trafficking) is the Bush Administration, arguing that the sex industry directly contributes to trafficking (US Department of State, 2006). Religious and non-governmental organizations, together with abolitionist feminist scholarship joined “the 21st century abolitionist movement” (US Ambassador John Miller, US House of Representatives’ Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations 2006: 27), with a mission to rescue poor third world women who have been preyed upon by trafficking networks and forced into prostitution against their will (Hughes, 2001: 9; Farr, 2005: 2).

Although such representations of sex trafficking are not entirely incorrect, they are a part of a more complicated picture. Without the intention to position ourselves within the trafficking debate, yet aware of the possibility that we might be located within the ‘pro-sex work’ bloc as we challenge contemporary abolitionist discourses (Sanghera, 2005), this article will explore the debate on sex trafficking that emerged in relation to the 2006 World Cup, and discuss how the issue of trafficking has been exploited in a pursuit of other agendas, foremost in regard to immigration policy and the suppression of sex work (Altink, 1995; Goodey, 2003; Anderson & Davidson, 2004; Ditmore, 2005; Kempadoo, 2005). This article will analyze whether, as Davies (2002: 6) argues,

*young women... are sacrificed as the offering required to establish a, *cause for war*, for the war on trafficking, which also conveniently allows the authorities to attempt to disrupt the irregular migration networks that occupy the same spaces as trafficking networks.*

Finally, this article will argue that such interventionism - acting allegedly on women’s behalf - jeopardizes women’s rights, especially in relation to women’s sexuality and mobility. The following section offers a brief historical overview of similar practices.
Women’s bodies and women’s rights: The history of the interventionism

*The big sisters of the world [want the] chance to protect the little and weaker sisters, by surrounding them with the right laws for them to obey for their own good.*

**Jeanette Young Norton, 1913** (cited in Ditmore, 2005)

*The fight against trafficking is a great moral calling of our time... Thank you for joining this abolitionist movement on behalf of the world’s most vulnerable citizens.*

**Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State, 2006** (Cooper, 2006; US Department of State, 2006)

For decades feminists have been expressing concern about interventions the state and institutions of the powerful make in women’s lives, supposedly in their best interest (Baker, 1964; Rubin, 1984; Davies, 2002; Young, 2003; Ditmore, 2005; Soderlund, 2005). As Kapur (2002: 6) argues, emphasizing women’s victimization and passivity encourages some “to propose strategies which are reminiscent of imperial interventions in the lives of the native subject”. Although too broad to be comprehensively addressed in this paper, it is essential to note here that such practices both historically and contemporarily restricted, rather than protected women’s economic independence, their mobility and autonomy (Ditmore, 2002).9

The concept that women need to be ‘taken care of’ is especially prevalent in negotiating women’s sexuality. As Ditmore (2002) suggests, a supposed concern over women’s health has been instrumental in attempts to regulate their sexuality, while the real agenda was to regulate morality.10 Consequently, women’s engagement in sex work has historically been one of the key battlegrounds for the interventionists. The notion that women cannot choose sex work as a profession drives the abolitionist feminist movement for

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9 In Nepal, for example, the state’s intervention in women’s lives that aimed to protect them from vices such as prostitution or drunkenness resulted in a prohibition for women to work after 9 pm (Ditmore, 2002).

10 For instance, rape prevention strategies launched and supported by the state construct women’s bodies as weak and vulnerable. Thus, women should ‘keep the Lady safe’ by applying a ‘feminine consciousness’ and avoiding risky behavior in public spaces (Campbell, 2005). Although largely a myth, the fear of ‘real rape’ has been so powerful that it has become a highly effective mechanism of social control of women restricting women’s freedom and autonomy (Radford, cited in Campbell, 2005).
decades (Anderson & Davidson, 2004; Ditmore, 2002). Their argument has often revolved around an assumption that a rational woman cannot willingly engage in the degradation of sex work, thus identifying all sex workers as victims. Often, an avenue to ‘rescue’ ‘fallen women’ was their incarceration.\(^{11}\)

A parallel can be drawn with a historical approach to sex trafficking. Women’s increased mobility and migrations in the 19th century sparked the fear that thousands of innocent, white and abused women from Europe and Russia might be enslaved and forced into prostitution against their will (Derks, 2000; Doezema, 2000; Kempadoo, 2005). Although contemporary historians argue that the actual number of trafficked women was significantly smaller than estimated, a ‘white slave’ moral panic was instigated (Irwin, 1996; Derks, 2000; Doezema, 2000; Saunders, 2005), strongly supported by sensationalistic and exaggerated media reports (Ditmore, 2002) depicting tales of ‘deflowered innocence’ (Doezema, 1998). The state was called to a rescue by feminist who sought to ‘save’ their ‘fallen’ sisters (Kempadoo, 2005). Yet ultimately the intervention shifted from protecting women from being exploited and abused, to limiting women’s freedom and sexuality. The result of this moral panic has been an introduction of new laws and initiatives\(^{12}\) that targeted sex work and effectively restricted women’s mobility (Doezema, 2000; Ditmore, 2002; Saunders, 2005).

It could be argued that within predominant contemporary anti-trafficking discourse the notion of the ‘white slave’ has been replaced with the innocent, poor woman from the Global South (Doezema, 2000; Chapkis, 2003; Kantola & Squires, 2004; Kapur, 2004; Ditmore, 2005; Soderlund, 2005). Images or severe physical and psychological abuse and sexual exploitation, indeed common to sex trafficking, have been instrumental in creating a new moral panic, in which women’s bodies have again been perceived as weak and vulnerable.

\(^{11}\) During the 1950s in the United States women faced imprisonment in jails or mental health clinics if they engaged in promiscuous behaviour or prostitution, while the rationale for such intervention was that they were not capable of protecting themselves (Ditmore, 2002; Wahab, 2002). Contemporary discourses do not differ much: anti-prostitution legislations in the United States that criminalizes all parties involved in commercial sexual transactions have been introduced as an essential tool to stop the exploitation of vulnerable women. The possibility that women in the sex industry might face incarceration or deportation was irrelevant – it was done in women’s best interest (Chapkis, 2003).

\(^{12}\) The Contagious Disease Act (1867) and The Criminal Law Amendment Bill (1921) in the United Kingdom, and the Mann Act (1910) in the United States. Similar legislation was passed in Greece in 1912, which forbid women under 21 to travel abroad without a special permit (Doezema, 2000). In Europe, leaflets and posters were placed to train station to warn young women about the danger to travel (Doezema, 2000).
Sanja Milivojević and Sharon Pickering

(Stanko, 1985; Clark, 2003; Agustin, 2005). These bodies seek the ‘masculinist intervention’ (Young, 2003) - a rescue by western men, represented in the nation-state, its agencies, or individual ‘crusaders’:

The worst aspects of humankind come to the surface in this crime. Abduction, deception and false promises to poor and badly educated women from countries as close as Indonesia or as far as Uzbekistan and China is where the horrifying flesh trade in women and girls starts... We must rescue these victims.

Brian Iselin, former officer of the Australian Federal Police and former UN advisor on combating trafficking in South-East Asia (2003)

Underlining the constant threat of victimization, contemporary anti-trafficking messages suggest: ‘do not leave home or you will be prostituted/trafficked’. Finally, as a part of anti-trafficking strategies, nation-states imposed tight visa regimes and border controls, prompting scholars to argue that such actions represent attempts to control the growing issue of (both documented and undocumented) women’s migration patterns (Davies, 2002; Berman, 2003; Chapkis, 2003; Sanghera, 2005; Soderlund, 2005). The most recent example of moral panic, launched ahead of the 2006 FIFA World Cup, is arguably another illustration of merging punitive border protection, the criminalization of women, and the undermining of women’s human rights, under the cover of protection of women.

**Football and Sex**

Young women will arrive in Germany thinking that they will be waitresses and dancers; instead, they will likely find themselves without documentation and at the mercy of international networks associated with organized crime.

Janice Shaw Crouse, Concerned Women for America Spokeswoman on sex trafficking (2006)

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13 For example, Romania, Thailand, Nepal and some other Asian countries have imposed special restrictions on young women suspected of travelling abroad to engage in sex work (Ditmore, 2002; Doezema, 2002; Soderlund, 2005), while the EU and other western governments have introduced tough immigration laws as an essential measure to combat trafficking (Wijers & van Doorninck, 2002; Konrad, 2002).
Several months before the football festival in Germany kicked off, various organizations and groups estimated that the 2006 FIFA World Cup is likely to accelerate sex trafficking to the extent that between 30,000 to 60,000 (Council of Europe, 2006), or that 40,000 women will be trafficked to Germany for this event (CARE for Europe, 2006; IOM, 2006; Neuwirth, 2006; Salvation Army, 2006; Sparre, 2006). It is unclear how these estimates were established as none of the organizations that quoted these figures stated the source. Yet despite of claims by some advocacy and outreach groups which dismissed these numbers as exaggerated (Daily Times, 10 March 2006) and although the police in the host city of Munich suggested figures were “plucked from the air” (Haape, 2006), various activists, experts and the media continued to refer to thousands of women in danger of being trafficked for the World Cup.

The analysis of media reports prior to the World Cup suggests that estimates actually represent the number of migrant sex workers expected to travel to Germany for the World Cup (Deutsche Welle, 10 June 2005; Paterson, 2005; Iglesias, 2006). Within the demand-supply equation, the estimated number of migrant sex workers needed to fulfill the demand during the World Cup altered to the number of women who might be trafficked, by establishing at first potential and subsequently an explicit connection between sporting events and the increase in demand for commercial sex.

_The event’s organizers are expecting at least 40,000 prostitutes to descend on Germany from throughout Europe to meet demand._

_Tony Paterson_ (The Independent Online, 9 December 2005)

_Traffickers constantly monitor the demand pattern, looking for opportunities to maximize their profits obtained through the illicit sale of human beings. The 2006 World Cup presents such an opportunity... It is critical that the German government, civil society and the international community look seriously at the potential links between this major sporting event and the potential increase in the demand for sexual exploitation of women and children._

_Ashley Garrett_ (IOM, 2006: 30-1) emphasis added
Experiences show that at every big sporting event where a large number of men gather, there is a spectacular rise in the demand for sexual services.

Ulrike Helwerth, spokeswoman for the NGO German Women’s Council (Iglesias, IPS News, 4 January 2006) emphasis added

Finally, the claim that some women among those expected to migrate might be trafficked, that is forced into the sex industry, or deceived about the conditions of work, evolved to the claim that the majority if not all women will been trafficked:

The German Women’s Council has estimated that an additional 40,000 women will be brought into Germany to provide commercial sex acts for hundreds of thousands of male soccer fans. Many of these women are likely to be victims of trafficking.

Janice Shaw Crouse, Concerned Women for America (Jalsevac, LifeSite News, 6 June 2006) emphasis added

During the World Cup around 40,000 young women are expected to be imported to Germany for sexual trafficking.

Salvation Army 2006a (viewed 28 May 2006) emphasis added

An analysis of media reports prior to World Cup indicates that these processes were fuelled by sensationalistic reporting, in which trafficking was reducible to sex work, and women trafficked for sex portrayed as innocent and naïve girls forced into the sex industry (Neuwirth, 2006; Bindel, 2006). Media reports referred exclusively to research and estimates by abolitionist groups, sometimes explicitly denying the possibility that some women may freely consent to sex work. For example, Neuwirth (2006) reports that “research conducted across 10 countries by Prostitution Research and Education found that 71% of women surveyed were physically assaulted while engaged in prostitution” and “89% wanted to get out of prostitution but did not have any other options for survival”. On the other hand, data by the city authorities in Cologne that indicate specially built units actually reduced number of attacks on sex workers by clients and pimps (DPA, 8 August 2005) have been rarely

14 Chon and Ellerman (The Washington Post, 10 June 2006) reported that “traffickers and those who benefit from sex trafficking promote an image of women freely choosing to be involved in prostitution... It is the ‘Pretty Woman’ myth, which many apparently like to believe in order to justify their inaction or ignorance on the issue”.
cited in the press. After several months of heated media debate, Spiegel Online (26 May 2006) reported that,

[with all the negative coverage, one could be forgiven for thinking that Germany is a country of human-trafficking pimps and shackled prostitutes... You could be forgiven for thinking that visitors looking to watch a bit of soccer will be greeted by an army of skimpily clad, under-aged Ukrainian sex slaves.

Spiegel Online (26 May 2006) concludes that,

[even before you hit the third paragraph, the articles have unleashed the moral sledgehammer admonishing readers about the immorality of prostitution... Forced prostitution, of course, is a very real and serious problem in Germany. But much of the foreign coverage seems to deliberately conflate the two issues.

Moral panic: Key players

Soon after the first media headlines about new ‘sex huts’ built to satisfy the demand for commercial sex and a possible increase in the number of sex workers in Germany during the World Cup, the abolitionist coalition of women’s groups, faith communities and human rights organizations joined forces, sparking the panic that predominantly targeted sex work rather than trafficking, arguing that “prostitution is to sex trafficking what coal is to steam engines” (Christianity Today website, viewed 02 July 2006).

As noted earlier, the leading force in combating trafficking by opposing sex work is the United States. Soon after the estimates about the number of migrant sex workers expected to travel to Germany for the World Cup have been announced, the Republican Congressmen Christopher H. Smith chaired the special Hearing for the US House of Representatives’ Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations, in which he argued that,

[s]ince the matches are being held in Germany, which legalized pimping and prostitution in 2001, the World Cup fans would be legally free to rape women in brothels... Of the approximately 400,000 prostitutes in Germany, it is estimated that

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75 percent of those who are abused in these houses of prostitution are foreigners, many from Central and Eastern Europe. **We know beyond reasonable doubt that so many of these women are coerced and they are there because of force, fraud or, like I say, coercion.**


The US Secretary of State’s advisor on human trafficking has been especially vocal in linking women’s migrations, sex work and sex trafficking.

All the research and evidence available shows that when you have large flows of women for sexual purposes, there is going to be trafficking. There is a link between prostitution and sex trafficking.

John Miller (AFP, 10 June 2006)

German law enforcement officials argued in vain that there was “no major upsurge in prostitution-related criminality” during the sporting events this country hosted in the past (Haape, 2006). A few days before the opening ceremony, German police stated there are “no signs of any explosion of forced prostitution that had been warned of in the months leading to the opening day” (Christian Post, 11 June 2006), yet it was too late. The new moral panic was well under its way.

Abolitionist feminist organizations, led by the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW), joined the anti-sex work coalition by launching the campaign ‘Buying Sex Is Not a Sport’ (CATW, 2006). Women’s groups in other European countries that share this agenda followed the suit. Religious communities and faith-based organizations also directly targeted Germany’s policy toward sex work. The Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute started the campaign “Stop World Cup Prostitution”, while Caritas, one of the largest charities of the Catholic Church, concluded that “it is important to recognize

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16 It is interesting to note that this part of Congressman Smith’s statement was present in the news reports, for example on the LifeSite website at http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2006/may/06050108.html, but later disappeared in the print version of the Hearing.

17 In Ireland, the National Women’s Council of Ireland launched a campaign under the same name – ‘Buying Sex is not a Sport’ (Crouse, 2006), while in Germany anti-trafficking and anti-sex work campaigns ‘Final Whistle – Stop Forced Prostitution’, ‘Red Card for Forced Prostitution’, and ‘Responsible Johns’ have been launched (Deutsche Welle, 23 February 2006; Spiegel Online, 26 May 2006).
that sexual exploitation, prostitution and trafficking of human beings are all acts of violence against women” (*Catholic News*, 25 May 2006). These initiatives were launched in both perceived countries of origin and destination.\(^{18}\)

Claims of possible mass human right abuses of women during the World Cup prompted the action from the international human rights community. Amnesty International called on European governments to launch prevention campaigns in countries of origin, and asked the German government to take responsibility and ensure measures to combat trafficking during the 2006 World Cup (Amnesty International, 2006). Amnesty International also called on “all states with football fans traveling to Germany to raise awareness of the fact that many sex workers present in Germany during the World Cup may have been trafficked” (Amnesty International, 2006). Salvation Army and CARE volunteers traveled to Germany with leaflets designed to stop men from going to brothels (Salvation Army, 2006; CARE for Europe, 2006), while IOM, the Swedish Agency for International Development (SIDA) and the MTV Europe Foundation produced a “TV announcement addressing the demand side of sex trafficking … directed at both potential clients of prostitutes as well as those most vulnerable to becoming trafficked” (IOM, 2006).

Women in danger of being trafficked for sex during the World Cup were, thus, constructed as young, naïve women from Eastern and Central Europe (Ekklesia, 2006; Haape, 2006; Tzortzis, 2006), who seek “a life free of poverty or abuse” (Neuwirth, 2006) but instead end up being severely victimized:

> We are very anxious about what will happen in Germany next month. The stories of these girls locked in houses are absolutely horrendous. These young women are either sold by their families, kidnapped or believe they are going to decent jobs to earn money to send home. They end up without any rights and with ruined lives.

**Gwyneth Smith**, Cumbria District Methodist Women’s Network (Morgan, 2006)

Women’s bodies have been yet again constructed as weak and vulnerable. While men are coming to Germany to enjoy football and have sex, women at the World Cup have been perceived as victims of abuse:

\(^{18}\) The German Lutheran Church distributed leaflets aimed to reduce the demand for sex work in Germany (*Ohmynews*, 27 May 2006), while nuns in Poland issued anti-prostitution leaflets in eastern European languages (Luxmore, 2006) aimed to warn young women in perceived countries of origin about the danger of sex work and trafficking.
While an estimated three million spectators, mostly men, some women and children, and television viewers across the world – enjoy ‘the beautiful game’, other girls and women will wait in their ‘boxes’ as enslaved merchandise, on sale to help men ‘unwind’ and celebrate or mourn their team’s performance.

The National Board of Catholic Women in England and Wales (cited in Ekklesia, 2006) 

Women’s agency has been undermined, and their possible choice to engage in sex work effectively denied. All women in the German sex industry are, therefore, victims, and the intervention is necessary: they need to be rescued.

Many women will say this is the life they chose, but economic desperation or the breakdown in social structures that constrain women into prostitution doesn’t leave them many options.

Duncan MacLaren, Secretary General of Caritas International (Catholic News, 25 May 2006) 

Whatever their circumstances, each and every one of these young women is someone’s daughter, a child of God and deserves our protection!


As the World Cup was getting closer, the pressure was also put on footballers and national and international football associations. Amnesty International and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe urged FIFA to take responsibility for effectively combating sex trafficking during the World Cup (Amnesty International, 2006; Council of Europe, 2006). The participating national teams and football federations followed: CARE urged “all football teams playing at the World Cup this year to publicly condemn Germany’s acceptance of the exploitation, trafficking and pimping of women for sex” and called “upon high-profile players to make their opposition to the ‘Mega Brothel’” (CARE, 2006). The president of the Swedish Football Association, Lars-Ake Lagrell, promised that Swedish players will not use

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19 FIFA, however, rejected any responsibility stressing that it “has no power to take legal action against human trafficking and forced prostitution” and that “it cannot be responsible for such matters” (FIFA, 2006).
brothels during the Cup (Bindel, 2006), while Swedish Equal Opportunity Ombudsman Claes Borgström called on his team to withdraw from the Cup as a protest against “prostitution and the human trafficking associated with it” (Spiegel Online, 12 April 2006). The German national team was especially under scrutiny.20 As a result of this pressure the President of the German Football Federation Theo Zwanziger said the Federation needs to change its position on sex work (Spiegel Online, 8 March 2006). Such criticism was not a novelty for Germany: since the legalization of sex work in 2001, this country has experienced the occasional scrutiny by the abolitionist coalition. Yet, it was Germany’s initiative to open new brothels and ‘sex huts’ for the World Cup that drew an increased attention. Alongside with criticism from the United States, Germany faced some difficult questions from its close allies: the European Union expressed its concern about the issue on 17 January 2006 and put it on the agenda for the European Parliament plenary session in March. Although the EU stated that its campaign was not going to be a “campaign against normal prostitution” (Expatica, 8 March 2006), that is exactly what happened, as the European Union employment commissioner Vladimir Spidla declared that “very few people become prostitutes out of their free will” and that “prostitution is incompatible with human dignity” (Expatica, 8 March 2006).

Despite “no conclusive evidence that Germany’s liberal approach to prostitution made it more attractive to human traffickers” (Michele Clark, the Head of anti-trafficking assistance unit at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), cited in Tzortzis, 2006), the pressure on Germany to address its policy towards sex work continued, prompting the German delegation to the OSCE to issue a statement that “we must assume - even if there are no reliable figures – that women will be forced into prostitution and will perhaps be brought to Germany solely for this purpose” (Delegation of Germany to the OSCE 2006). The outcome of such pressure affected lives of women engaged in the German sex industry, and those who, for whatever reason wanted to migrate during the World Cup.

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20 A spokeswoman for Deutscher Frauenrat – the German national women’s council – stated that “after seeking role models and support for our campaign among the entire German football team, so far we have managed to get support only from Jens Lehmann (German national team’s goalkeeper)”, at which expressed their reaction as “not only disappointed but really angry” (Haape, 2006).
The outcome

As a consequence of the crackdown on illegal prostitution and sex trafficking nearly one hundred people, seventy four of them sex workers, were arrested by the German police (Associated Press, 1 June 2006). The interior minister of the Hesse province directly linked these raids with “concerns expressed by human rights organizations and other groups that thousands of women, mostly from Eastern Europe, could be smuggled into Germany and forced to work as prostitutes during the World Cup”. In the neighboring province of Rhineland-Palatinate 22 people were arrested and 34 were issued citations “mostly for immigration violations and failure to comply with business regulations” (Associated Press, 1 June 2006).

Anti-trafficking measures affected not only German sex workers, but also women from the supposed countries of origin who, for whatever reason, wanted to visit Germany during the World Cup. As EU Chief Justice Franco Frattini explains,

[v]isa requirements should be slapped on all non-EU citizens traveling to Germany... as a part of a drive to prevent an expected increase in the trafficking... We need to introduce and re-introduce temporary visas for all third countries – even those not requiring visas so far – but which are possible origin countries for trafficked women and children... the authorities (need to) ensure that people potentially ‘compromising public order’, one of the grounds for refusal of entry into the Schengen area, are indeed refused such entry. The EU member states must strengthen internal border controls as women forced into prostitution are often deceived by promises of legitimate work.

**EU Chief Justice Franco Frattini** (Expatica, 8 March 2006; EU Observer, 9 March 2006; Bianchi, 2006)

Coincidentally or not, this latest restriction of women’s rights has been launched on International Women’s Day.
Conclusion

Increasingly commentators have noted the embodied and highly gendered nature of border performances. Across Europe (and elsewhere), “some (mostly male) bodies enforce borders, while other (mostly female) bodies are subject to border enforcement” (Wonders, 2006: 66). What is apparent from our review of the moral panic surrounding sex trafficking during the World Cup is that the bodies that enforce borders are not only those agents that patrol the physical border but those (male and female) agents that patrol moral borders around the acceptability and otherwise of sex work. Those moral enforcement agents not only perform a gendered securitization of the border but also a social and racial patrol of particular groups. Consequently the moral panic surrounding the World Cup evidenced a peak in the subjection of some racial and social groups to differential border regimes. It suggests the border is an increasingly hostile environment for some racial and social groups of women who are subject to the policies that result from the appeasement of various competing interest groups (Carpenter, 2006).

The case study suggests that the corpus of law and the concomitant realization and abrogation of rights attached to citizenship enabled some groups to use border enforcement to bound the rights and legal status of others. This is a gendered practice with the on the ground effect of seriously hampering the otherwise legal movement of women from Eastern Europe. The curtailment of (some) women’s mobility in the name of securing their protection (from themselves as well as from traffickers) has seriously undervalued women’s agency as well as relied on an impoverished account of transnational organized crime and the securitization of the European union.

The approach to border enforcement made on the backs of Eastern European women has also provided another site for the interlocking of border protection and immigration policies post 9/11 which has focused on the increased securitization of the mobility of those from the global south. It further illuminates what Weber (2006) has identified as the increasingly mobile nature of borders and their enforcement, in this case their enforcement taking place on women’s bodies.

Although it will take some time to assess how these measures affected women across Europe, we need to act immediately, since some organizations have already been pointing out to upcoming sporting events, such as the 2010 Olympic games, as the potential risk for trafficking (IOM, 2006; Canadian
Sanja Milivojević and Sharon Pickering

Press, 1 June 2006). It is time to assess the effects and consequences this ‘protectionist’ policy has on third world women. As Kempadoo (2005) puts it,

\[ \textit{[h]yperbole, unsubstantiated claims, and sensationalism, while perhaps useful for rustling up indignation and moral condemnation about inhuman treatment and exploitation, can, and often do, lead to greater abuse and violations, even in the hands of well-meaning anti-trafficking policy makers and activists.} \]

The truth about sex trafficking is more complex. Thus, the solution is not a simple one either. ‘Protective’ measures that prevent women from exercising their agency further, narrow women’s options and restrict rather than protect women’s rights. The moralistic approach, which assumes that women do not know their own minds (Agustin, 2005) has to be dismissed: western governments, international and religious organizations, and western feminist scholarship need to abandon their ‘colonial gaze’ (Mohanty, 1998) and broad generalizations. At the same time, while acknowledging the increasing number of risks that migrant women face in every phase of their journeys, particularly if these journeys are undocumented and in relation to major sporting events, it is essential to pinpoint that making these journeys more difficult will not prevent women from endeavoring their migration patterns. Anti-trafficking initiatives cannot be based on anti-migration policies. Instead, it is essential to tackle structural, global, national and individual circumstances that increasingly limit some women’s choices.

A new agenda is needed (Segrave & Milivojevic, 2005) that will move away from slippery numbers and the law and order framework, and that will acknowledge trafficking with all of its complexities. In this process women do not need to be rescued, but listened to. Otherwise women with the ‘wrong’ passports who want to fulfill their migration avenues or simply to support their team will have to look for alternative ways to make it happen.
References


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Fudbal i seks: Svetsko fudbalsko prvenstvo 2006. godine i trgovina ženama u cilju seksualne eksploatacije

Svetsko prvenstvo u fudbalu 2006. godine okupilo je koaliciju grupa i organizacija sa različitim interesima koje su doprinule razbuktavanju moralne panike o trgovini ženama u Evropi. Ova koalicija imala je za cilj da zaštiti nevine žene trećeg sveta i spreči organizovane kriminalne grupe da ih namame u seks industriju. Autorke članka zaključuju da su ovakva povećana pažnja uočila svetskom prvenstvu, kao i "mere zaštite" koje su preduzetete od strane država i međunarodne zajednice, dovele do ugrožavanja ženskih prava, i to posebno prava u vezi mobilnosti i mogućnosti da migriraju. Autorke analizirale medijske napise uoči Svetskog prvenstva kako bi identifikovale prirodu ove koalicije i diskurse koji su rezultirali u podrivanju ženskog aktiviteta i dovele do pojačanja kontrole na granicama. Autorke zaključuju da mere preduzetete u vezi sa Svetskim prvenstvom 2006. godine nisu okončane sa poslednjim zviždukom sudije.

**Ključne reči:** Trgovina ženama, svetsko prvenstvo, intervencija, mobilnost, aktivitet