Recasting 'Black Venus' in the new African Diaspora[☆]

Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe

Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, Media & Cultural Studies, University of East London, Docklands Campus, 4–6 University Way, London E16 2RD, United Kingdom

Synopsis

This article explores the ways in which transnational feminist analysis can be deployed to reconfigure new gendered and racialized cartographies of the African Diaspora in Europe. First, I position contemporary film representations of trafficked Nigerian sex workers in Italy in dialogical relation to 19th century discourses of black sexuality—in particular, Sharpley-Whiting's (1999) reinscribed 'Black Venus Master Narrative'—and assess historical and geographical (dis)continuities in their modes of signification. Second, by linking endemic factors feeding the supply of Nigerian women for the purposes of (in)voluntary participation in the Italian sex industry, such as the localized feminization of poverty and regionally specific perceptions of sex work as a temporary economic strategy, I engage with broader feminist debates on victimization and agency in global sex work and migration literatures. In doing so, this dialectical think piece highlights the gendered complexities of new African diasporic formations and the ways in which their growth is facilitated by broader illegal networks that shape and are shaped by vicissitudes in glocalized economies.
© 2004 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

There are a number of ideas that attempt to draw together new African Diasporas by looking backwards to an ideal African homeland and to sets of Afro-centric values that stream from this common origin. Beneath the Pan-African imagined global networks, however, run fluid discursive structures that blur conventional and taken-for-granted classificatory practices with emergent nodes of cultural identity that we have yet to imagine... There is no trans-historical box large enough to contain such disparate and heterogeneous processes, rather linkages must be accounted for with greater care and specificity. (Carter, 2003, pp. x–xi)

Much theorizing on and periodizing of the African Diaspora[1] either privileges the narrative of transatlantic slavery or addresses the social and historical processes of imperialism and (post)colonialism (Koser, 2003). These earlier circuits of trade, processes of settlement, and political economic regimes created similar and different points of reference for African diasporic constituents, be they in the Americas, the Caribbean, or Europe. However, in the 21st century, there are new epistemologies of the African Diaspora, which are not predicated on current

---

problematic distinctions between 'authentic' diasporas of transatlantic slavery and to a certain extent (post)colonialisms and *faux* diasporas ('economic' migrations) (Butler, 2001). In particular, I am referring to clandestine movements 'by any means necessary' of the unwanted and the impoverished from structurally (mal)adjusted West African urban centers to economically and demographically restructured Western and Southern European metropoles (Harding, 2000). What motivates West African migrants is the promise of European Union (EU) wages, "10–15 times higher than in Africa…given the GDP gap between the EU and the less-developed non-EU Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan African countries" (Gold, 2000, p. 133).

At every stage of the migration process, strategies are highly gendered (Morris, 2002). That is, West African clandestine migrant women and men may share a similar destination, but by virtue of their glocalized (Robertson, 1995) structural positions, their destinies will be very different: "If one asks a recently arrived migrant woman today where the opportunities for work lie in Europe, she will tell you that apart from sex work or domestic work, the avenues for employment are closed to her" (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2000, p. 131). Conventionally, these contemporary continental African dispersals have been analyzed either utilizing traditional tropes of 'push/pull' migration or within the broader contexts of European asylum and immigration discourses. I argue for the reassessment of recent clandestine West African migrations as culturally specific, differentially gendered, and similarly racialized new African Diasporas, which are situated within, not outside, the latest political economic circuits of global capitalism (Akyeampong, 2003; International Organization for Migration, 1996). Placing trafficked Nigerian migrant women sex workers in Italy at the center, it is my intention to provoke a rethinking of what constitutes volition, agency and victimhood in theorizing about the African Diaspora in particular and diaspora in general (Braziel & Mannur, 2003; Anthias, 1998).

This article represents one facet of a broader ongoing theoretical project, which, using the transnational circulation of people as a paradigm, rethinks the gendered relationship between continental Africa and the African Diaspora. Rather than treating contemporary processes of continental African migration as separate entities outside the diaspora paradigm, I outline a theoretical formulation which assumes their interconnectedness and demonstrates their dynamism. To test this reformulation in current everyday lived contexts, I address the newest layer of African Diasporas, which have resulted from recent continental African dispersals to Europe. These transnational migratory processes include the smuggling of West African (and North African) women and men via Morocco to Southern Spain—the Gateway to Fortress Europe (Harding, 2000), the trafficking in West African (in particular Nigerian) women to Italy as part of the global sex trade (Aghatise, 2002), and the strategic and 'voluntary' migrations of West Africans (once again mostly Nigerian) to the Republic of Ireland (White, 2002). In the cases of both Spain and Ireland, the arrival of pregnant West African migrant women, who subsequently give birth on Spanish and Irish soil, has generated significant religious and political debates about the limits of citizenship and contingent definitions of family (Lentin, 2003 and in this volume).

In the following discussion, I will highlight two of the strands which comprise my current thinking on complex, compound and new African diasporic formations (Koser, 2003; Stoller, 2002). First, I position contemporary documentary film representations of trafficked Nigerian sex workers in Italy in dialogical relation to 19th century discourses of black sexuality—in particular, Sharpley-Whiting's (1999) reinscribed "Black Venus Master Narrative"—and assess historical and geographical (dis)continuities in their modes of signification. Second, by linking endemic factors feeding the supply of Nigerian women for the purposes of (in)voluntary participation in the Italian sex industry, such as the localized feminization of poverty and regionally specific perceptions of sex work as a temporary economic strategy, I address the extent to which women can be both victims and exercise agency. Their victimization stems from their plight as unemployed or unskilled young women with a limited range of available options "back home." Even if agency is partial, delayed or never achieved, for conscripts and their extended families back in Nigeria, (in)voluntary conscription for participation in the migrant sex worker industry in Italy holds 'the promise' of economic empowerment. The emergent and existing literature on trafficked Nigerian sex workers in Italy does not explore the full extent of

this individual and familial strategizing. In this new trade encounter, the ways in which old racialized stereotypes about black female sexuality are trafficked and commodified have also not been scrutinized. This think piece begins to map a more complex theoretical framework, which incorporates both the dialectics of structure and agency (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997) as well as the feminized interface between processes of racialized embodiment and sexualized commodification (Collins, 2004).

(Mis)Representing 'Foreign Bodies' in the Italian-African Diaspora

I also hope to avoid the rather wooden presentation of notions of 'Otherness,' so common in work on representations of the socially oppressed, whether women, black people or working-class people. This ends up by placing the oppressed as objects within a previously conceptualised framework that denies them any conscious potential to refuse their place within this framework or to challenge it. We can certainly try to deconstruct images to attempt to understand their meanings in terms of ideology and how that ideology is visualised, however, every deconstruction is also an act of construction. (Doy, 1998, p. 306)

In this section, I critique a 2002 Channel Four British television documentary on the politics of illegal immigration in Italy, which highlighted the status of two groups of undocumented youths who are both laborers in the informal economy: trafficked Nigerian sex workers and smuggled Albanian migrant men. This critical reading, which specifically addresses filmic representations of only the first group of 'subjects,' is the starting point for a "deterritorialized" practice that deals with inequities not only in that "other [Nigerian] place," but also in one's "own" [European] community (Behar, 1995, p. 22). My deployment of documentary film, which relies on 'evidence' to verify its authenticity and reliability, is not accidental (Trinh, 1991). In this genre, the subject, in this instance black female undocumented migrant sex workers, must submit to the higher power of the filmmakers and their audience (Trinh, 1989). In an unspoken negotiation, creators and spectators retrieve mythologized images of both the hypersexual black female

and the clandestine migrant sex worker as polluted interloper, which provide missing symbolic links between what exists on the moving frame and 'realities' before and beyond: "The new sociohistorical text thus rules despotically as another master [mistress]-centered text, since it unwillingly helps to perpetuate the Master's]Mistress'] ideological stance" (Trinh, 1991, p. 42). In my reframing, I inscribe both a 'black female gaze' (Roach & Felix, 1989) and a critical black anthropological perspective that problematize the ways in which dominant Eurocentric and essentialist ideologies of 'Africa' and 'the African Diaspora' are reproduced (Ginsburg, 2002; Harrison, 1991). By an oppositional black feminist gaze, I mean an engaged and enraged standpoint which is situated in alternative and empowering frameworks (Abraham, 2002; charles, 1997; hooks, 1992).

I am mindful of the possibility that in the process of constructing counter-hegemonic discourses (Harrison, 1995). I am indeed reproducing the precise iconography I am attempting to critique: "the insistence of the image and its signification, in this case the sexualised, colonised female African body, can simply collapse into restatement" (Edwards, 2001, p. 196). I may also be accused of reinstating a 'First World' feminist hegemony (Ong, 1995; Spivak, 1988). Oyewumi's astute terms for this imposed recapitulation are the "bio-logic of the sisterarchy" Oyewumi (1997, p. 11). Neither is my intention. Instead, the plight of debt-bonded Nigerian sex workers in Europe functions as a symbolic lens through which to critically view the 'changing same' economic, social, and political positions of multiplex black women in the African Diasporas (Gilliam, 2001; Terborg-Penn & Rushing, 1996).

On 13 January 2002, in the United Kingdom, as part of a Channel Four series on contemporary Tuscany, a programme aired which dramatically destabilized notions of social progress in media portrayals of contemporary gendered African diasporic processes. The piece, entitled 'Foreign Bodies,' addressed the plight of young Nigerian women who had been trafficked for the purposes of participation in the lucrative global sex trade. What was most troubling was the sensationalized and overtly sexist and racist angle chosen by the film-makers. The series' English producer, Catherine Bailey, and the

Italian director of 'Foreign Bodies,' Enrica Colusso, are both white. Their intentions may have been honorable—they did highlight forms of victimization and agency—and their primary motivation may have been to expose these young women's desperate situation. Overall, though, their particular portrayal of black women reproduced negative representations (hooks, 1991) and thus indicated the extent to which, in the words of the late great Audre Lorde: "the work and experiences of women of Color is still being ghettoized by a white woman dealing only out of a patriarchal western European frame of reference" Lorde (1984, p. 68). The opening description by the documentary's male narrator falls into the problematic trap of describing black women as part of the naturalistic surroundings: "an extraordinary spectacle" dotting the Italian landscape. The objectifying description of the behavior of the arrested Nigerian prostitutes as animalistic and 'primitive'—"biting…smearing police with menstrual blood…raining voodoo curses" (Channel Four, 2002)—is consistent with 19th century 'race' science fictional representations of black/African people as socially and morally degenerate (Abraham, 2002; Collins, 1990; Walker, 1971). A white male journalist, who reviewed 'Foreign Bodies' for the *New Statesman*, also fails to contexualize, humanize, or address the political economic complexities of this 'phenomenon' and instead asserts his male privilege as the spectator, not the spectacle:

I once nearly crashed a hire car on the road from Siena to Florence. I would have pled temporary insanity, caused by the sudden appearances around the corner of a flock of beautiful black African women dressed in bras and hot pants—a vision I would have dismissed as a trick of a diseased mind, had the scene not been repeated shortly afterwards, thigh for thigh, in Bernardo Bertolucci's film 'Stealing Beauty.' (Billen, 2002)

There are disturbing parallels between the early 19th century objectification and exploitation of Saartjie Baartman, also known as the Hottentot Venus, who, due to the size of her protruding buttocks, was exhibited in London and Paris as a representation of deviant sexuality, and this film's lingering shots of Nigerian sex workers' backsides (Hammonds, 1997; White, 2001). In her insightful and provocative book,

Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears and Primitive Narratives in French, Sharpley-Whiting (1999) refers to this as an invocation of the "Black Venus master narrative." Though primarily engaging with 19th and 20th century French representations of black women from Hottentot Venus to Josephine Baker, throughout the text and explicitly in the epilogue, Sharpley-Whiting argues that the Black Venus master narrative is reasserted in other European/colonial milieux and in contemporary historical moments:

…black women, embodying the dynamics of racial/ sexual alterity, historically invoking primal fears and desire in European (French) men, represent ultimate difference (the sexualized savage) and inspire repulsion, attraction, and anxiety, which gave rise to the collective French male imaginations of Black Venus (primitive narratives). Sharpley-Whiting (1999, 6) (emphasis in original text)

Sharpley-Whiting's study is also a critique of the influential work of Sander Gilman (1985), in particular *Difference and Pathology*, wherein he argues that the black female body was the lens through which forms of deviant white female sexuality were viewed. Gilman's metaphorical white-centered stance provides the reader with very little information about Saartjie Baartman[2] herself, rendering her at once highly visible but yet textually silent. In 'Foreign Bodies,' the "subaltern does speak" (Spivak, 1988) but her words are drowned out by the deafening voices of patriarchy, scientific racism, and neo-colonialism (Hammonds, 1997). The film highlights the fact that the Catholic church is one of the main Italian institutions campaigning for the emancipation of Nigerian prostitutes and administering aid. The rehabilitation strategies of church-based 'protection' programs encourage victims to atone for their transgressions by denouncing their traffickers and/or Madams. In return, they are offered 'salvation' in the form of accommodation, employment, residency permits, or repatriation and family reunification (Crane, 2001). This paternalistic intervention is a thriving relic of the civilizing missions of the past wherein religion was part and parcel of imperial conquest (Hall, 2002; Oyewumi, 1997).[3] What this documentary does reveal in a lucid fashion are the

gendered and racialized hierarchies within global sex work, which force feminist debates beyond issues of morality, prevention, and protection.

By reinscribing 'Black Venus,' I am not simply suggesting that Khoikhoi Saartjie Baartman from the Cape Colony, South Africa, displayed in 19th century Paris and London, and Bini women from Edo State, Nigeria, working in the sex trade in 21st century Florence, are the sum total of their inscribed black bodies (Marshall, 1996). Such an over-simplification feeds into the false European 'brain'/African 'body' dichotomy (Bordo, 1993; Butchart, 1998; Davis, 1997) perpetuates Africa as monolith figuration (Appiah, 1992; Mudimbe, 1994), still prevalent in media imaginings of this vast and heterogeneous continent,[4] and ignores the ways in which conceptions of black female sexuality shift across time and space (Gilliam, 2001; Shaw, 2001). Rather, as Magubane argues in her brilliant critique of the "theoretical fetishization of Hottentot Venus":

Baartman represented far more in the European imagination than a collection of body parts. Indeed, closer examination of the furor that ensued in the wake of her exhibition demonstrates that what she represented varied (as ideologies are wont to do) according to the social and political commitments of the interested social actors. Baartmann's exhibition provoked varying and contradictory responses. These responses are better understood if they are analyzed as part and parcel of larger debates about liberty, property, and economic relations, rather than seeing them as simple manifestations of the universal human fascination with embodied difference. (Magubane, 2001, p. 827)

When recasting 'Black Venus' in the contemporary transnational sites of Italy and Nigeria, Magubane's conceptual frame facilitates a deeper understanding of complicated and triangulated dynamics involving various 'social actors' with differential access to liberty, property, and economic resources. Severe poverty "back home" rather than the marketability of black female sexuality "abroad" is the main catalyst for young female labor migration (Okojie et al., 2003; Ume-Ezeoke, 2003). This "skin trade" conscription process involves multiple actors and agents, including entire families, who

may be partially motivated by the prospect of status enhancement:

Our study has confirmed the hypothesis that sending female children abroad has, in most cases, become a sort of status symbol for families. This is as a result of the breakdown of social and cultural values, the disintegration of traditional family structures, and the lack of valid, efficient social reference models in substitution. Most families interviewed tacitly accepted the idea of prostitution as a solution where extreme poverty has made life difficult. They were, however, less ready to accept this when the violence and humiliation involved in it was made clear to them. Thus feminisation of poverty comes to have the greatest expression in the sale of female children into trafficking for prostitution. (Aghatise, 2002, p. 7)

Once trafficked to Italy, in presentations of self and the provision of sexual services, "*Italos* in the skin trade"—the folk Nigerian terms used to describe the workers and their work—actively deploy prevailing universalized stereotypes of deviant black female sexuality as "marketing strategies" (Spanger, 2002). Writing about the ways in which the sexual iconography of the Hottentot Venus in particular and black women in general represented unbridled sexuality, Gilman suggests: "the primitive is the black, and the qualities of blackness, or at least of the black female, are those of the prostitute" Gilman (1985, p. 99). These *Italos* are themselves controlled by Madams,[5] who dictate the stringent terms and conditions of their employment. Both Madams and *Italos* are economically dependent on indigenous Italian male clients' demand for Nigerian female sex workers: ". . .how the body is marked is integral to the commodity exchanged" (Sanchez Taylor, 2000, p. 50).

To summarize, what I am arguing is that, although 19th century colonial stereotypes of the 'Third World' woman of color as exotic and sexually uninhibited are recycled in the 21st century global sex trade (Kempadoo, 1998; Sanchez Taylor, 2000), the gendered, racialized, and economic relations of power deeply embedded in all of these encounters and negotiations must be interpreted within, not outside, the feminized circuits of global capitalism and under-development (di Cortemiglia, 2003; Prina, 2003).

The cultural politics of transnational sex work and the traffic in Nigerian women

Trafficking in women is an international problem often involving complex transnational and criminal elements. It is also, however, an immigration issue, a labour issue, and a gender issue. Only in an immigration, labour, race-aware and gendered frame can the exploitation that women confront when they seek to move for (sex) work be redressed. (Berman, 2003, p. 39)

In this section, I will address endemic factors feeding the supply of women for the purposes of sexual exploitation, such as the localized feminization of poverty as well as the ways in which the social functions of sex work intersect with other Nigerian social relations. However, such an analysis must first be contextualized within the global domains of capitalism, labor migration, and sex work. Under capitalism, sex work becomes wage labor and thus is susceptible to exploitation (Weitzer, 2000; Hennessy, 2000). Although transnational sex work is not a new practice, as capitalism has globalized in search of cheap labor so has the sex industry (Kempadoo, 1999; Ryan & Hall, 2001). In other words, the ideology of cheap sex is synonymous with the ideology of cheap goods and cheap labor (Clift & Carter, 2000). It is 'exotic' migrant women from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America who satisfy this 'First World' consumer demand for inexpensive and 'unique' sexual services:

Prostitution across borders has increased in the last twenty to thirty years...the number of women who migrate to richer countries from poorer and work in prostitution has also grown. The differences in circumstances of migrant prostitutes are vast. Some may have been cheated or forced into the trade; others have chosen it voluntarily, knowing what the work entails, and some have had experience of prostitution both at home and abroad before travelling. (Thorbek, 2002, p. 1)

Of the myriad routes into transnational migrant sex work, the most disempowering and exploitative is via trafficking, wherein the inflated and exorbitant debt for services rendered by traffickers and his/her associates (provision of false documentation, arranging travel, securing accommodation and employment in destination countries) is recovered from the young woman's or child's limited future earnings (Taylor, 2002). In the case of trafficked Nigerian migrant sex workers in Italy, the imposed and enforced debts range from "sixty million Italian Liras (ITL) (about USD$30,000 by current exchange rates) to a hundred and twenty million ITL (about USD$60,000)...the girls charge an average of twenty/thousand ITL (USD$10/15) per client and at times, as little as ten thousand ITL (USD$5)" (Aghatise, 2002, p. 5). While the existence of this new form of sexualized globalization is rarely disputed, needless to say, due to its clandestine and illegal nature, there are significant discrepancies in 'official' statistical accounts of its extent (Thorbek, 2002). In an important analysis of European sex-trafficking discourses, Berman observes:

The International Organization for Migration's (IOM) estimate of 500,000 women annually trafficked into Western Europe redundantly appears in media and official documents, adding social scientific authenticity to the claim that this is an immense problem. Figures range from '175, 000 women and girls ...taken into the EU illegally every year' to 'epidemic proportions' of '700,000 to 1 million women and children sold into modern day slavery'...'The United Nations estimates the worldwide profit to be $7 billion a year' while others claim that 'mobsters on every continent...pocket an estimated 12 billion each year from the sex trade.' (Berman, 2003, p. 65)

On the other hand, there is consensus regarding the ways in which the increased presence of 'Third World' trafficked women in 'First World' sex industries further complicates debates on the empowerment and/or victimization of 'working women' (Andrijasevic, 2003; Pattanaik, 2002).

In the global sex work literature, the term 'sex worker' is advocated in order to distinguish the pathological social trait 'whore' from the form of income generating labor performed by women (and men) (Doezema, 1998). If prostitution is seen as work, then the rights of those exploited can be

protected. Current debates center on the extent to which sex workers can be both victims and exercise agency (Chapkis, 2000). In addition, distinctions are made between voluntary ('guilty') and forced ('innocent') prostitution, i.e. women who have been trafficked and thus are in debt bondage—a form of slavery (Murray, 1998). As Bindman suggests: "...in the case of the sex industry, the ending of slavery-like practices is held back by the distinction between sex workers or prostitutes and other workers" Bindman (1998, p. 66). Global sex work activists argue that a strictly abolitionist agenda deprives sex workers who have not been trafficked of their human rights as laborers:

We in the human rights field must work alongside efforts towards economic justice, towards viable economic alternatives for everyone, ending vulnerability to slavery-like practices....Let us fight laws which exclude women in the sex industry from society and which deprive them of the rights that everyone else enjoys, at least on paper. Let us fight exploitation in every form. (Bindman, 1998, p. 68)

As such, sex trafficking is at once a development, a feminist, and a political economic problematic.

It is worth noting that just as not all sex workers are trafficked, neither is all trafficking in women confined to sex work: "traffic in women' is a broad category covering various forms of exploitation and violence within a range of informal labor sectors that migrant women work, including prostitution, entertainment industries and domestic work" (Wijers, 1998, p. 70). Trafficked women in general are extremely vulnerable and are frequently at the mercy of violent criminal networks (Bales, 2000).

What is particular about trafficked sex workers is their double stigmatization: first as illegal migrants and secondly as prostitutes (Lederer, 2001). The Italian findings of a recent multi-sited (Nigeria and Italy) collaborative social science research project on 'Trafficking from Nigeria into Italy,' which was commissioned by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICJRI) as part of a 'Programme of Action Against Trafficking in Minors and Young Women from Nigeria into Italy for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation,'

support the notion that trafficked sex work is a double bind:

Even for those who choose to come to Italy knowing that they are coming to prostitute themselves, the discovery of the way of work, the entity of the debt that must be repaid and the conditions of life and work ahead of them produces discouragement and rethinking. What prevails at this point is a sense of impotence and isolation. The girls find themselves in a foreign country, without family support and without any possibility of contact (sic) friends and parents possibly present in Italy or Europe....Without documents, taken away or immediately destroyed, without the minimum idea of how to escape their destiny, frightened by the threats of action against the family and with the fear of the negative influences of *wodo*,[6] sometimes subjected to physical violence, they wind up doing the will of their 'owners' [:] starting the activity of a prostitute. (Prina, 2003, p. 47)

These un-named migrant sex workers comprise an ever expanding army of Nigerian surplus labor:

None of these girls or women would be in the streets of Europe and the other parts of the world selling their bodies had IBB Ibrahim Badamosi Babanginda and Abacha not handicapped Nigeria and bequeathed economic hardship upon us. It is true that prostitution is a problem, but we need to put the blames (sic) where they belong. (Evbayiro, 2000)

Their passages from Nigeria and processes of settlement in Italy are frequently orchestrated and facilitated by crime syndicates, who, capitalizing on desperation and misery, run a lucrative trade in female cargo. These carriers are part of but not necessarily connected to a global, highly organized, and sophisticated communication system for the transportation of undocumented sex workers:

We are talking about a country Nigeria that is increasingly claiming the premier position in the exportation of prostitutes to Europe...Our exports in this regard are equaling (sic) our oil exports to the western world. (David-West, 2002)

The Nigerian research team's extensive report, which was produced for the aforementioned collab-

orative UNICJRI social science research project on 'Trafficking from Nigeria into Italy', supports David-West's claim:

The scanty data available suggest that trafficking in women and minors to Italy has been increasing over time, from when the flow started in the late 1980s....most of the women trafficked out of Nigeria for prostitution are from Edo State. Some of these victims are minors, that is, they are below age 18 years...Reasons why Edo women are involved in trafficking include: the low valuation of women reflected in limited access to education, employment and income earning opportunities. Other reasons are poverty, greed, peer group influence-...ignorance of the types and conditions of work in Italy. A few success stories, usually of victims who have become madams, have proved sufficient to lure young girls and their relations (parents, brothers, sisters, and even husbands) to be involved in trafficking. The devaluation of the Naira whereby a few units of foreign currency convert into thousands of Naira also encourages the youth to desire to leave the country to do any type of job. (Okojie et al., 2003, p. 127)

The most intriguing findings of Okojie et al.'s (2003) study, which have also been reported elsewhere (di Cortemiglia, 2003; Prina, 2003; Ume-Ezeoke, 2003), is the over-representation of women from one particular region in Southern Nigeria. That is, it is estimated that up to 80% of girls and women trafficked to Italy from Nigeria for sex work come from Edo State in general, Benin City in particular (Aghatise, 2002). There are two explanations for this trend. The first multifaceted structural and political economic one has already been provided by Okojie et al. (2003). The second is that since the late 1980s, as a direct result of the failed IMF/World Bank implemented Structural Adjustment regime, Nigerian women and men have been smuggled or trafficked into Europe, where they contributed to informal economies, such as itinerant tomato-picking in the Italian agricultural industry (Ume-Ezeoke, 2003). Over time, laborers drifted into cities, and the women discovered another market within which to sell their labor, so much so that turf wars ensued between Nigerian

and Italian sex workers. Benin City gained a national reputation as the headquarters for illegal immigration fixers (Advocacy Project, 2003). Hence, some migrant sex workers may not 'originate' from Edo State, but that is where their hopeful journeys begin. In this 21st century skin trade, though the modes of transport and the destinations have changed, Benin's former prominence as one of West Africa's slave trading centers has been restored.

There are other complex reasons for this booming export business, which have less to do with the victimization of vulnerable young women and more to do with the problematics of cultural translation and re/territorialization (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). In their trailblazing work, Nigerian scholars Amadiume (1987) and Oyewumi (1997) compare the more egalitarian gender systems which existed in pre-colonial Igbo and Yoruba societies respectively, to the Western binary sex/gender system predicated on the devaluation of women (Goddard, 2000), which was inherited by Nigeria as part of the British colonial project. They also demonstrate the deleterious impact on local 'traditions' of these racist and patriarchal institutions, which were maintained in the (post)colonial milieu (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997). As such, in form and function, localized and indigenous Nigerian conceptions of sex work both differ from and mirror their Western counterparts. More specifically, sex work did exist in pre-colonial Nigeria, was reinvented as part of the colonial encounter, and has been transformed in (post)colonial Nigeria (Little, 1973; Mama, 1997). In his sweeping survey, *Prostitution and Society: Primitive, Classical and Oriental*, Henriques (1962) identified three types of African sex work, which included pre-colonial forms institutionalized by both the Nupe and Hausa of Nigeria, in order to circumvent strict traditional codes of sexual morality. In (post)colonial Nigeria, the dividing line between social relations and sexual services is not clearly demarcated:

So common has prostitution become, and so widespread, that some are unable to see a distinction between prostitutes and those who are not. In Akure, the capital of the cocoa producing Ondo State, residential prostitutes are scarcely to be found. Yet

girls, especially students of secondary schools, colleges of education, as well as workers, can be seen laundering their boredom at drinking and eating places, waiting for customers. (*African Guardian*, 1987, cited in Amadiume, 2000, p. 139)

What these fuzzy social borders illustrate is how in a context wherein 40% of the 'developing world' lives in cities, "structurally adjusted urbanism" becomes a way of life (Centner, 2002). That is, global economic policies do impact local urban social practices (Ogden, 1996). As the most densely populated and one of the wealthiest countries on the continent, nowhere are the failures of structural adjustment and fiscal mismanagement more apparent than in Nigeria (Maier, 2000). Former Senior Investigator for the U.S. Senate and attorney Blum (2002) estimates that, since colonial independence from Britain in 1960, at least $120 billion has been stolen from the government's coffers by corrupt politicians and military dictators such as Babangida and Abacha.

The on the ground ramifications of such poor governance have a human cost and more specifically, a female face. That is, on the African continent in general and Nigeria in particular, women from particular regions (i.e. Edo and Delta States) and specific sectors of society (young, poor, relatively uneducated) are increasingly embracing sex work as an economic survival strategy, what Iliffe describes as "subsistence prostitution" (cited in Farmer et al., 1996a,b, p. 159). Amadiume (2000) attributes its feminized persistence and its growth to the unhealthy state of the Nigerian economy as well as to the failure of the aforementioned externally imposed but locally implemented Structural Adjustment Programmes:

Because of the direct economic relationship between women and prostitution, we find that prostitutes are mostly mothers–widows, divorcees and unemployed teenagers. Most Nigerian female prostitutes go into the business to raise the capital to begin a trade or to educate their children. Many 'retire' after they have achieved their goals, and many become 'somebody.' The post-colonial culture in Nigeria is such that 'money talks'—i.e. wealth is respected, regardless of the means by which it is acquired. (Amadiume, 2000, p. 138)

A study of sex workers in Nigeria, cited in John Anarfi's chapter on Ghanaian sex workers in Cote d'Ivoire in *Global Sex Workers*, also highlights the perceived 'use value' of sexual labor in the present as a means of securing economic stability in the future:

A recent study of prostitutes in Nigeria (Orubuloye et al., 1994) asserts that the women who engage in prostitution regard it as a transient phase in their lives. The study notes that in order to ensure a later life of marriage, business ownership and respectability in one's area of origin, it is necessary that the transient period as a prostitute be spent far away. (Anarfi, 1998, p. 112)

Niger-Thomas' research among women smugglers who operate between Cameroon and Nigeria illustrates a direct link between sex work and other income generating activities:

…there is indeed an historical connection between prostitution and trade: an occupational shift from prostitution to entrepreneurship. Some of the women smugglers were former prostitutes who were used to money, nice clothes, good food and drink, and other forms of luxury and saw smuggling as an easy way to earn more money. (Niger-Thomas, 2001, p. 63)

To summarize, after first situating this case study within the broader contexts of the global sex work and migration literatures and their concomitant feminist debates, I have then highlighted the different glocalized ways in which sex work is deployed by young Nigerian women as a mode of either survival or economic enhancement.[7]

Concluding remarks

With the strategies and struggles of trafficked Nigerian sex workers as a talking point, I have illustrated the complexity of gendered life ways in the age of globalization and transnationalism, wherein universalist conceptions of sex work as merely the exchange of sex for money are entirely too simplistic (Tandia, 1998). This think piece has also demonstrated that sociopolitical constructions of 'Nigerian

women' can no longer be exclusively confined to national boundaries or specific localities (Mustapha, 1985). Trafficked Nigerian sex workers exemplify the intersectionality of continental African and 'new' Italian–African diasporic subjectivities (Greenleaves, 2000). There is a lived tension between the migrant's desire for eventual repatriation back to Nigeria (with elevated status and a bulging bank balance) and the harsh social realities for undocumented trafficked migrant workers owing huge debts to their sponsors. This dialectic is emblematic of the Nigerian/diasporic nexus (Marble, 1996; Christian Science Monitor, 2000). Young women's initial and strategic embrace of sex work in Italy as a temporary economic strategy is motivated by a genuine wish to provide for themselves and their extended families "back home" (Sassen, 1999). Once settled in Italy, their vulnerable status as illegal immigrants deprives them of the rights and entitlements afforded citizens and designated refugees (Daniel, 2002). This marginalization is compounded by everyday racism and threats of violence (Prina, 2003). Daily survival dictates that young women create support systems, pool resources (i.e. share housing and information), maintain transnational links (i.e. send remittances and correspondence to family in Nigeria), and renegotiate meanings of community and belonging:

The cosmopolitanism of migrants has entailed the proliferation of illegal or clandestine spaces. This can be seen in the existence of genuine unofficial towns constituted by so-called illegal immigrants. It can also be seen in the flexible practices adopted by illegal immigrants in the country of reception, and in the xenophobia which contributes to confining them to legal obscurity. In these spheres of illegality, marginality might favor the reconstruction of complex forms of community life. (Mbembe, 2001, p. 11)

Regarding this Nigeria/Italy transnational circuit and domestic deficits in knowledge and opportunity which perpetuate the cycle, development discursive interventions tend to emphasize the victimized status of women at the expense of their current agency and future empowerment (Mama, 1997). Amartya Sen's insistence that the ultimate goal of development is freedom strikes a more appropriate balance:

The extensive reach of women's agency is one of the more neglected areas of development studies, and most urgently in need of correction. Nothing, arguably, is as important today in the political economy of development as an adequate recognition of political, economic and social participation and leadership of women. (Sen, 1999, p. 203)

In the long and the short term, ameliorating poverty and gender inequalities must be at the top of any development agenda and is an important route towards the sustained empowerment of African girls and women in all their diversity (Moser, 1993; Kolawole, 1997). There have been successful initiatives, which simultaneously address processes of under-development, gender inequities, and human rights (Brussa, 1998). These more multi-pronged interventions do acknowledge the voluntary/involuntary sex worker distinction, but the intervening emphasis is on female educational empowerment and poverty reduction in 'sending' countries and immigration policy reform and the decriminalization of undocumented migrant sex work in 'receiving' countries[8] (D'Cunha, 2002; Giammarinaro, 2002).

The trafficking in Nigerian women for the purposes of (in)voluntary participation in the Italian sex industry is but one example of the gendered dynamics of clandestine global migration processes:

The growth of a global economy has brought with it an institutional framework that facilitates cross-border flows and represents, in that regard, an enabling environment for these alternative circuits. It is increasingly on the backs of women that these forms of survival, profit making and government revenue enhancement operate….Linking these counter-geographies to programs and conditions at the heart of the global economy also helps us to understand how issues of gender enter into their formation and viability. (Sassen, 2000, pp. 512–513)

The case study of Nigeria shows us that the human face of global migration is increasingly young, female, black, and African (Joyce, 1999; Kofman et al., 2000). These new nomadic communities are part of the latest global forced migration system, which in

turn grew out of the earlier globalizing phases of transatlantic slavery and Empire (Narayan, 1997). They represent what Catherine Hall (2004) describes as a "reconfiguration of colonial relations," wherein the North and South are still connected by the sinews of inequality and subordination (Hardt & Negri, 2000). In light of these re/territorializing processes of migration, which transport workers from African to European metropoles, new gendered African diasporic differences must be situated in appropriate historical, social, cultural, and geopolitical contexts, which we must now refashion as merely "one node in a postnational network of diasporas" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 171). Rethinking African diasporas necessitates the simultaneous pivoting of the conceptual axes of time, space, and shifting condition (Gilroy, 1993; Schipper, 1999). Rather than mapping specific diasporic communities on to particular (post)colonial landscapes, the analytic framework within which we must build new theories is one based on the simultaneity of transnational existences and of (post)national life-worlds and material-worlds rooted in multiple fusions and confusions[9] (Busia, 2000; Westwood & Phizacklea, 2000; Sassen, 2000). More recent migrants and refugees from continental Africa have different shared narratives of home, community, longing, and belonging than their predecessors (Chabal, 1996; Drachler, 1975; Drake, 1987; Drake, 1990).

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

[1] Borrowing from the seminal essay "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World", co-authored by historians Patterson and Kelley (2000), I refer to African Diasporas not simply as political *spaces*, but also as *processes* and *conditions*. That is, first, contemporary African diasporic processes extend the links of the migration chains, which originated in the historical moments of the transatlantic slave trade, and the rise of European Empires (Ford, 1999). As a result, two adages pervade the collective consciousness of the older African Diasporas of transatlantic slavery and (post)colonialism, respectively: "We are here because you brought us here" or "We are here because you were there." Second, contemporary African Diasporas are spatially constituted wherever African (post)colonial and transnational constituents find themselves, be that conventionally in the Caribbean, North and Latin Americas, or Europe (Green, 1997; Modood & Werbner, 1997; Torres & Whitten, 1998). Their spatial and 'racial' locations as both gendered African diasporic agents and former Black colonial, tribal, and island subjects inscribe sameness as they mobilize and politicize (Adi, 2000; Bousquet & Douglas, 1991; Gilroy, 2000; Obichere, 1975). Finally, African diasporic conditions persist and are transformed by the interface of transnational African diasporic traditions of resistance, protest, and cultural innovation with global economic, political gendered, and racialized hierarchical structures, which exclude as they appropriate and commodify (Campbell, 1985; Chuck, 1997; Rose, 1994). In other words, local and dynamic diasporic spaces, processes and conditions intersect with and in fact are produced by transnational identities, translated cultural commodities, and global political strategies (Browning, 1998; Lipsitz, 1994).

[2] As a poignant postscript: on 29 April 2002, (post)apartheid South Africans won their long battle with the French government for the repatriation of Saartjie Baartman's remains. In a ceremony of 'reconciliation' involving French and South African delegates, two crates containing a plaster cast of her body, skeleton, and preserved brain and genitalia were handed back to the South African government : "Finally dignity was restored to a women (sic) who has become a symbol of the damaging effects of colonialism, sexism and racism...In her address, Skweyiya [the South African ambassador] said this final journey of Baartman's symbolised freedom for African women. "South African women fought a hard battle for equality and justice. We join hands with all peace-loving people in the world to sustain the fight for women's human rights" (South African Times, 2002, May 1).

[3] In Nigeria, it is the Catholic nuns who are working with both repatriated trafficked young women as well as those who are perceived to be 'at risk' of being lured into the trade. Though the humanitarian efforts of these nuns and priests are tainted by religious zeal, they and other Non Governmental Organizations are not only genuinely assisting those who are already in 'bondage,' they are also trying to stem the tide.

[4] I spent Christmas 2003 in Los Angeles, CA. One of the evenings, I was captivated by a special programme entitled 'Oprah in Africa,' which was broadcast on national television. Oprah

Winfrey was in conversation with the highly esteemed news broadcaster and journalist Diane Sawyer. Their exchange was interspersed with film clips from Oprah's recent visit to Southern Africa in general and South Africa in particular, where she performed astounding acts of philanthropy in an attempt to ease the material circumstances of young children and youth, many of whom had been orphaned by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Though at times both moved and inspired, I became increasingly annoyed at the frequency with which both the interviewer and the interviewee referred to 'Africa' rather than naming the historically, politically, socially, and culturally complex and specific country in question— 'South Africa.'

[5] Unlike other prostitution rings in Italy, such as Eastern European wherein those in control are pimps (Andrijasevic, 2003), the Nigerian women are controlled by women in the form of ex-sex workers turned Madams: "Once they are able to make it to Italy, they are distributed to areas where their services are in demand. Before distribution, the Madames of the apartments where they are accommodated set the condition for engagement and remittance of proceeds from the trafficked woman's new trade of prostitution" (Ume-Ezeoke, 2003, p. 17).

[6] In order to avoid reproducing some of the ethnocentric and racist stereotypes I have already critiqued, the prominent role of 'voodoo' in the recruitment, coercion, and exploitation of trafficked Nigerian sex workers is one that must be analyzed with care and sensitivity. Such a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this particular article. Although, given its significance, Aghatise's discussion of its potent function is worth citing: "Another cultural aspect of the trafficking in Nigerian girls for prostitution is the fact of their being made to undergo black magic 'juju' rites to ensure their payment of the debt imposed on them. This is perhaps the most relevant aspect because of the subsequent effect….The strong belief which they have in these rites coupled with an exaggerated sense of duty owed to their "benefactors" later develop into strong fear. This fear is up to the extent that even when they do succeed in paying all the 'debt' to their exploiters, they still continue to live in the fear of some unmentionable misfortune happening to them or members of their family. Each and every misfortune they may suffer is attributed to the rite they were made to undergo" (2002, pp. 7–8).

[7] It would be naïve and irresponsible to focus entirely on agency without also addressing the link between African sex worker status and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS (Farmer et al., 1996). Unfortunately, within the confines of this argument, there is not ample textual space for me to address such a critical issue. Nevertheless, without falling in to the pathologizing trap which presumes that sex workers are the primary vectors for HIV, there are significant implications for its transnational transmission in light of both the trafficking in women from West Africa to other parts of the continent and to Europe as well as their potential repatriation via escape or deportation: "The policy of deportation...adds to the stress of the women (many of whom are infected with the HIV-AIDS virus) and makes their reintegration in Nigeria much harder...According to one prominent advocate in Benin City, the girls are medically screened in Lagos, whether they like it or not, and the results are then sent back to Edo State….The results are supposed to be confidential, but the statistics are available. We were told that the rate of HIV infection among the returning girls is in excess of 50%" (Advocacy Project, 2003). If accurate, such statistics are indeed alarming, and are in accordance with disproportionate and mounting HIV infections rates for sub-Saharan Africans as a whole and young African women in particular (Gysels et al., 2002). However, just as the microstructural reasons why (young) women become involved in sex work and/or are susceptible to HIV/AIDS are many, varied, and complex, so must be the macrostructural antidotes and analyses (Simmons et al., 1996).

[8] For examples, in Nigeria: Women's Consortium of Nigeria, Idia Renaissance, Sisters of Sacred Heart, Benin City, National Council for Women Society, International Association of Criminal Justice Lawyers, Movement Against Trafficking in Persons, and Girls Power Initiative; in Italy: TAMPEP, New Wings, and Caritas; and in the United States: The Advocacy Project and The Protection Project.

[9] Whither the nation-state? This complex and highly contentious debate is one that I do not have time to adequately address in this article. However, what I have tried to illustrate is the extent to which the nation-state is both extraneous to transnational identities' formation and integral to the everyday policing, surveillance, management and containment of gendered and racialized diasporic bodies.

References

Abraham, Linus (2002). The black woman as a marker of hypersexuality in western mythology: A contemporary manifestation in the film the scarlet letter. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *26*(2), 193–214.

Adi, Hakim (2000). Pan-Africanism and West African Nationalism in Britain. *African Studies Review*, *43*(1), 69–82.

Advocacy Project. (2003). Girls for Sale: Building a Coalition to Fight Trafficking in Nigeria. http://www.advocacynet.org/cpage_view/nigtraffick_girlsforsale_g_25.html

Aghatise, Esohe. (2002). Trafficking for prostitution in Italy. Concept Paper, Expert Group Meeting on Trafficking in Women and Girls, 18–22 November, 2002, Glen Cove, New York, USA.

Akyeampong, Emmanuel (2003). Diaspora and drug trafficking in West Africa: A case study of Ghana. Conference paper, Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora conference on Affirmations and Contestations: Interpreting the Connections between Africa and the African Diaspora, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, USA, 2–4 October, 2003.

Alexander, M. Jacqui, & Mohanty, Chandra (Eds.). (1997). *Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures*. London: Routledge.

Amadiume, Ifi (1987). *Male daughters, female husbands: Gender and sex in an African society*. London: Zed.

Amadiume, Ifi (2000). *Daughters of the goddess, daughters of imperialism*. London: Zed Books.

Anarfi, John (1998). Ghanaian women and prostitution in cote d'ivoire. In Kamala Kempadoo, & Jo Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 104–113). London: Routledge.

Andrijasevic, Rutvica (2003). The difference borders make: (Il)legality, migration and trafficking in Italy among Eastern European women in prostitution. In Ahmed S., et al., (Eds.), *Uprootings/regroundings: Questions of home and migration* (pp. 251–271). Oxford, UK: Berg.

Anthias, Floya (1998). Evaluating 'diaspora': Beyond ethnicity. *Sociology*, *32*(3), 557–580.

Appadurai, Arjun (1996). *Modernity at large*. London: University of Minnesota.

Appiah, Anthony (1992). *In my father's house: Africa in the philosophy of culture*. New York: Oxford University.

Bales, Kevin (2000). *Disposable people*. London: University of California.

Behar, Ruth (1995). Introduction: Out of exile. In Ruth Behar, & Deborah Gordon (Eds.), *Women writing culture* (pp. 1–32). London: University of California.

Berman, Jacqueline (2003). (Un)popular strangers and crises (un)bounded: Discourses of sex-trafficking, the European political community and the panicked state of the modern state. *European Journal of International Relations*, *9*(1), 37–86.

Billen, Andrew (2002, 21 January). Television—Devilish pursuits. *New Statesman*, *131*(4571), 46.

Bindman, Jo (1998). An international perspective on slavery in the sex industry. In Kamala Kempadoo, & Jo Doezema (Eds.), *Global Sex Workers* (pp. 65–68). London: Routledge.

Blum, Jack (2002). Panel presentation, under the Radar screen: Corruption, the hidden market, and inequities. EPIIC Symposium on Global Inequities, Tufts University, 28 February– 3 March, 2002.

Bordo, Susan (1993). *Unbearable weight: Feminism, Western culture and the body*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bousquet, B., & Douglas, C. (1991). *West Indian women at war*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Braziel, Jana Evans, & Mannur, Anita (2003). Nation, migration and globalization: Points of contention in diaspora studies. In Jana Evans Braziel, & Anita Mannur (Eds.), *Theorizing diaspora* (pp. 1–22). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Browning, Barbara (1998). *Infectious rhythm: Metaphors of contagion and the spread of African culture*. London: Routledge.

Brussa, Licia (1998). The TAMPEP project in Western Europe. In Kamala Kempadoo, & Jo Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 231–240). London: Routledge.

Busia, Abena (2000). Plenary Comments. Crossing the Boundaries: The African Diaspora in the New Millennium, New York University, 20–23 September, 2000.

Butchart, Alexander (1998). *The anatomy of power: European constructions of the African body*. London: Zed Books.

Butler, Kim (2001). Defining diaspora, refining a discourse. *Diaspora*, *10*(2), 189–219.

Campbell, Horace (1985). *Rasta and resistance*. London: Hansib.

Carter, Donald (2003). Preface. In Khalid Koser (Ed.), *New African Diasporas* (pp. ix–xix). London: Routledge.

Centner, Ryan (2002). Neoliberalism and Third World cities: Structurally adjusted urbanism as a way of life, from Buenos Aires to Istanbul to Kuala Lumpur. EPIIC Symposium on Global Inequities, Tufts University, 28 February–3 March, 2002.

Chabal, Patrick (1996). The African crisis: Context and interpretation. In Richard Werbner, & Terence Ranger (Eds.), *Postcolonial identities in Africa* (pp. 29–54). London: Zed.

Channel Four. (2002). Tuscany: Foreign Bodies. 13 January 2002.

Chapkis, Wendy (2000). Power and control in the commercial sex trade. In Ronald Weitzer (Ed.), *Sex for sale* (pp. 181–202). London: Routledge.

(charles), helen (1997). The language of womanism: Rethinking difference. In Heidi Mirza (Ed.), *Black British feminism* (pp. 278–297). London: Routledge.

Christian Science Monitor. (2000). Ending the global sex trade. 1 January, 2000.

Chuck, D. (1997). *Fight the power: Rap, race and reality*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Payback Press.

Clift, Stephen, & Carter, Simon (Eds.). (2000). *Tourism and sex*. London: Pinter.

Collins, Patricia Hill (1990). *Black feminist thought*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Collins, Patricia Hill (2004). *Black sexual politics: African Americans, gender and the new racism*. New York: Routledge.

Crane, Kristine (2001). Italian haven offers hope to trafficked women. *Christian Science Monitor*, *93*(237), 7.

Daniel, E. Valentine (2002). The refugee: A discourse on displacement. In Jeremy MacClancy (Ed.), *Exotic no more: Anthropology on the frontlines* (pp. 270–286). London: University of Chicago.

David-West, Tonye (2002). In search of a virgin in Nigeria. 5 March, 2002, http://nigeriaworld.com/feature/publication/david-west/030502.html

Davis, Kathy (1997). Embody-ing theory: Beyond modernist and postmodernist readings of the body. In Kathy Davis (Ed.), *Embodied practices* (pp. 1–26). London: Sage.

D'Cunha, Jean (2002). Trafficking in persons: A gender and rights perspective. Expert Group Meeting on Trafficking in Women and Girls, 18–22 November, 2002, Glen Cove, New York, USA.

di Cortemiglia, Vittoria Luda. (2003). Programme of action against trafficking in minors and young women from Nigeria into Italy for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Desk Review, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute.

Doezema, Jo (1998). Forced to choose: Beyond the voluntary v. forced prostitution dichotomy. In Kamala Kempadoo, & Jo Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 34–50). London: Routledge.

Doy, Gen (1998). More than meets the eye. Representations of black women in mid-19th century french photography. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *21*(3), 305–319.

Drachler, Jacob (Ed.). (1975). *Black homeland/black diaspora*. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press.

Drake, St. Clair (1987). *Black Folk Here and There*, *vol. 1*. Los Angeles: University of California.

Drake, St. Clair (1990). *Black Folk Here and There*, *vol. 2*. Los Angeles: University of California.

Edwards, Elizabeth (2001). *Raw histories: Photography, anthropology and museums*. Oxford, UK: Berg.

Evbayiro, Hilary. (2000). Nigerian women's involvement in international prostitution: A case for Edo bashing. 13 June,

2000. http://nigeriaworld.com/feature/publication/evbayiro/0613100.html

Farmer, Paul, et al. (1996). Rereading social science. In Farmer Paul, et al., (Eds.), *Women, poverty and AIDS: Sex, drugs and structural violence* (pp. 147–206). Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Farmer, Paul, et al., (Eds.). (1996). *Women, poverty and AIDS: Sex, drugs and structural violence*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Ford, Clyde (1999). *The hero with an African face*. London: Bantam Books.

Giammarinaro, Maria Grazia (2002). Trafficking in Women and Girls. Expert Group Meeting on Trafficking in Women and Girls, 18–22 November 2002, Glen Cove, New York, USA.

Gilliam, Angela M. (2001). A black feminist perspective on the sexual commodification of women in the new global culture. In Irma McClaurin (Ed.), *Black feminist anthropology* (pp. 150–186). London: Rutgers University.

Gilman, Sander (1985). *Difference and pathology*. London: Cornell University.

Gilroy, Paul. (1993). *The Black Atlantic*. London: Verso.

Gilroy, Paul (2000). *Between camps: Nations, cultures and the allure of race*. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.

Ginsburg, Faye (2002). Fieldwork at the movies: Anthropology and media. In J. MacClancy (Ed.), *Exotic no more: Anthropology on the frontlines* (pp. 356–376). London: University of California.

Goddard, Victoria Ana (Ed.). (2000). *Gender, agency and change*. London: Routledge.

Gold, Peter (2000). *Europe or Africa?: A contemporary study of the Spanish North African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla*. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press.

Green, Charles (Ed.). (1997). *Globalization and survival in the black diaspora*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Greenleaves, Jennifer (2000). Divided in Unity: the Nigerian Diaspora in Italy. Colloquium on New African Diasporas, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 5 May, 2000.

Gysels, Marjolein, et al. (2002). Women who sell sex in a Ugandan trading town: Life histories, survival strategies and risk. *Social Science & Medicine*, 54(2), 179–192.

Hall, Catherine (2002). *Civilising subjects: Metropole and colony in the English imagination 1830–1867*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Hall, Catherine (2004). Discussion on empire and globalisation. Today Programme, BBC Radio 4, 12 January, 2004.

Hammonds, Evelynn (1997). Toward a genealogy of black female sexuality: The problematic of silence. In M. Jacqui Alexander, & Chandra Mohanty (Eds.), *Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures* (pp. 170–182). London: Routledge.

Harding, Jeremy (2000). *The uninvited: Refugees at the rich man's gate*. London: Profile Books with the London Review of Books.

Hardt, Michael, & Negri, Antonio (2000). *Empire*. London: Harvard University.

Harrison, Faye (Ed.). (1991). *Decolonizing anthropology*, (Second ed.). Arlington, VA: Association of Black Anthropologists.

Harrison, Faye (1995). Writing against the grain: Cultural politics of difference in the work of Alice Walker. In R. Behar, & D.

Gordon (Eds.), *Women writing culture* (pp. 233–248). London: University of California.

Hennessy, Rosemary (2000). *Profit and pleasure: Sexual identities in late capitalism*. London: Routledge.

Henriques, Fernanando (1962). *Prostitution and society: Primitive, classical and oriental*. New York: Citadel Press.

hooks, Bell (1991). *Yearning: Race, gender and cultural politics*. London: Turnaround.

hooks, Bell (1992). *Black looks*. Boston: South End Press.

Inda, Jonathan Xavier, & Rosaldo, Renato (2002). Introduction: A world in motion. In Jonathan Xavier Inda, & Renato Rosaldo (Eds.), *The anthropology of globalization* (pp. 1–34). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

International Organization for Migration (1996). Trafficking in women to Italy for sexual exploitation. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration.

Joyce, Joyce Ann (1999). African-centered womanism: Connecting Africa to the diaspora. In Isidore Okpewho, Carole Boyce Davies, & Ali Mazrui (Eds.), *The African Diaspora* (pp. 538–554). Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Kempadoo, Kamala (1998). Introduction: Globalizing sex workers' rights. In K. Kempadoo, & J. Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 1–28). London: Routledge.

Kempadoo, Kamala (1999). Continuities and change: Five centuries of prostitution in the Caribbean. In K. Kempadoo (Ed.), *Sun, sex and gold: Tourism and sex work in the Caribbean* (pp. 3–33). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Kofman, Eleonore, et al. (2000). *Gender and International Migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.

Kolawole, Mary E. Modupe (1997). *Womanism and African consciousness*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Koser, Khalid (Ed.). (2003). *New African Diasporas*. London: Routledge.

Lederer, Laura (2001). *Commercial sexual exploitation of women and children: A human rights report*. Washington, DC: The Protection Project.

Lentin, Ronit (2003). Strangers and Strollers: (Re)searching Ireland's Gendered Migratory Spaces. Conference paper, Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland, International conference, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland, 20–21 March, 2003.

Lipsitz, George (1994). *Dangerous crossroads: Popular music, postmodernism and the poetics of place*. London: Verso.

Little, Kenneth (1973). *African women in towns*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lorde, Audre (1984). *Sister, outsider*. Trumansburg, New York: Crossing Press.

Magubane, Zine (2001). Which bodies matter?: Feminism, poststructuralism, race and the curious odyssey of the "hottentot venus". *Gender and Society*, 15(6), 816–834.

Maier, Karl (2000). *This house has fallen: Nigeria in crisis*. London: Penguin.

Mama, Amina (1997). Sheroes and villains: Conceptualizing colonial and contemporary violence against women in Africa. In M. Jacqui Alexander, & Chandra Mohanty (Eds.), *Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures* (pp. 46–63). London: Routledge.

Marble, Michelle (1996, 24 June). Europe urged to curb sexual exploitation of women. *Women's Health Weekly.*

Marshall, Annecka (1996). From sexual denigration to self-respect: Resisting images of black female sexuality. In Delia Jarrett-Macauley (Ed.), *Reconstructing womanhood, reconstructing feminism* (pp. 5–35). London: Routledge.

Mbembe, Achille (2001). Ways of seeing: Beyond the new nativism: Introduction. *African Studies Review, 44*(2), 1–14.

Modood, Tariq, & Werbner, Pnina (Eds.). (1997). *The politics of multiculturalism in the New Europe.* London: Zed Books.

Morris, Lydia (2002). *Managing migration: Civic stratification and migrants' rights.* London: Routledge.

Moser, Caroline (1993). *Gender planning and development.* London: Routledge.

Mudimbe, Valentin Yves (1994). *The invention of Africa.* London: James Currey.

Murray, Alison (1998). Debt-bondage and trafficking: Don't believe the hype. In Kamala Kempadoo, & Jo Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 51–64). London: Routledge.

Mustapha, A. R. (1985). On combating women's exploitation and oppression in Nigeria. In S. Bappa, Women in Nigeria Editorial Committee, et al., (Eds.), *Women in Nigeria* (pp. 241–246). London: Zed Books.

Narayan, Uma (1997). *Dislocating cultures: Identities, traditions, and third world feminism.* London: Routledge.

Niger-Thomas, Margaret (2001). Women and the arts of smuggling. *African Studies Review, 44*(2), 43–70.

Obichere, Boniface (1975). Afro–Americans in Africa: Recent experiences. In Jacob Drachler (Ed.), *Black homeland/black diaspora* (pp. 15–42). Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press.

Ogden, Jessica (1996). Producing respect: The "proper woman" in postcolonial Kampala. In Richard Werbner, & Terence Ranger (Eds.), *Postcolonial identities in Africa* (pp. 165–192). London: Zed Books.

Okojie, Christiana, et al. (2003). Report of field survey in Edo State, Nigeria. Programme of Action Against Trafficking in Minors and Young Women from Nigeria into Italy for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitations, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute.

Ong, Aihwa (1995). Women out of china: Travelling tales and travelling theories in postcolonial feminism. In Ruth Behar, & Deborah Gordon (Eds.), *Women writing culture* (pp. 350–372). London: University of California.

Oyewumi, Oyeronke (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of Western gender discourses.* London: University of Minnesota.

Pattanaik, Bandana (2002). Conclusion: Where do we go from here? In Susanne Thorbek, & Bandana Pattanaik (Eds.), *Transnational prostitution* (pp. 217–230). London: Zed Books.

Patterson, Tiffany, & Kelley, Robin (2000). Unfinished migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the making of the modern world. *African Studies Review, 43*(1), 11–46.

Prina, Franco. (2003). Trade and exploitation of minors and young Nigerian women for prostitution in Italy. Research Report, Action Programme Against the Traffic from Nigeria into Italy of Minors and Young Women for Sexual Exploi-

tations, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute.

Roach, Jacqui, & Felix, Petal (1989). Black looks. In Lorraine Gamman, & Margaret Marshment (Eds.), *The female gaze* (pp. 130–142). Seattle, USA: The Real Comet Press.

Robertson, Roland (1995). Glocalization: Time–space and homogeneity–heterogeneity. In Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, & Roland Robertson (Eds.), *Global modernities* (pp. 25–44). London: Sage.

Rose, Tricia (1994). *Black noise.* Wesleyan, USA: Wesleyan University.

Ryan, Chris, & Hall, C. Michael (2001). *Sex tourism.* London: Routledge.

Sanchez Taylor, Jacqueline (2000). Tourism and "embodied" commodities: Sex tourism in the Caribbean. In Stephen Clift, & Simon Carter (Eds.), *Tourism and sex* (pp. 41–53). London: Pinter.

Sassen, Saskia (1999). *Guests and aliens.* New York: The New Press.

Sassen, Saskia (2000). Women's burden: Counter-geographies of globalization and the feminization of survival. *Journal of International Affairs, 53*(2), 503–524.

Schipper, Mineke (1999). *Imagining insiders: Africa and the question of belonging.* London: Cassell.

Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development as freedom.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University.

Sharpley-Whiting, T. Denean (1999). *Black venus.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Shaw, Carolyn Martin (2001). Disciplining the black female body: Learning feminism in Africa and the United States. In Irma McClaurin (Ed.), *Black feminist anthropology* (pp. 102–125). London: Rutgers University Press.

Simmons, Janie, et al. (1996). A global perspective. In Paul Farmer, et al., (Eds.), *Women, poverty and AIDS: Sex, drugs and structural violence* (pp. 39–90). Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

South African Times. (2002). Saartjie's journey comes full circle. 1 May, 2002.

Spanger, Marlene (2002). Black prostitutes in Denmark. In Susanne Thorbek, & Bandana Pattanaik (Eds.), *Transnational prostitution: Changing global patterns* (pp. 121–136). London: Zed Books.

Spivak, Gayatri (1988). Can the Subaltern speak? In Cary Nelson, & Lawrence Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.

Stoller, Paul (2002). *Money has no smell: The Africanization of New York City.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Tandia, Oumar (1998). Prostitution in Senegal. In K. Kempadoo, & J. Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 240–245). London: Routledge.

Taylor, Ernest Kweku (2002). Trafficking in women and girls. Expert Group Meeting on Trafficking in Women and Girls, 18–22 November, 2002, Glen Cove, New York, USA.

Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, & Rushing, Andrea Benton (Eds.). (1996). *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora,* (Second ed.)Washington, DC: Howard University.

Thorbek, Susanne (2002). Introduction: Prostitution in a global context: Changing patterns. In Susanne Thorbek, & Bandana

McVeigh (Eds.), *Transnational prostitution* (pp. 1–11). London: Zed Books.

Torres, Arlene, & Whitten, Norman (Eds.). (1998). *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean*, *vol. two*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Trinh, Minh-ha T. (1989). *Woman, native, other*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.

Trinh, Minh-ha T. (1991). *When the moon waxes red: Representation, gender and cultural politics*. New York: Routledge.

Ume-Ezeoke, Juliet. (2003). Desk review for the programme of action against trafficking in minors and young women from Nigeria into Italy for the purposes of sexual exploitation, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute.

Walker, Alice (1971). *You can't keep a good woman down*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Weitzer, Ronald (2000). Why we need more research on sex work. In Ronald Weitzer (Ed.), *Sex for sale* (pp. 1–17). London: Routledge.

Westwood, Sallie, & Phizacklea, Annie (2000). *Trans-nationalism and the politics of belonging*. London: Routledge.

White, E. Frances (2001). *Dark continent of our bodies: Black feminism and the politics of respectability*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University.

White, Elisa Joy (2002). The new Irish storytelling: Media, representations and racialised identities. In Ronit Lentin, & Robbie McVeigh (Eds.), *Racism and anti-racism in Ireland* (pp. 102–128). Belfast, Ireland: Beyond the Pale.

Wijers, Marjan (1998). Women, labor and migration: The position of trafficked women and strategies for support. In K. Kempadoo, & J. Doezema (Eds.), *Global sex workers* (pp. 69–78). London: Routledge.