

tom is laudable, his book stays too close to the surface of both theory and its cases to offer insights into the scholarly debates from which it emerges.

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*Children in the Global Sex Trade*, by **Julia O'Connell Davidson**. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2006. 224 pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 0745629288.

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With *Children in the Global Sex Trade*, Davidson adds to her growing corpus of works on globalization and prostitution a study on children in the global sex trade. Slightly shifting from her traditional focus on adults in the sex trade, Davidson now looks at the plight of children in the sex industry, who she speculates originate mostly from poor countries of the world. Without new data, this book offers neither case studies nor empirical investigations of the conditions that confront children in the sex trade. It also does not give us an idea of where paid sex with children is likely to occur, but instead it paints a picture of structural inequalities—economics, gender, ethnicity, and so on—that propel children to the sex industry. This book uses various secondary sources to speculate on these inequalities, arguing that they coerce children to the sex trade and concomitantly drive consumers to the sex trade.

The underlying argument of Davidson is philosophical. She argues that the presence of children in the sex trade, as it is caused by structural inequalities, dispels the basic tenets of liberalism—the notion that individuals have freedom and free choice. Due to structural inequalities, children are without the free choice to not go into the sex industry. In writing this book, Davidson shares her frustration over the disregard of these said structural inequalities in current political campaigns against the prostitution of children. Current campaigns construct the prostitution of children, which Davidson prefers to refer to as the “commercial sexual exploitation of children,” as an individual and not a structural problem. According to Davidson, this disregard for structural inequalities first emerges in the lumping of the experiences of *all* child prostitutes in current campaigns, which

equate the experiences of a 17-year-old British lap dancer with those of an impoverished 10-year-old shoe shiner from the Dominican Republic. This disregard also emerges in the focus on the prosecution of individual crimes instead of the eradication of poverty in current campaigns. Third, it manifests in the distinction made between “adult” and “child” prostitution, in which children are seen as victims and without choice. Many adults according to Davidson are also without choice. Likewise, the binary distinction of enslaved versus free prostitutes sweeps the structural inequalities that propel individuals to prostitution under the rug.

In questioning how current campaigns ignore structural inequalities that drive the sex trade, the book closely looks at the constructs of pedophilia and slavery in the fight against the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Most child prostitutes are between the ages of 13–17 years old. Although pedophiles do not compose the majority of those who participate in child prostitution, there is a fascination and focus on pedophiles, according to Davidson, due to the tendency to focus on the individual and not the structure in anti-child prostitution campaigns. The focus on pedophiles shifts our attention from the real issue of structural inequality and traps us in the individual problem of sexual fixation on children. As she states, “Indeed, an emphasis on punishing those who buy sex from children helps to discursively construct [commercial sexual exploitation of children] as a problem of individual morality, and to deflect attention from the global and national economic, social, and political inequalities that underpin it” (p. 123).

Instead of simply constructing children as victims, we should look at the structural inequalities that coerce individuals into prostitution. This is an argument that Davidson repeatedly makes in the book. She makes this argument by looking not only at pedophilia but also at the use of slavery as a metaphor to describe the conditions of child prostitution in current anti-child prostitution campaigns. According to Davidson, the use of slavery to describe the conditions of child prostitutes ignores how plenty of children willingly participate in the industry due to their lack of economic opportunities. As she states, “And because the representation of

[commercial sexual exploitation of children] as a 'contemporary form of slavery' deflects attention from the variability of children's involvement in the sex trade in terms of its social organization and the social relations that surround it, it detaches it from its social and political context, leaving only an image of the individual brothel owner, client, pimp, or pornographer (cruel sinner) confronting the individual child (pitiful innocent)" (p. 146).

Towards the end of the book, Davidson reinforces her central argument of needing to focus on structural inequalities and not individual concerns when fighting child prostitution by underscoring the inequalities that underlie the global sex trade. For example, she speculates that child sex tourism happens because of the affordability of travel to poor countries for working-class individuals in the West and the simultaneous desperation of individuals, without many choices, can only gain from sexual liaisons with richer foreign tourists. Likewise, men are more likely than women to purchase sex, which, according to Davidson, merely reflects their power over women. The purchase of sex is a practice of status acquisition for men.

This book does not claim to present the conditions of children in the sex industry and it does not. Instead, it provides us with a philosophical argument against liberalism, which it accomplishes by critiquing the current focus on the individual in anti-child prostitution campaigns instituted by government and non-governmental organizations in the world today.

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*Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia*, by **Nana Oishi**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005. 264 pp. \$21.95 paper. ISBN: 0804746370.

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This tour-de-force is the first to examine gender and migration in Asia in a regional framework. Oishi analyzes influences on legal migration from the global level, to state policy, to society, to the individual. She draws on interviews with policymakers, international organizations, recruitment agencies, NGOs, and

migrants as well as secondary policy documents to analyze the causes of gendered migration in Asia.

Oishi deftly raises puzzles and, through careful multilevel analysis, uses them to examine the complexity of regional migration. In chapter 1, she asks why more men emigrate from low-income countries in the region (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan), while more women emigrate from better-off countries (Philippines, Sri Lanka, Indonesia). Does poverty force women to stay home? Or is it religion? Yet women from largely Muslim Mindanao in the Philippines, and women from Indonesia, migrate in large numbers.

Chapter 2 discusses labor demand and immigration policies in the region. In Singapore and Hong Kong, rapid export-oriented industrialization pulled single and married women into the workforce. These countries welcomed female domestic workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka to do housekeeping and care work. Japan remains an outlier, closed to foreign domestic workers, because of cultural perceptions about the wife's role in the household. Yet, until 2005, immigration policies allowed large numbers of women into the country for the "entertainment" industry. In West Asia, it is not labor shortage that causes a demand for foreign domestic workers, but the display of wealth. Preferences for particular sources of migrant labor also matter, based on cultural or colonial ties, or on political relationships and economic agreements. Oishi notes that employers, too, select workers based on racial and national stereotypes.

Chapter 3 considers how values about gender drive emigration policies in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. In contrast to the openness of the Philippines and Sri Lanka to gender and migration, policies in the rest of South Asia seek to keep women at home. Oishi sums up one Indian official's attitude thus: ". . . the best way to protect Indian women from abuse is not to let them go in the first place" (p. 80).

In chapter 4, Oishi shows how state policies reflect differing constellations of "value dimensions," especially regarding women's symbolic power as icons of national pride and dignity. Even though governments overreact to reports of abuse of female migrants—where civil society is strong, economic policies are liberal, and there is a his-