

errors, ending the article with question mark and the like.

Journalists should focus their work on promoting investigative journalism that would raise public awareness of a serious, widespread problem of human trafficking, which is a necessary first step in primary prevention.

TERMINOLOGY RELATED TO TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN

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Discussion on human trafficking in the last few years has opened a series of theoretical and practical issues when language is concerned. The first question is what kind of terminology suits to this phenomenon. Whether our language adequately marks terms, actors and processes in connection with trafficking. If it is a new phenomenon, does the language which communicates it has enough strength to express such significance. Do the new phenomena express old meanings through language, while the way that our cognitive mechanisms operate do not allow that a new phenomenon in the society is properly conceived. One such phenomena is human trafficking. When we say human trafficking we have in mind the recruitment and/or transportation of people by use of force or threat of force, the abuse of authority or position of the superior, deception and other forms of coercion, for the purposes of sexual or economic exploitation to make a profit or gain for the benefit of the pimp, procurer or pander, trafficker, owner of the brothels, and other employers, clients or criminal groups. One of the purposes of such benefit is forced prostitution of women (and men), beside illegal work, sex tourism and entertainment, pornography, begging, etc. When prostitution is in question, the source of earnings is a woman's body, thus, the basic question is to what extent do women have the right to control their own body, if their body is a commodity just like any other commodity to be spent, and is source of enrichment of others – primarily men (but women as well).

This issue is not new in theoretical discussion, although its practical aspects are much more complex than one century ago, when, for example, in 1893 in Novi Sad "Prostitution Statute" was adopted in the time of Maria Theresa's rule. In the Prostitution Statute, we can analyze legislation terminology of that time used to regulate the phenomenon of prostitution.

This paper aims to prove how language (in this case Serbian) is a powerful instrument to preserve stereotypes and discrimination, in this case against women; and how the media of today do (not) contribute sufficiently to bringing the language into conformity with its purpose – the elimination of stereotypes and discrimination.

I will analyze first of all how the legislator used certain terms in the Prostitution Statute for persons directly included by the co-operation chain for the purpose of making a profit. Consequently, I will then analyze how the authors of texts in the print media use terms for identifying the same actors, and I will compare the meaning of terms offered in the Serbian Dictionary of Serbian⁷⁰(hereinafter referred to as the Dictionary).

ONCE THERE WAS THE PROSTITUTION STATUTE

In this analysis, I am interested in terms used for persons who participate in the trafficking process. In the Statute, they were designated as follows:

person who provides services,
 person who receives services,

⁷⁰ REČNIK SRPSKOG JEZIKA (NOVI SAD, MATICA SRPSKA, 2007)

person who places at disposal premises for such services,
 term for the very premises,
 the rule of behavior in such premises.

Brothels were buildings where *women* were available. Brothels were supposed to be only in specified locations. ("In the streets where a church or school is found, a *brothel* may not be.")

Ženskinje (pluralia tantum, an archaic term no longer in use, with the meaning female person) is used in the Statute to designate a woman who manages the brothel under certain conditions, or persons who work in it. In the Dictionary, the term *ženskinje* [female person] stands for women, females, but when the term refers to women in the public sphere, the term used is a prostitute (p. 369).

When the legislator determined who must not be in the brothel, more precisely, who must stay away from the building, then it used the term *čeljade* [person]. Dictionary defines *čeljade* as: human being, man, person in general (p. 1509). "*Ženskinje* [female person] under the age of 30 years] must not be held as *čeljade* [person] in the brothel." A person who did not enter this "invisible" place, but stayed outside was a human being and a person [*čeljade*]. And what happens to that person once she got registered at the brothel?

But, when the *ženskinje* [female person] became property of the brothel, the legislator identified it as a *wanton woman* – socially unacceptable. "Each brothel owner is obliged, before accepting any female person in his home, to bring her into the captancy, where her documents shall be reviewed, and where a report shall be made on her intention to join the brothel; upon this she shall be examined by a district doctor, and on the basis of the medical certificate, a health booklet is issued, with a photograph of the respective *wanton woman*, and then her name is entered in the genealogical records". Thus, the Statute confirmed that a woman changed her status – that she became a *wanton woman* by entering her name into the records; *bludnica/ wanton woman* is in the Dictionary described as a promiscuous *woman*, lewd or licentious, sexually unrestrained (p. 95). However the Statute did not mention a wanton man, while the Dictionary says that a wanton man is a lewd person; lustful; lascivious; libidinous; lecherous (p. 95).

The Statute regulated professional relationship of the brothel owner. ("The brothel owner is obliged to provide to the *wanton woman* accepted in his home decent food, accommodation and healthy resting place."). The legislator had a seemingly correct attitude toward this female person, because care for her body was ordered; however, a term was applied for her because of which both the ones who interpreted the law as those who applied it could have easily violated the rights of such a woman considering her sinful, because *wanton* behaviour and *wanton woman* are a sin. Namely, the term did not reflect the possibility that such woman could have been pushed, recruited, bought, sold, transferred or hidden for the purposes of sexual or economic exploitation to make a profit or benefit for other (primarily male) persons, and not herself.

The Statute specified when women are *wanton women*; their behaviour was strictly controlled and they had to be invisible to public and hidden from it. ("It is prohibited to *wanton women* to stand and walk in front of the brothel, ... to walk down streets or public places, or scandalize the public in *any way* or *any place*; they are prohibited to address *men passing by the brothel, either from the window or door, and call them to come in.*")

The analysis of this document shows that for the legislator, the basic matrix was founded in the patriarchal model, where classification between inside–outside exists; the ones who were outside, in this case in the place where forbidden activities happened, bore the names which violated and destroyed their identity, and when they were outside of this area, they were

closer 'to us', i.e. the legislators themselves, and terms indicating such persons had no negative dimensions.

One form of this complex social problem such as human trafficking has to do with (forced) prostitution, beside illegal labour, servitude, coercive marriage, pornography, begging or exploiting with the purpose of performing criminal activities. According to definition, human trafficking is "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a *person having control over another person*, for the purpose of exploitation".

The basic theme here is *control over another person*, as expression of interhuman relations in which one person wears out and destroys another person for profit. Today, we do not have a law, but we have data in the media, today's basic form of presentation and informing of the public on phenomena happening in society. Is such reporting under the influence of the basic patriarchal inside-outside model of thinking, as we have proved to be legislative practice one century ago, or has something changed about it?

If we look at today's newspapers⁷¹, we can see that the phenomenon itself has not changed a bit, while relationships and meanings when language is in question have gone through substantial change.

In the original scheme, in which a *person has control over another person*, as described in the 1893 Statute: there are female persons (ženskinje) – wanton woman – brothel – master of the house – the police, while in today's scheme there are also some other links in the chain of human trafficking. The basic characteristics of both schemes, however, is that the persons in the chain are directed towards one another.

Table 9. Names found in the media for actors in the human trafficking chain

person	person	person	person
<i>under control</i>	<i>whacatnals</i>	<i>who uses services</i>	<i>who represents the law</i>
girl underage girl lady of the night prostitute victim white slave love seller easy woman human flesh sex worker	pimp owner pander employer procurer organizer	client customer consumers of sex services	the police guardians of the order (law enforcement officers) members of the public order and peace department

We can see that a process (chain) is in question, which directly or indirectly includes people who do not do good for one another. Human trafficking may be considered as a process where personality and human traits are eliminated and destroyed.

⁷¹ THIS PAPER ALSO INCLUDES THE ANALYSIS OF THE PRINTED MEDIA FROM THE PREVIOUS RESEARCH. THE METHOD OF THE ANALYSIS IS BASED ON A SAMPLE OF 285 TEXTS PUBLISHED IN THE PERIOD FROM 1 MAY TO 31 OCTOBER 2008 IN SIX BELGRADE DAILY NEWSPAPERS (POLITIKA, DANAS, VEČERNJE NOVOSTI, BLIC, PRESS AND KURIR).

We can see that the largest number of terms is reserved for the commodity – i.e. person under control. For the names found in the newspapers, we looked up in the Dictionary to make an assessment to what extent the meanings are at the same time the property of the community which uses them and a part of a patriarchal matrix, which the authors of newspaper articles subconsciously transfer into their texts on trafficking in women⁷².

Girl – Pursuant to the aforementioned Prostitution Statute, we can see that a female person younger than 16 years of age cannot be in the brothel, while *ženskinja* [female person] who manages the brothel may not be younger than 40 years of age, which means that the *girls* were forbidden to be in the brothel.

Today, mainly girls or underage girls are victims of the human trafficking chain, in which they are found against their own free will. If we study the way in which the author of the text uses this word, then we can see that at the beginning of the newspaper text, a person under control is designated as a *girl*. In the Dictionary, according to the main meaning of the word, it is "a young unmarried female person" (p. 257). The author of the text continues to identify her as a girl until she is enslaved in the trafficking chain, when her status is changed most frequently into *victim*.

Pimp – The Dictionary⁷³ says that the main meaning it is a "procurer, pander, the one who profits from earnings of easy women", while the other is "owner of a brothel; bawd" (p.671). The newspaper article says that the "pimp arranges prostitutes for potential clients." All terms related to persons who control a woman are reserved for male persons (there is no word for female pimp in Serbian), and the pimp has all the time all characteristics of a human being.

Prostitute v. – 1. "to induce another to sexual intercourse"; 2. "to disgrace; to dishonor" (p.1076)

Prostitute oneself v. – 1. "to [be] get[ting] engaged in prostitution"; 2. "to be disgraced; to be dishonored" (p.1076)

Prostitute n. – the one engaged in prostitution, wanton woman, whore; corrupt, deceitful person having no principles (p. 1076). In the Dictionary, the pimp and the prostitute are considered to be two professions. From the description of the meaning of **pimp** and **prostitute**, we can see that his profession is connected to her work (profits from earnings of easy women), and his personality is not degraded. Thus, the word pimp, today, does not have such negative connotation as the word prostitute. We can establish this from the term employer or the organizer of trafficking, a term which indicate social approval of a job. It is probably out of desire to provide the same treatment for prostitutes that the use of the term sex workers is promoted".

The police – "public authority in charge of maintaining peace, the system in power and order" (p. 966)

In the text we can find the example for the use of this word ("The police are powerless if the victim does not wish to cooperate"), from which it can be seen that those who are supposed to maintain order and peace for all citizens may perform their duties only if a prostitute lets them do it, which brings into question meaning of their work. There are also other terms for these persons that exercise control over other persons.

Guardians of the order (Law enforcement officers) – A guardian of the order is defined in the Dictionary as a "person in charge of maintaining, upholding something, protector, safeguard; a guardian angel, who protects and guides a particular person" (p. 1521). If we know that the police is a link in the chain of maintaining and expanding of trafficking in women, than the explanation in the Dictionary makes us believe that the illusion of maintaining order is within their power.

("In spite of the efforts of law enforcement, there is a danger that the prostitution shall always find a way to survive.")

From the examples in texts and from the Dictionary definition, one could conclude that the police is also the part of trafficking in the terms that it does not maintain order, but protects sometimes the pimps and those who control women. We need a different determinant of these authorities, by which it could be demonstrated that they do not perform well their duty of maintaining order.

Lady of the night – A girl becomes a lady of the night in the text to indicate the time when the ones who control her engage her.

72 GOLDMAN, EMMA, 2001, ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, «THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN»: AUTONOMOUS WOMEN'S CENTRE, BELGRADE, 81–97 (TEXT PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 1910).

73 FROM OTHER ARTICLES WE KNOW THAT A WOMAN MAY ALSO BE A PIMP, IN WHICH CASE FRENCH WORD MADAM IS USED

Women – “a human being able to give birth, opposite sex of men, married person, wife, an adult female person” (p. 369). Only in several cases the term women is used for persons under control (“Although these women are engaged in illicit activities, the police treat them attentively and correctly”). The term was used to justify police activities.

Easy woman – “a woman of loose morals in relation to men” (p. 369). We can see that even here the criterion of her behaviour is a man.

Victim – what is offered as a gift to god as a sign of gratitude or for asking mercy; someone who suffers harm; unselfish giving, helping someone, self-sacrifice (p. 375). A girl becomes a victim in the author’s text when she is enslaved in the chain of trafficking (“Trafficking *victim* generally does not want to reveal her “employers”).

This means the end of a process in which she loses the characteristics of youth and femininity (the noun *victim* is used both for male and female persons).

Slaves – A slave is a person who without any resistance suffers unlimited domination of another person. In slavery, the owner had *complete property* rights to the slave (p.1168), he could kill and cripple the slave not being accountable to anyone. A slave is a person who silently works and suffers disempowerment, humiliation, injustice, brutality. Thus, the slave is no more a person (in the sense from the heading in the table above). The term designates the last stage in the process of a person under control when such person is not enabled to demonstrate her personality or femininity.

In the process of trafficking in human beings, in this case women, she loses all characteristics of a person, but is still alive. Can we expect any changes regarding this? In one of the newspaper texts we have read, given these facts, it probably will not be possible.

(“The white slavery path is changeable, because it helps it to survive.”)

Live flesh – A term used for women and girls in the trafficking process aimed to demonstrate that it is the last stage when a person under control and influence of violent control measures becomes something similar to unlive matter and only an echo of a human being.

Terms

sex worker

consumers of sexual services

members of the public order and peace department

have originated in an effort to change through the language or with the help of the language the mental presentation, primarily of the actors in the prostitution process, but also in the whole chain of human trafficking. To offer a term which suggests that a job is in question. In some countries, prostitution is legalized and the issue settled in this way. In this example, I would like to draw attention that a team of experts is necessary to provide another terminology related to human trafficking, that would reflect relationships which exist between the persons in the chain.

The analyzed texts show that the authors of newspaper articles document in fact their personal position when this process is in question, because in their memory are kept meanings of the words generally accepted in the community, and this thesis is proven with the help of the Dictionary. A good deal of texts demonstrate negative attitude of the author toward persons under control, in this case women, and almost positive one when the police and persons who control women are in question.

In order to change the angle of the journalists on the phenomenon of trafficked women, their attention should be drawn to several processes which happen concurrently with the text writing. Firstly, they understand a woman in the chain of trafficking to be a person who has lost human characteristics, while the ones who control her never do; the destroying of a woman until she becomes a victim and commodity or flesh goes exactly through maintaining the one who controls her.

It could be concluded that the basic cognitive matrix copied in the text of the authors or the meanings given in the sentences have not changed a lot when the media communicate facts on phenomena related to sale and trafficking in women. The moment a person enters into the trafficking chain, she loses characteristics that she belongs to us, human characteristics, because subjected to trade are exactly characteristics of a human being: body, honour, reputation, power. She loses this. In their texts, authors confirm that human traits of a person are lost under control of another person, in this case a male person, for profit. Tangible assets are a driving force when torturing of other people is in question. A considerable number of texts have been published by ASTRA, but also other women NGOs, to educate and explain what trafficking in people really is, how young persons can easily fall into the trafficking chain and how to prepare them not to fall into the chain. In such texts, the terminology is cautious and the women in the chain respected. Such texts are an example to others how to write on the same phenomenon.

If we would like to recommend how human trafficking should be addressed in the print media, in fact we really do not know who we are giving recommendations to. It is not transparent who the authors really are. We are concerned because only a few articles are signed with the full name of the author, while there are much more those in which the authorship is invisible [either author's initials are found under the texts or there are only information on the news agency source]. Do the authors fear the control of those who are part of the trafficking chain?

- Where did you invested your voucher?
- In a strong company



One more thing deserves our attention, i.e. the photos which accompany the articles. They mostly back up the stereotype of women in the trafficking chain. The photos show women in mini skirts and deep cut neckline blouses, high heel shoes, mostly without a face or head. However, the analysis of photographs requires other knowledges than the linguistic ones, and should be made by photography experts in the newspapers.

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