**Submission to: the CEDAW Committee re: General Recommendation on Trafficking in Women & Girls in the context of Global Migration**

**Submitted by: Empower Foundation Representing Thai, Indigenous and Migrant Women doing Sex Work in Thailand (Women of Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and China)**

**Background to the Submission**Empower Foundation is a Thai organization that has been promoting rights and opportunities for women who do sex work in Thailand for over thirty years. Over 50,000 women have been part of Empower since it was formed in 1985. Empower has written extensively on the human rights violations on women and girls as a result of anti-trafficking practices. This includes three main reports Forced Rescue [2003](https://www.nswp.org/sites/nswp.org/files/Empower%20report%20on%20forced%20rescue.pdf), [Hit and Run 2012 (updated 2018)](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ebc7c4_7b2014bb10024ab68b18d0f4e9c9db2b.pdf) and a [Bad Girls Newspaper](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ebc7c4_62d3fd679b3a40e9974200d9d1c2cda5.pdf) report on the specific crime of entrapment 2018.

The development of this submission was led by a core group of 15 women representing the current Empower community of over 3,000 sex workers. The core group comprises of women from Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia and Lao who all have recent experience as migrant sex workers in Thailand, Malaysia, South Korea, and Australia.

 In addition to the core group’s current work in the Entertainment Industry they have also worked as migrant workers in those jobs that are available to women without qualifications or capital. Their experience includes agricultural labor, usually picking fruit and harvesting crops such as soya beans, garlic, sugar cane, and coffee. Working as a gardener in a National Park.Live–in domestic work, child care and elderly care. Factory work, specifically jewelry, broom factory and garment factory. Shop work in beauty salon, bakery, laundry or clothes store. Construction work of cement mixing and carrying. Restaurant or street stall work waitressing, cook’s assistant and washing dishes. Working in sports’ businesses such as snooker hall attendant and golf caddie. All have done unwaged work in the home and for some also on the family farm. They have all worked in exploitative conditions, two women worked under conditions that fit the definition of trafficking. All are the main provider for 5 – 8 other adults and five are single mothers – 80% of the Empower sex worker community are mothers.

**We have collated our experiences and understanding to highlight
1. Why and how we migrate
2. Key concerns with current anti-trafficking measures
3. Recommendations and examples of human rights practices.**Supporting documentation can be found in Appendix One regarding the overall context of migration; motherhood and migration; money and migration; migration policy framework. We also have drawn on the recent Thailand Migration Report 2019 by the UN Thailand Working Group on Migration.[[1]](#footnote-1)

**Migration and Trafficking in Thailand**

**There are an estimated 4.9 million migrants in Thailand and over half are women[[2]](#footnote-2). For the last ten years 300-500 individuals have been found to be trafficked each year. For example in the past year 445 individuals were found to have been trafficked (0.009%).**

**Why women migrate?**

In our countries of South East Asia traditionally the oldest single woman in the family has a responsibility to provide for younger siblings, our parents and sometimes grandparents too. This responsibility can be a burden but it is also our pride, and something we want to do. We would like more support from the State to care for our family, but we do not want to be stopped from caring. Supporting a family means earning money. It is often only possible to earn enough if we go to work in a richer area or country, like Thailand. We don’t want to break laws but would rather take the risk to migrate, than accept the poverty our families are supposed to live in.

**Common reasons we migrate …**

Our motives for migrating are many and varied but we share common experiences of fleeing war and conflict, poverty, land grabbing by State and non-State developers; and we all have a dream of building a better life.

*“The army burnt our village down and we ran”*

 *“The cost of everything keeps going up but the money I earn is going down. I took the risk of moving to work in another country for a few months where I could earn more and come home with a lump sum to get ahead of the bills”*

 *“Our family came to Thailand so my father and brothers would not be taken by the army”*

*“I saw all the big buildings and exciting life of Bangkok on TV. The border was blocking my dreams so I crossed it”*

*“It’s impossible to live without money and there is no waged work or only very low waged work available in my home area. I moved to find work to build a better life for myself and my family”*

*“The soldiers came and put barbed wire and armed guards between our homes and our land. My family and the other 70 families had been farming and caring for the land since the 1940’s. We weren’t even allowed to harvest the last crop of coffee. We were made destitute by the government development plans so I agreed to an arranged marriage in another country for the dowry money”*

*“It’s a normal way of life to travel to find waged work from March to June when there is less work needed on the farm”*

**Deciding to migrate**

*“As a young person from Shan State, Myanmar going to work in Thailand is a normal milestone in life. The decision we make is not whether to go to Thailand or not. The decision we make is whether now is the time to go or not?”*

 Our decisions are based on the economic situation of the family. We also have to decide if we are ready. Are we confident enough, do we have enough experience and maturity to live apart from our family and home? An illness, military violence, the upcoming ordination of our brother, drought, land grabbing or price rises can make the need to go more urgent. It is a decision we make as individuals and as family providers. No one tells us to go and often our parents are against it because they worry we will be in danger.

**Deciding how to travel**

Our decision about the way we travel is impacted by what documents we have, or have access to; our proximity or distance from the border; the amount of bribes extorted by authorities in both countries; the amount of money we have or how much we can borrow. Usually we try to borrow from family and sometimes friends. If that is not possible, we will ask for an advance on our earnings from the broker to cover our travel costs. The average cost of migration from neighboring countries to Thailand is USD $400 which sex workers can repay in about 20 days, but other workers may need to work three or four months to pay off the fee.

If possible we travel with family or close friends who have already been to Thailand and can manage the journey. If not we choose a broker/agent. We decide which agent to hire based on how much they charge, their reputation for efficiency, fairness and trustworthiness.

*“People have been using brokers to come to Thailand since the 1980’s. There is a lot of local knowledge about which one’s can be trusted and who to avoid”*

*“Of course it would be better is we could arrange to all ourselves… sometimes it means choosing between terrible and not so terrible.”*

**Deciding what work we will do**

The decision of what work we will do is influenced by the amount of wages and conditions on offer. We also consider our previous work experience, waged and unwaged; family or other connections with different sectors e.g. garment factories, sex work, agriculture, construction; and the work being offered by the agent/broker if we hire one.

The rapid increase in mobile phones and internet coverage in all regions means almost two thirds of migrants are in daily or weekly phone contact with home. News is shared back and forth. This not only enables migrants to keep connections with family and friends strong is also means access to more information about work and life for those planning to migrate.

*“People from Myanmar, Lao and Cambodia have been going back and forward for work in Thailand for over 30 years. There are so many people with mobile phones and lots of common knowledge now about different jobs, pay rates etc. which didn’t exist a decade ago when I first came”*

*“If the need to leave is urgent for any reason we are more likely to grab the only work available e.g. agricultural. Urgency to migrate gives us less time and opportunities to find out information about the reputation of brokers; the realistic wages and working conditions.”*

*“As women we have fewer opportunities to be hired for some jobs than men. If we are girls under 18 years of age our options are even more limited.”*

**Migration, Trafficking and Sex Work in Thailand**

It’s important to note that of the approx. 2.5 million women who have migrated to Thailand only a very small number do sex work. Empower‘s own estimate is that migrant women make up about 10% of women working in the Entertainment Industry in Thailand. This is in stark contrast to the construction industry where 50 % of workers are migrant women and the 90% of domestic work that is done by migrant women. The women who decide to do sex work often do so after they have experienced exploitation in many of the other jobs available.

*“Sex work is a job we decide to do. We don’t have a lot of jobs to choose between but sex work is the not a job of last resort. It is the work that offers us the most opportunities. We earn at least twice what we can earn in any other work. We work fewer hours and have so have more freedom. We have a chance to meet people from all sectors of society and international visitors too. We aren’t isolated because we work alongside other migrant women and Thai women building friendships and strong connections that becomes our safety net”*

Until the late 1990’s most women doing sex work in Thailand were working in severely exploitative conditions that included debt bondage, limited or no freedom of movement, coercion and threats i.e. trafficked.

By the year 2000 however the working conditions in the sex industry had developed and improved significantly. The UN Inter-Agency Project against Human Trafficking (UNIAP) estimates 3.8% of sex workers are in conditions of trafficking. In 1995 the number of women and girls working in conditions of trafficking in sex work was closer to 88%.

The massive reduction in trafficking in the Thai sex industry has never been studied but some of the changes occurred due to:

1. A general reduction in poverty
2. Introduction of compulsory age of education for girls was raised to 15 years.
3. Growing increase in respect for human rights and labor rights in Thailand generally
4. Increased opportunities for independent migration
5. Increase in understanding and knowledge about the conditions in Thailand
6. Independent accommodation away from the workplace
7. New styles of Entertainment Businesses especially arrival of Karaoke Bars that replaced brothels

In the 1990’s the women who were working in extreme exploitation were horrified at the thought of “rescue” and they did everything they could to avoid being apprehended. They repeatedly told Empower “rescue” meant humiliation, prolonged detention and deportation. Their priority was to get out of the situation as quickly as possible and move into a better situation, for some that meant within sex work, while others it did not. The anti-trafficking law and practices did not provide any avenue to do this and decades later still does not meet the needs of those who are trafficked. Detention and deportation remain the final outcome.

**Comments on end demand by criminalizing customers:**

There are no sex workers calling for the criminalization of buying or selling sex. It is already a criminal offence under many laws, including the Suppression and Prevention of Human Trafficking Act to be involved in the prostitution of minors or women in situations of trafficking. Wider criminalization is unnecessary and does not address the crime of trafficking or violence. The particular concerns migrant women doing sex work in Thailand have regarding “ending demand’ include but are not limited to:

1. Our regular customers are often the best resource and support we have if we are facing exploitation or abuses at our workplace.
2. Our society is not equal. The law will be applied according to nationality and class. The customers targeted for arrest will not be politicians, big businessmen, white tourists and men in power. Migrant workers and working class Thai men will be the scapegoats for the law so it will not end exploitation of our work.
3. Such legislation would open a new door for increased corruption and extortion
4. Making our customers criminals does not address exploitation related to our employment conditions in any way e.g. salary cuts, mandatory drinking, customer quotas and unfair share of our earnings
5. Our working conditions will get worse and may well take us back to the old days of having to live at the workplace and be dependent on others.
6. Law abiding men may stop buying sex, but this will leave us to choose from men who are not afraid of the law.

**Current anti-trafficking measures in the Thai context**

The Suppression and Prevention of Human Trafficking Act 2008 is comprehensive and in accordance with international standards. However the application has been overly focused on prosecution at the expense of addressing root causes and respecting human rights.
In 2018 Empower updated our research publication “Hit & Run” which documents the impacts of anti-trafficking law and practice on the human rights of sex workers in Thailand. It is available as pdf at [Empower University Library](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ebc7c4_7b2014bb10024ab68b18d0f4e9c9db2b.pdf) [[3]](#footnote-3)
Generally current anti–trafficking measures are harmful to victims of trafficking, discriminate against women and violate the declaration of human rights (UNHRD) and other International Conventions including the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Practices are contrary to latest recommendations made to Thailand by the CEDAW Committee, the UN Business and Human Rights Working Group, and most recently recommendations of UN Thailand Working Group on Migration Thailand Migration Report 2019[[4]](#footnote-4). The National Human Rights Commission of Thailand is investigating complaints made regarding entrapment operations and the treatment of victims and witnesses.

In Thailand anti-trafficking measures are focused on two sectors. The fishing industry whose workforce is predominately migrant men and boys: and the entertainment industry whose workforce is predominantly women, including a relatively small number of migrant women and teenage girls. The treatment of victims discriminates according to gender and occupation. Unlike women and girls, men and boys over 15 years identified as trafficking victims are given access to accommodation and counselling, and allowed to come and go freely including continuing to work if they want to during the court proceedings. There is no requirement that the men or boy’s parents be located and their home and family verified as safe before they are deported. Men, women and minors from other sectors (good victims) are more likely to be supported to claim compensation than those who had been trafficked into the Entertainment Industry (bad victims).

**Of special concern regarding the anti-trafficking measures are the issues of:**

1.Entrapment operations where the sexual consent of minors is manipulated in order to create evidence of human trafficking. The girls are usually identified as being under 18 years of age within the first 48 hours but are left in the situation of exploitation and trafficking for periods of up to three months while further ’evidence’ is collected and created. These operations are often conducted international NGO’s such as Lift International (NVADER) and seem sanctioned by the State.

2.Violent Raids. It is not unusual for raids to be conducted by 50 -100 armed police accompanied by soldiers. Women and girls are chased, trapped and apprehended. It is terrifying. Media are taken on the raids and there is little concern shown for women and girls’ human dignity, safety or psychological well-being.

3.There is a lack of adherence to the rule of law in providing protection to those impacted by anti-trafficking measures. Both victims and witnesses are routinely detained for long periods. Many also are forced to undergo medical testing. Witnesses are not compensated according to the law.

4. Retaliation on migrant sex workers who have campaigned against their unlawful detention and substandard care. Those who have used the human rights mechanisms or appealed to the courts have later been deported with their passports stamped “banned from returning to Thailand for 100 years” even those who are mothers of young children who live in Thailand.

5. Teenage girls apprehended are detained in a government shelter for periods of 8 -15 months on an island behind barbed unable to leave. They are allowed little or no contact with their family which is in breach of the Convention Rights of the Child.

6. The victims of trafficking into the Entertainment Industry receive no compensation or financial assistance. From 2016 -2018 more than $ USD 30 million was seized from traffickers yet the Ministry of Justice’s Rights and Liberties Protection Department distributed just
$ USD 13,000 to victims. Some girls and women apprehended from the Entertainment Industry received just $USD 100 each, many more were not compensated at all. The girls reported to Empower that they did not get anything at all from the NGO Lift International or other anti-trafficking organizations involved even though have large budgets allocated for victim support.

**7. It is of very serious concern that the final outcome for all women and girls identified as victims of trafficking is deportation, regardless of their situation.**

**Human rights-based responses to trafficking in women**

No anti-trafficking measures to date address the reasons women and girls take risks and migrate i.e. ongoing war and armed conflict, poverty, land grabbing and impacts of “development”; women’s unwaged and low waged work; dependence on women as family providers as a proxy welfare system. Unlike the measures taken to improve conditions and end exploitation in the male dominated fishing industry there have been no attempts to reform the working conditions in the Entertainment Industry and other sectors where many migrant women work. The stand-alone criminal justice responses of the past twenty years have failed to address human trafficking.

**Recommendations to reduce exploitation, including human trafficking**

* States must institute a robust Universal State Welfare system that includes providing a living wage to mothers and primary carers paid in cash or land to reduce the need and urgency for women to migrate in order to support their family.
* Institute and enforce protections against displacement by State and non-State development projects through processes such as community land titles, recognition of community ownership of natural resources and compliance with environmental impact studies.
* Include the predicted impact on migration and trafficking as part of Environmental Impact Studies.
* States must end all armed conflict and militarization in their respective countries
* Provide optimum and uninterrupted access to humanitarian aid for displaced persons, asylum seekers and refugees.
* Provide access to documentation for children of migrants, Indigenous and Stateless peoples
* Develop an open-ended admission process at borders that would allow migrant women and women in refugee camps to enter with a jobseekers pass or visa and be registered after finding employment via enrollment in the Social Security Scheme.
* In cooperation with migrant worker communities develop a labor and migration complaints system migrant workers can access without the final outcome of doing so being their deportation.
* To ensure that migrant workers receive fair wages and just working conditions, labor and social protection laws should be enforced for all employment sectors, including domestic work, sex work and seasonal agriculture.
* Allow migrant workers to freely change employers if they wish, and also allow migrants to form associations or unions
* Comply with recommendations made by various UN agencies to decriminalize sex work and increase protection of sex workers’ rights. Decriminalizing sex work is a crucial first step to recognizing sex workers as right bearers entitled to legal and social protection by the State. By amending or repealing laws that directly and indirectly criminalize sex workers, labor protection mechanisms can be developed to eliminate recruitment and employment misconduct. It is essential to ensure that sex workers have a leading role throughout the process of legislative reform and development of protection mechanisms.
* Invest in developing businesses’ capacity and willingness to comply with Labor Standards. Building cooperation with migrant worker’s communities and organizations e.g sex worker rights organizations, domestic worker groups to develop solutions to address situations of exploitation and abuse within their sector.
* Invest in the capacity of the labour inspectorate to enforce the provisions of the Labour Protection Act, the Occupational Safety, Health and Environment Act and the relevant ministerial regulations. This should include the improvement of labor inspection resources, tools and co-operative procedures for identification of violations and data collection and analysis to inform management and planning.
* Immediately end the practice of detention and forced deportation of victims of trafficking
* Automatically provide all victims of trafficking with a significant amount of compensation regardless of the work they did when trafficked.
* Non–government anti-trafficking organizations must be bound by the same laws and policies that apply to State agencies. States must ensure that vigilante groups and anti-trafficking organizations are not allowed to supersede the role of the State.
* Urgently address institutionalized racial, gender and occupational profiling by State actors (including the police, immigration officials and visa consular services)
* Invest in changing the existing hostile environment by reducing stigma and promoting positive image of migrant workers. E.g. end the use of disrespectful terms such as “low skilled” “illegal migrants” “aliens” “sex trafficking”

**Examples of existing human-rights based approaches**

1. Organizing that is led by migrant sex workers such as Butterfly (Canada), Steel Roses (France), Empower (Thailand), English Collective of Prostitutes (UK) and USPros(USA) could serve as a model for migrant women workers in other sectors. Migrant sex workers self-help and mutual support reduces the risk of trafficking, confronts exploitation in the industry, acts as a watch-dog for rights abuses and provides expert guidance for policy makers. The 2018 [Global Allaince Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW) publication](https://www.gaatw.org/resources/publications/941-sex-workers-organising-for-change) “Sex Workers Organizing for Change: Self-representation, community mobilization, and working conditions” brings together many concrete examples of how worker organizing impacts on trafficking.
2. Reform of the Thai Fishing Industry was a collaborative process involving many relevant actors (although there was a need for more genuine inclusion of migrant workers). The focus was a positive one of improving working conditions and strengthening the agency of migrant workers, not rescue and criminal punishment. The reform aimed to address exploitation at a systemic level rather than target individual criminals or victims. This could be replicated in other industries and occupations, including the Entertainment Industry. [[5]](#footnote-5)

**Appendix One:

Context of Migration in Thailand**

The Thai waged workforce is made up of 38 million workers, almost 50% are women and 13% are child workers aged 5-14 years.

**Five million migrants are living and working in Thailand, most are women aged 15 – 24 years old from neighboring countries.**

The latest ILO/IOM report on Thailand and Migration[[6]](#footnote-6) estimates the non-Thai population to be 4.9 million people. Of this 3.9 million are migrant workers from neighboring countries of Cambodia, Lao and Myanmar. Migrant workers make up some 10 % of the Thai workforce. This figure hides the fact that migrants make up over 80% of the workforce in construction, domestic work and fisheries. It also hides the work done by women. Almost half of all migrant construction workers in Thailand are women; over 90% of domestic workers and a large proportion of those working in the seafood processing sector are migrant women. In total more than 50% of all migrant workers in Thailand are women, with most working in unregulated, unrecognized and low-waged jobs.

There is entrenched discrimination and wage disparity in the Thai labor market beginning with the amount of unwaged work women do. Women do 76% of all unwaged work in the home and 60 % of all unwaged work on the land. 65% of women in Thailand also have waged work but are paid just 77% of what men earn for the same work. It’s therefore not surprising that 70 % of migrant men receive the minimum wage compared to just 48% of women.

**Refugees**
In addition to the millions of migrant workers more than 100,000 refugees live in nine “temporary shelters” set up in the 1980”s along the Thai–Myanmar border. In the last two years humanitarian aid to the camps, including food rations have been cut by UNHCR, foreign governments and International NGO’s. Returning or moving to Myanmar is not a safe or viable option. 28% of those living in the camps were born and raised in Thailand and have no connection to Myanmar. The food cuts have caused enormous hardship and distress to families, especially mothers. The impact of the cuts can be seen in rising levels of malnutrition and suicide. As ‘temporary displaced people” they are prohibited from growing food, foraging in the jungle or leaving the camps to find waged work. To survive people must leave the area illegally and seek waged work without any protection.

**Stateless Peoples**There are also almost 500,000 people registered as stateless and many more people are completely undocumented. They are mostly indigenous peoples or the adult children of migrant workers. Many must find waged work beyond the protection of the law.

**Motherhood and migration.**Migration generally increases the work and responsibility of women, especially mothers when family members migrate whether by increasing workload of caring for grandchildren or having to supplement wages while waiting for remittances to arrive.

Many workplaces do not allow children to be housed in the dormitories or workplace accommodation. Women would prefer to care for their own children yet this is rarely possible. The most common solution is to leave children behind or send children back to be cared or by grandmothers, or in some circumstances mothers may bring a woman family member to Thailand to do the child care.

*“Having the time and money to be able care for our own kids would be even better than having free child-care at the factory”*

According to the Social Security Act 2015, women migrant workers are entitled to maternity leave and child support. In 2017, approx. $USD 8 million in benefits was claimed by migrant workers, mainly by woman as maternity benefits and the child allowance (Asian Research Center for Migration). However it is more common experience for women to be sacked when pregnant. There is little enforcement of maternity leave benefits and breast-feeding is often forbidden during work hours (Fair Labor Association, 2018). Only around half of all migrant workers have access to government health coverage. The costs of giving birth, especially where there have been complications, has resulted in at least two mothers having to abandon their new born babies as they cannot afford the hospital fees. In the last decade the Thai government has twice proposed a policy to immediately deport pregnant women. In an environment hostile to migrants, women and mothers; where there is no support available, many women must end their pregnancy. The Thai Ministry of Health has recorded that the rate of migrant women having abortions is 2.4 times higher than that of Thai women. The illegality of abortion forces both Thai and migrant women to use unregulated methods, often to the detriment of their mental and physical wellbeing, even resulting in death.

**Money and Migration**Women and men who migrate for work make a significant contribution to poverty reduction in their home communities. The ILO report ‘Risks and rewards: Outcomes of labor migration in South-East Asia’[[7]](#footnote-7) found a reduction in those living below the poverty line by up to 17% from before to after migration.

*“We are not migrating and working just for food on the table. We work to lift our whole family out of generational poverty. We can’t wait for our governments to solve the problems - we have to go ahead“*

The World Bank estimated that in 2018 Thai migrants sent $USD 7.5 billion home, contributing 1.5 % of the Thai GDP. Migrants from neighboring countries send $USD 2.8. billion a year home via regulated channels to Cambodia, Lao, Myanmar and Vietnam. However most send money home via traditional routes that are not recorded and so the estimated total of remittances is
$USD 6 – 10 billion. Migrant workers in Thailand send an average of two thirds of their earnings home. They prefer informal channels as the cost of sending via bank or Western Union is around 6% but the cost of hundi or informal business is just 2%. Also there is no need for the receiver to have a bank account or produce State Identification to collect their money.
In 2017 it was reported that migrants working in Thailand contribute around 6 % of Thailand’s GDP. That percentage would significantly increase if women’s unwaged work and work in unregulated sectors was included e.g. sex workers contribution which is estimated to $USD 6.4 billion[[8]](#footnote-8) for Thailand each per year.

**Migration Policy Framework**

The vast majority of people migrating to Thailand do not come via official immigration crossings or pathways.

*“People call crossing the border without official papers “irregular migration” but actually for millions of us crossing like this is “regular migration”. To have a passport and a work visa is very irregular.”*

A study published by the ILO and IOM recently found that over 90% of people migrating to Thailand from Lao, Myanmar and Viet Nam did not use any official channels.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The official process is expensive, humiliating and can mean a wait of 3 – 6 months for documentation and approval. This is also true for Thai women applying for visas to Europe, Australia or North America. Using a broker or smuggler is often much more affordable, the service is polite and respectful, approval is guaranteed and the process only takes a few days.

Since the military took power in Thailand in May 2014, the government’s migrant worker and immigration policing has focused on stringent enforcement of regulations governing migrant worker’s lives, especially registration processes. Generally migration and migrant workers are treated by the government as potential threats to national security; a public health problem; a drain on government budget and as a necessary evil that must be tightly controlled. Outside the fishing industry, there has been little effort made to improve working conditions or strengthen or enforce the Labor Protection Act B.E. 2541 (1998). For example although Thailand’s Labor Protection Act applies equally to migrant and Thai workers, regardless of immigration status, it still does not cover women and girls who domestic work. Thailand has just 880 labor inspectors which is significantly lower than the ILO recommendation which would require there to be 2,563 labor inspectors in Thailand.

1. Thailand Migration Report 2019 https://thailand.iom.int/thailand-migration-report-2019-0 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Thailand Migration Report 2019 https://thailand.iom.int/thailand-migration-report-2019-0 [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ebc7c4\_7b2014bb10024ab68b18d0f4e9c9db2b.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Thailand Migration Report 2019 https://thailand.iom.int/thailand-migration-report-2019-0 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Risks and rewards: Outcomes of labour migration in South-East Asia

Benjamin Harkins; Daniel Lindgren; and Tarinee Suravoranon

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms\_613815.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Report reference lonk [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms\_613815.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Havescope Black Market Information https://www.havocscope.com/prostitution-revenue-by-country/ [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms\_613815.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-9)