

**Sex Trafficked Women in Taiwan:  
An Examination of the Trafficking Process and  
Implications for Policy**

**Sex Trafficked Women in Taiwan:  
An Examination of the Trafficking Process and  
Implications for Policy**

**Ying-Chun Lin**

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

-----  
208 30289 6  
-----

Thesis L9349

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Newcastle University  
School of Geography, Politics and Sociology  
March 2010**

## **Abstract**

Research on the trafficking of women in Taiwan has hitherto largely explored the perceptions and roles of governmental officials and non governmental organisations. Very rarely has research focused on the lived experiences of women who have experienced sex trafficking, as reported by the women themselves.

This thesis considers how sex trafficking operates in Taiwan through analysis of the current policy context and empirical data from semi structured interviews carried out with trafficked women and a number of key professionals working on combating sex trafficking in Taiwan. It outlines the processes of recruitment, transportation and coercion deployed in the trafficking process, and examines the similarities, as well as some differences, in the experiences of women who were smuggled into Taiwan or who came through 'fake marriage', as well as those who came for 'true marriage' or tourism. Mechanisms of control and regulation have been identified through analysis of the accounts of these women's experiences which provide a context for understanding their involvement in prostitution. The accounts of the women were contrasted with government policy and the ways professionals defined sex trafficked women. Based on this analysis, I recommend that the mechanisms through which women said they were controlled, forced and/or deceived have not been sufficiently acknowledged by policy makers, and that an important consequence of this under-acknowledgement is that law enforcement officials can fail to investigate the whole range of the trafficking process, which may lead to some women not being identified as being trafficked and not being given access to appropriate services and support as a result. This prompts a broader consideration of definitions of and policy frameworks on sexual trafficking in Taiwan and, related to this, the implications for relevant professionals, in particular the need to explore more fully the background of women who present themselves as having been trafficked.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many thanks go to my PhD supervisors, Prof Diane Richardson and Dr. Robin Humphrey. Also, thanks to all of my PhD colleagues, and a special thanks to all my interviewees; and to my friends and family for all of their support.

This thesis is dedicated to those women who cannot be named here.

# Table of Contents

<b>LIST OF TABLES.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>ORGANISATIONS, ACTS AND REPORTS.....</b>	<b>VI</b>
<b>EXPLANATION OF TERMS.....</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Research background.....	1
Definition of human trafficking for sex exploitation.....	9
Research aims .....	17
Summary of thesis structure .....	18
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>21</b>
Discourses on sex trafficking.....	21
The social construction of sex trafficking.....	52
Regulatory mechanisms and control.....	55
Conclusion .....	56
<b>CHAPTER THREE : METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>59</b>
Methodology.....	59
Research procedure.....	72
Discussion.....	83
Limitations of the research .....	95
<b>CHAPTER FOUR : CHARACTERISTICS AND VULNERABILITY.....</b>	<b>97</b>
Family background .....	97
Family understanding of coming to Taiwan .....	120
‘True marriage’, ‘fake marriage’, foreign labour and sex trafficking.....	123
<b>CHAPTER FIVE : THE PROCESS OF BEING LURED AND TRANSPORTED.....</b>	<b>128</b>
Meeting recruiters.....	129
<i>Through relatives or friends</i> .....	130
<i>Meeting recruiters at entertainment places</i> .....	134
<i>At the place of work</i> .....	137
<i>At a job centre</i> .....	139
<i>Recruitment through advertisements</i> .....	140

What recruiters told the women.....	143
<i>Reasons given by recruiters to travel to Taiwan</i> .....	145
<i>Length of time they would stay</i> .....	155
<i>Debt and income</i> .....	161
The process of transportation.....	173
<i>The journey from home to port/airport</i> .....	174
<i>The journey by sea/aeroplane</i> .....	181
<i>Arrival in Taiwan</i> .....	186
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	192
<b>CHAPTER SIX : MECHANISMS OF CONTROL AND REGULATION</b> .....	<b>194</b>
Reaction to being told about their future work.....	195
‘Training’ to be a prostitute.....	210
Thinking of escaping and asking for help.....	214
<i>Escaped or rescued</i> .....	214
<i>Tried to leave, but without success</i> .....	218
<i>Do not dare to escape or ask for help</i> .....	220
Conclusion .....	223
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN : POLICY ISSUES ON COMBATING SEX TRAFFICKING</b> .....	<b>225</b>
The ambiguity of definitions of sex trafficking .....	226
Policy implications and recommendations .....	240
Conclusion .....	244
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION</b> .....	<b>247</b>
Summary: research findings .....	247
Recommendations for policy and further research.....	254
<b>APPENDIX A</b> .....	<b>260</b>
<b>APPENDIX B</b> .....	<b>262</b>
<b>APPENDIX C</b> .....	<b>266</b>
<b>APPENDIX D</b> .....	<b>267</b>

## List of Tables

Table 2-1:	The definition of human trafficking (TIP Report 2008).....	23
Table 2-2:	Differences between smugglers and traffickers.....	32
Table 3-1:	The interview environment.....	79
Table 3-2:	Distribution of age.....	81
Table 3-3:	Demographics of sample .....	82
Table 3-4:	Nationality and arrival method of the interviewees .....	83
Table 3-5:	Interpreter used.....	85
Table 4-1:	Educational experience.....	99
Table 4-2:	Marital status .....	114
Table 4-3:	The ex-jobs of interviewees.....	116
Table 4-4:	Monthly wages of ex-jobs .....	116
Table 5-1:	How interviewees met their recruiters.....	130
Table 5-2:	Reasons given by recruiters and methods of coming to Taiwan .....	145
Table 5-3:	The purposes recruiters gave for coming to Taiwan.....	147
Table 5-4:	The length of time the interviewees were told about staying in Taiwan.....	156
Table 5-5:	The price of the debt.....	164
Table 5-6:	The wage interviewees were told .....	171

## List of Figures

Figure 1-1: Global trafficking routes of women and girls from Eastern Europe and the newly independent states .....	2
Figure 2-1: A continuum spectrum between migrant sex worker and sex trafficked women.....	24
Figure 2-2: The relationship between migration, smuggling and human trafficking	26
Figure 2-3: The numbers of smuggled men and women .....	34
Figure 2-4: The organization of snakehead gangs.....	37
Figure 2-5: Percentage of foreign spouses by origin.....	44
Figure 2-6: The pattern by which gangsters transport Chinese women into Taiwan through fake marriage.....	46
Figure 2-7: The number of foreign workers leaving their positions.....	51
Figure 2-8: Constructions of sex trafficking.....	54
Figure 3-1: The location of three Detention Centres for Mainlanders .....	69
Figure 3-2: Interview locations and number of interviewees .....	74
Figure 3-3: The seating arrangement of interviewer, interviewee and interpreter ...	80
Figure 4-1: The location of Taiwan and Xiamen.....	122
Figure 5-1: The process of being trafficked.....	175
Figure 5-2: The location of Taiwan, Fuzhou and Guangzhou .....	176
Figure 7-1: Professionals involved in the process of combating sex trafficking....	226



## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

<b>CoE</b>	<b>Council of Europe</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>European Union</b>
<b>IOM</b>	<b>International Organization for Migration</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non Government Organization</b>
<b>TWRF</b>	<b>Taipei Women’s Rescue Foundation</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNICEF</b>	<b>United Nations Children’s Fund</b>
<b>GAATW</b>	<b>Global Alliance against Traffic in Women</b>
<b>CATW</b>	<b>Coalition Against Trafficking in Women</b>
<b>TIP Report</b>	<b>U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report</b>
<b>TVPA</b>	<b>U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act</b>

## Organisations, Acts and Reports

Legislative Yuan (1993) *Act of Regulations Governing Approval for the Residency or Permanent Residency of Mainland-area Peoples in Taiwan through Family*

Web link: <http://www.immigration.gov.tw/outweb/ch9/13.html> (In Chinese)

European Commission Communication (1996) *Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation*

Web link:

[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/employment\\_and\\_social\\_policy/equality\\_between\\_men\\_and\\_women/133095\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/133095_en.htm)

United Nations (2000) *The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish the Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organised Crime*

Web link: <http://untreaty.un.org/english/notpubl/18-12-a.E.doc>

United States (2000) *Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)*

Web link: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10492.pdf>

US State Department (2000-09) *Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP)*

Web link: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/>

Council of Europe (2005) *The Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings*

Web link:

<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=197&CM=1&CL=ENG>

Ministry of Interior (2006) *National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons*

Web Link:

<http://www.immigration.gov.tw/aspcode/searchMenu.asp> (In Chinese)

Department of Law Affairs (2007) *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*

Web link:

<http://sa.hl.gov.tw/mediafile/444/fdownload/402/216/2009-3-12-11-40-1-216-nf1.pdf> (In Chinese)

Legislative Yuan (2009) *Act of Combating Human Trafficking*

Web link: [www.klg.gov.tw/97download/981202\\_2.doc](http://www.klg.gov.tw/97download/981202_2.doc) (In Chinese)

## Explanation of Terms

**Agent:** This word has two distinct meanings. In human smuggling, the meaning of the word agent is the same as that of broker. Agents buy women from traffickers, and therefore, 'own' the women. Women refer to their 'owners' as agents. In transnational marriages and foreign labour situations, an agent refers to the person who arranges for the women to come to Taiwan. Women who want to work in Taiwan or marry Taiwanese residents always go through marriage agencies or labour agencies.

**Broker:** is a person who buys women from traffickers and subsequently 'owns' women. Brokers get money from women by the women selling sex. They may also own brothels and ask the women to work in them.

**Cheat:** In English, the term cheating is usually used to describe situations such as cheating on a partner or in examinations; however, the way I use the term and the way it is most commonly used in Chinese, is when it refers to lying and deliberately giving false information. In my thesis, this term is widely used in various situations.

**Chicken head:** In China a recruiter is also called a chicken head. Most women who are trafficked/smuggled are young, beautiful and naïve; they are cheated or drugged by a chicken head and then transported to Taiwan by boat (C. Chiang 2006).

**Driver:** Many prostitutes work in motels and hotels. Pimps and brokers may or may not have relationships with the owner of such hotels or motels. Some brokers send women to a variety of hotels or motels to sell sex, as this working method reduces the risk of being found by the police. Drivers are people who drive prostitutes to different places to sell sex. Moreover, they (they are always male) take the money from prostitutes after each trade has finished and pass it onto the broker or pimp. Sometimes, the responsibilities of drivers also include 'taking care' of prostitutes and keeping an eye on them.

**Fake marriage:** In this situation couples do not really want to get married, but formally register as husband and wife so that the foreigners, usually the wife, can immigrate to Taiwan. One of the couple is foreign, and through transnational marriages the foreign person can apply for a visa to become a resident in Taiwan.

When foreigners come to Taiwan through transnational marriage to earn money or other reasons apart from marriage to their partners, the marriage is commonly called a fake marriage in Taiwan.

**Foreign bride:** In this research, a foreign bride means a foreign woman who is married to a Taiwanese man and lives in Taiwan. Usually, the women come from Southeast Asian countries, especially from China, Vietnam, Indonesia and Thailand.

**Foreign countries:** refers to countries which are not Taiwan including China.

**Foreign labourer:** In 1989, the Taiwanese government started to allow companies to employ foreign labourers in low skilled jobs. Usually these labourers are from Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines and typically work in factories or as domestic workers.

**Gangster:** A person who is a member of a smuggling gang or a prostitution gang. Some gangster roles have specific names, such as recruiters, brokers and snakeheads. The term gangster is used generally to describe a member of a gang.

**Human smuggling:** The transportation of illegal immigrants from one country to another (Oxford English Dictionary 2007). Taiwan is an island, so the two ways that people are smuggled into the country is by air or by sea. In this study, I use the term smuggling to mean smuggling by sea.

**KTV:** This refers to private Karaoke where a few people share a private room for singing. Accompanying clients in KTV establishments is one of the ways sex trade workers work. The prostitution gangs send women to a KTV establishment to drink and have sexual encounters with clients.

**Mama-sun/female pimp:** A pimp is the person who links sex buyers and sex sellers. In Taiwan, the roles are always played by women. Sometimes, trafficked women call their female pimp 'mama-sun', which is a Japanese term. Sex buyers call the pimp to arrange a sex trade, and the pimp will tell the buyer where and when to meet the prostitute. Sometimes, female pimps also control and 'take care' of prostitutes' daily lives.

**Out-table:** In Taiwan, out-table means sit-table ladies (see below) who go out with customers for a sex trade. However, some Chinese interviewees use this vocabulary

to refer to prostitution generally. Therefore, out-table in the research has two slightly different meanings. First, it refers to women who work as sit-table ladies and have sex trade with customers and, second, to women who work as prostitutes.

**Recruiter:** In the country of origin, people recruit women to cross borders on the pretext of tourism, work or other reasons. They sell the women to traffickers. They can be a part of trafficking ring, but are also likely to operate on a personal basis.

**Sit-table:** Women sit in company with customers when drinking, dancing, singing and playing sexual games in a booth, restaurant or a KTV. Working as a sit-table lady does not necessarily involve selling sex to customers. Should they want sex trade, it is usually not conducted in a booth restaurant. Customers who want to buy sex would ask girls to out-table.

**Smuggled woman:** A woman who has been smuggled by sea. Most smuggled women are from China. Some women were found while at sea before they arrive in Taiwan, although most smuggled women are found while working as prostitutes.

**Smuggling:** In my study, smuggling specifically refers to smuggling by sea. The current studies of smuggling by sea use the term 'smuggling' to refer to smuggling by sea, so, in my research, I follow this trend and also use the term 'smuggling' to describe people smuggled by sea. (See Chapter two)

**Snake:** The term snake originates from Hong Kong. Smuggled people are always hidden in a small space just like snakes hiding in a hole. That is why smuggled people are called snakes and their smuggler is called a snakehead (Chang 2000).

**Snakehead:** The Chinese refer to the head of a smuggling/trafficking gang as a snakehead (C. Chiang 2006). Around the snakeheads are a wide range of associated roles that are vital to a successful human smuggling or trafficking operation. They include recruiters, procurers of documents, transportation providers, agents, corrupt officials, enforcers, debt collectors, pimps, and miscellaneous others (Naim 2005).

# Chapter One: Introduction

## Research background

The topic of human trafficking has received a great deal of attention at the start of the twenty-first century, yet it is not a new issue and has been a global concern since the mid-nineteen century (Kempadoo 2005). Although 'human trafficking is not yet the most profitable illicit trade-that honour goes to drugs, but it is very likely the fastest growing' (Naim 2005: 88). According to the statistics of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2001)<sup>1</sup>, of the estimated four million people who are trafficked around the world each year, over one million are trafficked for sex exploitation and this volume is increasing. As Kelly (2002) argues, trafficking in human beings can happen in any country, whether developed, developing or undeveloped. A country can be the country of origin, transit or detention, or it may include all three possibilities. Moreover, in studies of human trafficking, trafficking in women and children for the purpose of prostitution is one of main issues (Salt and Hogarth 2000; Munro 2005).

Within the literature on human trafficking and/or sex trafficking in Asia, discussion of the role of Taiwan is often absent whilst Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia and many other countries are often mentioned (see, for example, Lee 2005; Piper 2005). However, this does not mean that Taiwan is not involved in the crime of human trafficking/sex trafficking, rather it demonstrates the lack of research and discussion in Taiwan. There are a few international research studies that mention the role of Taiwan in discussion of human trafficking. For

---

<sup>1</sup> International Organization for Migration (2001), 'new IOM figure on the global scale of trafficking' Trafficking in Migrants: quarterly bulletin 23<sup>rd</sup> April (Geneva)

example, Malarek (2003) studied the routes of Eastern European women who are trafficked. Figure 1-1 shows that Taiwan is one of the destination countries where Eastern European women are trafficked. Farr (2005: 107) also mentioned that ‘in Taiwan, organized crime groups purchase young girls from poor families in Thailand or China and then traffic them for prostitution to countries such as the United States, Australia, and Japan. Taiwan is also a destination country, and Taiwanese crime groups actively recruit and receive women and girls for their own sex industry’. Naim (2005) also mentioned Taiwan when discussing the Chinese Fujian circuit<sup>2</sup> in smuggling human beings. He claims that Taiwan is one of the main destinations for people smuggled by the Chinese Fujian circuit. These examples show that, although the discussion of Taiwan in the international research literature is rare, Taiwan plays a significant role in human trafficking.

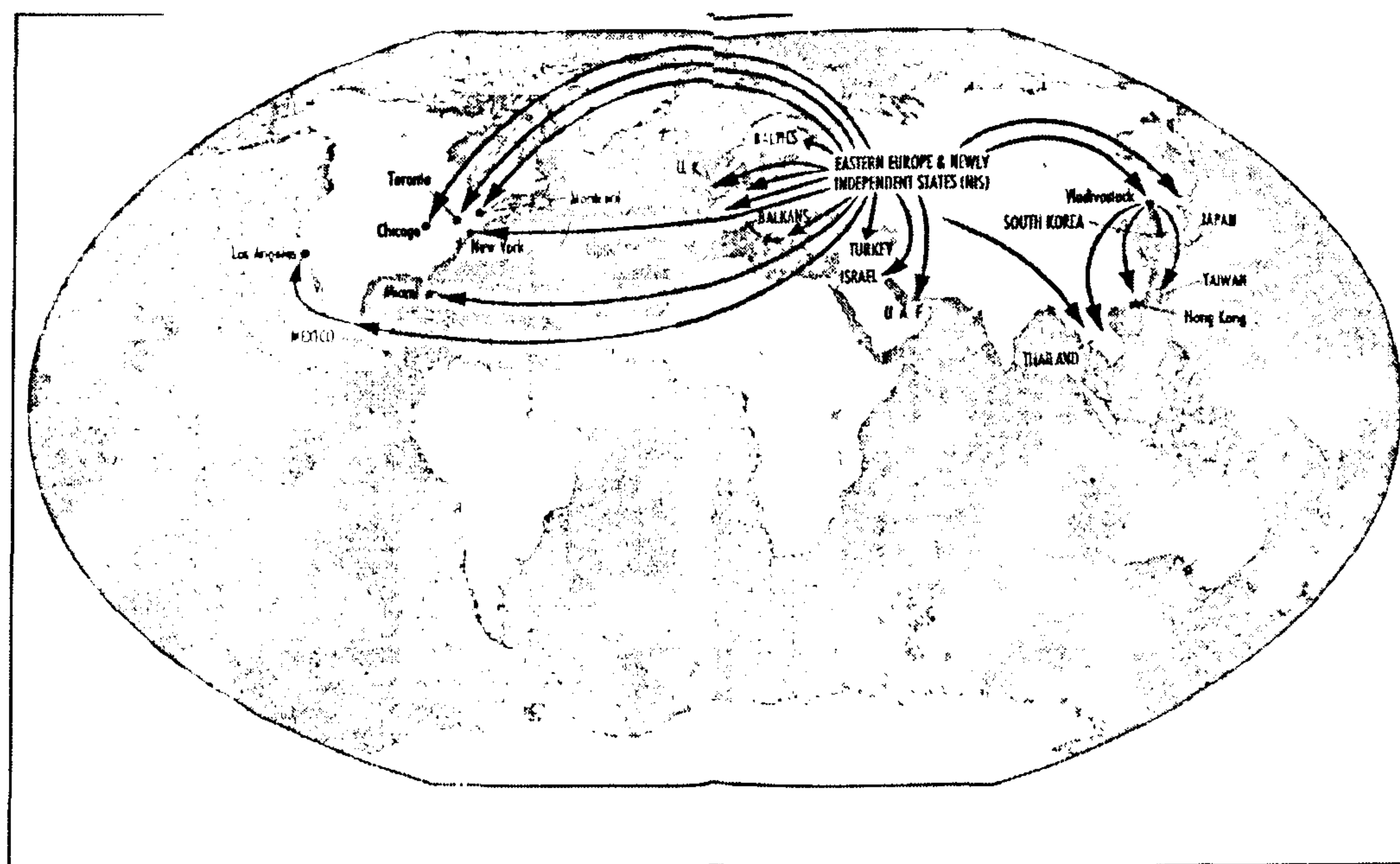


Figure 1-1: Global trafficking routes of women and girls from Eastern Europe and the newly independent states

Source: Malarek (2003: ii-iii)

<sup>2</sup> Fujian is a province of southeast China. Chinese Fujian circuit is a gang that smuggles men and women out of China.



In the last decade, an increasing number of stories where foreign brides and smuggled women were found to be working as prostitutes were published in the national newspapers in Taiwan (see, for example, United Daily News 28/03/2008; Apple Times 16/05/2008; The Liberty Times 28/05/2008; United Daily News 06/06/2008; The Liberty Times 11/06/2008, among others). This phenomenon drew attention to the issue from the government and wider society; however, it is important to note that these women were usually reported as 'gold diggers' (such as United Daily News 17/09/2003, 20/09/2003, 01/10/2003, 21/11/2003, 14/06/2006, 27/11/2006, among others). In other words, the newspapers described foreign women who came to Taiwan and worked as prostitutes as doing so because of their desire to earn money. For example:

Two days ago, Taichung City Police Station found eight Chinese women working as prostitutes, and they were seriously exploited. They not only had not earned a penny, but also were forced to have an abortion or take lutein pills, moreover, they were often abused by the clients who liked sadism. Their dream of digging gold was totally vanished. (United Daily News, C4, 19/01/2006)

Although, at the same time, many cases have been reported where women claimed to have been deceived, raped and beaten, usually the reporters still claimed that these foreign women worked as prostitutes in Taiwan because they wanted to earn a large amount of money in a short time, ignoring the possibility that these women might be forced to work in prostitution. In recent years, in some cases, the circumstance of foreign women working in prostitution in Taiwan has been linked with sex trafficking. For example, according to the United Daily News<sup>3</sup>, the first reporting of a sex trafficking case was in 2005. Before 2005, the phenomenon of foreign women

---

<sup>3</sup> According to the Nielsen Media Research (2008), United Daily News is one of the top five national newspaper in Taiwan. Available at <http://tw.cn.nielsen.com/site/index.shtml> accessed on 05/02/2009

working as prostitutes was rarely related to sex trafficking but seen instead as 'voluntary' prostitution where the women were represented as 'gold diggers' and as criminals because of their involvement in smuggling or prostitution<sup>4</sup>.

I began my involvement in combating human trafficking in 2004 while I was working as a social worker in Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (TWRF). In the beginning, in order to understand more about sex trafficking, I tried to talk to smuggled women from China who sheltered in Hsinshu Detention Centre of Mainlanders. The reason for my talking to them was that their stories, as reported by newspapers, usually included their being raped, threatened and cheated. I therefore thought it was a possibility that they had been trafficked. After interviewing smuggled Chinese women, I realised most of the Chinese women I talked to were sex trafficked because most of them did not know they would work in prostitution before coming to Taiwan, and they nearly all had debt bondage<sup>5</sup>. In order to obtain more systematic information, between 2004 and 2005 I conducted a piece of research 'the Primary Report of the Relationship between Chinese Smuggled Women and Human Trafficking' (TWRF 2005). This study analysed accounts of 118 'smuggled' Chinese women by using a questionnaire survey. According to these research findings, these 'smuggled' Chinese women and young girls fitted the definition of trafficked human beings according to the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* (TVPA) (US 2000). The study therefore concluded that many 'smuggled' women were sex trafficked. Since the study was conducted using a face-to-face questionnaire survey, a lot of information was missed

---

<sup>4</sup> Similar situation in Malarek's research (2005) on human trafficking in Eastern Europe

<sup>5</sup> Gaon and Forboed (2005) illustrate that once women are sold, their 'owners' tell the women that 'they must work for free until they have paid back their own purchase price and/or travel costs' (2005: 39). Brown (2000) studied trafficking of women in Asia and gives a similar definition of debt bondage. She states that once women 'have been sold to a brothel, the brothel owner will demand that the girl repays their outlay by servicing customers. She thereby becomes enmeshed in a highly exploitative system of debt bondage that, in its worst forms, is indistinguishable from slavery' (Brown 2000: 98).

out when the research results were presented statistically and it was analysed in a relatively simplistic way. For example, 80% of the interviewees said they came to Taiwan to earn money. Based on this, one might conclude that these women came to Taiwan to earn money by working as prostitutes, just as in the descriptions of many Taiwanese newspapers. However, when I asked further questions to understand what kind of jobs they were promised, only 5.2% interviewees said that they were told they would work in prostitution in Taiwan. That is, the majority of the women did not know they would work as prostitutes before coming to Taiwan. This example highlights the limitations of this research method, as there was no exploration of the women's stories as told in their own words. Important information may have been missed and/or misunderstandings between what participants wanted to say and what the research results showed. I wanted to explore in more depth how women are trafficked, what their views are of the whole process and how they are 'taught' to perform as 'professional/voluntary' prostitutes.

As I have already mentioned above, such women are usually viewed by law enforcement officers, policemen and journalists, and in wider Taiwanese society, as women who voluntarily migrate into Taiwan in order to work as prostitutes. Many writers argue that women who work as prostitutes in foreign countries are sex trafficked women or are migrant sex workers (Doezema 2002; Saunders 2000; O'Connell Davidson 2006a). However, many of these studies do not include the views of any 'sex trafficked victims' or 'migrant sex workers' although some do (such as Brown 2005; Malarek 2003; McGill 2003; Gaon and Forbord 2005; Waugh 2006; Jobe 2008; Poudel 2009). My research will differ from other studies which argue foreign women who work in prostitution are either 'migrant sex workers' or 'sex trafficked women'. The approach I have taken will question the division between sex

workers and sex trafficked women and, moreover, challenge the common assumption that foreign women working in prostitution are migrant sex workers or 'gold diggers'. I will explore the process of women being trafficked through women's own voices. According to their accounts of how they are trafficked/forced/threaten/controlled, I highlight the methods by which traffickers regulate and control women in the trafficking process. Also, I interviewed key professionals in order to illustrate how the category 'sex trafficked person' is constructed by them. Furthermore, I will compare the interview findings from women and the key professionals to the Taiwanese social policy context.

Generating original contributions to a body of research can be well served by developing existing questions in the field. For sex trafficking, this might mean establishing the dominant definitions of sex trafficking, estimating the number of trafficked human beings, monitoring trafficking routes or informing policy development regarding combating sex trafficking. However, in this thesis, I ask different questions about how women are regulated/controlled in the trafficking process. My analysis focuses on the methods used by traffickers trafficking women into brothels, and includes discussion of the methods they use in order to make women work as prostitutes and appear to others to be working as 'voluntary sex workers'. I argue that existing definitions of sex trafficking persons need to be developed, and should include the methods by which sex trafficked women are controlled in the trafficking process, in particular from women's point of view. The need for such elaboration of definitions of sex trafficking persons is underlined by the fact that trafficked women can receive services and protection only if they are identified as trafficked women.

Many writers suggest that sex trafficking activities are operated by organized crime gangs (for example, see Brown 2000; Malarek 2003; Naim 2005; and Waugh 2006). Nevertheless, very little is known about how women themselves think about the trafficking process and even less is known about the changing of their views through having to work in prostitution during the trafficking process. One possible reason that so little is known about sex trafficking from the point of view of trafficked women is that only a few studies have been conducted from women's own perspectives. Many previous sex trafficking studies have focused on estimating the number of human beings who are trafficked, on policy debates, on the reasons for women being trafficked, and on the debates between defining women as sex trafficked or 'voluntary' sex workers. This existing research illustrates that there are numerous women and girls being trafficked globally for sex exploitation each year, and that most of them come from poor countries and poor families (see, for example, TVPA 2000; and Gaon and Forbord 2005). Yet, despite discussing the phenomenon of sex trafficking from the third person viewpoint, and critiquing why foreign women are working as prostitutes in countries of destination, trafficking has rarely been explored from the viewpoint of why traffickers choose women to traffick. For example, what kind of women they want to lure, and, moreover, how they 'train' these women to be prostitutes, based on the recollections of trafficked women themselves. This analysis of the trafficking process, by contrast, predominantly uses the concept of 'control' and 'regulation' to explore the operations of sex trafficking gangs.

One consequence for women who experienced human trafficking but are not identified as trafficked women, it can be argued, is that it makes it much harder to convict the traffickers, even though human trafficking seriously damages human rights and the trafficked victims pay a huge price in terms of violence, physical

damage, emotional harm, and sexually transmitted diseases (TIP Report 2005). In order to effectively prosecute trafficking gangs, it is essential to understand the mechanisms by which traffickers control women. Only when it is understood why women do not and, as they often believe, cannot tell of their experiences to law enforcement officers, will governments have greater insight into how to combat sex trafficking. Therefore, this study sought to investigate how sex trafficked women regard themselves as controlled and how law enforcement and other key officials constructed their own definitions of sex trafficked women. An important aspect of this study is to focus on how women are controlled, exploited or deceived in the trafficking process *and* also how some methods are not viewed as threats by professionals and current policies and laws. As a consequence, this may enable government officials and Non Government Organizations (NGOs) workers to have more understanding of sex trafficking in Taiwan, and ‘trafficked women’ may have more chance to be identified as trafficked. According to the *Act of Combating Human Trafficking*, if women are identified as human trafficked victims, they could receive medical services, interpretation services, law assistance, counselling and financial assistance (Legislation Yuan 2009).

This research project stems from the question as to why foreign women in Taiwan who are found working in prostitution are viewed as ‘voluntary sex workers’, even if they claim to have been deceived, forced or violently treated. My main interest lies in exploring how traffickers use various mechanisms to control/regulate women during the trafficking process. This study uses a broad social constructionist approach to also analyse how professionals identify sex trafficking persons.

## **Definition of human trafficking for sex exploitation**

As I have indicated, the issue of human trafficking has been raised in Taiwan in recent years, with the Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP Report) playing an important role in this respect. The TIP Report is an international report compiled by the U.S. government. According to the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)* which was passed in 2000; it stipulated that the U.S. government should annually compile a report into trafficking in persons which grades global countries in terms of their success in combating trafficking in persons. The TIP Report classifies countries into three tiers:

**TIER 1:** Countries whose governments fully comply with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA) minimum standards.

**TIER 2:** Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards.

**TIER 2 WATCH LIST:** Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards

**AND:**

- a) The absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing; or
- b) There is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year; or
- c) The determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional future steps over the next year.

**TIER 3:** Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum

standards and are not making significant efforts to do so. (TIP report 2007: 27)<sup>6</sup>

The first report was published in 2001; however, Taiwan was not included in the report until 2003. According to the TIP Report, from 2003 to 2004, Taiwan was categorised as Tier 1, but was downgraded to Tier 2 in 2005, and downgraded again to the Tier 2 Watch List in 2006. In 2007, Taiwan was returned to Tier 2. According to the TIP Report, Taiwan is a source, transit and destination country for persons trafficked for sexual exploitation and forced labour (TIP Report 2003). Moreover, it is primarily a destination for women and girls who are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Women who are trafficked from China, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam are then coerced into prostitution or lured into Taiwan by fraudulent offers of employment or marriage (TIP Report 2005). There is no common agreement yet about when sex trafficking began in Taiwan. Lin (2001) claims that at the end of the 1980s a large number of smuggled people, foreign brides and foreign workers were found to have migrated into Taiwan. About 30,000 people were said to have been smuggled by sea into Taiwan (National Immigration Agency 2007). In addition, up to 2006, there were 399,000 foreign brides<sup>7</sup> (Ministry of Interior 2007) and 350,000 foreign labourers (men and women) reported in Taiwan (Council of Labour Affairs 2007<sup>8</sup>). Although these numbers do not necessarily represent the real number of trafficked human beings, it does indicate that a large number of people have migrated into Taiwan in recent years.

In November 2006, the Ministry of Interior in Taiwan produced a *National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons* as a national policy to combat human trafficking.

---

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/4107.pdf> accessed on 02/05/2008

<sup>7</sup> [www.moi.gov.tw/moi2004/upload/m\\_39465\\_4578935185.doc](http://www.moi.gov.tw/moi2004/upload/m_39465_4578935185.doc) accessed on 05/05/2008

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.evta.gov.tw/content/list.asp?mfunc\\_id=14&func\\_id=57](http://www.evta.gov.tw/content/list.asp?mfunc_id=14&func_id=57) accessed on 05/05/2008



The action plan created a permanent Executive Yuan<sup>9</sup> the Anti-trafficking Committee consisting of representatives from 14 ministries and agencies and a number of local NGOs<sup>10</sup>. This plan also defined human trafficking as follows:

Human trafficking means the organized, recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of rape, the threat of abduction, surveillance, drugs, hypnotism, other forms of coercion, or obtaining of a person for the purposes of sexual exploitation, labour exploitation or the removal of organs (National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons 2006: 1).

This definition highlights three forms of human trafficking: for the purposes of labour exploitation, sexual exploitation and the removal of organs. The forms of human trafficking which are defined in the National Plan are very similar to the definition of human trafficking in the United Nations protocol. *The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish the Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organised Crime* (UN 2000a) gives the following definition of human trafficking:

Trafficking in persons' shall mean the 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. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation or the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (United Nations 2000a: 2)

This UN definition has been adopted by the Council of Europe. In 2005, the Council of Europe issued the *Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings*<sup>11</sup>.

---

<sup>9</sup> Executive Yuan is one of the government department which has similar position with Home Office.

<sup>10</sup> [http://admin.taiwan.net.tw/public/File/200803/12\\_ey\\_excerpt.doc](http://admin.taiwan.net.tw/public/File/200803/12_ey_excerpt.doc) accessed on 02/05/2008

<sup>11</sup> <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=197&CM=1&CL=ENG>

The Council of Europe adopted the definition of human trafficking from the UN protocol, however it focused on the protection of human rights, unlike the UN protocol which focused on prevention, protection and prosecution. The Council of Europe argued that it is a human right that women should not be trafficked. Prior to the Council of Europe definition in 2005, in 1996, the *European Commission Communication on Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation* defined trafficking for sexual exploitation in this way:

Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation covers women who have suffered intimidation and/or violence through trafficking. Initial consent may not be relevant, as some enter the trafficking chain knowing they will work as prostitutes, but who are then deprived of their basic human rights, in conditions which are akin to slavery. (European Commission Communication 1996: 4)

The definition of sex trafficking from the European Commission, then, accepts that even where *women know that they will work in prostitution they may still be considered to be trafficked if their basic human rights have been violated*. This is an important in terms of the aims of my research. As I have discussed, women who entered Taiwan and work in prostitution are usually viewed as ‘gold diggers’ instead of trafficked women. Law enforcement officials claim these women come to Taiwan in order to earn money, in particular in cases where the women knew they would work as prostitutes before coming to Taiwan. Based on the European Commission’s definition, however, these women could be defined as sex trafficked women. I will discuss this in more detail later in the thesis (see Chapter Two and Conclusion).

---

accessed on 10/06/2008. In Page 4, the convention states the definition of trafficking in human beings as: “Trafficking in human beings” shall mean the 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. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs”.

The other important definition of human trafficking is the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* (US 2000), mentioned earlier. This Act recognises two forms of human trafficking: sex trafficking<sup>12</sup> and labour exploitation. It defines sex trafficking as:

Recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act (TVPA 2000: 7)<sup>13</sup>

These different definitions highlight the contested nature of what human trafficking/sex trafficking is. In Chapter Two, I will discuss further how differing definitions affect women being identified as trafficked, or not.

Sex trafficking is usually defined as a form of human trafficking. For example, the UN Protocol, European Commission, and TVPA all define human trafficking for sex exploitation as a form of human trafficking. However, 'sex trafficking stories' are often subsumed under the umbrella of a variety of 'human trafficking stories' or 'modern slavery stories', thereby potentially silencing gendered and sexualized experiences within these debates (Jobe 2008).

The term of 'modern slavery' was used to conflate with the term 'human trafficking' and 'sex trafficking' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and it is argued that this new development of terminology blurs violence against women, labour exploitation, and slavery (Jobe 2008). Therefore, I choose to use the term 'sex trafficking' in my thesis, because I wanted to separate the issue of labour exploitation,

---

<sup>12</sup> Sex trafficking induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age is defined as one of severe forms of human trafficking. In TVPA (p.8), it wrote that The term 'severe forms of trafficking in persons' means-- (A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10492.pdf> accessed on 02/05/2008

slavery and sex trafficking. My research focuses on women who were trafficked for the purpose of sex exploitation.

Awareness of sex trafficking in Taiwan has increased in recent years, as I suggested earlier, although most empirical studies of foreign women working as prostitutes have focused on how to stop the criminal activities of smuggling or 'fake marriage' instead of combating sex trafficking<sup>14</sup>. Wu (2005) and Tiau (2007) have studied human trafficking in the Taiwanese context. Wu studied the treatment process of trafficked women, and Tiau studied the roles of NGOs in combating human trafficking (see Chapter Two). However, both of these studies used literature analysis; they were not empirical studies of trafficked women. Wu's study, for instance, tried to establish a treatment process to provide services to trafficked women, but failed to analyse the needs identified by trafficked women themselves.

What I am emphasising here is that the circumstance of foreign women who are transported into Taiwan and work in prostitution is rarely viewed as sex trafficking by government officials, scholars, and wider Taiwanese society. Also, 'trafficked women' have not been systematically identified as such by law enforcement officers. There is currently no public government statistics of sex trafficked and/or human trafficked people in Taiwan. The Trafficking in Persons Report does not publish the numbers of traffickers who have been prosecuted, nor the number of sex trafficked persons in Taiwan. Fundamental to sex trafficking research in Taiwan is the assumption that smuggling and 'fake marriage' are organized crimes by gangs (Tang 2003; Huang 2005; Q. Lin 2005; C. Chiang 2006; Y. Chiang 2006; Hao 2007). Nevertheless,

---

<sup>14</sup> The point here is that these researchers do not regard smuggled women as sex trafficked. In my thesis, I will argue that the boundary between smuggling and sex trafficking is not clear. Therefore, their studies focus on stopping smuggling or fake marriage.

women who are transported through organized crime gangs are generally viewed as 'gold diggers' instead of trafficked persons. The reason women are viewed as 'gold diggers' may be because the law enforcement officials do not ask about their experiences in detail. For example, in Huang's research (2005), she used quantitative questionnaires to ask 596 smuggled Chinese women the reason for them coming to Taiwan. Although 63.8% of respondents said that they came to Taiwan to earn money, this research did not demonstrate if they knew they would work in prostitution before coming to Taiwan. This is one of my research aims; to explore in detail the trafficking process focusing on the experiences the women had experienced. Although some qualitative research has been done in Taiwan, such as Tang 2003; Leu 2006 and Chen 2007, these studies did not focus on women being violated/forced, but on the methods by which they were transported, and were from a criminological perspective. This study argues for the importance of women-centred definitions of sex trafficking, and adopts a more sociological approach.

Moreover, most studies of foreign women who work in prostitution in Taiwan focus on the activities of smuggling or 'fake marriage'. Only one study (Hao 2007) compared three methods of coming to Taiwan namely smuggling, 'fake marriage' and tourism. Also, most research participants in studies of smuggling, 'fake marriage', human trafficking and foreigners' prostitution are Chinese women. In this study, not only Chinese women but women from other countries were interviewed. This research also examines the phenomenon of foreign women who have lived in Taiwan for some time and then worked in prostitution. This is because I argue that 'true married' brides and foreign labourers working as prostitutes may also be controlled in similar ways to women defined as trafficked. Moreover, to date, few studies have looked at the methods by which trafficking gangs transport women into Taiwan, including by

tourism, 'fake marriage' and smuggling. In addition, this study also looks at 'true marriage' and foreign labour. It will discuss the phenomenon of foreign women who have lived in their destination country, Taiwan, and then met traffickers/brokers who lured them into prostitution.

This research, then, aims to address the absence of the voice of trafficked women in the trafficking process, which raises the importance of women-centred definitions of sex trafficking. It provides an exploration of the experiences of trafficked women who came from China, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia to Taiwan. It is a study of women who came to Taiwan through a variety of routes: smuggling, 'fake marriage', tourism, transnational marriage and foreign labour, and then found out they were expected to work in prostitution on their arrival in Taiwan, with the exception of four women who knew they would work as prostitutes before arriving in Taiwan. This thesis also explores how sex trafficked women are 'trained' as prostitutes. These groups of women who came to Taiwan through different methods are discussed together, for the reason that they had similar experiences, such as, for example, being forced, threatened, cheated, and/or controlled, and may be considered to be trafficked based on these experiences. Moreover, I also interviewed professionals working to combat sex trafficking to investigate how they construct ways of identifying sex trafficked women, and the concepts they held about sex trafficking.

To sum up, within the existing literature there is a lack of sociological studies of sex trafficking in Taiwan, the few that exist adopting a criminological analysis. The importance of my research is not only that it is from a sociological point of view, but also that it is an empirical study of trafficked women themselves, and it problematises the division of migrant sex worker and sex trafficked woman. I am challenging the

situation whereby women who might be seen to be trafficked are not identified as trafficked women by the Taiwanese government, acknowledging the possible effects of this for policy. The research also examines the ways traffickers 'control and train' women to work as prostitutes. These findings will hopefully provide policy makers with new ways of thinking about how to identify sex trafficking women in order that they may have the chance to receive the services and protection which they need.

## **Research aims**

The overall purpose of this study is to investigate trafficked women's own accounts of how they are controlled/forced/regulated and how professionals socially construct ways to identify sex trafficked women. For these reasons, this study interviewed sex trafficked women to talk more about their experiences of being trafficked. More specific aims were:

1. To investigate how social-cultural, economic, and marital status factors interact and affect women's vulnerability to being trafficked.
2. To provide detailed information about the sex trafficking process from the point where women meet recruiters to when they were found by the authorities. The discussion of the trafficking process aims to explore the 'control and regulatory mechanisms' traffickers used and how these mechanisms affect women.
3. To contribute to understandings of trafficking, including an examination of definition of trafficking based on the narratives delivered by the women in this study.
4. To examine professionals' constructions of sex trafficking and consider the implications of this.
5. To problematise the Taiwanese current policy of sex trafficking and suggest recommendations.

## Summary of thesis structure

Chapter Two, the *Literature Review*, presents the policy context of sex trafficking and reviews previous research findings. First, I discuss discourses of sex trafficking both at international and national levels and, according to these definitions, I theorise the mechanisms that trafficking gangs use to reach their purpose: trafficking women for sex exploitation. I use the term ‘control and regulatory mechanisms’ to include different methods that traffickers use. This chapter also outlines relevant laws, policies, and previous research in Taiwan to contextualise various current understandings of sex trafficking in Taiwan. I also explain the importance of the force/consent and victim/voluntary binaries to understandings of sex trafficking within the literature, policy debates and practice.

In Chapter Three, *Methodology*, I explain the research methods used in the research, the research process, process of analysis, ethical and other issues arising during the fieldwork. The interviewees include twenty-eight women who came from China, Vietnam, Indonesia and Thailand, as well as eight professionals: a lawyer, an immigration official, a police official, a prosecutor, a foreign affair official, a social worker, a legislator assistant and an NGO Chief Executive Officer.

In Chapter Four, *Characteristics and Vulnerability*, I explore the characteristics of the twenty-eight interviewees, and also, based on their backgrounds, I discuss similarities and differences of the characteristics of these interviewees with those found in other studies. It is generally agreed that the majority of trafficked women are from poor countries and families. The women in my study are also trafficked from developing countries to a developed country: Taiwan. However, I argue that trafficked women do



not only come from low social-economic status backgrounds. I claim that women are trafficked because traffickers choose them. In fact, I argue that no one specific factor will lead women to be trafficked, but rather it is that these factors result in women being placed in vulnerable situations that may make them more easily lured by traffickers.

In Chapter Five, *The Process of Being Lured and Transported*, I examine the trafficking processes that the interviewees experienced. The discussion of being trafficked begins at the point when the interviewees met the person who asked them to come to Taiwan, until they arrived in Taiwan. I analyse the common ways they were trafficked, as well as differences in what they experienced, including how women experienced force and consent in the trafficking process.

In Chapter Six, *the Mechanisms of Control and Regulation*, I explore the circumstances where the interviewees worked in prostitution and the different mechanisms of control/regulation experienced by the women.

In Chapter Seven, *Policy Issues on Combating Sex Trafficking*, I problematise the question of identifying sex trafficking persons in Taiwan through an examination of the ways professionals construct and identify sex trafficked persons. According to their working experiences of combating sex trafficking, these interviews raised the issue of the difficulty in identifying sex trafficked women. Moreover, they illustrate the methods of identifying sex trafficking persons. Some concepts were agreed by all professionals such as the criteria of sex trafficking, others were accepted only by some professionals. I use the findings of my interviews with the twenty-eight sex trafficked women and the eight professionals to problematise the current definitions of

sex trafficked persons in law. In order to provide services and protection to sex trafficked women, I argue the importance of drawing on the experiences of trafficked women themselves to inform policy and practice in relation to sex trafficking.

The final chapter, the *Conclusion and Discussion*, draws together the key findings from this study, in particular the unique data from sex trafficked women representing the ways they are lured, deceived, controlled, sold and forced in the trafficking process. I summarise the research findings, discuss how the research findings might contribute to policy making, and consider new agendas for further research.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review

In the previous chapter I discussed briefly why this study was conducted, definitions of sex trafficking at international and national levels, and the aims of this study. In this chapter, I will begin by reviewing debates over definitions of sex trafficking and summarise the key underlying assumptions about sex trafficking embedded in those definitions. I will then go on to examine debates concerning the divide between migrant sex workers/sex trafficked women and the circumstances of sex trafficking in Taiwan through the methods of smuggling, 'fake marriage' and foreign labour. After outlining the main methods used by traffickers to transport women into Taiwan, the final section of the chapter examines how regulatory mechanisms and control frame my analysis of the experiences of trafficked women.

### Discourses on sex trafficking

The trafficking of women and girls into prostitution is profitable for many participants- criminal gangs and club owners can make a bundle; mid-level traffickers, such as recruiters, can make a good, steady income... Because of the positive cash flow in sex trafficking, criminal groups are depending more heavily on profits from it than on those from other illegal activities, including drug trafficking. The potential in sex trafficking stems in part from the low cost and reusable nature of the commodity itself ...Additionally, the debt bondage system requires the women to pay back the trafficker for her travel, job arrangements, and various other fees-all at highly inflated prices. The trafficked woman can also be used to bring in profits from activities related to prostitution (Farr 2005: 20-21).

Farr illustrates why human trafficking for sex exploitation is an important issue. Although human trafficking has received broad international attention, it is a complex subject and there has been considerable debate about the definitions used. As I have discussed in Chapter One, there are various definitions of human trafficking for sex

exploitation, such as the United Nations Protocol, TVPA, and the European Convention. There is no popular agreement on the definition of human trafficking although, recently, this issue has received increasing attention (UNICEF 2005; Jobe 2008). For example, Chapkis (2003) argues that the definition of human trafficking in TVPA which distinguishes women working in prostitution as *sex trafficked victims* or *voluntary sex worker* is vague (also see Doezema 1998). Munro (2005) argues that these definitions adopt ambiguous terms such as ‘force’, ‘coercion’, ‘abuse’ and ‘consent’ and, as a result, the definition of these terms and human trafficking for sex exploitation have be interpreted differently by different countries and there have been different domestic implementations in different contexts. In 2008, the TIP Report conducted a clear pattern of human trafficking. As shown in Table 2-1 below, the TIP report in 2008 divided human trafficking into three elements: process, ways/means and goal. However, the meanings of ways/means listed, such as threat, fraud, deceit, deception, and abuse of power, are debatable. In my study, I problematise the definitions of these terms as well as examine the ways/means the women experienced. I argue that because these terms are vague, the ways of identifying sex trafficked women are not likely to be consistent either.

Table 2-1: The definition of human trafficking (TIP Report 2008)

<i>Process</i>	+	<i>Way/means</i>	+	<i>Goal</i>
<i>Recruitment</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Threat</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Prostitution</i>
<i>or</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>Transportation</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>Coercion</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>Pornography</i>
<i>or</i>		<i>or</i>		<i>or</i>
<i>Transferring</i>		<i>Abduction</i>		<i>Violence/Sexual</i>
<i>or</i>		<i>or</i>		<i>Exploitation</i>
<i>Harbouring</i>		<i>Fraud</i>		<i>or</i>
<i>or</i>		<i>or</i>		<i>Forced Labour</i>
<i>Receiving</i>		<i>Deceit</i>		<i>or</i>
		<i>or</i>		<i>Involuntary Servitude</i>
		<i>Deception</i>		<i>or</i>
		<i>or</i>		<i>Debt Bondage</i>
		<i>Abuse of Power</i>		<i>(with unfair wages)</i>
				<i>or</i>
				<i>Slavery/Similar practices</i>

Source: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/105487.htm>

Debates about the links between prostitution and sex trafficking are mainly focused on whether women choose to enter prostitution or are forced into such activities (Miller and Jayasundara 2001). There are two broad positions evident within campaigns on trafficking which are usually called *abolitionist positions* and *rights positions* (Simmons 1998; O’Connell Davidson 2002; Askola 2007). There are, related to this, two well-known feminist NGO coalitions involved in anti-trafficking efforts, which hold different views on prostitution. The Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) defines sex exploitation as broadly: ‘all prostitution exploits women, regardless of women’s consent. Prostitution includes casual, brothel, escort agency or military prostitution, sex tourism, mail order bride selling and trafficking in women’<sup>15</sup>. CATW sees women’s bodies as vulnerable, exploitable, and consider all

<sup>15</sup> Available at [www.catwinternational.org/about/](http://www.catwinternational.org/about/) accessed on 04/02/2009

women engaged in prostitution as exploited (Askola 2007), and take an abolitionist stance towards prostitution (Doezema 2001; Weizter 2007; Jobe 2008). Unlike CATW, the Global Alliance against Traffic in Women (GAATW) subscribes to the view that prostitution itself is not necessarily exploitative or harmful to women but work, which should be recognised. Askola (2007) illustrates that ‘GAATW draws a distinction between those who choose, from whatever limited alternatives, to engage in prostitution and those who are deceived or literally coerced into it’ (also see Jobe 2008). GAATW argue that women who choose to migrate and work as prostitutes often later find themselves in abusive circumstances. The main disagreement in the debate on prostitution and sex trafficking relates to whether a person can choose prostitution as a profession (Doezema 1998).

A primary difference in these debates is based on the means of force/consent. Besides the campaign between CATW and GAATW, under the discussion of prostitution, sex workers rights groups have emerged to challenge earlier feminist discourses on prostitution (Jobe 2008). Miller and Jayasundara (2001), for example, present the argument of sex workers’ rights groups, who emphasise that prostitution is work and reject the notion that sex workers are by definition victims. Jobe (2008), as shown in Figure 2-1, examines these debates between various actors and groups.

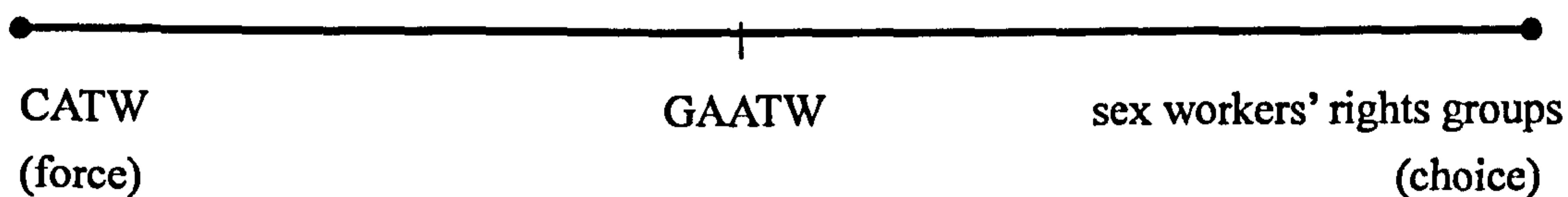


Figure 2-1: A continuum spectrum between migrant sex worker and sex trafficked women

She claims that there is a spectrum of debates about prostitution, between ‘migrant sex worker’ and ‘trafficked women for sex exploitation’. The abolitionist position, for example CATW, claims that trafficked women are *forced* to work as prostitutes. At the other side, sex workers’ rights groups allege that many women *choose* voluntarily to be sex workers. Between *choice* and *force* is the position of GAATW. However, the complexity and diverse nature of sex trafficking makes it difficult to explain what ‘choice’ and ‘force’ mean and these terms are used in different ways by different authors.

A number of sex workers’ rights organizations (for example, the International Union of Sex Workers and International Union of Sex Worker’s Rights) have argued that sex trafficked women are transnational sex workers, and the governments should protect the rights of sex workers. According to their arguments, sex trafficked women are equivalent to sex workers. Does this mean that they agree that sex trafficking is equivalent to prostitution? However, according to the definitions of the UN, TVPA and the European Council (see Chapter One), I would argue that sex trafficking is not a matter of prostitution but, rather a matter of organized crime, coercion, threat and exploitation. In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I will analyse how women, at least in my study, are not voluntary choosing to work as ‘migrant sex workers’ but are trafficked, forced and controlled.

The *United Nations Protocol* (2000) and *Nation Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons* (2007) provide many examples of how traffickers control and exploit women. Based on this, this study will not debate whether sex workers have the right to work in prostitution abroad but will focus on the experiences of the interviewees however they

may be viewed by society be it as foreign sex workers or sex trafficked women.

In my study, as I will discuss in Chapters Four to Six, the majority of the twenty-eight women I interviewed did not know that they would work in prostitution (if they did end up doing so) before arriving Taiwan. The debates of migrant sex workers versus sex trafficked women tend to focus on the phenomenon of transnational trafficking of women from country to country, however, women could also be trafficked within the borders of countries as well (King 2004). Although my study did not research domestic trafficking, as I will discuss in Chapter Four, most Chinese women in my study did not view coming to Taiwan as going abroad (because the Chinese government alleges Taiwan is part of China). Therefore, they did not see themselves as ‘migrant sex workers’ since from their point of view coming to Taiwan was not ‘going abroad’. Figure 2-2 illustrates the relationship between migration, smuggling and human trafficking. Smuggling is part of migration, however, some activity of human trafficking is involved in migration (within cross country human trafficking, some people are trafficked through smuggling), but some are not (domestic human trafficking).

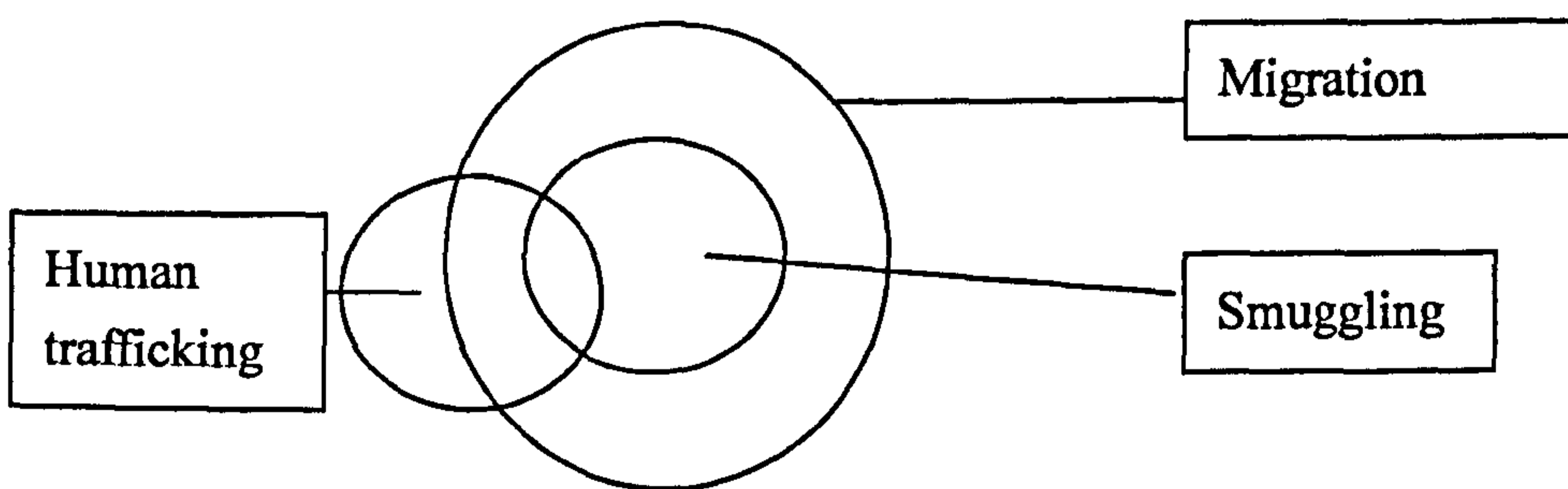


Figure 2-2: The relationship between migration, smuggling and human trafficking



## *National context*

*The National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons* (2007) provides the Taiwanese government with a guideline of what human trafficking is and how to combat it from the perspectives of prevention and protection. In February 2009, the Taiwanese government passed *the Act of Combating Human Trafficking*. This Act employed the definition of human trafficking from *the National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons*. Before the passing of *the Act of Combating Human Trafficking*, the *Taiwanese Criminal Code* had two articles that criminalised certain aspects of human trafficking. Article 296<sup>16</sup> criminalises a broad range of forms of trafficking and servitude. It states that people cannot enslave others or make others live without freedom. Article 296-1<sup>17</sup> provides stronger penalties when the crimes are committed by public officials. However, Article 296 does not criminalise debt bondage; moreover, slavery status does not appear to cover recruitment or the use of coercion or fraud (TIP Report 2007). Another important policy in Taiwan that affects combating human trafficking is that working as a prostitute is illegal. According to *the Regulation of Social Security Act* (1991), Article 80 legislates that people intending to profit from having a sexual relationship, or to prostitute, procure, or solicit customers in public or

---

<sup>16</sup> Article 296: Anyone who makes others slaves or makes others live without freedom like a slave shall be subject to imprisonment for minimum sentence of one year and maximum sentence of seven years.

<sup>17</sup> Article 296-1: Anyone who engages in human trafficking, human collateral shall be subject to imprisonment for minimum sentence of five years, or in addition thereto a fine of not more than \$500,000.

Anyone who committed the abovementioned crime by attempting to make others perform the sexual or obscene act shall be subject to imprisonment for minimum sentence of seven years, or in addition thereto a fine of not more than \$500,000.

Anyone who committed the abovementioned crimes by raping, threatening, menacing, controlling, drugs, hypnosis or other method that is against the person's will, the term of punishment shall be increased by one-half.

Anyone who mediates, receives, hides the person who is the victim of human trafficking, human collateral or conceals this person in the abovementioned crimes shall be subject to imprisonment for minimum sentence of one year and maximum sentence of seven years, or in addition thereto a fine of not more than \$300,000.

publicly accessible environments, shall be punished with penal servitude for up to three days or by a fine of up to NT\$ 30,000 (£500)<sup>18</sup>. However, customers are not committing a crime unless they buy sex from girls who are under 18 years old<sup>19</sup>. Although the Taiwanese government has passed a series of polices, I will go on to argue that the existing policies and laws are incomprehensive.

Stopping human trafficking is one of the most important aspects of protecting human rights. Many researchers have pointed out that a key problem of trafficking in persons for sex exploitation is men using violence and coercion to force women into prostitution (Brents and Hausbeck 2005). The United Nations (2000), the European Union (2002) and other government authorities and NGOs pay a lot of attention to combat human trafficking. In this decade, the increasing number of foreign spouses and female illegal immigrants in Taiwan inspired many researchers to study this phenomenon. Current research in Taiwan can be generally divided into two parts for further discussion: transnational marriage and smuggling.

The majority of discussions of transnational marriage focus on social welfare issues, such as life adaptation of foreign women in Taiwan (Cheng 2000; Lee and Lee 2001; Liu 2001; Chen 2002; Lee 2002; Yan 2002; and Lin 2003), social welfare needs (Chen 2001; T. Chen 2002; Chen 2003; He 2003; Pan 2004), family problems in Taiwan (Chen 2002; Chiu 2003), and the process of immigrant marriage (Shaw 2000; Chiu 2002; Zhao 2003). Other studies focus on wider discussions, such as Hsia (2000; 2002) who analysed the phenomenon of transnational marriage. L. Chen (2001), from a

---

<sup>18</sup> The exchange rate between British pound and Taiwanese dollar has been changed sharply. In 2005, the exchange rate was about £1=55 NTD, the rate increased as £1=67NTD in 2007, but decreased to £1=48 NTD in the early 2009. Therefore, in this research,, I used exchange rate as £1=60 NTD.

<sup>19</sup> According to the Law to Suppress Sexual Transactions Involving Children And Juveniles

feminist perspective, analysed the phenomenon of Southeast Asian women who married Taiwanese men and migrated to Taiwan. Tsai (2001) and Han (2003) discussed the role and status of transnational brides in their Taiwanese families. Wang (2001) discussed the situation of their involvement in Taiwan's labour market. Shen (2002) focused on the presence of women's power in commercializing marriage. However, all of these studied 'true married' brides: foreign women who marry Taiwanese men and live in Taiwan. These studies did not discuss the circumstance of foreign women who marry Taiwanese men and migrate into Taiwan but do not live with their husbands, and may not even meet their husbands in Taiwan. Current research on transnational brides argues that although transnational marriage is viewed as an important issue in Taiwan, the possibility of 'fake marriage' as one kind of sex trafficking has been mentioned very little. Also, at the time of writing, there seems to be very little sociological research on the circumstance of smuggled women. The main objectives of previous studies have usually been to understand how to prevent Chinese women being smuggled into Taiwan, and how this illegal activity brings negative effects to Taiwanese society (for example, Chen 1996; Lin 1998; Ling 2004). Some studies have been carried out on the perspective of women being deceived by recruiters (Chang 2002; Chang 2004). These studies provide information on the operation of snake gangs, however, these discussions are only from a criminological perspective. By contrast, this study includes discussion of 'fake marriage', which is seldom discussed in the context of transnational marriage, and provides a sociological analysis of women being trafficked through smuggling.

Foreign brides and smuggled women are the two main groups of foreign women found working in prostitution in Taiwan. However, the ways traffickers transport women into Taiwan are not only through transnational marriage and smuggling, but

also through foreign labour and tourism<sup>20</sup>. Due to the difference of the methods by which women are transported, the process of sex trafficking, ways of exploitation, and the human beings who are trafficked may be different. For example, in the UK, although some studies of sex trafficking have been conducted based upon sex trafficked human beings themselves (for example, Kelly and Regan 2000), more are by journalists and academics (Jobe 2008). This is the same in Taiwan, where research in sex trafficking is also limited.

Although, as I have argued, there has been increasing awareness of sex trafficking in Taiwan and the phenomenon of foreign women working as prostitutes has been discussed, these two issues were not linked to each other in any significant study. There have been some studies in Taiwan about human trafficking, foreigners' prostitution or smuggling (Ding 2001; Lin 2001; Tang 2003; Huang 2005; Tiau 2005; Wu 2005; C. Chiang 2006; Y. Chiang 2006; Hao 2007). However, most of these studies have focused on smuggling or prostitution, only Wu (2005) and Tiau (2007) specially studied human trafficking. Wu (2005) conducted an analysis of the literature on the development of treatment processes when the police find sex trafficked victims. She concluded that cases should be reported to the prosecutors to identify if women have been trafficked. If they have, then an interpreting service should be provided and social workers invited to provide any necessarily social welfare. If a trafficked person is willing to become a witness, she should be protected and provided with a residence to live in Taiwan until the end of the prosecution. If a woman does not want to be a witness, she should still be sheltered until leaving Taiwan and going home according to *the Sexual Assault Prevention Act* (1997). Wu tried to generate a standard treatment process after the police find sex trafficked persons; however, the study did not include

---

<sup>20</sup> The methods of coming to Taiwan will be discussed in detail in the later section.

the views of trafficked women themselves. Tiau (2007) also used a literature analysis to discuss the role of NGOs in anti-human trafficking work. He focused on how the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation works in combating human trafficking. The study pointed out that NGOs should cooperate with the government to combat human trafficking, share knowledge with international organizations and break up the diplomacy difficulty of Taiwan because of its political isolation. Besides these two studies, a number of other studies have looked at the phenomenon of foreign women transported into Taiwan who then worked as prostitutes. Because of the limited discussion of sex trafficking in Taiwan, this study will look at the circumstances of foreign women working as prostitutes from the perspective of sex trafficking. The following section will discuss sex trafficking through these three categories identified as the most common methods of trafficking women into Taiwan: smuggling, transnational marriage ('true marriage' as well as 'fake marriage'), and foreign labour.

#### *i. Smuggling by sea and sex trafficking*

The terms human smuggling and trafficking designate, in principle, two different activities. In human smuggling, the migrant pays the smuggler for passage. In the case of trafficking, the trafficker deceives or coerces the migrant and sells her or his labour. But in reality the distinction is not that clear-cut. Many voluntarily smuggled migrants are left with exorbitant and arbitrary debts that lead them into sweatshops or other exploitative working conditions, conveniently "arranged" by their smugglers. Human smuggling and human trafficking shade into one another. (Naim 2005: 88-89)

Gaon and Forbord (2005) examined the differences of the roles of smugglers and

traffickers, as shown in Table 2-2. They argue that traffickers exploit and abuse people but smugglers do not. In the following discussion, I will use Gaon and Forbord's concept to examine if Chinese women who were transported into Taiwan through smuggling and worked in prostitution in Taiwan are smuggled or trafficked. Anderson and O'Connell Davidson (2006) critique the boundary between trafficking and smuggling as ambiguous. They claim that the distinction between smuggling and trafficking centres on whether the migrant consented to irregular entry and the relation of the trafficker/smuggler to subsequent exploitative working conditions. They explained that trafficking requires the continued exercise of control over migrants once they have moved, while the role of the smuggler is simply to facilitate boarder crossing.

Table 2-2: Differences between smugglers and traffickers

Smugglers	Traffickers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Provide service for a (high) price</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Buy and sell people</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Organize transfer of people emigrating or seeking asylum-there is no further contact after the migrant is delivered to the agreed-upon destination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Sometimes provide a service to the people being smuggled, but exploit them for labour, including forced prostitution</li> <li>● Victims are often dehumanized into consumer goods that are delivered and sold for profit</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Services include: hiding people in vehicles, bribing officers, serving as guilders.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Intimidate and abuse the people they are smuggling through rape, beatings, and other forms of violence</li> </ul>

(Gaon and Forbord 2005: 65)

I argue that smuggling is one of the major ways that women are trafficked into Taiwan. Previous studies of Chinese women working in prostitution through

smuggling have focused on the discussion of smuggling instead of sex trafficking. I will go on to argue that, according to current studies in Taiwan, some Chinese women working in prostitution in Taiwan are the result of sex trafficking rather than human smuggling.

Ding (2001) reported that there are five ways that Chinese people migrate illegally into Taiwan: smuggling by sea; using fake IDs; pretending to be Chinese fishermen; smuggling by sea to islands then flying into Taiwan; and using legal documents to enter Taiwan but working illegally in Taiwan. Of these five methods, pretending to be Chinese fishermen is not a way to transport women since women do not work as fishermen. Smuggling by sea to an island, then flying into Taiwan, also needs fake IDs to pass the immigration control. This method will be discussed in the later section on using fake IDs. Therefore, the three ways Chinese women could be transported into Taiwan are through smuggling by sea, using fake IDs and entering Taiwan legally but subsequently working illegally.

Smuggling by sea means smugglers transport people from their countries of origin to the destination country (Taiwan) by hiding them on their boats. Smuggling people by sea does not need documentation, so traffickers can transport whoever they want in this way. Smuggling normally refers to smuggling by sea, rather than via any other route, and this study will use the term 'smuggling' to mean human smuggling by sea. From 1987 to 2004, almost 50,000 Chinese people were reported to have been smuggled into Taiwan. C. Chiang (2006) argues that most of the males are working as labourers and most of the females as prostitutes. For example, in 2003, according to the National Immigration Agency, 1,962 women immigrated illegally through smuggling into Taiwan, and of these 894 were involved in commercial sex and 840

were not working. According to these statistics, at least half of the smuggled women were found when they were working as prostitutes, the other women were found on the boat before arrival in Taiwan or after they had been sold. Although this number only included women who were rescued or arrested by the police, it shows that many women came to Taiwan through smuggling and then worked in prostitution. In terms of age, from 2002 to 2003 1,233 of the smuggled women that were found by police were between the ages of 16 to 20 (35.66%), 1,095 (31.67%) women were aged between 21 to 25, and 521 persons (15%) were between 26 and 30 (Statistics Report of Police Agency No.13, 2004). According to these statistics, more than one third of the smuggled women were under 20 years old and over 80% of them were under 30 years old. The age distribution matches the need of the sex market in Taiwan. According to Brown (2000), for example, in Asian society clients believe young women are 'cleaner' and for this reason they prefer to buy sex with young girls instead of women.

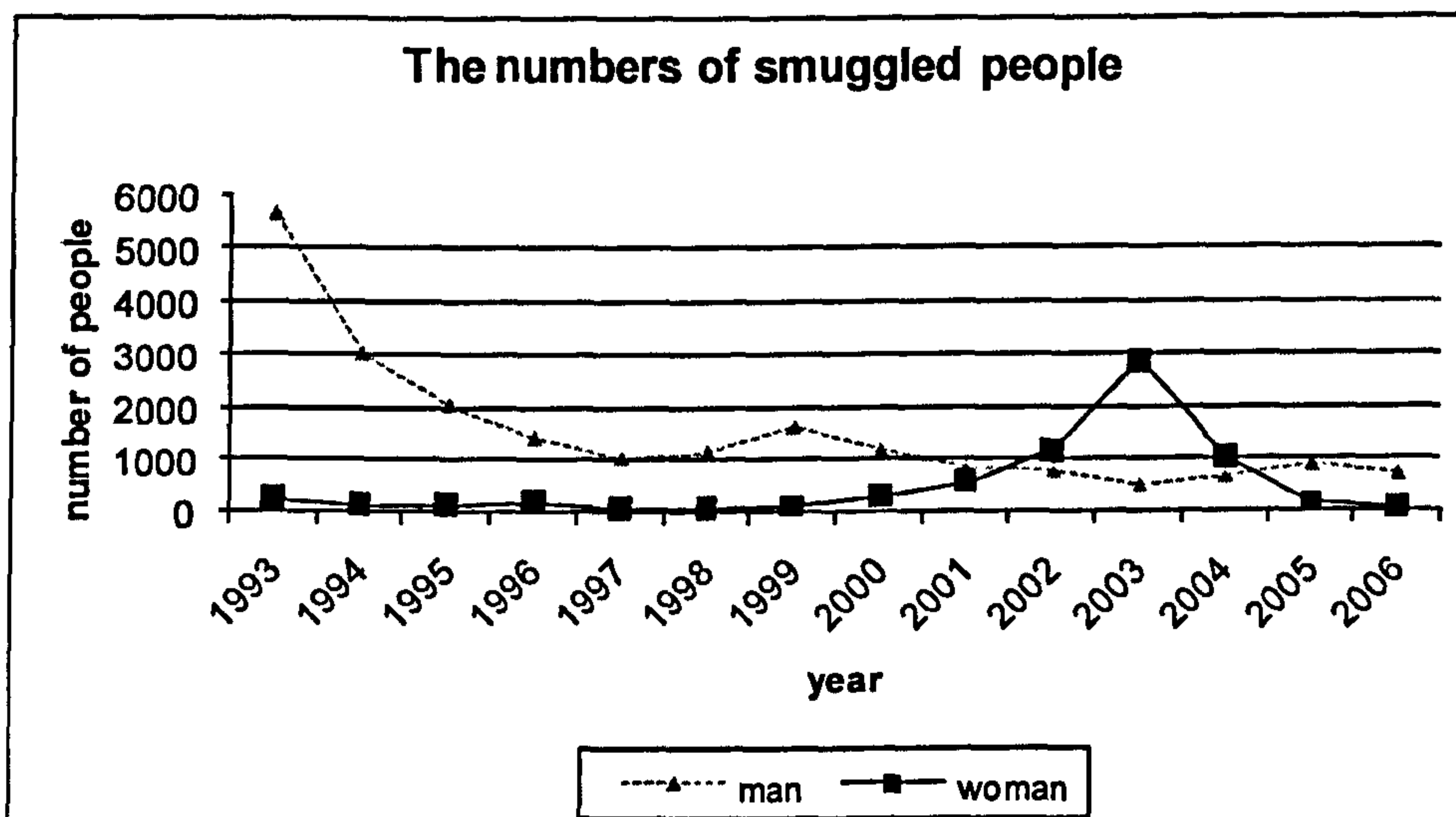


Figure 2-3: The numbers of smuggled men and women, 1993-2006  
 Source: <http://www.immigration.gov.tw/immigration/>



Figure 2-3 shows the changes over time in the number of men and women smuggled into Taiwan. Initially, in 1993, most reported smuggled people were male, but the number of smuggled men has decreased sharply over the years, while the number of smuggled women continued to increase. In 2002, the number of smuggled women was greater than the number of smuggled men. After 2003, the number of smuggled women decreased dramatically from 3,458 in 2003 to 183 in 2006 (National Immigration Agency 2007). There are various possible explanations for the sharp reduction after 2003 in the number of smuggled people found by the law enforcement agencies. One explanation offered by C. Chiang (2006) relates to the drowning of six smuggled women on 26<sup>th</sup> August 2003 because the boat owner pushed them into the sea to avoid investigation by Immigration Agency officials. This affair was widely publicised and shocked both Taiwanese and Chinese society, which led to determination from the law enforcement agencies in both countries to combat human smuggling and human trafficking (Wu 2005; C. Chiang 2006). The risk of smuggling people being caught increased because both Taiwanese and Chinese governments became more vigilant<sup>21</sup>. Another possible explanation is that after the Chinese media reported the story many Chinese people became aware that being smuggled into Taiwan was dangerous<sup>22</sup>. Since Chinese women can travel to Taiwan by entering into transnational marriages, as discussed below, it is possible that Chinese women who want to come to Taiwan may choose the method of fake marriage rather than through the smuggling process. Very few women have recently been reported as being smuggled into Taiwan, as can be seen by the number of smuggled women who have

---

<sup>21</sup> In the past few years, the Taiwanese government has held many programmes to combat human trafficking and/or human smuggling. These programmes included the 'Hunting snake programme' (01/11/2003-31/12/2003), the 'Cleaning the sea programme' (01/01/2005), the 'Catching snack programme' (20/01/2005-19/05/2005) and the 'Safe Chinese people programme' (01/07/2005-31/12/2005)

<sup>22</sup> This idea is based on this research, as two Chinese interviewees stated that they thought that smuggling was dangerous after hearing the news of the dead Chinese women.

been found. In 2006, only 79 smuggled women were found, whereas three years previously, the number was 1,960. However, these discussions are based on governmental statistics, it cannot be ignored that there are unreported cases that would not be included, and any discussion of governmental statistics must acknowledge the existence of unreported cases.

As many Chinese smuggled women were found to be working as prostitutes in Taiwan, increasing numbers of researchers started to study the situation (Huang 2005; C. Chiang 2006; Y. Chiang 2006; Hao 2007).

C. Chiang (2006), for example, studied the structures and operations of human smuggling organizations. He used semi-structured interviews as the data collection method. The interviewees included five smugglers/traffickers and four policemen. The smugglers/traffickers interviewed included one captain, one recruiter, two brokers, and one broker who also worked as a driver<sup>23</sup>. C. Chiang concluded that there are two kinds of smuggling model: the one-dragonhead model and the two-dragonhead model. The one-dragonhead smuggling model refers to a smuggling gang that has only one snakehead. The snakehead arranges the whole smuggling/trafficking process including boats, drivers, and storehouses in Taiwan. After the women arrive in Taiwan, the smuggling gang informs the prostitution gangs that there are women for sale. The two-dragonhead smuggling model refers to a smuggling gang and a prostitution gang that work together. The smuggling gang arranges boats, plans the smuggling route and then contacts the prostitution gang. The smuggling gang is responsible for choosing women, sending them to a storehouse, transporting them and then selling the women. Usually, according to C. Chiang, smuggled women are not asked to pay before

---

<sup>23</sup> For the meaning of the term driver and snakehead please see Explanation of Terms.

coming to Taiwan, as snakeheads pay the initial cost of smuggling. Then women are sold to brokers after they arrive in Taiwan, prostitution gangs or brothels, and each woman is sold for between 180, 000 NTD (£3,000) and 200, 000NTD (£3,300).

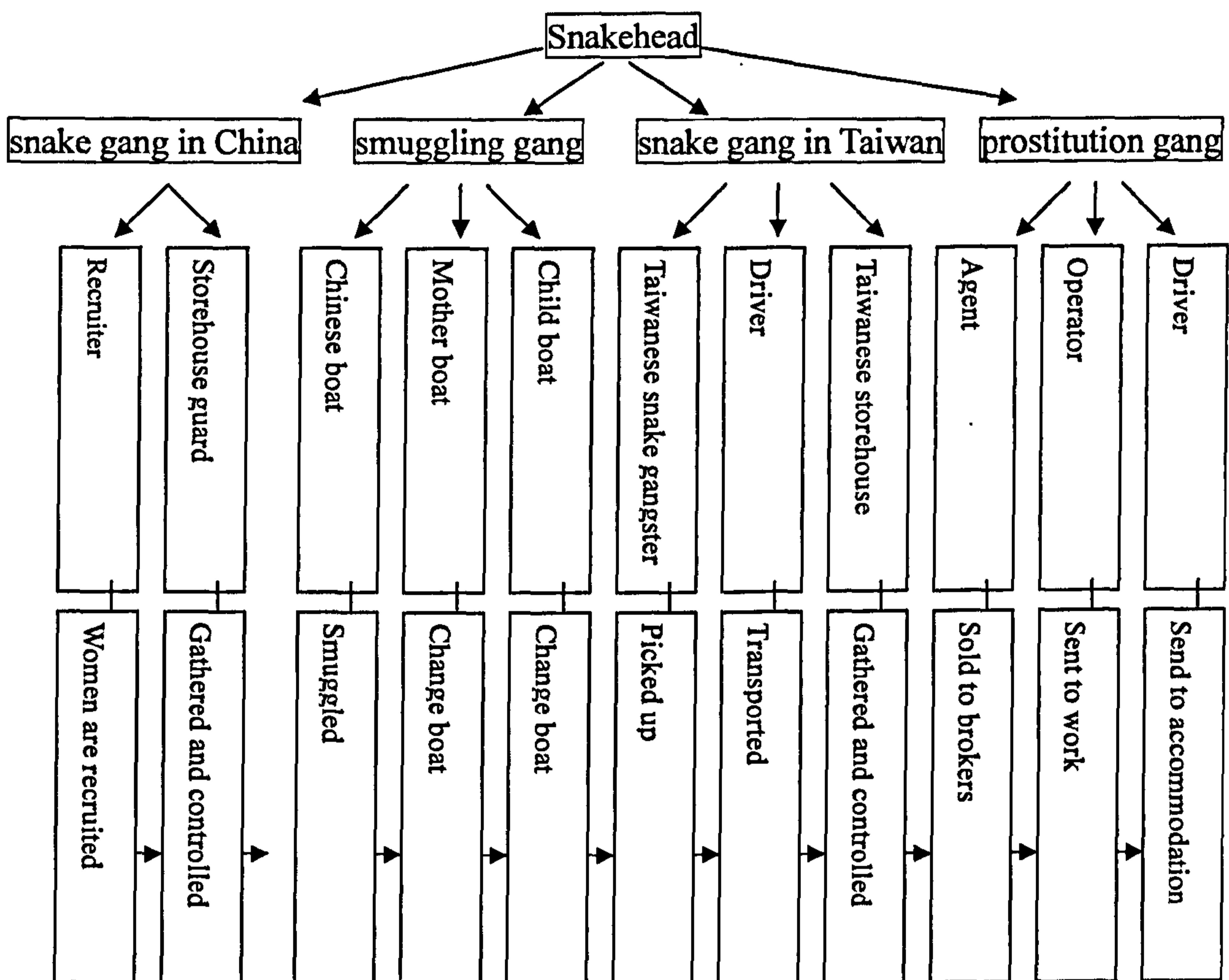


Figure 2-4: The organization of snakehead gangs

Source: C. Chiang (2006)<sup>24</sup>

Figure 2-4 shows how an organised gang smuggles or trafficks women from China to Taiwan. C. Chiang describes how a smuggling/trafficking organization gang typically operate this process. Women are recruited and sold for profit by the smuggling gangs and the prostitution gangs. There are four parts of a trafficking/smuggling gang: a

<sup>24</sup> The author did not indicate whether this model is one-dragonhead model or two-dragonhead model.

snake gang in China, a smuggling gang, a snake gang in Taiwan and a prostitution gang. The tasks of the snake gang in China are recruiting women and sending them to a storehouse. Then a smuggling gang will transport the women from the storehouse to a Chinese boat, and then women will be asked to transfer onto a Taiwanese 'mother boat'. On arriving at the Taiwanese coast, the women change boats again to a 'child boat'. After arriving in Taiwan, the Taiwanese snake gang picks up the smuggled women and takes them to a storehouse, and then sells them to prostitution gangsters. These owners are variously called agents, bosses or brokers. The operators are responsible for assigning work to women. When women are told to work, their drivers will take them to assigned hotels and motels. This model of smuggling process is generally corroborated by other studies which have researched Chinese women who have been smuggled into Taiwan, such as Huang (2005), Q. Lin (2005) and Y. Chiang (2006).

C. Chiang (2006) explains the process whereby, at the beginning of the smuggling/trafficking process, girls and young women meet recruiters in pubs, skating rinks, restaurants or work places in China. The recruiter may be a previous neighbour, a colleague, a client or a stranger. Next, the recruiters quickly try to become their friends or boyfriends. The recruiter gives the girls and women who are looking for a way to earn money a 'beautiful dream' by promising to provide them with a job opportunity. However, when the girls and women agree to leave, they are then sold to trafficking gangs. Selling each woman can get between 500 RMB (£30) and 1000 RMB (£60) for the recruiter. After being sold, C. Chiang describes how the girls and women are transported to Taiwan by the smuggling gang. They are sent to a storehouse after arriving in Taiwan, and then sold to brokers. They are subsequently told that they have to pay back the smuggling fee by working as prostitutes. Finally,

women may be found by the police on the coastline, on the streets, or in the hotels or apartments where they live or work. When they are found selling sex with customers, these cases are easily portrayed in the media as women who are simply 'gold diggers', mirroring the way society generally views these women who come to Taiwan to earn money. However, it should be noted that C. Chiang's study was based on a very small sample.

The smuggling process that C. Chiang describes is very similar to that found by Y. Chiang (2006). Y. Chiang studied Chinese women who had been smuggled into Taiwan and were working as prostitutes. He interviewed ten smuggled Chinese women who worked as prostitutes in Taiwan. He reported that, according to these women, the number of people smuggled at one time in a boat varies from between seven and twenty, though on average the number ranges from eleven to twenty. Usually, smuggled people boarded boats at Pintang in China at midnight. It took between one and seven days to travel to Taiwan on the boat. After arriving in Taiwan, the women were sent to a rural area and sold to their brokers. After earning enough money, the brokers sold the women again to other brokers. In his study, Y. Chiang found that the gangsters could easily control the women by threatening them by saying that the more they told the police the longer they would be in prison in Taiwan after being found by the police. Not surprisingly, those women were unwilling to talk to the police about their experiences. Y. Chiang used in-depth interview methods and collected first hand information from his interviewees. Although he concluded that the interviewees were trafficked, the discussion of sex trafficking was limited in his study.

Q. Lin (2005) studied the smuggling hotspot issue, which is the term given to popular places that smugglers use to depart from and arrive at. Q. Lin interviewed fourteen

Chinese men and fourteen women who had been smuggled. Eleven of the fourteen women in the study were working as prostitutes. Some of them said they were told they would be given other work to do in Taiwan rather than work in prostitution. Lin argued that these women came to Taiwan voluntarily and were not trafficked. However, Lin also stated that these women were told they would be offered work other than prostitution. Moreover, in quotations from his interviewees, they reported that they were forced to work as prostitutes. These women did come to Taiwan to earn money; even so, most of them did not know they would work as prostitutes in Taiwan. According to Lin's research, the model of smuggling is very similar to that of human trafficking. For example, in my study, women who were trafficked through smuggling were deceived in some way to come to Taiwan, and had debt bondage to force them to work in prostitution without other work choices. Arguably, illegal immigrants are like commodities, and prostitution gangsters are like buyers. Prostitution gangs rely on smuggling gangs to pick up and transport their 'goods'. In other words, the smuggling gang is the carrier; smuggling gangsters choose and transport women and charge money to prostitution gangs. There are some prostitution gangs who order 'goods' from smuggling gangs. After a successful smuggling operation, the prostitution gangs go to the 'storehouse' to pick up their 'goods'. Lin's research results supports my argument that many Chinese women who are smuggled into Taiwan and work in prostitution are trafficked but not smuggled (see Table 2-2) because they are transported by gangsters, sold and then forced into prostitution. However, Lin's study focused on how the smuggling gangs operate the smuggling process; she did not investigate the ways women were forced, deceived and/or controlled. Moreover, all of these studies only interviewed a small number of persons, therefore, these research findings are limited in terms of generalising to all cases of smuggling or sex trafficking in Taiwan.

Another study was conducted by Huang (2005). She used a questionnaire to collect data from 597 smuggled Chinese women who were sheltered in Hsinchu Detention Centre for Mainlanders and 240 policemen. Huang reported that 114 women were subjected to physical violence and 362 women were guarded by the gangsters. Although most of the respondents stated that they were forced to work as prostitutes, and were raped or beaten, Huang still concluded that these Chinese women were 'gold diggers'. Huang did not discuss her research results in terms of human trafficking, even though 125 women said they were deceived and knew nothing about coming to Taiwan, and 128 women were told by their recruiters that they were going as tourists to Taiwan and would return home after a short time.

In their reports, Huang (2005), Q. Lin (2005) and Y. Chiang (2006) all mentioned the possibility of Chinese women being smuggled into Taiwan being considered as human trafficking, however, they did not exactly define these women as being sex trafficked. There are three common features of the results of these three studies that are similar to the criteria for being categorised as sex trafficked. First, most interviewees did not know they would work as prostitutes before coming to Taiwan. Second, they were asked by their 'bosses' to work as prostitutes. Third, they were asked to pay back their smuggling fee, or debt bondage, after they arrived in Taiwan. In particular, in Lin's study, 11 of the 14 female interviewees worked as prostitutes, and eight of the 11 said they did not want to when they were first told about their job. However, the twelve interviewees all said they were free to move while working as prostitutes. These two situations may be in contradiction with one another. Although Lin's interviewees gave a great deal of information about how they were deceived, sold and exploited, Lin did not discuss the significance of this information. Y. Chiang

also found similar results in his study, for example, women in both studies said that they were deceived, forced and/or controlled, however, Y. Chiang concluded that women he interviewed might be trafficked.

Because of the different research methods of these studies, it is perhaps not surprising that the research results explaining the smuggling of Chinese women working in prostitution are different. C. Chiang and Y. Chiang both studied smuggling in 2006. On the one hand, C. Chiang interviewed smugglers/traffickers and claimed that Chinese men and women were smuggled into Taiwan to earn money, and that they chose to be smuggled after considering the costs and benefits. On the other hand, Y. Chiang interviewed smuggled/trafficked women, and he claimed that to make maximum profits, traffickers force women to work as prostitutes, even through the use of drugs and/or violence. Although C. Chiang concluded that the smugglers/traffickers only smuggled women and men into Taiwan, I argue these women who were identified as smuggled might be considered to be sex trafficked based on the interpretation of the accounts from the traffickers/smugglers that he reported in his study.

After the Taiwanese and Chinese tightened border control and more women became aware of the dangers of smuggling, it seems that the number of women who were found to be smuggled into Taiwan decreased sharply. C. Chiang (2006) predicted that smuggling gangs would disappear in the future. The mission of smuggling gangs is transporting human beings by smuggling. However, in the present political situation between Taiwan and China, Chinese women who want to work in Taiwan may come to Taiwan through 'legal' methods, such as transnational marriage, visiting families and tourism. If women come to Taiwan through legal methods, they have a legal right



to stay in Taiwan, unless they break the law, such as by working in prostitution. Moreover, the punishment for being a brothel owner is lighter than that for being a smuggler or a trafficker. So, women and gangsters are more likely to choose the ways that allow the women to come to Taiwan legally rather than through smuggling. In fact, as I have already discussed (See Figure 2-3), according to governmental statistics, the number of smuggled people has already decreased and this trend is continuing. Tang's (2003) study also supports the idea that smuggling gangs have changed the way they transport women from smuggling to 'fake marriage'. Tang concluded that smuggling women into Taiwan is very dangerous, as not only is the weather unpredictable but also smuggled persons may be caught before arriving in Taiwan. Even when women arrive in Taiwan, they still have to hide since they are illegally smuggled people. After the Taiwanese government allowed Chinese people to migrate into Taiwan in 1994<sup>25</sup>, Chinese people can marry Taiwanese people and migrate to Taiwan. Now, entering Taiwan through marriage has become the most popular method for Chinese people to come to Taiwan and is gradually replacing smuggling in this context. In the future, Tang and C. Chiang both concluded that gangsters will transport women through 'fake marriages' instead of smuggling.

#### *ii. Transnational marriage and sex trafficking*

Many foreign women marry Taiwanese men via marriage agencies developed after 1990 (Chang 2003). Analysis of the number of immigrants through marriage from 1987 to 2007 showed that there were 398,720 foreign spouses in Taiwan (Department of Household Legislation<sup>26</sup>). As shown in Figure 2-5, 65% of foreign spouses come

---

<sup>25</sup> The policy by which Chinese people can migrant into Taiwan is legislated in the Act Governing Relationships Between Peoples of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area and Its Enforcement Rules in 1992.

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.ris.gov.tw/ch4/static/st1-9-95.xls> accessed on 20/05/2008

from China, with smaller percentages from Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia and the Philippines. Moreover, 93% of foreign spouses are women. These statistics show that marrying foreign brides is a relatively common phenomenon in Taiwan. Most foreign brides are from China and Vietnam, and most marriage agencies are based in China and Vietnam. Tang (2003) claims that the development of these agencies resulted in an increasing number of immigrants through marriage by making it easier for Taiwanese men to marry foreign women

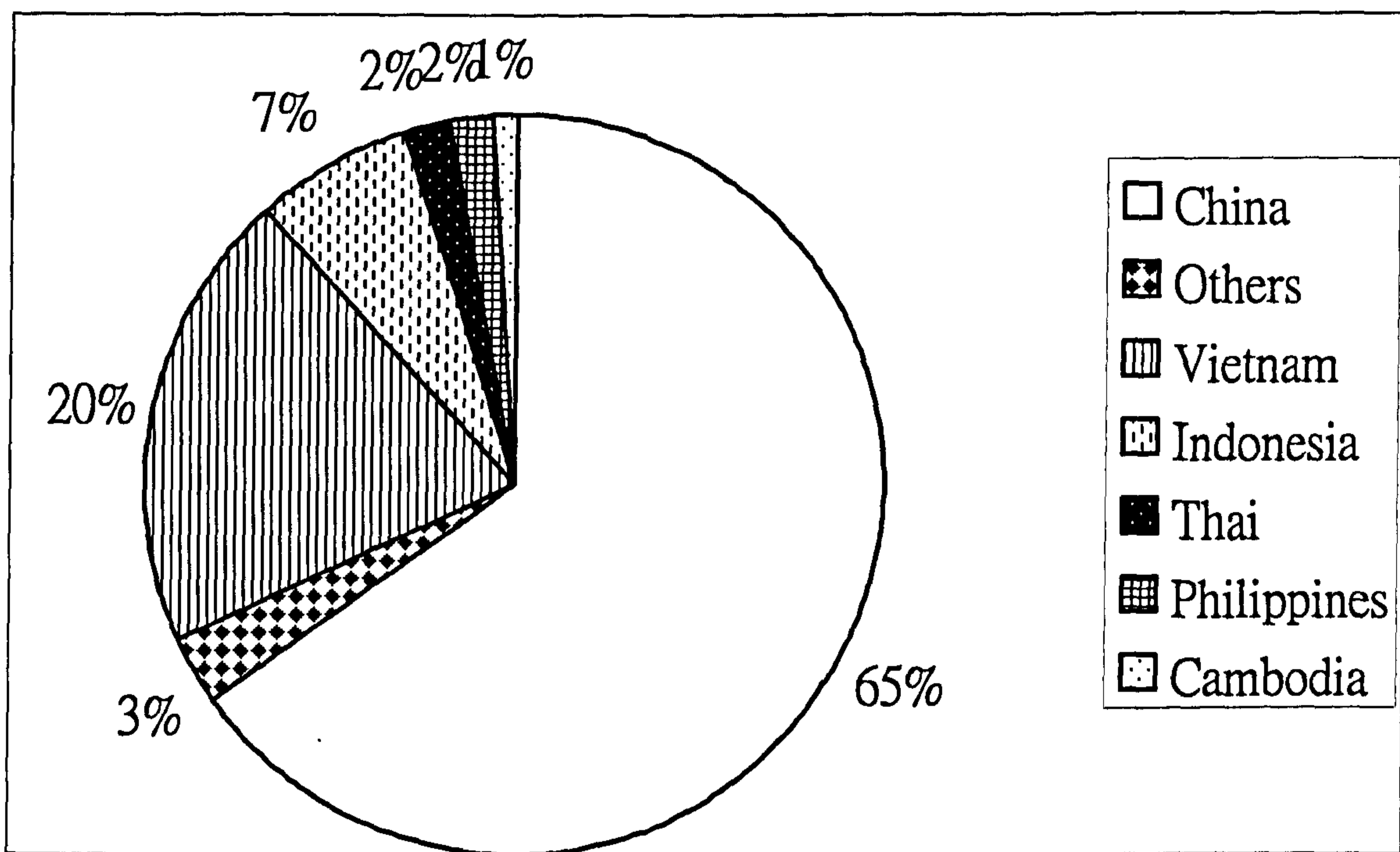


Figure 2-5: Percentage of foreign spouses by origin from 1987 to 2007 November

Source: <http://www.ris.gov.tw/ch4/static/st1-9-95.xls> accessed on 05/05/2008

Marriage agencies play important roles in transnational marriages. These agencies are a part of daily life appearing on the TV, the internet<sup>27</sup> or through holding auctions in

<sup>27</sup> For example: <http://e-marry.21tw.net/>, <http://www.loveline.com.tw/>, <http://www.gltv.com.tw/>

the street<sup>28</sup> which include a catalogue with names, ages, and bodily condition of the women. M. Chen (2002) claimed these foreign brides are not being treated as individuals with minds of their own; rather they are portrayed as products with figures, ages and appearance for buyers to judge their commercial value. Chen argued that the phenomenon of foreign brides as products makes Taiwanese husbands look down on their foreign brides and believe that women marry Taiwanese men because they believe marrying a Taiwanese husband can lead to a better life and, especially, a better standard of living. Where Taiwanese men marry Chinese or Southeast Asian women through a marriage agency, it is viewed as a commoditized marriage (Chang 2003).

In recent years, there have been an increasing number of cases reported by the media of foreign brides working as prostitutes instead of living with their husbands. The situations of foreign brides working in prostitution included women who had lived with their husbands then left them to work in prostitution, and also, women who came to Taiwan but never lived with their husbands and worked in prostitution which is commonly called 'fake marriage'. Tang (2003) defines 'fake marriage' as when a man and a woman, one of whom is a foreigner, register formally as a husband and a wife in order to for one of them to migrate to Taiwan, although they do not want to get married. The so called 'fake marriage', according to Article 87 in the civil law, is legally classified as fraudulent. The two people collude with each other to get married in form but not in fact. Trafficking gangs use 'fake marriage' to transport women into Taiwan. Wang and Tang (2004), for instance, studied the phenomenon of Chinese women working in prostitution through 'fake marriage', and they illustrated the pattern whereby gangsters transport Chinese women into Taiwan through 'fake

---

<sup>28</sup> <http://img1.qq.com/news/20050628/1932373.jpg> accessed on 20/05/2008

marriage’:

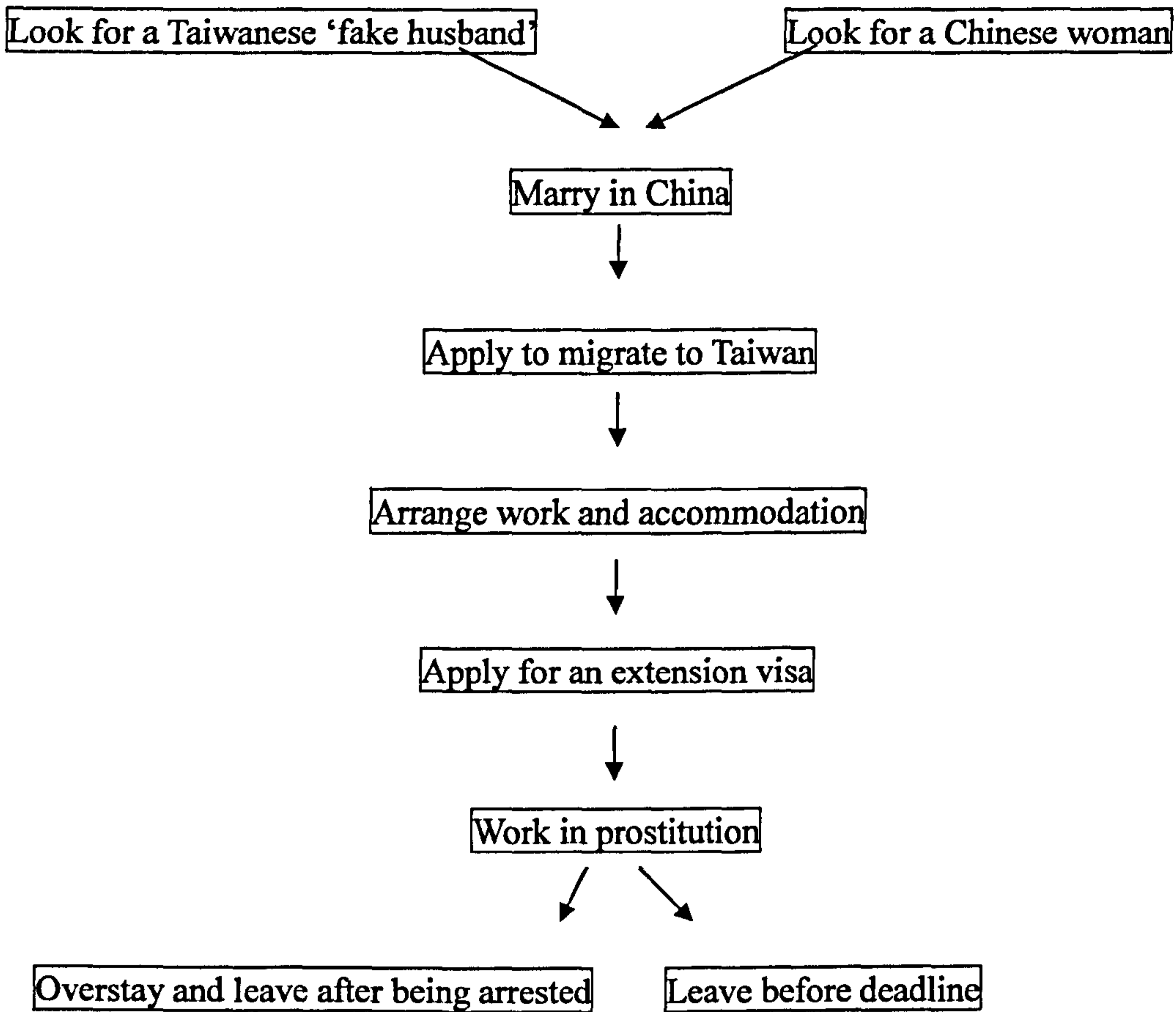


Figure 2-6: The pattern by which gangsters transport Chinese women into Taiwan through 'fake marriage'

Source: Wang and Tang (2004)

Figure 2-6 presents the pattern, according to Wang and Tang, by which gangsters transport women into Taiwan through 'fake marriages'. They argue that gangsters look for both Taiwanese men and Chinese women to agree to a false marriage. Fake Taiwanese husbands are recruited through advisements published in newspapers by gangsters using the pretext of travelling to China. C. Chiang's (2006) research on fake marriage in Taiwan pointed out that, generally, fake husbands are farmers and poor

people and one fake husband can receive 30,000 NTD (£500) monthly from their fake wives. After getting married, as Wang and Tang pointed out, the Taiwanese men go back to Taiwan after the wedding, and the gangsters apply for the legal document for Chinese women to migrate to Taiwan. After arriving in Taiwan, the gangsters arrange accommodation and jobs for the women. Women start to work as prostitutes until the expiry of their visas. There are two possibilities when the visa expires, one is for the women to overstay the visa until the police find them, and the other is the women go back to China before the expiry date of their visas. Following the analysis of Wang and Tang (2004), I argue that the pattern of 'fake marriage' is well organised in a similar way to smuggling. These two methods are both ways that gangsters can use to transport women into Taiwan to work as prostitutes. The gangsters are using different methods to achieve the same purpose: to transport women and sell them to brothels.

There are only a few studies of foreign women migrating to Taiwan through 'fake marriage'. Another example was Leu (2006) who used questionnaires to collect data from 407 policemen about the characteristics of the 'fake married' husbands and wives they had dealt with. He concluded that most of the 'fake married' husbands and wives were previously married, and of low socio-economic status. The age gap between the brides and grooms were within 15 years, and the grooms were healthy and of marriageable age. An important issue with Leu's research is that he collected data from policemen instead of fake married husbands as well as wives, and the questions were limited to basic personal information.

Tang (2003) studied the issue of 'fake marriage' among Chinese women. He used a questionnaire survey method to collect data from 130 smuggled people and 23 'fake married' women who were held in Hsinchu Detention Centre for Mainlanders.

Another ten 'fake married' women were interviewed in Taichung police station to understand how and why they came to Taiwan. Thirteen of the 33 'fake married' women were found to be working as prostitutes and these women could have been trafficked for sexual exploitation through 'fake marriage'. However, Tang did not ask how the women met the persons who invited them to come to Taiwan, who arranged their jobs in Taiwan, and if the jobs they were told about were the same as what they found in Taiwan. Tang adopted a narrow focus on the circumstances of 'fake marriage'. His study therefore failed to explore the complexity of the experiences of women who work as prostitutes in Taiwan through 'fake marriage'.

'Fake marriage' and smuggling are both methods that traffickers can use to transport women. As Y. Chiang (2006) argues most smuggled Chinese women are deceived, threatened or drugged to get them to work as prostitutes in Taiwan, but fake married Chinese women are perceived as 'voluntary' subjects. However, even so called 'voluntary' women may also be exploited. Hao (2007), for example, used a case study method to research the phenomenon of Chinese women working as prostitutes in Taiwan. The three cases she studied were all from China; one woman came through smuggling, the other through 'fake marriage' and another through tourism. Hao stated that the processes of smuggling and 'fake marriage' are similar, which include recruiting, transporting and selling. She pointed out that, in 1994, the year after the Taiwanese government allowed Chinese men and women to come to Taiwan, the number of Chinese women smuggled into Taiwan decreased dramatically from 5,944 in 1993 to 3,216. Hao argued that this change was due to human smuggling gangs changing the way they transported women into Taiwan from smuggling to 'fake marriage'. However, this explanation cannot explain the number of women smuggled between 1994 and 2003. During this period, the numbers of smuggled women and

transnational married women both increased. Hao agreed that the process of Chinese women working as prostitutes in Taiwan was arranged by organised gangs and claimed that the gangsters lured or deceived Chinese women to come to Taiwan, and made women who came 'voluntarily' sell themselves as commodities-if women were young, they could be sold for high price, if not, they sold for a lower price. When women are picked up by gangsters, the women are supposed to be naked and sometimes they are 'tried' by gangsters<sup>29</sup> Hao stated that the three women in her study were strictly guarded and exploited. The environment in which they worked was usually small and smelly, with no changes of bedding. Although Hao described in detail how the women were treated by the gangsters, she concluded that the Chinese women she met who worked as prostitutes in Taiwan knew about their work before they came and 'voluntarily' worked as prostitutes. She neglected discussion of whether women were deceived or threatened by gangsters. Also, three cases is an extremely small sample and cannot be a basis for any general conclusion that Chinese women are voluntarily working in prostitution.

In 2003, in an attempt to stop the possibility of 'fake marriages' occurring, the Taiwanese government introduced a one-to-one interview policy which meant all Chinese men and women had to be interviewed when they applied in China to migrate to Taiwan. After this policy was implemented in 2004, the number of Chinese people marrying Taiwanese people declined sharply from 34,991 to 10,972, only one third of the number in 2003 (Ministry of the Interior 2005)<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, since 2005, this interview policy has been extended to all Southeast Asian spouses. In 2004, the total number of transnational marriages involving people from Southeast Asia was 13,808,

---

<sup>29</sup> The gangsters have sex with or rape women using the excuse of testing if they are good at intercourse or not.

<sup>30</sup> [sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/week/week9503.doc](http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/week/week9503.doc) accessed on 05/05/2008

in 11,121 cases the foreign partners were females and in 2,867 they were males; by comparison in 2005 that number had decreased by 32.11%<sup>31</sup>; the main part of this decrease was in the number of Southeast Asian brides (reduced to 6,479), and the greatest number of these were the Vietnamese brides. Although the interview policy has effectively decreased the number of 'fake marriages', C. Chiang (2006) has argued that after the experience of a few interviews, snakeheads were able to teach fake partners how to answer the questions they were to be asked in these official interviews. Moreover, after failing to pass the interviews, many Chinese women just changed identity to apply for another interview with a new interviewer to raise the possibility of gaining permission.

As the number of smuggled Chinese women and 'fake married' Chinese brides has sharply decreased since 2003 and the number of Southeast Asian brides also decreased after 2005, one might ask have traffickers used other methods to transport women into Taiwan to satisfy the demand of prostitution. A national newspaper reported in 2006 that the police found a new method traffickers use to transport women into Taiwan: 'virtual marriage' (United Daily News 06/09/2006). The 'virtual husband' means that the traffickers cooperate with corrupt police officers to forge fake addresses and ID numbers for 'virtual husbands'. This way, women can be sent into Taiwan with no real husbands to meet them. It costs a great deal of money for the traffickers to find a fake husband, send him to the country of origin of his 'bride' and to arrange for him to marry a woman. Using the 'virtual husband' method, traffickers can easily transport women to Taiwan without paying this cost. As well as directly transporting women, smuggling/trafficking gangs have another possible recruitment source, which is for brokers to recruit women who are living in Taiwan, such as

---

<sup>31</sup> [sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/week/week9503.doc](http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/week/week9503.doc) accessed on 05/05/2008



foreign brides and foreign labourers.

*iii. Foreign labour and sex trafficking*

The Taiwanese government began officially importing foreign labourers according to the Programme of Supplying Manpower Demand for Fourteen Important Engineering Constructions in 1989. A significant number of foreign labourers - primarily from Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines - have been recruited legally for low-skilled jobs in Taiwan. Figure 2-7 shows the number of foreign workers leaving their positions from 1994 to 2006. Each year, more than four thousand foreign labourers left their original jobs in Taiwan and, since 2000, the number of these 'runaway' workers has increased dramatically. Most of these are female workers. In 2006, 20,000 of the 350,000 foreign contract workers in Taiwan had become 'runaways', which is to say that they had left their employment in Taiwan (TIP Report 2006).

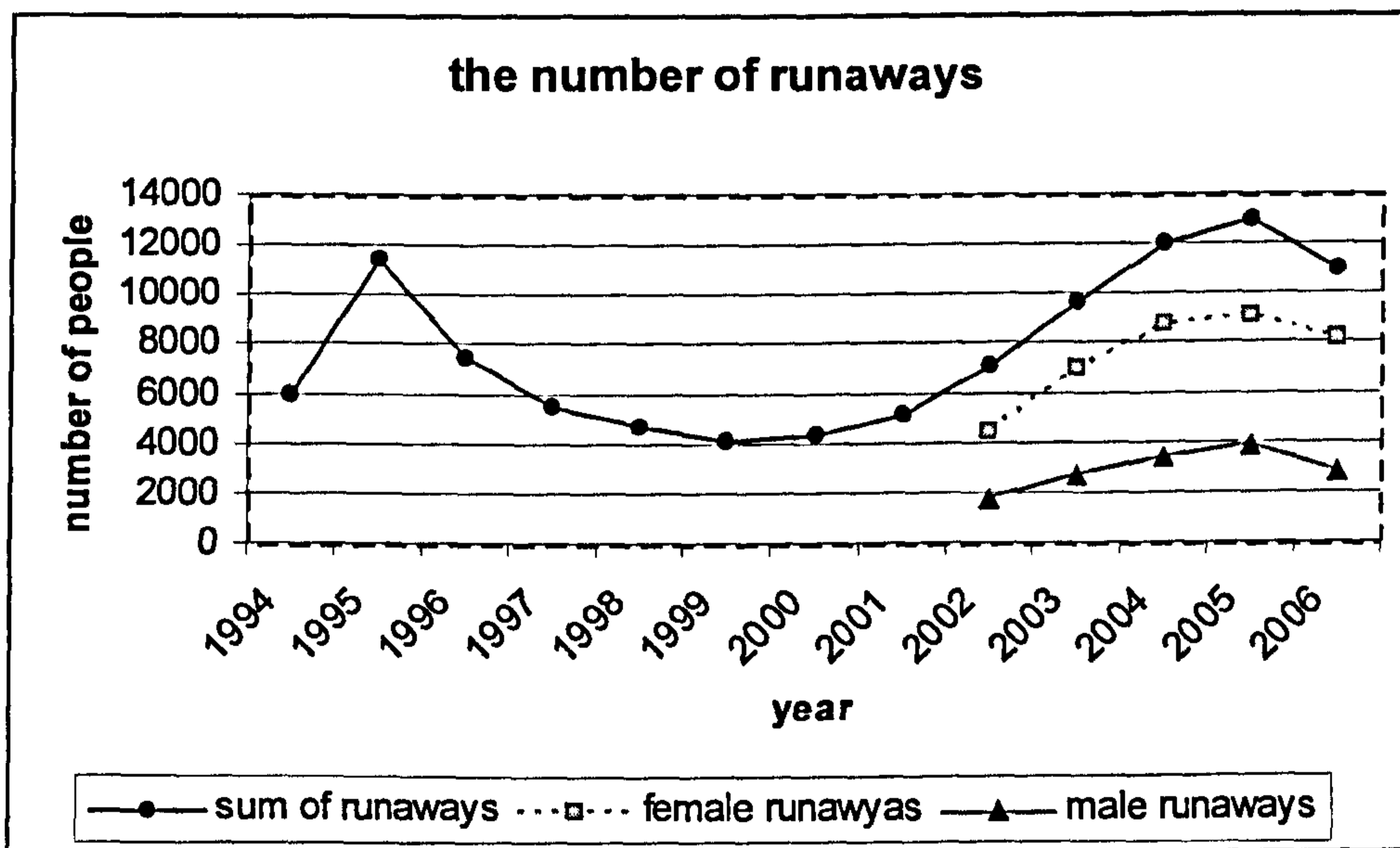


Figure 2-7: The number of foreign workers leaving their positions  
Source: National Police Agency<sup>32</sup>

Where these runaways, especially female foreign labourers, have gone is debatable,

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.npa.gov.tw/NPAGip/wSite/ct?xItem=26713&ctNode=11394&mp=1> accessed on 05/05/2008

although to date there have been no studies or governmental statistics on this issue. With increasing numbers of female 'runaways' being found by the police working as sex workers, these women could be linked with prostitution. In this study, I discuss this issue by analysing how four female foreign labourers began to work in prostitution and what the differences are between them and smuggled foreign women and fake married women, although there are only four women in my study.

Besides smuggling, 'fake marriage' and foreign labour, at present, the other way that law enforcement officials find foreign women are transported into Taiwan to work as prostitutes is through tourism. C. Chiang (2006), for example, reported that the price per sex trade paid to Korean and Russian women is three to four times greater than that paid to Chinese women. These women often leave Taiwan before their visas expire. C. Chiang suggested that if the Taiwanese government relaxed the tourist policy in relation to Chinese people, 'voluntary' Chinese prostitutes could come to Taiwan through tourism, and then the number of Chinese women smuggled into Taiwan would decrease further. The only apparent advantage of smuggling for gangs would be saving time. Most of the current studies in Taiwan focus on the issue of prostitution and/or illegal immigration which shows that the sex trafficking issue is often mixed with prostitution. The next section will examine this relationship and the links between prostitution and sex trafficking.

## **The social construction of sex trafficking**

Foucault's theory of power differs from traditional models in three important ways: power is exercised rather than possessed; power is not primarily repressive, but productive, and power is analysed as 'everywhere' (Sawicki 1991). Foucault claims that power is exercised through discourses, so disciplinary power is exercised on the

body of individuals, and it renders them more 'docile'. Therefore, it is more powerful to control through the thoughts of a human being, which means regulation and self-regulation, surveillance and self-surveillance, than control through material force (Shildrick 2004). 'Even when such external surveillance is absent, people internalise its disciplinary power, and impose self-regulation' (Shildrick 2004: 136). In the thesis, one of the aims is to analyse the mechanisms women are controlled and regulated. The idea of self-regulation relates to how I argue traffickers regulate women. I will discuss the ways women are self-regulating for example, they think 'they are controlled', 'they cannot escape' and 'there is no choice but to listen to traffickers'. I also discuss the ways women define themselves as being controlled/forced/trafficked and how the Taiwanese state defines sex trafficking human beings.

The argument is similar to that made in the work of O'Connell Davidson (2006a), who argues that the current policy emphasis in the UK on sex slaves and 'victims of trafficking' limits the state's obligations towards them. She points out that police and immigration officers in the UK are looking for a very specific constellation of abuses, such as forced prostitution, physical violence or threat. These specific principles of identifying sex trafficked humans increase the difficulties of women being identified as trafficked because the police and immigration officers use limited principles, usually 'obvious principles', to identify if a woman is trafficked or not. 'Likewise, it seems that physical suffering is the litmus test for police officers and immigration officials involved in sorting Victims of Trafficking from undocumented migrants working illegally in the sex sector'(O'Connell Davidson 2006: 16). My argument, as shown in Figure 2-8, is that there is a gap between the methods women define themselves and the methods officials use to define sex trafficked women.

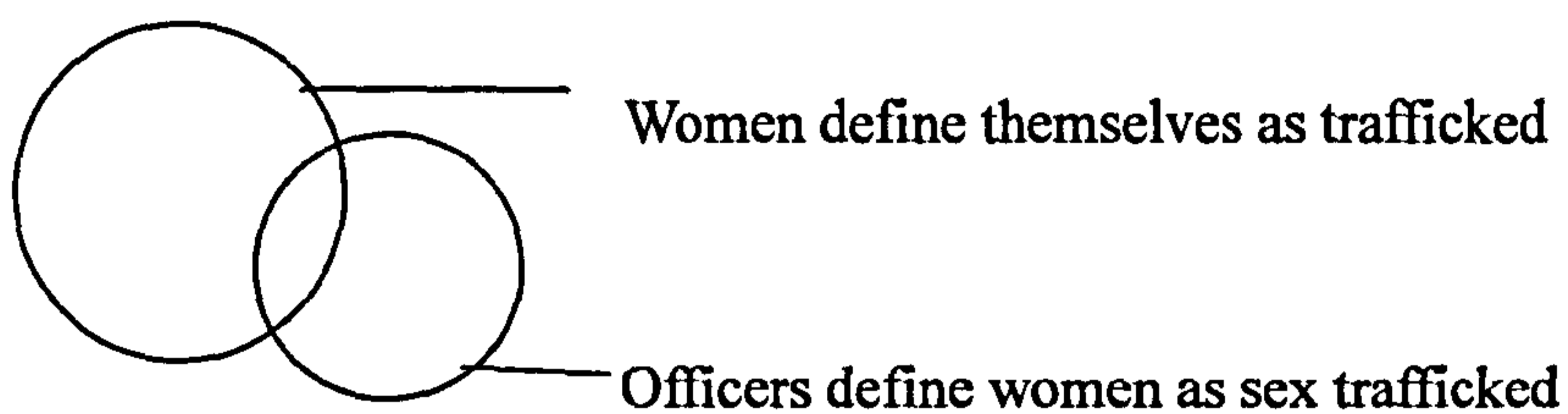


Figure 2-8: Constructions of sex trafficking

The overlapping area in Figure 2-8 is the part I want to discuss in this thesis. I not only want to explore the methods women define themselves as being controlled/forced/trafficked/regulated, but also analyse the principles of identifying sex trafficking human beings which are social constructed by Taiwanese police officers, immigration officials and professionals who work on combating sex trafficking. Through the analysis of these two parts of mechanisms of trafficking/forcing/controlling sex trafficked women, I will conclude with suggestions as to how to bridge the gap of how to identify sex trafficked women between the current Taiwanese policy framework and the experiences and definitions of women themselves.

Weitzer (2007) discusses sex trafficking through the social construction perspective. Weitzer uses 'moral crusades' to refer to organizations that are in opposition to sex workers' rights activities, which are usually labelled as 'abolitionists'. He examines the crusades' constructions of the problem by identifying its central claims and tracing these claims in U.S. policy. Weitzer provides a perspective as to how 'sex trafficking' is social constructed and I will use this idea of social construction to discuss how 'sex trafficking women' is socially constructed by Taiwanese professionals and within policy, with the consequence of possible problems for identifying sex trafficked women. Women may not use the term 'trafficking' to describe their situation, since

they may not understand the meaning of the term. However, they may use other terms to express their experiences, such as 'controlled', 'forced', 'beaten', 'deceived', and similar words to these.

## **Regulatory mechanisms and control**

As I have discussed earlier, and in Chapter One, the definitions of sex trafficking are vague, for instance in the terms 'threat', 'coercion', 'force' and other terms that are used to define sex trafficking. In my study, I will use the concept of a continuum to discuss those terms/mechanisms. Kelly (1988) used the term continuum to describe both the extent and range of sexual violence. The concept of a continuum enables us to document and name the range of abuse, intimidation, coercion, intrusion, threat, and force whilst acknowledging that these are not defined as discrete analytic categories. Kelly listed the forms of sexual violence which include the threat of violence, sexual harassment, pressure to have sex, sexual assault, obscene phone calls, coercive sex, domestic violence, sexual abuse, flashing, rape and incest. Moreover, Malarek's (2003) research in sex trafficking from Eastern Europe and the newly independent states, examines the situations where women are controlled, including when women are not free to leave brothels, when they are in abusive situations, and when they cannot refuse a customer or a demand. Farr (2005) claimed control methods are intended to make women dependent on pimps or traffickers and to deter individual acts of disobedience or rebelliousness. She listed the major forms of control utilized by traffickers which include social isolation and deprivation of agency, place and space restriction, and violence or the threat of violence. Gaon and Forbord (2005), in their study in sex trafficking in Southeast Europe, examine the ways women and children become ensnared in sex trafficking; including being without official documents, being abducted by traffickers, being promised lucrative work, and many

other ways. I will go on to explore further the violence used against women in the trafficking process by using the idea of a continuum of violence in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

In my study, I divide the control and regulatory mechanisms into three levels, the state level, the interpersonal level and the inter-psycho level. Regulation at state level is when government policy regulates women into vulnerable situations, which makes them obey traffickers or be afraid of escaping, for example, illegal status. Interpersonal regulation means women are threatened/deceived/forced/ abused by people, such as traffickers, recruiters, brokers. For example, place and space restriction, violence, and threat of violence. The inter-psycho level of regulation means women are controlled by their own subjectivities, i.e. self-surveillance. I will use these forms of regulation to analyse when women are regulated/controlled in their trafficking process. In Chapters Four, Five and Six, I will compare the ways women said they were controlled and regulated and these mechanisms that have been raised by the researchers, and will examine the mechanisms of control which rarely be discussed in the current studies.

## **Conclusion**

Some of the studies of sex trafficking in Taiwan have focused on discussing human trafficking from the policy perspective (Wu 2005; Tiau 2007), and other studies have focused on the phenomenon of foreign women working in prostitution in Taiwan (Huang 2005; C. Chiang 2006; Y. Chiang 2006; Q. Lin 2006; Hao 2007). The first approach focuses on human trafficking, however, but lacks information on the opinions of sex trafficked women. The second approach focuses on the circumstances

of smuggling, 'fake marriage' and/or the issue of prostitution. What we know about human trafficking is based upon empirical studies that investigate how women are transported to Taiwan and how they come to work as prostitutes. However, these studies typically lack discussion from the viewpoint of sex trafficking. Although most of the existing studies have agreed that the smuggling/'fake marriage' process is arranged by gangs, they have generally regarded this kind of activity as women coming to Taiwan primarily to earn money. Most studies have viewed these women as 'gold diggers'. Only a few studies have pointed out that these women may be regarded as trafficked (Y. Chiang 2006; Hao 2007), and discussion of sex trafficking in these studies is very rare. Therefore, my research is important because I study foreign women working in prostitution who came through smuggling, 'true marriage', 'fake marriage' and foreign labour from the sex trafficking viewpoint.

According to the definition of sex trafficking given in Chapter One, there are three questions relevant to identifying a trafficked person. Are they transported? Are they transported for sexual exploitation? And are they threatened, forced, coerced, abducted, defrauded, deceived, abused by more powerful others, in positions of vulnerability, given money or have received payments or benefits? The debate over trafficked women or sex workers usually focuses on whether the women are forced, lack certain rights or work in prostitution voluntarily. For example, the arguments between the abolitionist position, sex workers rights position and Global Alliance against Traffic in Women position focus on the fact that there are many different situations among foreign women who work as prostitutes. However, I would suggest that, as Jobe (2008) claims, we can think of women being positioned along a spectrum from voluntary to being forced, and a woman cannot be simply identified as being 'voluntary' or 'forced'. As with the positions taken in the global debate, the studies in

Taiwan also have different viewpoints on foreign women working as prostitutes in Taiwan. Most studies agree that foreign women work as prostitutes in Taiwan in order to make money. Some studies (Tang 2003; Hao 2007) claimed that these women knew what they would be doing before coming; other studies (Q. Lin 2005; C. Chiang 2006) concluded these women came to Taiwan attracted by the possibility of high earnings but were then sold and abused by gangsters; still others (Huang 2005; Y. Chiang 2006) reported women were deceived and forced to work in prostitution. The situation, then, of foreign women working as prostitutes is very complex and diverse. The different research results yielded by these studies may result from differences of research methods, differences of samples, and differences in research questions.

Current studies, such as Wu 2005, C. Chiang 2006, Y. Chiang 2006, Hao 2007, suggest that the foreign women who work as prostitutes in Taiwan are controlled by organised gangs. The gangsters recruit, transport and sell women into brothels to make profits. The process of foreign women working in prostitution in Taiwan includes recruitment, transportation, selling and buying. Drawing on existing studies, this study will discuss the circumstances of foreign women who worked in prostitution in Taiwan from the sex trafficking perspective and will collect information directly from women by interviewing foreign women who have worked in prostitution in Taiwan. The following chapter explains how this research was designed, conducted, and the issues raised in the research process.



## **Chapter Three: Methodology**

This chapter outlines how this research was conducted, including a discussion of the research procedures, the issues raised during the study, and the limitations of the research. The first section discusses how the research methodology adopted in this study was decided upon, including the use of the semi-structured interview as the data collection method. The second section describes how the interviews were conducted. In this section, the reasons for choosing the interviewees are explained, and the interviewing locations and interviewing environments are described. In the final section, there is discussion of issues raised during the fieldwork procedure, such as the issues of translation and interpretation, ethical issues, and research limitations.

### **Methodology**

#### *Research method*

No single method is universally appropriate for all research questions (Silverman 2000), and no single methodological approach to studying human trafficking has yet emerged as preferable to the rest. Different methodologies can be adopted according to specific research aims (Salt and Hogarth 2000). Gozdiak and Collett (2005) pointed out that trafficking victims are a hidden population and, therefore, research needs systematic methodologies to identify a sample and then to collect and analyse data. Gozdiak and Collett also claimed that the study of human trafficking also necessarily needs both qualitative and quantitative research studies to provide macro- and micro-level understandings of human trafficking.

Various writers have claimed that gaps exist in the literature of regional human

trafficking studies (see, for example, Adepoju 2005; Gozdiak and Collett 2005; Langberg 2005; Lee 2005). However, few researchers have discussed explicitly the methodological challenges in studying trafficking (Brennan 2005; Kelly 2005a; Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005). Tyldum and Brunovskis, for instance, discussed their methods of collecting information about human trafficking. They used a telephone survey to interview escorts and masseuses to estimate the number of trafficked women in Oslo, and concluded that future research needs to understand the great variation in forms of exploitation, and recruitment in the trafficking process, and rehabilitation. Kelly (2005a) criticized the methodological weaknesses and limitations in trafficking research; the methodological challenges she identified are a lack of assessment of official statistics, a failure to produce qualitative material except in an illustrative way, and a shortage of discussion concerning how interviews are conducted with interviewees. Although during the past decade, researchers have shown an increasing interest in estimating the scope of human trafficking, and in describing trends and characteristics of victims (Kelly 2002; Gozdiak and Collett 2005), studies which have collected data from trafficked human beings themselves are still rare. In order to reveal in-depth information about sex trafficked women, this study chose to collect information from sex trafficked women directly.

This study is an exploratory study which seeks to collect data from sex trafficked women, a vulnerable population on a highly sensitive issue. In order to collect in-depth information from vulnerable women, I decided to employ qualitative methods. A qualitative study is concerned with explanation and emphasises process, rather than measuring phenomena and looking for associations between variables (Bryman 2004). Also, because this study sought to gather data grounded in the experiences of women being trafficked, instead of gathering large-scale data about sex

trafficking persons, I decided to adopt a qualitative research method. Blaxter *et al* (2006) point out that the advantages of qualitative research methods include the gaining of an 'insiders' perspective, where the data is rich and deep. On the other hand, one disadvantage of using qualitative methods is that the data may be ungeneralisable. Andrees and Linden (2005) emphasised this feature, in pointing out that samples of trafficked victims cannot be representative of the population of trafficked women. However, with an issue like sex trafficking, it is impossible to be representative since this is a hidden population and, furthermore, the definition of sex trafficking human beings is still controversial which makes the identification of such populations problematic. Also, I recognise that there are only 28 interviewees in my study, and my research results do not seek to represent all circumstances of sex trafficking.

### *Data collection method*

In order to collect in-depth data from sex trafficked women and professionals who work in combating sex trafficking directly, this research chose face-to-face interviews as the method to collect data. Because the majority of trafficked women are a relatively powerless, vulnerable and mistrusted group, I chose face-to-face interviews because I thought it would enhance the prospect of gaining the trust of the interviewees who would be talking directly to a person instead of talking via the phone or via writing on paper.

There are three main ways to structure an interview: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Gilbert 2008). The structured interview, such as those employed in social surveys, is used for collecting standardised information. This type of structured questionnaire would limit the possibility of the answers obtained, and I would argue that the human trafficking issue is too complex and too poorly understood to collect

data through this method. The second interview structure, the semi-structured interview, is perhaps the most common and most diverse of the three formats (Arksey and Knight 1999). Questions are normally specified, but the interview is free to probe in semi-structured interviews (May 2001). An unstructured interview involves the researcher having an aim in mind when conducting the interview but the interviewee is free to talk about the topic in their own way (May 2001).

Compared with the structured interview approach, a semi-structured interview is more flexible when a question is asked and answered, and so more information can be obtained through the interview process (Gilbert 2008). In addition, a semi-structured interview is not the product of an investigator's ruminations about the object of enquiry and fewer decisions have been made about the nature of the responses before the interview begins. Compared with an unstructured interview, the semi-structured is normally more efficient (Arksey and Knight 1999), as the semi-structured interview is less time consuming, and I could not have a long time with the interviewees.

In addition, the choosing of the interview method depends on the nature of topic. Empirical research on sex trafficking is still limited, and I wanted to develop a deeper understanding of the topic. In order to encourage sex trafficked women to talk about their experiences, the semi-structured interview can give them the opportunity to provide in-depth data which can develop more sophisticated answers to the research questions. Moreover, the unstructured interview may not reveal the information that the researcher wants to know. In order to collect wide ranging, in-depth information from the interviewees, within the time resource of a PhD, and the likely time I had to speak with both the women and professionals, the semi-structured approach was chosen as the most appropriate to adopt.

The characteristic of interviewees is another important factor which needs to be considered when choosing the data collection method. In this study, the interviewees of sex trafficked women and girls had all been arrested/found by the police or rescued by non-government organizations, and most of the interviews were held in detention centres and shelters. In order to conduct these interviews, I needed first to gain the agreement of law enforcement authorities, and they only consented to a limited time for each interview, which was usually between half hour and two hours per interview depending on the different authorities which had to be informed.

Another reason for using semi-structured interviews was the answering ability of the interviewees. Not every interviewee had the ability to describe her experience clearly. This was not necessarily an issue of unwillingness to talk, but rather an inability to convey their experiences because they did not know what the specific research questions were. Sometimes, questions could be prompts for the interviewees, to remind them what they had not yet spoken about. Of course, interviewees may not want to talk about certain experiences, and then the question should be passed or ignored. Moreover, I felt that unstructured interviews would take too long, and possibly would be too threatening to the women. For the interviews of professionals, my research sought to analyse the ways professionals construct the definitions of sex trafficked women. Again, I chose semi-structured interviews to gather the information I needed because these are busy people to whom time is precious, and this study was exploratory in nature and I wanted to give them the space to define their answers themselves, without an over defined structure in the response categories.

Brennan (2005) discussed the methodological challenges in research with trafficked

persons. He discussed making 'ex-captives' re-tell their story as therapy or possibly re-trauma. The answer to this question may depend on the personality and the experience of each woman. I would argue that it is still possible to re-traumatise, although I tried to reduce this possibility by asking women's consent to being interviewed, and by finishing an interview if the interviewee showed that she did not want to talk<sup>33</sup>. The other methodological challenge that Brennan pointed out is the bias between what he refers to as the women who are willing to be interviewed and those who are unwilling. In order to avoid the bias between willing interviewees and unwilling persons and expand the range in the sample, this study included both women who were identified as sex trafficking victims by the Taiwanese government or NGOs and those who were only viewed as 'criminals' by the law enforcement officials because of smuggling, 'fake marriage' or prostitution.

Another question raised by Brennan concerns what the researcher should and should not do. Brennan found that during an interview if the case manager was in the room it could create a safe environment and advised on drawing a clear line between the case manager and interviewer, because interviewees may ask the interviewer for help. Among the interviewees in my study, two of them were sheltered by an NGO, and the social worker was present at these two interviews: one interview was held in a coffee shop, another was in a church. The others who were in detention centres or Yilan Detention Centres for Mainlanders did not have case managers there. Comparing these two interviews with the others, it appears that the two interviewees felt more confident to talk when the case managers joined the interviews.

---

<sup>33</sup> The detail of how the interviewees chose to be interviewed or not will be described later section.

## *Research design*

Concerning the design of interview questions, I carried out various drafts (six in total) in consultation with my supervisors to make the interview questions clear and unambiguous, and not 'leading'. After (re)drafting, I conducted a rehearsal interview with a PhD student (which I will describe in the section on the research procedure) to make sure the questions were clear to answer. During these changes, I decided not to use the terms 'sex trafficking' or 'prostitution' in my interview questions and consent form. As the terms, such as, 'rape', 'sex trafficked', and 'prostitution' are sensitive, I did not use the terms unless they have said it themselves.

## *Sampling frame*

This study has two groups of interviewees: sex trafficked women and professionals. The sampling frame of sex trafficked women will be illustrated first, then the sampling frame of the professionals.

The sampling frame of sex trafficked women included women who came to Taiwan through different methods, and were from various nationalities and a range of ages. This is because I sought to compare these variables with their accounts of their experiences of being trafficked. According to the Taiwanese government statistics over the last few years, the majority of foreign labourers, foreign brides, and smuggled women are from China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia and the Philippines (see discussion in Chapter Two). The original research design was to interview women who came to Taiwan through smuggling, 'fake marriage', and foreign labour from these different nationalities and including girls under 18 year old and adults. The reason I wanted to interview under aged girls is because, according to the definition of *National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons* (2006), girls

under 18 who are transported into Taiwan and work as prostitutes are automatically classified as child trafficked victims. So, under aged girls in my sample were all identified by the Taiwanese government as 'sex trafficked victims', and their experiences of being trafficked could be compared with the experiences of the women who were not identified as trafficked by the government, in the way how they were trafficked and controlled in the process. So, the sample of women includes women identified as trafficked by Taiwanese government and women who are not.

The initial sampling frame was to interview approximately 30 sex trafficked women, of whom half were smuggled women and half transnational brides and labourers from different nationalities. In the beginning of the fieldwork, the Chinese smuggled women and 'true married' brides were interviewed in the Yilan Detention Centre for Mainlanders. After finishing 17 interviewees, in the Yilan Detention Centre for Mainlanders, I sought to gather data from other nationalities. One way to find foreign women who work as prostitutes is through the law enforcement authorities. Foreign women who are arrested are usually settled in detention centres of police stations, so these detention centres were possible places to access sex trafficked women, because they had already been arrested by the police because of prostitution. Another way to access the potential interviewees was through Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

Depending on their nationality, the ways of coming to Taiwan vary. As a Chinese woman, the way to enter into Taiwan could be by boat-smuggling, transnational marriage, tourism or by joining a family who are already living in Taiwan. Based on the analysis in Chapter Two, many Chinese cases of women forced into prostitution that are reported by the media are through boat-smuggling and transnational marriage,



and the research studies of Chinese women who work in prostitution in Taiwan confirm these findings. Another way Chinese women come to Taiwan is through tourism. However, the policy for Chinese people travelling to Taiwan is still restrictive<sup>34</sup>, for all Chinese tourists coming to Taiwan travel must be arranged through certified travel agencies, and the whole trip must be arranged by the agency also. Under this policy, only a few Chinese tourists stayed in Taiwan after the end of their trip (Sina News 11/06/2008)<sup>35</sup>.

The other way to enter Taiwan is through joining a family already in Taiwan. According to the *Act of Regulations Governing Approval for the Residency or Permanent Residency of Mainland-area Peoples in Taiwan through Family* (1993), only a relative's family could migrate into Taiwan. It has not been reported by the media or in governmental statistics that Chinese women are sex trafficked into Taiwan through these two methods. Foreigners from the other countries mentioned earlier could come to Taiwan through tourism, transnational marriage and foreign labour. From January to September 2006, 263,548 tourists came to Taiwan from Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Myanmar and Cambodia<sup>36</sup>. At the end of October, 2006<sup>37</sup>, there were 336,985 foreign labourers working in Taiwan, of whom 839 were 'runaways'. In 2005, there were 11,121 Southeast Asian women married to Taiwanese men<sup>38</sup>. These data provide a general account of how many people enter Taiwan and the reasons for their entry.

---

<sup>34</sup> The Regulation Governing the Approval of People of the Mainland Area Visiting Taiwan for Purposes of Tourism (2001) regulates what kind of Chinese people can come to Taiwan for tourism. The policy is released on 04/07/2008.

<sup>35</sup> <http://news.sina.com.tw/article/20080611/451249.html> accessed on 14/06/2008

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/index.asp> accessed on 05/05/2008

<sup>37</sup> <http://statdb.cla.gov.tw/statis/webproxy.aspx?sys=210&kind=21&type=1&funid=q13012&rdm=heG> accessed on 14/06/2008

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/index.asp> accessed on 05/05/2008

The sampling frame for professionals chosen for interview was based on identifying the organizations and offices that work on combating sex trafficking in Taiwan including the National Immigration Agency, Department of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Police Affairs, legislators and prosecutors, chief executive organisation of relevant NGOs, social workers and lawyers<sup>39</sup>.

According to Taiwanese government policy, all Chinese smuggled people are sheltered in Detention Centres for Mainlanders to wait for deportation. There are three detention centres built by the Taiwanese government for Chinese people who have been smuggled, as temporary residences<sup>40</sup>. These three shelters are Hsinchu Detention Centre for Mainlanders, Yilan Detention Centre for Mainlanders and Matsu Detention Centre for Mainlanders (as shown in Figure 3-1). These three shelters are administrated by the Immigration Bureau, which was upgraded to the Immigration Agency on the first of January 2007. In order to access sex trafficked women through smuggling, I chose to interview women who were sheltered in Yilan Detention Centre for Mainlanders.

---

<sup>39</sup> I will discuss more who were interviewed in Chapter Seven.

<sup>40</sup> 1/1/2007 National Immigration Agency was established, and the shelters were reorganized. Chinese people live in the Yilan, Mazui and Gunmen shelter and Hsinchu shelter is only for other foreigners and excludes Chinese.

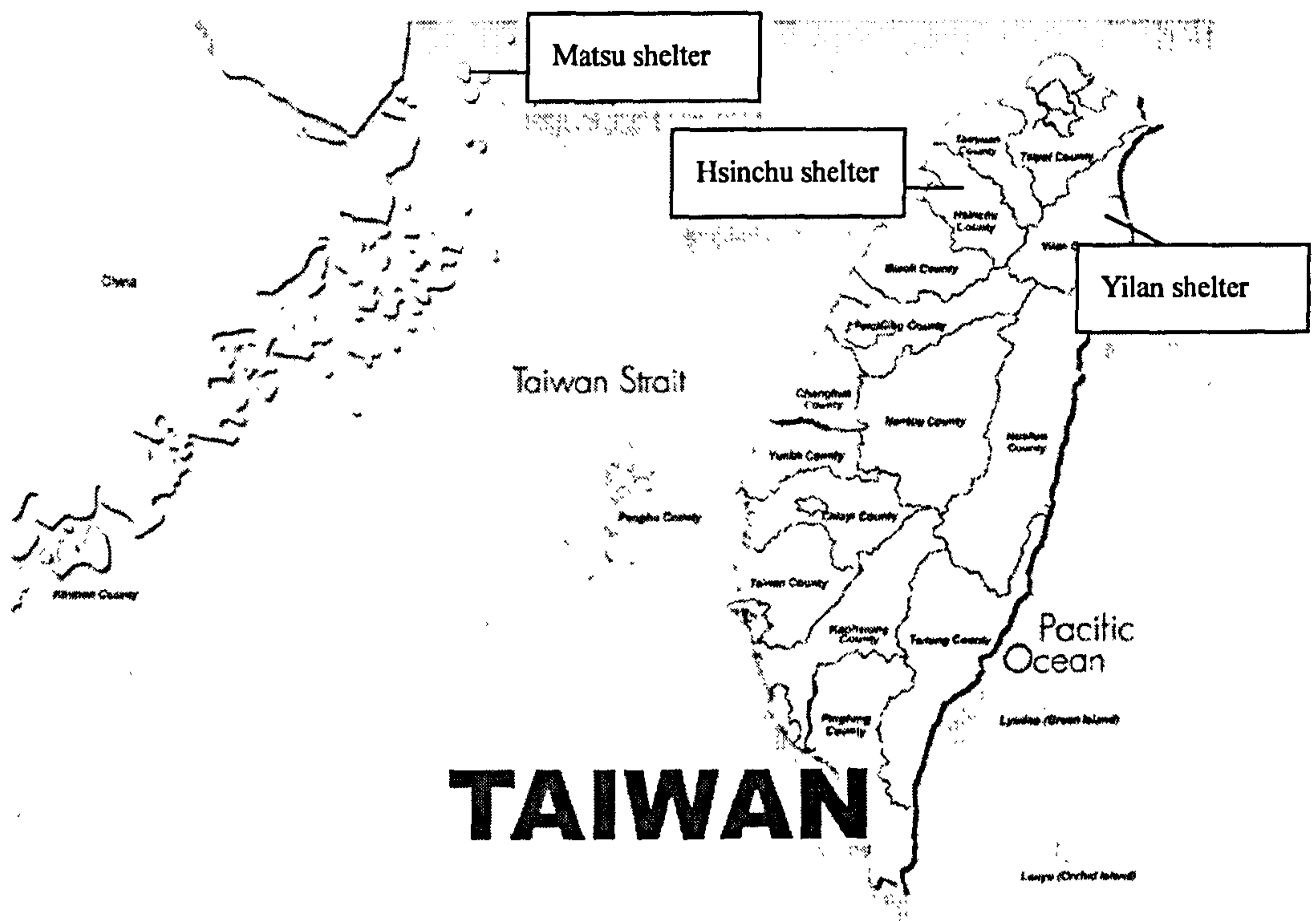


Figure 3-1: The location of three Detention Centres for Mainlanders

Although the official name of these three organizations is ‘the Detention Centre for Mainlanders’, in fact, the living situation is quite different from the detention centres within police stations, but similar to that within refugee shelters. People who live in a Detention Centre for Mainlanders are there because they have been accused of being smuggled into Taiwan. An important difference is that these shelters provide religious services by religious groups and social activities by NGOs. In order not to confuse these three detention centres for Chinese people and the detention centres of police stations, in this study these three detention centres for Chinese people will be called *shelters*. So, in this study, these three institutions are not referred to as detention centres (even through that is their official name), but as shelters.

Of these three shelters, Matsu is a small island very close to China. Based on this

location, all people who are confirmed by the Chinese government to be repatriated would be sent from Yilan or Hsinchu shelter to Matsu where they are then received by the Chinese government. So, Matsu shelter is a short-term transit place and people only stay there for a few days to a few weeks before repatriation. Before they are sent to Matsu, they stay in either Yilan or Hsinchu shelters. This research did not interview women who lived in the Matsu shelter because of this very temporary nature of residence.

Hsinshu and Yilan shelters are the two main palaces for smuggled Chinese persons during the research process. Hsinshu shelter was built in 1992<sup>41</sup>, and after 2003, it only housed Chinese women. In 2007, when the National Immigration Agency was upgraded, Hsinshu shelter was reformed into a foreigner detention centre that shelters foreigners who are waiting for deportation. Yilan shelter is the only shelter for Chinese smuggled people, after 2007<sup>42</sup> (Dajiyuan News 02/01/2007). At the beginning, the Yilan shelter was the detention centre for smuggled Chinese men. However, due to the increasing number of smuggled women, some Chinese women lived there. In 2005, the shelter was extended, and all women who lived in Yilan shelter were moved there. Moreover, when the new branch of Yilan shelter was built, the minors' shelter was also established. According to the *National Plan for Action of Trafficking in Persons* (2006), all foreign girls under 18 years old who work as prostitutes are classified as sex trafficking victims. Therefore, all Chinese girls who are under 18 years old and work in prostitution are sheltered there. The minors' shelter is more open than the shelter for adults, and has two bedrooms with a living room and a bright environment. Because the minor's protection room of Yilan shelter is a less

---

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.bamboo.hc.edu.tw/~yuling/community/quxi-travel/bill/silkworm-demos.html> accessed on 10/06/2008

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/7/1/2/n1576800.htm> accessed on 10/06/2008

stressful environment than the other two shelters, the researcher chose the Yilan shelter as the interviewing location.

Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (TWRF) is one NGO that provides services to trafficked persons in Taiwan. After I approached them and explained my research to them, they agreed I could interview their clients if the clients agreed to be interviewed. With the agreement of the women and TWRF, the social workers of TWRF were approached to see if women would agree to being interviewed. Two of their clients agreed to be interviewed.

In order to understand how the present policy of combating human trafficking are constructed in practice in Taiwan, this study also interviewed eight professionals to obtain their perspectives on combating sex trafficking and analyse how 'sex trafficked women' are identified. According to the key jobs related to combat human trafficking in Taiwan, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter Seven, I interviewed a police officer, an immigration officer, a prosecutor, a foreign affair officer, a legislator, a lawyer, an NGO CEO, and a social worker. In order to receive consent, during August and September 2006 I emailed an NGO, a lawyer, and a prosecutor to gain their permission for an interview. After their agreement, I interviewed a CEO of an NGO, a social worker, a lawyer and a prosecutor. During July and August 2007, I emailed the Ministry of Immigration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Criminal Investigation Bureau and a legislator who worked on the issue of human trafficking in order to seek permission to interview relevant officers. The National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Criminal Investigation Bureau agreed to an interview, although the legislator could not to be interviewed because she was not in Taiwan. However, the assistant legislator was willing to be interviewed. In the end, eight professionals in

total were interviewed. Although they are small sample, these were the key people who work on combating human trafficking in Taiwan at the time.

## **Research procedure**

### *Accessing the interviewees*

After deciding the research frame and establishing the accessibility of the interviewees, two pilot interviews were conducted in order to make sure that the questions were appropriate, clear and unambiguous. Pilot interviews aim to gather basic information about the topic before imposing more precise and inflexible methods (Gilbert 2008). Before the pilot interview, a rehearsal interview was held with a PhD student who also studied human trafficking and had interviewed many trafficked women. Two pilot interviews were conducted, one with a Chinese smuggled woman and one with a Chinese foreign bride. After these had been transcribed and reflected upon, the researcher changed the wording of some questions and added a few additional questions to the schedule.

To aid access to trafficked women, the researcher co-operated with Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (TWRF) in a research project as an interviewer. As I have explained, prior to the PhD I was working as a social worker on combating human trafficking at TWRF, and the TWRF agreed to help me to gain accessibility to interview women. TWRF is one of the most important NGOs that provide services to trafficked persons in Taiwan (Tiau 2007). The co-operation programme between TWRF and myself was that I would work as a researcher on their project to interview sex trafficked women and write a report to TWRF to describe my research findings. There were two main ways to access the potential interviews, to interview smuggled Chinese women in a government shelter and to interview foreign brides, foreign

labourers and tourists in detention centres and NGOs, as I have already explained.

After the National Immigration Agency agreed with the proposal of the TWRF to conduct a project to interview women in Yilan shelter, the interviews in Yilan shelter began on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2006. The interview time was according to the schedule agreed with officials in Yilan shelter. The interviews started at 10:00 in the morning until 11:30, and began again at 14:30 in the afternoon until 17:00. On average, two interviews were completed per day. The interviews took place in a lounge which was quiet as well as bright and provided a safe environment with a seat in the corner of a room. Each interview began with first an explanation of the aims of the research, and then the consent form<sup>43</sup> that was signed after the participants agreed to be interviewed<sup>44</sup>. Then the interviewees were told to describe the process whereby they had come to Taiwan, so I could decide whether to continue or not according to what was said or by the attitude of the women, i.e. if she did not know anything about how she came to Taiwan or she showed worry or distrust about the interview, I would stop the interview there and then. On the first day of fieldwork, there were about 150 women at the Yilan shelter, including six adolescents. The interviews started with these adolescent girls because the number of minors was small and access to them might to be lost if I did not interview them quickly. One of these six minors had venereal disease and another one could not remember most things when talking with her. So, only four interviews were completed. After finishing the interviews with these young girls, the other 11 interviews of adults were conducted.

During the period of interviewing in Yilan shelter, from the first of July to the end of

---

<sup>43</sup> Please see the Appendix A.

<sup>44</sup> I will discuss more detail of consent form in the later section.

August 2006, about 120 women were repatriated. At the end of August, when the 15 smuggled women were interviewed, there were only 34 women staying in the Yilan shelter, of whom 15 were smuggled women and 14 transnational Chinese brides. Usually, smuggled Chinese people live in shelters and other forms of illegal Chinese migrants are settled in detention centres. However, as the number of arrested smuggled people decreased, some transnational Chinese brides who were found working as prostitutes or other illegal activities were also settled in the shelters. After finishing the interviews of smuggled women, there were fourteen Chinese brides living in the Yilan shelter, and three of the 14 women had been arrested because they were working as prostitutes. I tried to interview these three Chinese foreign brides, however, only two of the three agreed to be interviewed. In total, 17 interviews were carried out in the Yilan shelter including four smuggled girls, 11 smuggled women, and two Chinese foreign brides.

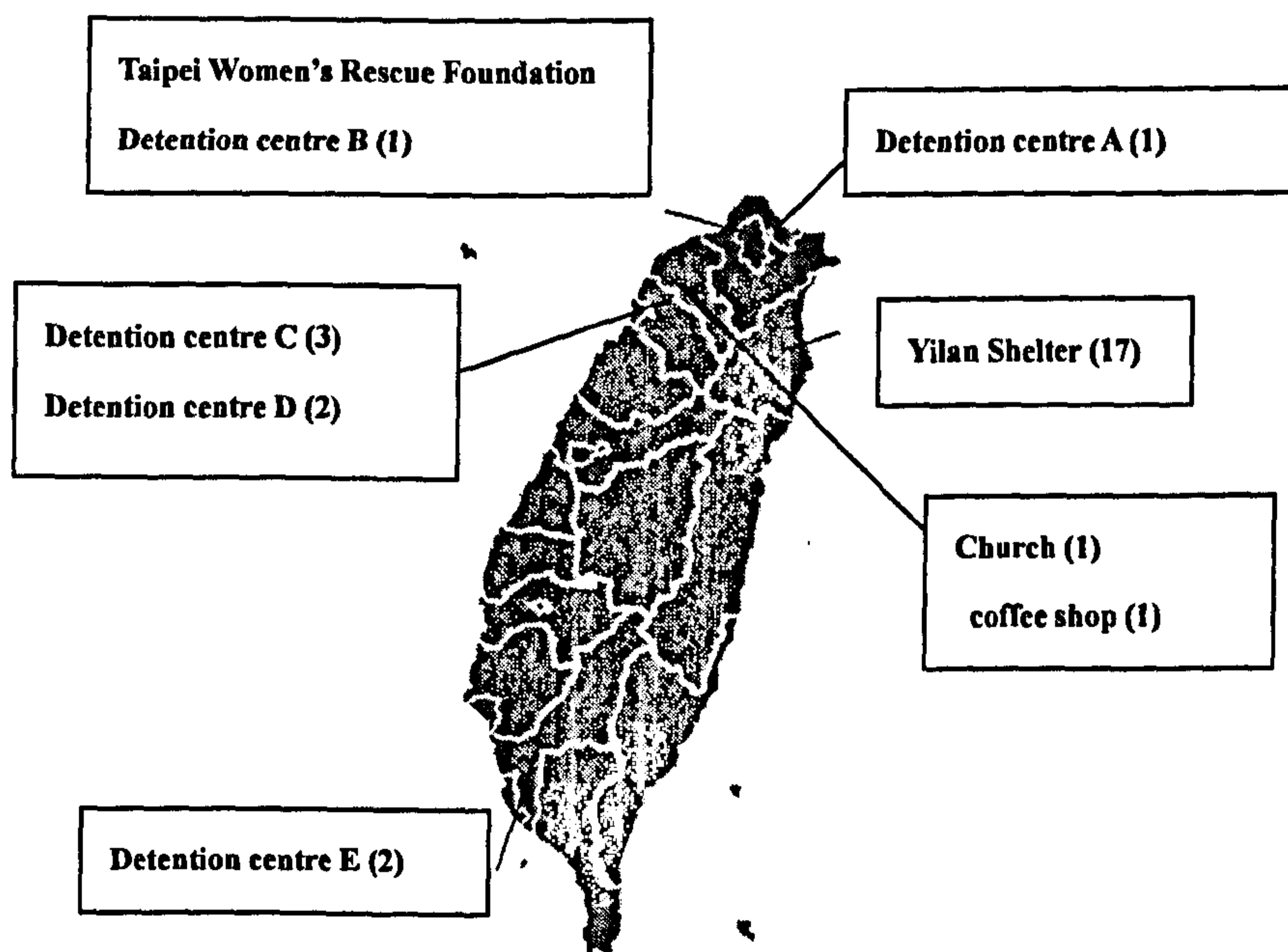


Figure 3-2: Interview locations and number of interviewees



Except for the interviewees in Yilan shelter, I also tried to interview other women from other nationalities who came to Taiwan via other routes. All 14 police stations at Taipei City were called to ask if any foreign woman was arrested while she was working as a prostitute. Only one police station responded that there was a Chinese bride arrested because of prostitution. After receiving the permission from the police, the interview was conducted at a corner in detention centre A. Although there was a policeman in the detention centre, he could not hear what we talked about.

A few days later, an officer from detention centre B (see Figure 3-2) phoned to say that they had found a Chinese bride who worked as a prostitute. In order to gain the permission of interviewing this woman, an official document from TWRF to ask permission for interviewing the woman was posted to detention centre B. This interview was also completed in detention centre B. There was a desk with two chairs; the interviewee sat at the corner nearby the entrance. The environment was a little noisy and we talked in an undertone, so the policeman could not hear what we were talking about. Before the interview, this interviewee complained about why she was interviewed on that day while she wished the policeman could book an air ticket for her to go back to China. The policeman told her that he could not book a ticket on that day, so then she agreed to be interviewed. This emotion affected the interview quality, because the interviewee was unhappy that she could not book a ticket on that day and she thought she would stay in Taiwan one day more.

In addition to the interviews with Chinese women, I also tried to access women from other countries. To identify possible sex trafficked women, I googled reports from all police bureaus, checked the newspapers, and asked the prosecutors and policemen

who I had worked with previously. In the end, seven women were interviewed in detention centres C, D and E by the following ways.

Through one prosecutor, I was informed that three women, two Vietnamese women and one Thai woman, were to be found in detention centre C. The traffickers of these three women were arrested and, following clues, the women were subsequently rescued. After phoning and asking a policeman at detention centre C for permission to interview these three women, and mailing an official document from TWRF requesting an interview, three interviews were completed in a conference room, with no policeman present, at detention centre C.

According to the police bureau working reports on the internet, two Indonesian women had been arrested at detention centre D. I phoned the detention centre D to ask the officers for permission to interview these two women. The director of detention centre D said all visitors should obey the official visiting discipline of submitting an official document to ask for this permission. A policeman explained that according to the visiting discipline, an interview can only last for 40 minutes. I went to detention centre D and asked the women if they would like to be interviewed. With their agreement, in the end, these two women were interviewed within 40 minutes per person with a policeman in a meeting room.

In addition, a police officer I knew told me that a Vietnamese bride and a Vietnamese domestic worker were settled in detention centre E, and that I could try to interview them. First, I phoned to ask a policeman in detention centre E if any foreign woman there was found working in prostitution. The policeman said six women had been arrested due to doing 'sit-table'. After having the agreement from officials in

detention centre E, I asked them if they wanted to be interviewed. One woman said that she was uncomfortable and did not want to be interviewed, and three women did not want to talk about their experiences either. In the end, only two of the six women were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in a meeting room in detention centre E with a comfortable sofa and no policeman was present inside the room.

### *Data analysis*

To summarise, this study is based on interviews with 28 women, of whom 19 were Chinese, five Vietnamese, three Indonesian and one Thai. These interviewees came from seven different organizations: Yilan shelter, one NGO and five different detention centres. From picking out possible themes when reviewing the literature, and leading into the fieldwork when I used a research diary to highlight developing themes and sub-themes after each interview, the data analysis was an ongoing process. This continued throughout the fieldwork, these notes being added to as I reviewed and transcribed the interviews. These interviews were recorded by mp3 recorder. These files were saved in my computer with added security. I listened to these records and transcribed in Chinese, and then translated into English. After the fieldwork had concluded, I read over the transcripts several times so I could get a real 'feel' for the data. Then these interview results were analysed by NVIVO 8.0 software.

There are various methods that are available for analysing qualitative data, the most commonly used being software packages such as NVIVO, and a more hands-on and non-computerised method which involves printing out multiple copies of transcripts, highlighting key quotes, cutting these out and placing them within folders or envelopes according to themes and/or sub-themes. I bought the NVIVO software from the university, and tried to use NVIVO 8.0 to analyse my data, and found it was a very

useful software to manage the data. I therefore decided to use it to analyse my data.

I read these transcripts and pulled out some key themes, such as, the background of women, the ways they met brokers, the transportation process, being sold to brokers, methods of being controlled, and ways of leaving brothels. I built up six tree notes including background of the women, the experiences from meeting recruiters until being transported, the process of transportation, after being sold, ways of being found, thought of coming to Taiwan, and many small notes under these six main themes. For example, the background of the women included their age, nationality, family financial situation, marital status, number of children, education history, and other notes.

According to the analysis, I prepared a table summarising some key points from the interviews. This table aided me in remembering interesting points from each interview. By analysing these transcripts, I have a comprehensive understanding of the data, and I eventually arrived at a point where I felt I had fully understood the themes that had emerged during the analysis of the data (Bertaux 2003). After explaining the process of accessing the interviewees, in the next section I will go on to describe the interview environment.

### *Interview environment*

The interviews were conducted in various settings: shelters, detention centres, a coffee shop and a church. All smuggled interviewees were interviewed in the Yilan shelter. The transnational brides were interviewed in detention centres and the Yilan shelter. The interviews of foreign labourers were in detention centres, and two clients of TWRF were interviewed one in a coffee shop and the other in a church (see Table

3-1).

Table 3-1: The interview environment

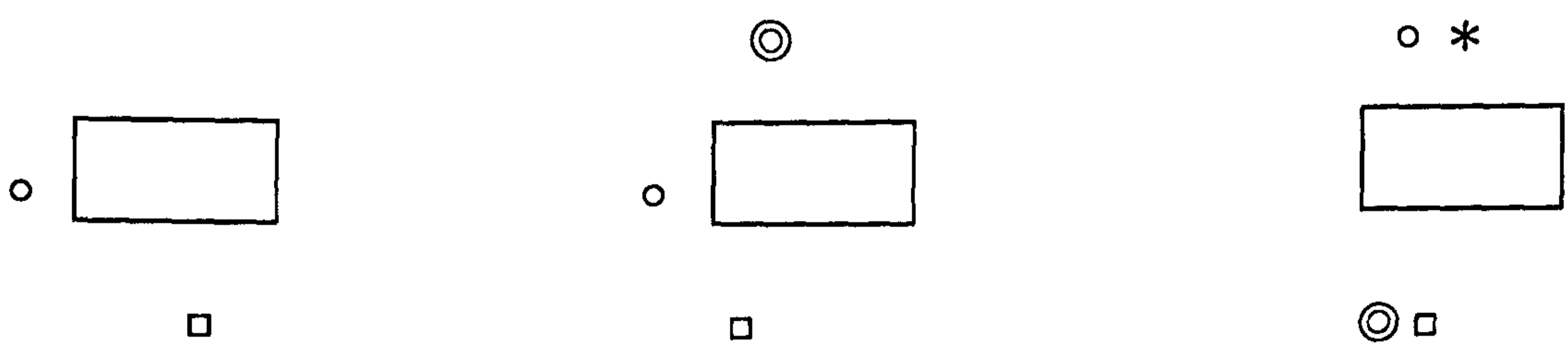
Interview place	Nationality	Number of interviewees	others present
Yilan shelter	Chinese	17	
Church (TWRP)	Vietnam	1	Social worker/Interpreter
Coffee shop (TWRP)	Indonesia	1	Social worker/Interpreter
A detention centre	China	1	Police
B detention centre	China	1	Police
C detention centre	Vietnam	2	Interpreter
	Thai	1	
D detention centre	Indonesia	2	Interpreter/police
E detention centre	Vietnam	2	

Smuggled women were interviewed in the Yilan shelter with the understanding that they would be repatriated by their numbers. Everyone in the shelter was allocated a number, which depended on the time of arrival in the shelter, and the women were repatriated according to their number. The women's understanding that they were returning home may have increased their willingness to talk about their experiences because they knew they were going home and what they said would not affect the time of repatriation. Two interviewees who were the clients of TWRP were living in NGO's shelters. They both lived with their friends without any control of their freedom.

To conduct sensitive, face-to-face interviews with vulnerable participants, the interview environment needs to be carefully managed. The issues of the nature of the interviewing environment included the interview location and the attitude and appearance of the interviewer. Although most of the interview sites were arranged by the police (with the exception of two of the interviewees), I still asked to have a private room. As I have mentioned, one of the reasons for choosing Yilan shelter as

the interview location was the minor's protection room had an open environment with a bright light and a comfortable lounge. In the detention centres, I tried to hold the interviews in quiet rooms. Mostly, there was only the interviewer and the interviewee in a room, and in some cases, an interpreter and/or a social worker were also there if needed<sup>45</sup>. It was thought that the interviews that had social workers present might improve the quality of the interview data, because women were talking to someone who had worked with them and this might increase the possibility of being trusted by the women.

Figure 3-3 below shows that the interviewer and the interviewee always sat at right angles to one another. When an interpreter was included, an interviewee sat nearby to the interviewer, so the interviewee was between the interviewer and the interpreter. When a social worker was present as well, the social worker sat nearby the client, because she was the most familiar person to the interviewee. The interpreter sat opposite for clear listening to what the interviewee said, and the interviewer sat nearby the interpreter in order to communicate with the interpreter.



- : Interviewee
- : Interviewer
- ⊙: Interpreter
- \*: Social worker

Figure 3-3: The seating arrangement of interviewer, interviewee and interpreter

<sup>45</sup> Six interviewees had interpreters present during the interviews, and the following section will discuss the issue that raised.

In order to try to increase the trust of interviewees, my appearance was constructed to appear as 'normal' as possible. As, the interviewees who lived in the Yilan shelter wore uniforms, in order to try to make the interviewer more equal with the interviewees, my dress was as simple as possible. I always wore my hair in a ponytail, and wore a t-shirt and jeans, and wore no hair dye, make up or nail varnish. Moreover, all accessories such as necklaces, earrings and rings were not worn.

### *Demographics of the sample*

The demographics of interviewees are described below based on their age, nationality and method of arriving in Taiwan.

#### **Age**

Table 3-2 shows the age distribution of the interviewees was from 14 to 37. The interviewees included 4 minors, 22 women between 18 and 30, and 2 women who were older than 30 years old. The four minors were all smuggled into Taiwan; as only women aged over 18 years old could come to Taiwan through tourism, employment or transnational marriage.

Table 3-2: Distribution of age

Age	Number of interviewee
Under 18	4
19-24	15
25-29	7
Over 30	2

#### **Nationality**

Ethnically, of the 28 participants, 19 were from China, 5 from Vietnam, 3 from Indonesia and 1 was from Thailand. In 2006, according to the statistics of the Council

of Labour Affairs, the nationalities of most foreign labourers were Vietnamese, Thai, Philippine, Indonesia and Mongolia<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, the nationalities of foreign brides included China, Vietnam and Indonesia. In the original proposal, I wanted to try to have participants from China, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, the Philippines and Indonesia. At the end of the fieldwork, I only had been able to interview women from four of these countries.

Table 3-3: Demographics of sample

Nationality	Sample Resource			Total
	Detention centres	Shelter	NGO	
China	2	17	0	19
Thailand	1	0	0	1
Indonesia	2	0	1	3
Vietnam	4	0	1	5
Total	9	17	2	28

### Method of arriving in Taiwan

There were four different ways of coming to Taiwan among my interviewees: smuggling, transnational marriage, foreign labour and tourism. Table 3-4 shows that 15 interviewees came through smuggling, nine interviewees came through transnational marriage, three were runaway labourers, and one came through tourism. I will go on to analyse the similarities and differences in their experiences by the methods of coming to Taiwan.

<sup>46</sup><http://statdb.cla.gov.tw/statis/> assessed on 05/08/2008



Table 3-4: Nationality and arrival method of the interviewees

Arriving method \ Nationality	Chinese	Vietnamese	Indonesian	Thai	Total
Smuggling	15	0	0	0	15
Transnational marriage	4	4	0	1	9
Foreign labour	0	1	2	0	3
Tourism	0	0	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>28</b>

This section of the methodology chapter has explained how interviewees were selected and the interviews were conducted. In the next section, I will go on to discuss issues raised in the fieldwork process, including cases I tried to access but were rejected, the issues of interpretation and translation, the way I used the consent form, ethical issues and limitations of the research.

## Discussion

### *Cases failed to interview*

There were two trafficking cases that I had arranged to interview, but, for different reasons, I failed to conduct interviews with them. Two trafficking gangs were investigated by the Taiwanese police authorities, and about 70 foreign women were rescued who were trafficked by these two gangs. On 5th September, 2006, Taipei county police bureau officers were found to be involved in the trafficking of women for sex exploitation (United News 06/09/2006). This was a 'virtual marriage' case. The gangsters forged identities of virtual husbands to marry foreign women, in fact, there were no Taiwanese men married to these women. However, in this case, talking with those trafficked women became very sensitive because some policemen were involved in corrupt practices with the trafficking gang.

Another case in which I failed to interview trafficked women was reported on 20th September 2006 by the Cha-Yi police bureau<sup>47</sup>. Twenty eight Vietnamese and Indonesian women were forced to work in prostitution. When I tried to access these women, a foreign affairs officer alleged that because the investigation had not finished it was not possible to interview them. The police officer was unwilling to allow these women to be interviewed before the investigation finished in order to protect these important witnesses. Therefore, I could not gain access to interview them.

### *Interpretation and translation*

Interpretation and translation are two important issues in cross language research. In this study, the interviewees came from four different countries and spoke four different languages. Although 19 interviewees were Chinese and spoke Mandarin, nine interviewees were neither English nor Mandarin native speakers.

For the purpose of communicating with non-Mandarin and non-English speakers, interpreters were employed. As shown in Table 3-5, nine of the twenty eight participants were non-Mandarin native speakers. Two Vietnamese women, settled in detention centre C, were interviewed with an interpreter II. Another two Vietnamese interviews lived in detention centre D had interpreter III present. The other two interpreters (I and IV) translated for Thimai and Corn, who were both the clients of TWRF. In detention centre E, the policeman suggested there was no need for an interpreter because Aiyu and Yank could communicate in Mandarin. Ordee did not have an interpreter either because she could speak fluent Mandarin.

---

<sup>47</sup> available at [www.ccpb.gov.tw](http://www.ccpb.gov.tw) accessed on 20/09/2006

Table 3-5: Interpreter used

Interviewee	Nationality of Interviewee	Case resource	Interpreter
Thimai	Vietnam	TWRF	I
Thitang	Vietnam	detention centre C	II
Thihong	Vietnam	detention centre C	II
Thitink	Vietnam	detention centre D	III
Thithy	Vietnam	detention centre D	III
Corn	Indonesia	TWRF	IV
Aiyu	Indonesia	detention centre E	×
Yank	Indonesia	detention centre E	×
Ordee	Thai	detention centre D	×

The four interpreters were all transnational brides. They had married Taiwanese men and lived in Taiwan, and were acting as interpreters for part-time work. In Taiwan, some NGOs work for transnational brides, (i.e. Peal S. Back Foundation, Eden Social Welfare Foundation and Immigrants' Hall) and one of their policies is to help their clients to become interpreters. Three interpreters were employed through an NGO which provided the interpretation service. The other interpreter was arranged by TWRF.

Corn, an Indonesian woman, was interviewed in a coffee shop with her social worker from TWRF and an interpreter. The social worker she was familiar with seemed to increase the trust between the interviewee and the interviewer. Moreover, she had been investigated by the law enforcement many times, and had a good ability to tell her story. Thimai, a woman who came from Vietnam, was in a similar situation. She lived in a church with her boyfriend and other Vietnamese people. In the interview, the interpreter and the social worker, who had worked with her for more than one year since she was rescued, were both present. These two interviewees clearly and

thoroughly described their experiences, perhaps because they had been investigated many times, and had a trusted social worker present.

The reason for choosing transnational brides as the interpreters was that these interpreters were 'true-married' brides and from the same countries as the interviewees, and to a certain extent shared the same culture and history. More importantly, these interpreters were familiar with immigration laws and policies, and when the interviewees talked about their illegal status and the difficulties they faced, the interpreters could understand and seemed to have empathy with them.

During the process of interpretation, it is important to acknowledge that there may be some information loss or misunderstanding. Temple and Young (2004) pointed out that the researcher and interpreter should talk about their views on the issues, as the researcher will not be able to understand words, concepts and worldviews across languages. In order to try to minimise these effects, I briefed the interpreters about the research and explained the background of the interviewees to the interpreters before the interviews started, the only exception being the interpreter who had worked with Thimai for a year. The interpreters were told that these interviewees had worked as prostitutes and stayed in detention centres/shelters. They also read the semi-structured interview questions so they could have more understanding of my research. Since an interpreter represents the interviewer, the interpreters should be as sensitive to the interviewees as the researcher. I asked the interpreters to also dress in T-shirts and jeans. All interviews were transcribed by myself, not least because transcribing helps the researcher to start making connections and identifying analytic themes (Gilbert 2008), and also because it aids the analysis.

Another language issue concerns translation. All the interviews were conducted in Mandarin, except one which was in English. Of the twenty-seven women who were interviewed in Mandarin, six women were interviewed were interpreted in their mother language first (three in Vietnamese and three in Indonesian), and then repeated in Mandarin by interpretation into Mandarin. All (but one) of the interviews were transcribed in Mandarin first, and translated into English later. Transcribers make decisions about how much detail to include, how to punctuate or whether to note the tone in which a comment was made (Temple 1997). Moreover, because of the characteristics of interviewees, the language they used was very basic, including use of some specific 'gang words'. There were two reasons why it was important for me to carry out the translation. First, for confidentiality reasons, and second, I was the one who conducted the interviews, and therefore understood most accurately what the interviewees had said.

It is generally agreed that there is no single correct translation of a text (Temple and Young 2004); however, in order to make sure the translations were close to the meanings of the interviewees, the transcripts were also translated again by a master degree student at Newcastle University who was from China and had studied in translation and interpretation. This double translation was to decrease the meaning bias during the translation process. However, the personal details of the interviewees had been changed after I translated into English to protect the confidentiality of the interviewees.

### *Consent form*

The consent form has an important function in gaining the trust and agreement from the interviewees. Before I met the interviewees, they were usually told that someone

wanted to talk with them, and if they wanted to be interviewed, they would come to meet me. At the beginning of the meeting, the consent form<sup>48</sup> was shown to the potential participants, and I introduced myself and explained the content of the consent form. After checking that potential participants understood the research context, I asked them whether they agreed to be interviewed or not. If they agreed, they needed to sign the consent form before the interview started. If they did not agree they were told this was totally fine and they should not worry about it. Nonetheless, if they had any questions about the research they still could ask. After participants agreed to be interviewed, the interview would begin. Even if women were asked by policemen or NGO workers to take part on the interview, I would ask women again if they were happy to be interviewed personally. They had chance to say if they wanted to be interviewed or not. Therefore, the policemen would not know if women did not agree to be interviewed.

After the participants read the consent form and understood the interview aims, they were asked if they were happy to be interviewed. Some women said yes, some just nodded their heads, some kept silent and some chose to not talk about it. Rarely, a few potential interviewees said 'no' directly. To make sure if they agreed or not to attend the interviews, asking them to sign the consent form was a good way to start an interview. There were many different reactions of the interviewees when they were asked to sign. Some were happy to sign and even willing to sign their real name; some refused to sign. However, when they were told it was not necessary to sign their real name, most women decided to sign nicknames or draw simple signs. Two women agreed to be interviewed but were not willing to write anything on the consent form. Two interviews were therefore completed without signing the consent forms, although

---

<sup>48</sup> please see Appendix A

women did consent verbally to the interview.

The consent form was the first step for me to communicate with the interviewees. The information in the consent form included the role of the researcher, the aims of the interviews, and the likely time period of an interview and the confidentiality protection of the interviewees. The first part of the consent form gave the name of the researcher, and a statement that the research purpose was to know how women from China/Southeast Asia came to Taiwan. It stated that the interviewer wanted to talk with women who had come to Taiwan in order to understand what had happened to them, and how they felt about what had happened to them.

The confidentiality issues related to human trafficking research are not only important to the interviewees, but also to the interviewer because of the involvement of organized crime. The personal information of the interviewer should therefore be protected, too. For this reason, the consent form only showed the first name of the researcher but not the last name. Also, as well as protecting the researcher, using my first name was friendlier than just using my last name.

Although this research is about sex trafficking, during the interview, the vocabularies of prostitution, trafficking and other sensitive terms were avoided unless interviewees used these terms themselves. In order to avoid sensitive vocabulary, the consent form explained the research aims in a general way. In addition, before I met the women, their past experiences were unknown to me, although some information could be collected from the police, social workers and guards, such as how and where the participants were found. However, what the policemen or social workers knew may not exactly be the same as participants would say in the interviews. In order to

encourage the potential interviewees to talk about their experiences, the consent form stated that ‘this is the chance for you to express your thoughts and experiences during this interview without any worry that anything you say will be used against you in any way’. This sentence sought to demonstrate both the positive meaning of expressing the experiences and that I would not use the information against them.

The second part of the consent form explained how the interview would be conducted and ensured the confidentiality of interviewees. I explained that the interview would last for one to two hours, and would be completely confidential, and no one else would be able to identify the interviewees from what they had said. I did not need to know their address, name, or specific details. It would not be possible to identify any person in the thesis. None of the information would be shared with people in the shelter, and the police would not be present during the interview. Even there were four interviews hold with the policemen in the same rooms; they were too far to hear what we would talk about (see p79, Table3-1).

Some interviewees asked how their stories would be portrayed in my thesis. Nonetheless, the decision to ask them to not necessarily sign their real name was important, as I am convinced that this helped to make the interviewees feel more safe and relaxed.

There were two different forms of the consent form, one was for women who lived in the detention centres, and the other was for women in the Yilan shelter. The differences between these two forms were some small things, such as the words ‘detention centre’ or ‘shelter’. To be readable for every participant, the consent forms were translated into Chinese, Vietnamese, Indonesian and Thai. Even if participants



could not read, interpreters read it out to them. In fact, all interviewees were literate and read the consent forms by themselves. In the cases of professionals, consent was agreed via email or telephone. I phoned or emailed them to ask if they could be interviewed. After getting their agreement, I booked the time to interview them.

### *Ethical considerations*

Ethical issues should always be considered when designing research (Kelly 2001). Campbell and Dienemann (2001) discussed the ethical issues in research on violence against women. They pointed out that women who have experienced violence are a vulnerable population in terms of their victimization status, physical and mental health status, the gender bias of justice systems and stigmatization. Another aspect of vulnerability is the sensitive nature of the issue, which can involve the risk of creating emotional distress. In the following, I will discuss the ethical issues raised in the research process which including research paradigm employed, cultural context and community involvement, consent of the interviewees, (see above), confidentiality, trust and safety (Campbell and Dienemann 2001; Andrees and Linden 2005).

### **Research paradigm employed**

As women victimized by violence are a vulnerable population, it becomes more important for researchers to pay careful attention to the research paradigm employed (Campbell and Dienemann 2001). Moreover, Campbell and Dienemann also point out that no matter what research paradigm is used, researchers need to become sensitive about clearly relating the generability of the research results to the particular social circumstances of the study and think carefully about the predictive accuracy of the research results because they may be used for policy decision making. This is a very important issue in this study, as the understanding of sex trafficking is insufficiently

sophisticated, and research results can affect the attitude of government officials and wider society to sex trafficked women. Trafficked women are often voiceless and vulnerable, so one aim of this research was to allow them to be heard. Another issue that Campbell and Dienemann emphasise is that any research results, no matter what paradigm is used, should be used to improve systems for the group that the participants represent. In my study, I wanted to explore the process of women being trafficked and the methods by which women are controlled, in the hope that these findings can provide more understanding of the situations such women encountered.

### **Cultural context and community involvement**

This study includes women from four different nationalities and, therefore, the cultural context of the interviewees was an important issue. In order to try to reduce the culture gap, the interpreters were all foreign brides who came from the same nationalities as the interviewees. Also, these foreign brides shared similar backgrounds with the interviewees since most of the women who had interpreters also came to Taiwan for true marriage, fake marriage or foreign labour. It is important to acknowledge that the confidentiality issue may also arise when NGOs or interpreters are involved in the research process. However, I did not know the name of the interviewees, and the interpreters did not know their names either.

Campbell and Dienemann (2001: 61) point out that 'culture competence in data analysis is also extremely important, and it must go beyond making a simplistic analysis for differences or including ethnicity/race as a dichotomous predictor'. This viewpoint is very important in my study, which is not seeking to identify what kind of women is easier to be trafficked (or not) as that would be far too simplistic and dangerous a conclusion. Instead, this study seeks to broaden rather than narrow

understandings about the circumstances of women who have been trafficked.

### **Consent of the interviewees**

All interviewees should voluntarily agree to be interviewed via informed consent. Greig and Taylor (1999) explain the meaning of informed consent, which is to ensure interviewees know they have a choice as to whether to participate in the research or not, and that they know they have the right to withdraw from the research at anytime if they wish, and they know their role in the research. In this study, the information was written in the consent form and I secured their agreement before the start of the interviews (see above). However, because some of these interviews were arranged by officials, some women might have not felt free to decide if they wanted to be interviewed or not. The officials usually told women that someone was going to interview them. So, before each interview, I explained the purpose of the research and asked if they wanted to talk about their experiences or not. In fact, about twenty women said that they did not want to be interviewed. They said they did not feel good or they had nothing to say. They were told it was absolutely fine if they did not want to talk with me. Another related consideration is the degree to which the participant feels free to withdraw during the interview (Campbell and Dienemann 2001). In the consent form, it was written that all interviewees could withdraw at any time during the interview, and, they did not need to answer any question if they did not want to.

### **Confidentiality**

Confidentiality refers to the protection of the participant's right to privacy by prevention of identification of the participant by others during the study, and protection of data linked to the participant (Campbell and Dienemann 2001). In my research, I had no idea about the name of the interviewees, or other personal

information such as contact details. Each interview was arranged by the officials at the detention centres, Yilan shelter or NGO workers. Also, any specific details which the interviewees told me about in the interviews that might have identified them and/or put them at risk were changed or removed, for instance, the name of their traffickers. In addition, the transcripts were kept securely locked at University in filing cabinets, and the recorded files in my computer were added secret so no one can read it without password.

### **Trust**

Getting trust from the interviewees was an important issue in a study of sex trafficking. As it was mentioned previously (see p.81), I dressed 'normally' in order to try to gain a friendly first impression. The second issue is the researcher should trust the interviewees first, so they could possibly trust the interviewer. The interviewer listened and believed what the interviewees were saying, and gave suitable, encouraging responses during the interviews (Andrees and Linden 2005). When the interviewees did not want to talk about a topic, the researcher asked the next question and did not force the interviewees to answer what they did not want to talk about.

### **Safety**

These interviewees were sex trafficked women, and therefore what they said could have threatened their safety, especially if the traffickers knew that they had spoken about their experiences. As Rubin and Babble (2007) noted, the revealing of information should not embarrass them or endanger their lives, friendships, jobs, and so forth. In order to protect the safety of the interviewees, as noted in the discussion of confidentiality, particular information about the interviewees was changed to protect them so that they would not be identified. Also, the personal information of the

traffickers, the names and the details of the detention centres were changed, so, this information would not be traced back to any specific interviewee.

## **Limitations of the research**

Trafficked persons are a hidden population, and difficult to access. According to the *National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons* (2007), under 18 year-old children who are transported into Taiwan and who work as prostitutes are classified as sex trafficked victims. However, there are no public official statistics on sex trafficked persons. The way I accessed sex trafficked women was to find women who were foreign and who had worked in prostitution. After I talked with these women, and knew about their experiences, I could only then know if they had been trafficked or not.

Another limitation of this research relates to interpretation and translation. Six interviews were interpreted; some of what the interviewees said might have been missed through the interpretation process. Although I had tried to use interpreters who had worked previously with trafficked women, it is undeniable that information many have been missed or changed during interpretation.

Since this is a small scale qualitative study, the research results can not be generalised to represent all trafficked women. However, this was not the aim of this research, nor was it to calculate how many women are trafficked, but rather to understand situations women are faced with in the trafficking process. The key point is there are many different elements of sex trafficking, it cannot be and should not be simplified into one model or explained by one particular theory.

This chapter was outlined how this study was conducted and discussed the interviewees and relationship between the interviewer and the interviewees. In the next chapter, I will analyse the characteristics of these twenty-eight interviewees in order to gain more understanding of the women's background.

## **Chapter Four: Characteristics and Vulnerability**

In Chapter Three, I explained how this study was conducted. In this chapter, I will examine the background of the women who were interviewed including the key variables of age, level of education, family structure, financial situation, marital status and their working experiences in the countries of origin, in order to discuss the relationship of their life experiences to being trafficked. The following analysis of the background of the interviewees shows their diversity. In the final section of this chapter, I will discuss the different experiences of women who came into Taiwan through various different methods.

### **Family background**

This chapter identifies the themes that emerged from my analysis of trafficked women's life histories before coming to Taiwan. Overall, there was a great deal of similarity among the women's stories, which I will discuss throughout this Chapter, and in Chapters Five and Six.

#### *Age*

The age range of the interviewees when they arrived in Taiwan was between 14 and 37<sup>49</sup>; four girls were under 18 years old and three women were over 30. The four adolescents were all transported through smuggling. As I have discussed in Chapter Two, the difference between smuggling by sea and other forms of trafficking methods is that smuggling does not require any identity documents so that girls under 18 years old can be sent into Taiwan via this process. This may explain why all under age

---

<sup>49</sup> For age distribution please see Table3-2, page 81.

interviewees were transported by smuggling. The youngest interviewee was 14 years old when she arrived in Taiwan. From my albeit small sample, it appears that sex trafficking into Taiwan involved young women. Arguably, this is related to the need to satisfy the needs of the 'sex market' in Taiwan (see similar argument in Kelly 2005a), and that traffickers choose young women to come to Taiwan. Malarek (2003), for example, studied the consequences of women in prostitution in East Asia with similar findings. He concluded that men prefer young girls because they think they are probably free of sexually transmitted disease, especially HIV and AIDS.

The ages of the interviewees who were transported through smuggling were different from the ages of interviewees who were transported into Taiwan through other methods. The mean age of smuggled interviewees was 20.8 while the mean age of foreign brides, foreign labourers and tourists was 25.9. Moreover, the women who were over 30 years old all came through transnational marriage, whether 'fake' or 'true' marriages. Arguably, then, age may affect the ways women come to Taiwan, or in other words, age may affect the way women met recruiters.

As I have noted, the majority of the women were in their twenties. Just over half of the fourteen smuggled Chinese women were aged 20 or under, with an age range of 14 to 29. In comparison, the ages of Chinese brides were between 24 and 33. The age distribution is similar to that found in many other studies. Huang (2005), for example, used a questionnaire survey of 597 smuggled Chinese women in Hsinchu shelter; most of the women were transported by gangs and sold to brothels for sex exploitation. In Huang's study, one interviewee was under 15, and 88% of interviewees were under 30. However, Wang (2005) researched the situation of foreign brides working in prostitution in Taiwan. Wang pointed out that most of 'fake married' brides were



between 20 to 25 years old. Tang (2003) interviewed thirty-three Chinese ‘fake married’ women, whose age distribution was between 21 and 42, with an average age of 28. According to these research results, it would appear that most of the interviewees who came to Taiwan through ‘fake marriage’ or smuggling and worked in prostitution were under 30 years old.

### *Education*

More than half of the twenty-eight interviewees talked about their educational experiences<sup>50</sup>. The education levels of the interviewees ranged from the first year of elementary school to the first year of a university degree. Table 4-1 shows that one interviewee dropped out when she finished the first year of undergraduate school; six women stopped going to school when they finished senior high school, and three women did not continue their studies after graduating from junior high school. Another three interviewees did not continue to study when they graduated from elementary school, and two dropped out of elementary school.

Table 4-1: Educational experience

	China	Indonesia	Vietnam	Thai	Total
Drop out of university	0	1	0	0	1
Graduate from senior high school	2	1	2	1	6
Drop out of senior high school	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate from junior high school	3	0	0	0	3
Drop out of junior high school	3	0	0	0	3
Graduate from elementary school	2	0	1	0	3
Drop out of elementary school	2	0	0	0	2
Total	12	2	3	1	18

<sup>50</sup> The other women did not talk about their education experiences in the interviews.

The main reason the women gave for stopping studying was because of financial difficulty. They not only had no money to go to school, but in some cases were forbidden to study in order to work to earn money as early as possible. According to the 18 respondents, about half of them said that they did not continue education because of poverty. This is illustrated by the following quote from Xiaojane and Xaoju.

*Because my family was poor, we really wanted to go to school but had no money. Every time we did not hand in the tuition fee because we did not have money. We only handed it in at the graduation or at the end of the semester. So, when I went to class, the teacher would not give me textbooks. I begged her for a long time. I said, 'Miss, please. My family will sell the pig this year. After that I will give you the money.' Then, after a long time, she asked whether the pig was sold or not. I said it was a pity that the pig was too thin to sell. However, we owed a lot of money, so the pigs were taken away. We had no money to pay for the tuition fees. (Xaojane, China, 16)*

*I was going to primary school for the first year but my family was poor, and only one child could go to school. At that time, my sister was in the fourth year. My father said: 'she was already in the fourth year, let her finish the primary school first then you could go to primary school'. My sister said she did not want to continue study and her performance was bad, often she was the last one in her class. She let me go to school and then I only studied to the fourth year, but I did not finish that term and did not attend the final exam. (Xaoju, China, 14)*

However, as is clear from Table 4-1, not all interviewees were poorly educated; nearly a third of the eighteen women for whom information about educational background was available graduated from high school and one enrolled in a university. Yank, the highest educated interviewee, could not speak Chinese but English. She dropped out of university after finishing the first academic year.

*My parents did not have a job. We are so poor and I have to make money so*

*I came to Taiwan to make money. I can speak English because I was studying in the university; however, my family is too poor to let me finish my undergraduate studies. And then I came to Taiwan for work. (Yank, Indonesia, 21)*

The educational experience of the eighteen women shows that most of them did not attend higher education, and a third said that they dropped out of school because of financial difficulties. This education background is similar to the research findings of Y. Chiang (2006), Huang (2005) and Tang (2003). Y. Chiang reported that eight of ten smuggled/trafficked interviewees dropped out from elementary school and only two finished senior high school. Huang (2005) surveyed 597 smuggled women of whom 2.4% were illiterate, and 88.7% were not educated to university level degree. Moreover, only 4.4% were educated to at least undergraduate level. Of the 29 'fake married' brides in Tang's study, four were illiterate, 23 women were under elementary school level, and only two finished high school. In conclusion, it would seem that based on these studies, most smuggled, 'fake married' or trafficked women are poorly educated; however, there are also a small minority of well educated women. I would argue that, just like poverty, poor education makes women more vulnerable; more easily lured by traffickers. However, in some cases, well-educated women were also lured (see similar findings in Poudel's study 2009).

### *Family structure*

The family structures of the total sample of twenty-eight women were diverse. The majority had siblings, except for three women who were the only child in their families. The number of siblings among the women who had siblings was between one and four, moreover, about one third of the women had four children in their families. According to the women's accounts, it can be seen that the more children in

a family, the heavier the financial pressure they were under. Furthermore, it seems that this financial difficulty may become an indirect factor that causes a girl to become involved in sex trafficking. For example, Ajane, the eldest child in her family, has two younger sisters and one younger brother. She dropped out after the second year of elementary school.

*I lived in a rural area and my parents did not have many working opportunities there. They seldom left my hometown. I have two younger sisters and one younger brother, so I wanted to earn money to support my family. Then I dropped out of second year elementary school and began to go to work when I was 12 years old. (Ajane, China, 17)*

As Ajane said, her family had insufficient money for all the children to go to school, and she decided to work instead of continuing her education. The women in my study often recalled particular childhood vulnerabilities, although a few of them were not. The majority of sex trafficked women, in these interviews, were born in poor families and poorly educated as well. Therefore, women were forced to work at a young age to support the family financially and, more specifically, because of a male supremacy culture, girls were forced to work to earn money in order to let boys to go to school. For instance, poverty and having too many siblings made Ajane leave education and begin working at early age. Similarly Ordee, a Thai woman, has many siblings. Her father remarried after her mother died, and her stepmother moved to her house with five children, in addition to her one brother and one sister. After that, Ordee's family financial situation became worse because they had too many children to bring up.

*I do not have a mother. My dad has a new wife. He brought up the new wife's children, she has five children. My dad and my new mother do not have their own child, so he just brought up the five children of the new mom. And he did not have money for me to study, so I went to Taiwan to work and make money. (Ordee, Thai, 24)*

As Ordee said, having too many siblings and a shortage of money caused her to travel to Taiwan to earn money, although her journey for work turned into a case of sex trafficking. Nine women's stories show that having 'too many children' increased financial pressure within the family and, furthermore, this appears to have led them to drop out of school and begin work at an early age.

Another important issue under the discussion of family structure is the One Child Family policy in China. The One Child Family policy has been introduced since 1980<sup>51</sup> in China. This policy was implemented with incentives for couples choosing to have one child – such as, extra priority housing and job allocation, private land and housing lots. By the mid 1980s more coercive measures were implemented, such as forced abortions and late abortions (Edwards 2000). In this research, 15 of the 19 Chinese interviewees were born after the One Child Family policy was introduced. However, only two interviewees were the only children in their families. The other 13 women all had siblings, which indicated that their families did not follow the One Child Family policy because their family wanted a boy. To go against the One Child Family policy can result in poverty, such as in the case of Cosin's and Xiaojane's families who became poorer because they were fined for having more than one child.

*We have six family members, my parents, two elder sisters, one young brother and me... My brother and I were born after a vasectomy. So my family was fined a lot of money [because of the one child family policy] . My brother and I were all out of unplanned birth, so we were fined, and that became a heavy burden for my family. My family was too poor to afford for my sisters to study,*

---

<sup>51</sup> The year in which the One Child Family policy was introduced is unclear. It is agreed that the policy was introduced in the end of 1970's or the beginning of 1980's. According to information from the National Population and Family Planning Commission of China, [www.chinapop.gov.cn](http://www.chinapop.gov.cn) accessed on 05/05/2008, in 1980, the Chinese government started to advocate the One Child Family policy. [http://www.chinapop.gov.cn/rkzh/rk/wxzl/t20040326\\_51301.htm](http://www.chinapop.gov.cn/rkzh/rk/wxzl/t20040326_51301.htm) accessed on 10/04/2008

*so they dropped out in the six years of primary school or the first year of junior high school<sup>52</sup>. Then they left home to work, leaving my brother and me to study, but I only finished junior high school. My father had expected me to study in vocational school, but I did not do it. (Cosin, China, 16)*

*We had difficulties to have food and had serious financial problems. The family plan was strict when I was a little kid. Originally my family financial situation was fine. We had our little brother after my dad had a vasectomy, and this was discovered by the authorities. So, some people came to my family and took away our ceiling. We lived in the wood and brick house then. So they broke our ceiling and took away my mom's dowry and fined us 5,000 RMB (£300). So since then we do not have the ceiling and no money to make it up. (Xaojane, China, 15)*

The families of Cosin and Xaojane were the two typical examples who had been punished because of having more than one child. The large fine imposed on Cosin's family forced her to stop going to school. Also, her elder sisters dropped out of schooling because their parents had not enough money to enable all their children to attend school. The One Child Family policy affected family structure in China, in interaction with another factor-male supremacy. In traditional Chinese society, people favoured boys over girls because inheritance was passed through the male line, sons performed religious rituals, and it was sons not daughters who were responsible for the care of elderly parents (Edwards 2000). Such cultural beliefs and practices mean that even if a family has a girl, parents very often still want to have a boy, and that women are more easily sacrificed when her family has limited resources. Parents therefore prefer to give their resources to boys (Edwards 2000). This may explain why ten of the thirteen Chinese interviewees who had siblings were the eldest children in their families; i.e. their parents tried to have a boy after having a girl and therefore

---

<sup>52</sup> The education system in China is similar to the American system, and includes six years elementary school, three years junior high school, three years senior high school, and four years undergraduate studies at university.

broke the One Child Family policy. A third of the fifteen interviewees illustrated that they left school in order to allow their brothers to attend school. Girls instead were sent out to earn money to support the family.

Janjan provides another typical example, as she dropped out of school after she finished the first year of junior high school. She was the eldest child in her family and had a younger brother. Although she began to work at an early age, she said that she felt happy to help her parents with farming as her family was so poor.

*I wanted to release the burden of my tuition fee and paying for my family. I am the eldest child with a lot of responsibility in the family, so I wanted to share the burden with my parents, so I did not keep on with my study. I went out to work with my identification card which I got at 16. (Janjan, China, 20)*

Being the eldest daughter in a poor Chinese family may result in low education and an early working experience because of the One Child Family policy and a culture of male supremacy. In addition to these two factors, another phenomenon that resulted from the birth planning policy in China was that it is not allowed for a woman under 21 year old to have a child. For instance, Yaya was pregnant at 20 and was forced to have an abortion because she was breaking the law<sup>53</sup>. After that, she left her hometown and subsequently met her recruiter.

*The reason I came to Fuzhou was because I broke up with my boyfriend in China, and had an abortion. But I was cheated into coming to Taiwan. I had been pregnant for 8 months. However at that time, I was told by a friend of my boyfriend that he had an affair with someone, but I did not believe this since I had not seen it myself, but when I saw it, I left him. Then I came back*

---

<sup>53</sup> According to the Regulation of Population and Birth Plan in Chinese Law in China, women cannot get married unless they are older than 20 years old, and men should be older than 22 years old. If a woman gets married when she is 20 years old, she only can give birth at 21 years old. Yaya was pregnant when she was 20 years old, and as it was illegal to get pregnant, then she was forced to have an abortion which is nearly 'early birth' because she had this at eight months of pregnancy.

*to my hometown. I was reported by others saying that I was pregnant before marriage, at a young age. For them, such a report will earn reward of money from the government, but for me, I was forced to have an abortion, because it is not allowed to give birth to a child at my age. The legal age is 21, but I was 20 at that time. I was so angry to have an abortion that I left to another place, but later I was cheated into coming to Taiwan. (Yaya, China, 20)*

The experience of Yaya shows a further example of the effects of the birth plan policies in China. Of course, it does not necessarily follow that the birth plan results in sex trafficking. The experience of Yaya is just an example and shows that there are many reasons for women to want to go abroad. In addition, one fourth of the interviewees came from broken families, and one reason they said they came to Taiwan was because they could not get support from their family (see similar argument by Jobe 2008 in discussing trafficking into the UK). In this study, two interviewees lost both their parents while they were young, another two lost one of their parents, and three women came from divorced families. Xaojane and Tantan both lost their parents when they were still very young, which meant that they also lost their primary carers.

*My family led a hard life since I was a baby. My dad passed away when I was 9 years old, then my mom remarried. After that, she also passed away because of dystocia<sup>54</sup>. I have two little brothers and sisters. They are at home. We have not had enough food since we were very young. Later, I went out to find a job but was deceived. (Xaojane, China, 15)*

*When I was a little kid, my parents passed away. I have three sisters. My dad passed away when I was two and half years old. My mum died when I was three. Then I lived with my grandparents. My older sister was adopted by my father's godfather. My younger sister lived with my aunt, who is the younger sister of my mum. My grandparents passed away when I was 18.*

---

<sup>54</sup> Dystocia means difficult childbirth; Xaojane's mother died when she gave birth.



*My grandpa died in the first half of the year and my grandma died in the second half. Then my aunt asked me to go to Chengdu to help them keep shop, wash clothes and cook. (Tantan, China, 25)*

Xaojane and Tantan described the difficulty for them to survive after their parents passed away. The other five women came from single parent families. Their family financial situations became worse after their parents divorced, and they almost lost all financial support and care. Corn was a typical example of a young girl who needed to care for herself after her parents divorced.

*My parents divorced so they lived separately. My mother remarried my stepfather, whom I seldom talked with or just nodded heads without saying any words. I do not like my stepfather; the only purpose for me to come to my mother's home was giving money to her.....The rent of my house in Jakarta was paid by myself, my father sometimes would give me money. However my stepmother was very vicious, she was a similar age to me, and graduated from the same school with me. I used to have good relations with my stepmother, who totally changed after the marriage with a desire to put everything under her control. My father used to be in a good financial state, but it became bad when my stepmother controlled each penny. The financial problems of my father and his neglect of the family were all because of my stepmother. After my parents divorced, my father did not care about us and the family situation became very bad. (Corn, Indonesia, 21)*

As I indicated, Corn was one of the seven interviewees who needed to care for themselves after their parents divorced or died. These seven cases are examples that show how a broken family may increase the possibility of being trafficked because of the vulnerability of young women having to care for themselves. These findings suggest that having divorced or deceased parents may increase the need for women to go abroad and seek higher-waged jobs, because they lacked family support to protect them when they were still young (see also similar findings by Zimmerman 2003; Jobe -2008). On the other hand, good family relationships may also become a factor to push

women into the traffickers' trap. Many interviewees responded that they had good relationship with their families. As I have already mentioned, some of the women began to work at an early age in order to help their family finances. For instance, Huang's (2005) study of Chinese women smuggled/trafficked into Taiwan in Hsinchu Shelter had similar findings. He conducted a survey with 597 Chinese smuggled women, and found that 68% responded that they were very happy with their parents. According to the family background of the interviewees in this study, there may be no certain background of girls and women who are easier to be trafficked. According to what the interviewees said, the most important reason that interviewees went abroad was because the recruiters lured the women to believe what they said about opportunities for them in Taiwan. For example, Thimai explained her reason for coming to Taiwan<sup>55</sup>:

*When I was in Vietnam, a neighbour whom we knew told my family that she would like to introduce me to work in Taiwan. I also wanted to work outside since it is hard to earn a lot in Vietnam. She said that through fake marriage I could come to Taiwan to work. She would introduce me to a job in Karaoke. The work is to serve wine and soft drinks, but she mentioned nothing about selling sex. (Thimai, Vietnam, 20)*

It is generally acknowledged that trafficked children and women are usually from poor families and poor countries and poverty is viewed as an important reason why women and children are trafficked (Brown 2005; Malarek 2003; Sanghere 2005; Jobe 2008). However, the reason for being trafficked cannot be simplified as being only a family problem or a financial problem. Nevertheless, family background provides some kind of information on the interviewees and the issues I have discussed above may have put women at higher risk of being trafficked because they put them in a

---

<sup>55</sup> The detail of the reasons of the interviewees came to Taiwan will be discussed in Chapter Five.

more vulnerable situation.

### *Family financial situations*

As I have already noted, poverty is regarded as a principal cause of human trafficking (Sanghere 2005). In this section I will explore this, arguing that though it appears to be an important factor, human trafficking is a crime that is carried out by highly organized gangs; and that it is too simple to attribute the cause of human trafficking to poverty alone.

Twenty-one of the 28 interviewees described their financial situation as poor or very poor. Most of the interviewees used 'poor', 'hard to find a job' and 'difficult' to describe their financial situation. Poverty existed among the women who came from different countries and arrived in Taiwan through different methods. As I have illustrated in the previous section, sometimes their childhood life seemed too difficult to be imagined. Xaojane lived in a wooden house without a roof. She said about her childhood life:

*Spiders, mice often ran to the bed. It was really horrible. We did not have good food, and my father often worked outside. I seldom saw my dad when I was a little kid...When I was eight, and my sister was younger than one year old, my mom had to take care of my father and I told my sister to find some people to feed her. But no one wanted to give her juice. Then my sister died of hunger. So during that time my family was the poorest. You know what, later, we even did not have food for Chinese New Year, even no firewood. We had no ways to cook. (Xaojane, China, 15)*

After Xaojane's father died, life was very hard, so her mother remarried, and they moved to her stepfather's home. However, their life situation did not improve.

*Actually our stepfather treated us badly. When Chinese New Year came, every one had delicious food, but we didn't. He bought oranges but would not give one to us. We were very miserable. For example, sleep. Our step-grandma did not like sleeping with us. We had to sleep on the counter. The counter was stiff and we could not have a good sleep. My young brother and sister and I slept together. Sometimes my young brother slept with my mom. At that time, my brother was only five and wanted to sleep with my mom. However my stepfather was so bad that he would pinch him every time. I think my stepfather was really bad.*

Xaojane was not the only girl who had such a childhood experience. Thithy, a Vietnamese woman, was the eldest interviewee in this study and came to Taiwan through fake marriage, although she initially thought that she would come through foreign labour as she had once before.

*There are three children in my family. I am the eldest sister and I have two younger brothers. I had married in Vietnam and have a child. Nevertheless, I divorced my husband already. The child lived with me...My two younger brothers are farmers and their financial situations are very difficult. Farming cannot earn money, we get rice half a year per time, and each time we only can grow 200 kg rice. That is not much. Even if they want to find a job, they cannot. Jobs in Vietnam are quite few. My two brothers are both not married because we earn little money and they cannot get married. We are too poor. (Thithy, Vietnam, 37)*

Not all of the women came to Taiwan from extremely poor families; four of the 28 interviewees came from middle class families. Lan, Xiaoyu, Chan (from China) and Aiya (from Indonesia) all said they came from the middle class families and that their parents treated them well<sup>56</sup>. Xiaoyu and Lan described their family financial situation:

*We are middle class among the families living in the same courtyard. My habits were nurtured in my family. I never saved money, not even a penny,*

---

<sup>56</sup> When I was asking about their financial situation, they said their families were not poor or better than most of people.

*so don't even mention 100 or 1,000 RMB (£40). I did not even go to a bank. As long as I didn't have money, I would ask for it from my mum. (Xaoyu, China, 26)*

*My family members are nice to me. My parents just have one child, so they spoil me. That leads me into this situation. If they had been strict with me, I would not be like this. (Lan, China, 20)*

Chan and Aiya were also the only child in their families.

*I did not support them with money. They told me I only need to look after myself and it is unnecessary to support the family with money. My parents are really nice to me. I was a really well-behaved daughter. Since I was a child, people regarded me as a well-behaved girl. I am very honest and my parents also trust me very much. So, they felt very strange when they knew what I had experienced. I think I am so childish, I always think I am just a child and will never grow up. This kind of thing only happens to teenage people, but it happened to me. (Chan, Chinese, 24)*

Aiya, who came to Taiwan as a foreign labourer, presented a similar account.

*I am the only child in my family. My parents are farmers. I graduated from high school. I am the only child in my family so my parents treat me really well. (Aiya, Vietnamese, 25)*

So, one might ask, why did these women come to Taiwan since they grew up in solid families with sound finances? Lan and Aiya came for the same reason: they said to earn money and for fun; Xaoyu wanted to leave her ex-boy friend, Chan was kidnapped. Aiya described the reason she came to Taiwan in the following way:

*I came to Taiwan for earning money and for playing. Many Indonesian women came to Taiwan, and I wanted to come to Taiwan just like them. I also wanted to see what Taiwan is like. Many of my neighbours had been to Taiwan and I also wanted to have a look. (Aiya, Indonesian, 25)*

Working and tourism were the reasons behind Aiya and Lan wanting to come to Taiwan. A specific example of being trafficked is through being kidnapped. For example, one of Chan's friends told her that she would give her a job, and asked her to get in a car. At the same time, she was kidnapped and could not escape. Chan did not know where she would go before she was kidnapped and thrown into a boat. In addition, Xiaoyu came to Taiwan for another reason, she wanted to break up with her boy friend.

*I wanted to get apart from my boyfriend. We have been together for five years excluding this year. If I am around him, we can't break up. We often quarrelled and tried to break up more than ten times. We had a long term relationship. So, finally I am determined to break up with him. Thus, no matter whether Taiwan was good or not, I wanted to come. I did not think about the danger in coming here, even the risks to life. I was just blinded. She [the recruiter] told me I should pay back 200,000 NTD (£3300), and it is a lot of money. I know it. She said there is no freedom here. I also knew it. I just insisted on coming. (Xiaoyu, China, 26)*

It is clear from these accounts, therefore, that although poverty is a main reason for the majority of women coming to Taiwan, it is not the only reason. Most interviewees were recruited because they were told they would have a better life, usually that they could earn more money. However, providing a false promise is not the only way for gangsters to find their 'goods', as, Chan was kidnapped, and Xiaoyu came to Taiwan to forget her ex-boyfriend. There are many possible reasons behind women falling into the traffickers' traps. Poverty cannot make sex trafficking happen; it just makes women vulnerable and easier to be trafficked. Promising to offer a high-waged job is only one method that the recruiters use to lure women, kidnapping, tourism and explaining the desire to leave their hometown are also methods the recruiters used. Similarly, Huang's study (2005), described earlier, concluded that 29.6 % of Chinese

smuggled women responded that their family financial situation was 'poor', but 68.2% answered that it was 'acceptable' or 'normal'. Huang concluded financial problems were not the main reason that Chinese women were smuggled into Taiwan. The other reasons for coming to Taiwan were because they were deceived by or were kidnapped.

Financial issues have been discussed at the level of family structure, household finances and educational opportunities, all of which interact. Poverty is not the only explanation for what happened to the interviewees, and not the only answer to why trafficking happened. However, as I have illustrated, for Chinese women the fine resulting from the One Child Family policy and having too many children may both cause poverty. Because of financial difficulty, it is often the case that girls cannot continue their education and leave home at an early age with no qualifications, making them more vulnerable and increasing the risk of being trafficked.

### *Marital status*

The marital status of the interviewees included unmarried, divorced, 'fake married' and 'true married' women. Table 4-2 illustrates that the majority of the women were unmarried, five were 'true married', four were 'fake married' and one had divorced before coming to Taiwan. Only one of the 15 smuggled Chinese women was previously married, and of the four Chinese women who came through transnational marriage, two had been previously married and two were single. The three divorced women were also the oldest interviewees of all the Chinese interviewees. They were 33, 30 and 29 years old when they came to Taiwan, and they all had children. These two 'true married' women who were older than the others previously had been married and had had different experiences from most of the other interviewees.

Table 4-2: Marital status

Marriage background	Way of coming	Number of interviewees
Unmarried	Smuggling	14
	Foreign labour	3
	Tourism	1
Divorced	Smuggling	1
'True married'	Transnational marriage	5
'Fake married' (all divorced before)	Transnational marriage	4
Total		28

Haozi, who was one of these two oldest women, said that she came to Taiwan for marriage and she knew she was old and could not expect too much. What she wanted was a marriage. It is controversial question if Haozi came to Taiwan for marriage; can she be identified as a trafficked woman since her movement was not arranged by traffickers? In Chapter Two, I discussed the definition of human trafficking and argued that women like Haozi may not be identified by officials as trafficked because their trips are not arranged by traffickers. Similarly, foreign labourers face a similar situation because their trips are also not arranged by traffickers. However, I shall go on to argue that the principle of identifying sex trafficked women is not based on if women are transported by traffickers, but if they are controlled and exploited. In Chapters Five and Six, I will analyse the ways women are controlled in detail.

Of the nine interviewees who came to Taiwan through transnational marriage, four came from China, four from Vietnam and one from Thailand. According to the women's accounts, all of the four Chinese brides and the one Thai bride were 'true



married' brides. Four Vietnamese women came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' and had not lived with their husbands. Indeed, two of the four women did not even know they came through transnational marriage before arriving in Taiwan. The relationship between marital status and the methods through which the women were transported into Taiwan may be partially explained by the fact that girls who were under 18 year old were all transported by smuggling. Since smuggled girls are younger than transnational married women, they have a higher probability of being unmarried. The second possible explanation, as Tang (2003) claimed, is divorced Chinese women remarry Taiwanese men to seek a better life. This explanation is supported by Woyi and Haozi, who came to Taiwan for marriage with the thought that marrying a Taiwanese man may lead to a better life.

The marital status of the women interviewed in this study is very similar to the research findings of Y. Chiang (2006). Y. Chiang interviewed ten trafficked women who were transported through smuggling; only one woman was divorced and the other nine were unmarried. Similarly, in Huang's research (2005), 85% of 597 smuggled interviewees were unmarried and 8% were divorced<sup>57</sup>. Also, Tang's (2003) findings found that just under half of 29 Chinese 'fake married' women were previously married. These studies corroborate the findings of this study that 'fake married' women were more likely to have been married than were smuggled women, for the reasons outlined above.

### *Working experiences in countries of origin*

The majority of the women worked as employees, as shown in Table 4-3, just under a half of the women worked in factories, clothes shops, fish shops or hair salons; seven

---

<sup>57</sup> The other 7% interviewees did not respond.

of the interviewees worked as waitresses in restaurants, hotels or KTV; two interviewees worked as domestic workers in Taiwan or Brunei; one worked as a sit-table woman and two worked as prostitutes. Therefore, according to the previous jobs women had in their original countries, very few women worked in prostitution before they came to Taiwan, and most of them worked in low paid jobs.

Table 4-3: The ex-jobs of interviewees

Job	Number of interviewee	Job detail
Employee	11	Factory worker, shop sales, warehouse manager,
Waitress	7	In restaurant, hotel, ktv, coffee shop
Domestic worker	2	Taiwan and Brunei
Sit-table	1	
Prostitute	2	
No job	1	Lived with boyfriend
Student	1	
Unknown	3	Did not talk about this question

Table 4-4 shows that about half of the twenty-eight women talked about their wages from previous jobs. The majority of them earned less than £100 per month. This contrasted with the two women who worked as prostitutes, which could each earn more than £100 per month, although they were both told they could earn much more in Taiwan.

Table 4-4: Monthly wages of ex-jobs

Wage of job in the original countries	Number of interviewees
£1-£100	11
£101-£200	2

Most of the women said that they had begun working in paid employment before they were 18 years old, and most of them worked away from their hometown when they

were teenagers. Woyi is a typical example, she stated that:

*I started to work at very early age. I have been working since I graduated from junior high school. My wage was 1200-1300RMB (£50). I sold clothes and worked for others. The pay is very low if you work for a factory, about four or five hundred RMB per month (£30). It was not enough and very tough, definitely, even for me. (Woyi, China, 30)*

Two of the women interviewed worked as prostitutes before they came to Taiwan. Moreover, one of these women was trafficked in China and then re-trafficked into Taiwan.

*Who knows that I also was cheated after I came out. Originally she said I would work in a shoe factory, but it didn't happen in the end. She took me to accompany customers to drink. I had no money, so she offered me a train ticket worth 300 RMB. It took us one week from Guizhou to Xiamen. It took a long time. She asked me to pay her back by accompanying customers to drink. I did not know things would be like this when I left. (Xaojane, China, 15)*

As indicated in Table 4-3, most of the women had not worked in prostitution before. The CATTW and sex worker's rights organizations argue that foreign women who work in prostitution are 'voluntary' migrant sex workers (see Chapter Two). However, I would argue that because most of the women I interviewed did not work as prostitutes before arrival in Taiwan, the label of 'voluntary migrant sex worker' would not adequately describe women in this study. There may be women who voluntary work in prostitution but this does not apply to all such women, at least in this study. The findings of this study are consistent with those of Y. Chiang's (2006), who found that women usually did not work as prostitutes in their original country, China. In Chiang's case, only one of the ten interviewees had no job, prior to being trafficked, and the other nine women worked as employees in factories or restaurants. One of them had worked as a sit-table woman. The wage they earned was under £66 per

month, except for the sit-table woman. Similarly, Huang (2005) investigated the stories of 597 smuggled women. In her study, before being trafficked/smuggled into Taiwan, 62.4% were employed as waitresses, labourers or farmers; 5.6% were students, 24.5% had no job and only 9 were working in prostitution. Moreover, the wage of 85.1% interviewees was less than 1,000 RMB (£66) monthly. In the findings of Tang (2003), however, 12 of 33 'fake married' Chinese women had no job before they came to Taiwan. The average ex-wage in Tang's research was under £133, only one woman earned more than £200. This raises the possibility that they did not come to Taiwan to work as prostitutes and did not know they would work as prostitutes after their arrival. According to their original wages and jobs, I argue that the typical situation of women who have been trafficked is to have been working in low paid jobs and to be subsequently lured by recruiters with the promise of well-paid jobs, excluding in prostitution. The other circumstance concerns women who had worked in prostitution previously but are recruited to work in prostitution in Taiwan through the perspective of earning much more money. In relation to the definitions of sex trafficking discussed in Chapter Two, I propose the classification of sex trafficked women should not be based on the fact that they knew they will work in prostitution after they arrived in Taiwan. The important point for my thesis is if women are forced, deceived and/or controlled in the process. According to the studies of Y. Chiang (2006) and Huang (2005), and from the findings of this study, most women in these studies who worked in prostitution in Taiwan did not work as prostitutes before, they were not persons who chose to work in prostitution in Taiwan, but instead were lured and controlled into doing so. I will explore this further in Chapters Five and Six.

The analysis of the family, educational, and employment background of the women shows the diversity of the interviewees. Although the analysis of the transcripts of

these interviewees could not be generalised to all trafficked persons, these research findings provide the possibility of identifying what kinds of women are prone to be trafficked. These findings support the findings of recent studies of smuggled women and 'fake married' women in Taiwan. Y. Chiang (2006) reported that the interviewees in his study came from low social-economic status, poorly educated parents and unstable family and poor financial situations. Because of financial difficulty, they worked in low waged jobs and found it difficult to earn enough money to live. Eight out of ten of his interviewees entered the labour market before graduating through elementary high school, which means they started work before they were 15 years old. Moreover, most of their parents were either farmers or had no job at all. Y. Chiang found that these women took responsibility for providing financial support to their families. They entered the labour market at an early age and had low waged-jobs because of their poor education. This background, Y. Chiang claimed, increased the opportunity of women ending up working in the sex industry. Y. Chiang also pointed out that the One Child Family policy affected the phenomenon of women who work in prostitution. This study provides data that is basically consistent with Y. Chiang's findings. However, it should be noticed that the interviewees were not only from a low social-economic status, but also there were some highly educated and well financed women. As I have illustrated, much of the previous research points out how poorly educated women and/or with poor finances are easier to be trafficked than others (Brown 2005; King 2004). However, the issue of the characteristics of trafficked persons is not about the percentage through poverty and lack of education, but the possibility. I would like to argue that more women were poor and/or low educated but some women were rich and/or educated.

## **Family understanding of coming to Taiwan**

The typical situation of the women who came to Taiwan through smuggling was that their families usually had no idea of their trip before the women left. However, for the women who came to Taiwan through 'true marriage', 'fake marriage', foreign labour and tourism, their families usually knew about their journey.

Fourteen of the 15 smuggled women did not tell their family before their journey. There were several reasons the women gave for this. For instance, in the case of Xaojane and Tantan, their parents were both dead and they had no family to tell. Another reason given by Chan and Xaojane, is that they had no idea where they would go until they were on the boat, because they had been kidnapped.

*No, she did not tell me where I would go. I had worked in the service industry. Service industry means serving clients like waitress and something like this. She told me she would introduce a similar job for me. Then she introduced a man who is a manager of a big hotel to me. He took me to have an interview. And then, I just "got on wrong board", I should call this. I totally did not know that I was going to Taiwan. I really did not know that. I was so childish. So, a driver drove me to have an interview. "Interview" is the excuse by which they deceived me. And I agreed. So, I went to Pingtan by car, the car stopped somewhere in Pingtan. At that time I thought why had I an interview in the afternoon? In my past experiences; I always had an interview in the morning. After many hours driving, I asked the driver: 'did we arrive?' He told me: 'not yet', then he pulled me out of the car in the middle way. He asked me to get down from the car, and I did it blindingly. I thought, at that time, there is not any hotel and I was deceived. I wanted to run away but I could not. There was not any house or people. He pushed me to the beach, there was a small boat waiting for me. Then I got on board blindingly and unaccountably. Even I did not understand why I met this kind of thing. It looked like the kidnap cases which I saw on telly. I felt I was kidnapped like what I saw on telly. Like the kidnap cases I saw in the film.*

*Then I was forced to get on board. (Chan, China, 24)*

Apart from these three women, (Xaojane, Tantan and Chan) the other 12 interviewees who were smuggled more or less knew about coming to Taiwan, which did not mean they knew what they would do and how they would be treated in Taiwan. It is typical that they thought they would come to Taiwan to work in legitimate employment or to be a tourist, just as the recruiters told them. Furthermore, the reasons that they did not tell their families about coming to Taiwan was because they had no time to tell the family, or were afraid that their families would not agree to the trip.

*No one knows. When I just arrived Taiwan, I wanted to go back home. I told my parents that I was still in Xiamen, and they believed me without any doubt. (Cosin, China, 16)*

*I didn't tell them when I came out. I did not want them to worry about me. If they knew I would go a long way to come here, they won't let me come. I just told them when I came here. (Lan, China, 20)*

*I think it is not necessary.... Because my parents have a bad temperament, and they would become very anxious about children, very worried about us. (Xaofong, China, 29)*

Only one smuggled woman, Xaoshy, told her family that she was coming to Taiwan. Xaoshy told her mother that she would come to Taiwan in order to leave her boyfriend and her mother agreed.

*My mum doesn't have any idea about Taiwan. I broke up with my ex-boyfriend. It caused a tremendous fuss. My mum just wanted me to calm down and not to think about the breaking-up thing. (Xaoshy, China, 21)*

Since the majority of the women's families did not know about the women going to Taiwan, they only found out after the women arrived in Taiwan or after they were

arrested by the police. Only three out of all the smuggled interviewees still had not told their families that they were in Taiwan by the time of the interviews. After arriving in Taiwan, the women's activities were controlled by the gangsters and the women could not call back home without the permission of the traffickers/brokers/their owners. In this study, five of the twenty-eight women only connected with their families after they were found by the police, whereas four of the smuggled and 'fake married' women called back home between arriving Taiwan and being arrested<sup>58</sup>. They only had a chance to call back home while they were still in brothels when they were regulated by brokers.

*It's when I was in the detention centre. They knew then, they didn't know before that. They did not know I came to Taiwan. They only know I worked in Xiamen. (Xaojane, China, 15)*

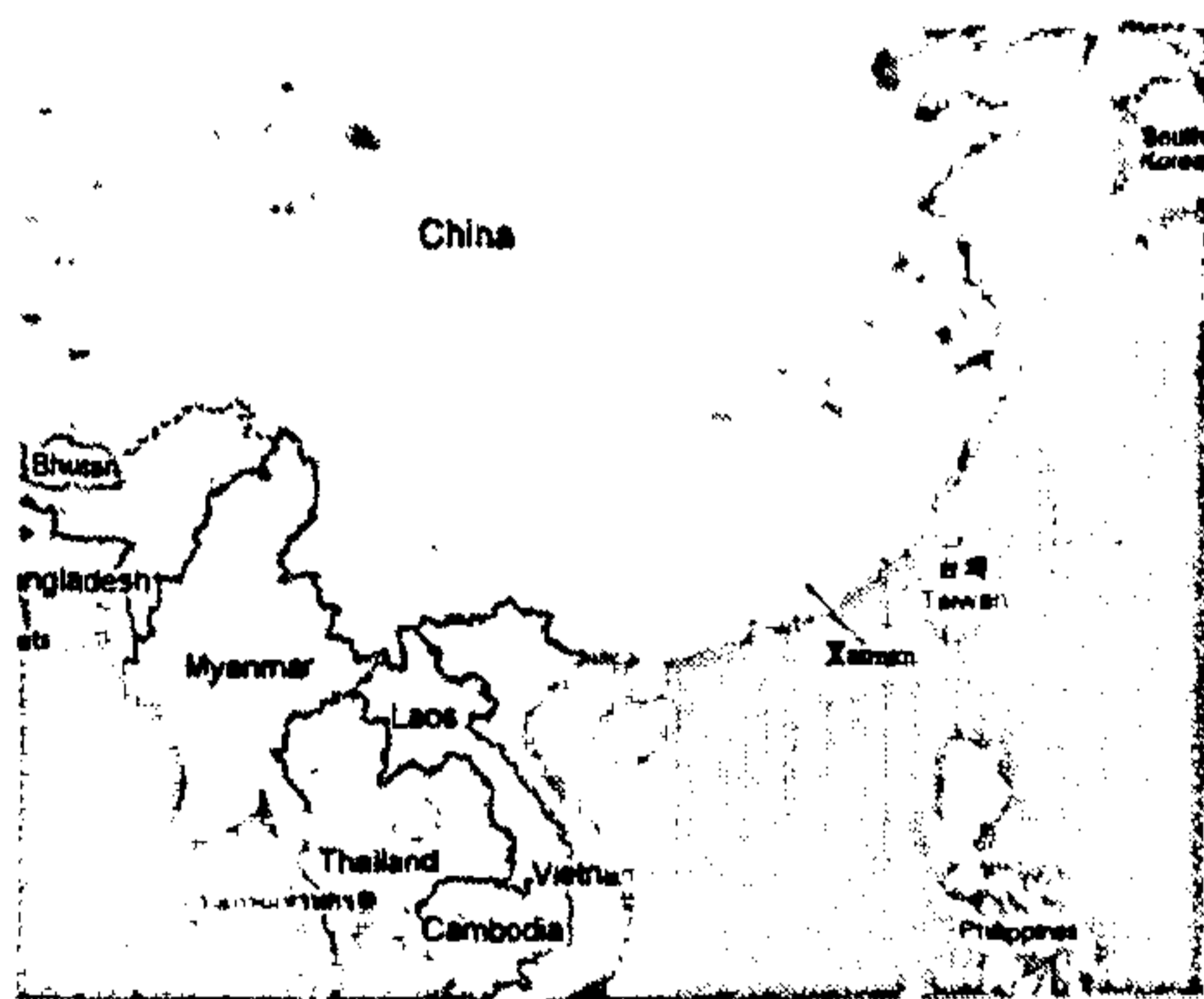


Figure 4-1: The location of Taiwan and Xiamen

Comparing the thirteen transnational brides, foreign labourers and the tourists with the fifteen smuggled women I interviewed, it was clear that their families always knew that the women were going to Taiwan. Moreover, the parents agreed, even encouraged, their daughters to make the trip before coming to Taiwan. For the four 'true married'

<sup>58</sup> Women came through 'true marriage' or foreign labourers would be able to call back home before they began to work in prostitution, therefore, my discussion of calling home when women were working only includes smuggled women and 'fake married' brides.



Chinese brides, it is understandable that their parents knew about their daughter going to Taiwan because they had weddings in China. For the four Vietnamese women who came through 'fake marriage', it may be more acceptable that their parents agreed for their daughters to go to Taiwan. However, their parents might not have understood what would happen after their daughters arrived in Taiwan.

*My parents knew I would come to Taiwan when I was in Vietnam. They were worried about me coming to Taiwan at the beginning, but later they thought I was old enough to decide. My parents do not know what happened in Taiwan. I am afraid of telling what I have experienced in Taiwan. (Thitang, Vietnam, 23)*

The factor of a woman's family knowing about her coming to Taiwan provides some ideas about how the interviewees thought about the trip itself. Most smuggled women did not (and could not if they did not know they would come to Taiwan) tell their families, but transnational brides and foreign labourers had done. Smuggled women and girls were usually lured by the traffickers when they were working away from their hometown. In some cases, they had no chance to tell their parents, or they did not want to tell their parents because they thought the families would not agree with it.

### **'True marriage', 'fake marriage', foreign labour and sex trafficking**

In this section, I will discuss the situations of 'true married' women, 'runaway labourers' and 'fake married' women whom I interviewed and who worked as prostitutes or masseuses in Taiwan. The similarity between 'fake married' women and smuggled women is that their trips from their countries of origin to Taiwan were arranged by traffickers. Smuggling and 'fake marriage' are two of the main methods trafficking gangs employ to transport women. In this study, there were four

Vietnamese brides who came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage', however, only two of them knew that their marriage was fake, the other two were told that they were 'fake married' by the traffickers after they arrived in Taiwan. In Chapter Two, it was mentioned that foreign spouses need to attend interviews before coming to Taiwan. In order to transport women into Taiwan through 'fake marriage', traffickers teach women how to pass the interview. The following quote illustrates the way trafficking gangs traffic women from Vietnam to Taiwan:

*I met someone [the trafficker] and he told me he could bring me to Taiwan. Actually, I did not know who he was. I met him at Hanoi. I lived in Hanoi. He told me he would give me a job in Taiwan and he did not tell me what kind of job I would do in Taiwan. I met him in a coffee shop. I was not working at that time and had nothing to do so I went to the coffee shop everyday...I only met my boss once, and he did all of the documents which I needed. I only met him at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Vietnam. We met there for the interview. I came with my boss and my 'fake husband'. We three went there together. He was not my boss but worked for my boss. My boss had many employees. That was one who worked for my boss, the fake husband and I went to the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Vietnam for the interview. And he told us about the story how we met and what we would do after we were married. He asked me to tell the officer that we met each other by someone's introduction and then fell in love. (Thitang, Vietnam, 23)*

Thitang illustrated the way she met the trafficker and the way she applied to become a migrant into Taiwan. As she mentioned, the trafficker had many gangsters working for him, and this illustrates the links between 'fake marriage' and organised crime. Moreover, she knew that she would come through a 'fake marriage', and her husband was 'fake' too. However, it is a complex process and involves a high cost to the trafficking gang to find a 'fake husband' and send him to another country for a marriage, and to attend the interview. So, as already discussed in Chapter Two,

increasingly traffickers have found new ways to send women more efficiently; they create a 'virtual husband'. Thithy and Thihong were both transported through this process of 'virtual marriage'.

*I was flown to Taiwan and someone picked me up from the airport. I was closed down after he took me to a house. I had to stay there for a month and could not go anywhere. There were many people who were imprisoned like me, about 20-30 people were there everyday. During these days, some people came and went, but they always kept 20-30 Vietnamese women there. It was impossible for me to go out and I could not even speak or walk a little bit loudly. Someone kept an eye on us so we could not go out. When I arrived, the man who watched us asked us to sign in. I did not know what the document was until I signed my name. After we signed our name, they told us that we came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage'. Although I knew it when they told me, it was too late. We signed the document already and could not do anything. Moreover, I had paid the \$6,000 (£3,000) for coming to work and I only could work here as they assigned to me. If I did not follow them, my money would be taken away. When they imprisoned us there, they made fake resident permissions for us. They told us the names of our husbands and told us if anyone asks about my husband, I should just tell the name and address they told me. (Thithy, Vietnam, 37)*

Women who came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' usually knew their marriages were 'fake'. However, the purpose for their coming to Taiwan was to work and earn money. They were also told by the traffickers that their marriages were 'fake'.

Apart from 'fake marriage' and 'virtual marriage', foreign brides and foreign labourers who had left their positions have been found to be working as prostitutes in Taiwan. Unlike smuggled women and 'fake married' women, these foreigners have lived in Taiwan with their husbands (if they came as foreign brides) or with their employers (if they came as foreign labourers). They then left their job or family and worked as prostitutes. In this study, five foreign brides and three foreign labourers

were interviewed. The following describes the reasons the women gave for leaving their family or job.

Four Chinese brides and one Thai bride left their Taiwanese husbands after a few months of living with them. Although they claimed they were 'true married', the time they lived with their husbands was very short. One bride lived with her husband for about one month, the other four interviewees left their husbands within three months. Four brides said they left home after a fight with their husbands. The other bride, Haozi, who also the one who had lived with her husband the longest, was estranged from her husband because he left home.

*I have not seen him since he was driven out by his mother. He even did not receive my call. I called him many times but he did not pick up. I called him many times when I was still at his home. ... At the beginning, I really wanted to marry a Taiwanese man. I cannot compare with those young girls; I am more than 30 years old now. At first, I did not want to work like this but to marry here. Many people marry someone for coming here and working as prostitutes, but I did not. (Haozi, Chinese, 33)*

It can also be argued that nationality was also dependent on the way the interviewees were transported. All smuggled interviewees were from China. According to the statistics of the Taiwanese Immigration Agency, smuggled people whom the law enforcement found were all from China. In a few cases, Vietnamese people were found who had been smuggled into Taiwan; the route was from Vietnam to China then to Taiwan<sup>59</sup>. The smuggling route is always from China to Taiwan, the other way traffickers transport women is through 'fake marriage'. Although in this study, all 'fake married' women were from Vietnam, women of other nationalities also could be

---

<sup>59</sup> Liberty Times (17/03/2008) available at <http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2008/new/mar/17/today-so1.htm> accessed on 14/04/2008

transported through 'fake marriage'. The others came to Taiwan as foreign brides or foreign labourers. Although they did not come through the arrangement of traffickers, from some perspectives, the experiences they had and the difficulties they faced were similar with women who were trafficked through smuggling and 'fake marriage'.

Three foreign labourers left their positions a few months after they had arrived in Taiwan. 'True married' brides and foreign labourers working in prostitution are seldom classified as sex trafficking cases. According to the definition of sex trafficking, discussed in Chapter Two, sex trafficking usually includes transportation which means women are transported to a foreign place by trafficking gangs. However, most foreign brides and foreign workers came to Taiwan through marriage agencies or job agencies. They may have met recruiters who said they would offer them a better job in their original countries, but their journey to Taiwan was not arranged by trafficking gangs. Therefore, they are usually not identified as sex trafficked women. Foreign women who have lived in Taiwan as brides or labourers who are then are lured to work in prostitution could however be considered as trafficked and this phenomenon may not only happen in Taiwan but also possibly in other countries. In the next chapter, I will say more about how the women met with recruiters, the situations they faced, and I will raise the issue that existing principles of identifying sex trafficking women do not sufficiently address women's own stories. In particular, I will examine the ways they came to Taiwan and the regulation and mechanisms of control they experienced.

## **Chapter Five: The process of being lured and transported**

This chapter describes the process of being lured by traffickers and transported to Taiwan through analysis of the descriptions given by the interviewees in this study. At the same time, I discuss the mechanisms of control and regulation the traffickers used to facilitate this process. Sex trafficking is a very complex process. As displayed in Figures 2-4 (see p.37) and 2-6 (see p.46), C. Chiang (2006) and Wang and Tang (2004) pointed out that there are four basic processes through which gangsters transport women to Taiwan through smuggling and 'fake marriage'. These are recruitment, gathering, transportation and selling.

C. Chiang (2006) illustrates this 'typical process' whereby organised gangsters traffick women through smuggling them into Taiwan. The four steps he described are:

1. A snakehead asks brothel owners and agents if they need 'goods' (women). After knowing how many 'goods' these brothels owners and agents need, the snakehead then goes to ask recruiters in China to recruit women. The recruiters then search for women who are working as prostitutes or hostesses and girls who have left home and work in the Southeast of China<sup>60</sup>. Some of these recruited women are then deceived by the recruiters. There are two main ways that recruiters deceive women: first by lying to the women about the work they would do; and the second way is where the women know they will work as prostitutes, but they are not aware of the debt bondage they will have to pay after their arrival.

2. One day before boarding ship, recruiters send women to a storehouse to wait for

---

<sup>60</sup> In my study, only two women who were transported into Taiwan through smuggling were working as prostitutes in China, but most of the women left their home at early age.

the boat.

3. Smugglers/traffickers transport women from China to Taiwan by sea.

4. After arriving in Taiwan, smugglers/traffickers sell women to brothels owners or brokers.

The following section will describe these processes in the context of the finding from this study. First I will discuss how the interviewees met the recruiters in the countries of origin or in Taiwan and what they were told by them. I will then go on to explore how women were transported into Taiwan if they were transported by traffickers, as well as the various processes by which they were controlled and/or regulated, and finally, I will analyse the ways they were sold after arriving in Taiwan.

## **Meeting recruiters**

There were four circumstances in which the interviewees met the persons who asked or invited them to come to Taiwan. Table 5-1 below shows that thirteen of the twenty-eight women in this study met their recruiters when the recruiters appeared as acquaintances through the interviewees' friends or relatives. A third of all the women met the recruiters while out socially in places of entertainment, such as a disco pub, a skating park, KTV or a restaurant. The recruiters invited women to come to Taiwan while they chatted to each other. A few women met the recruiters when they were working, and the recruiters were their colleagues or customers. One woman met her recruiter when she was looking for a job, and was told by the recruiter that he could find high waged jobs for her, and two 'true married' brides knew their brokers through advertisements in Taiwan. I will now go on to examine each of these methods of recruitment in more detail.

Table 5-1: How interviewees met their recruiters

Method of meeting recruiter	Method of coming to Taiwan	Number of people
Through relatives or friends	Smuggling	4
	True marriage	3
	Fake marriage	3
	Foreign labour	3
At entertainment places	Smuggling	7
	Fake marriage	1
	Tourism	1
At the place of work	Smuggling	3
At a job centre	Smuggling	1
Through advertisement	True marriage	2

### *Through relatives or friends*

Nearly half of the women in this study said the recruiters were their friends, relatives or neighbours. This finding is supported by Tang (2003). In his study, 63.6% interviewees met their fake husbands through friends and relatives. In the research of Y. Chiang (2006), seven of the ten interviewees said they met the recruiters through introduction by friends or relatives, three in entertainment places. Although women called their recruiters 'relatives' or 'friends', they were often actually acquaintances. In Asian society, the term 'relative' is a much wider concept than how it is used in the West, and includes many distant relatives who the women might not know. For instance, Xaoju said that she was recruited by a relative; actually, she was recruited by her boyfriend's mother's friend's brother's girlfriend.

Thithy provides a typical example of trusting one of her friends' friend when she had just met her. Thithy was a Vietnamese woman and worked in Taiwan as a domestic worker. She returned to Vietnam because she found the work in Taiwan was too hard. However, after a few months she said she had wanted to work in Taiwan again and had asked a friend who also worked in Taiwan about how to complete the necessary



documentation. Through this friend she got to know her friend's mother, who introduced Thithy to the trafficker.

*I had come to Taiwan by an agency and I thought this was a good way to come, quick, safe and I can earn some money. I thought this was good but I did not know that the woman and the agent deceived me together. The woman was working as a recruiter to find someone who wanted to work in Taiwan. She could get money from the agent while introducing a person. She is a recruiter. (Thithy, Vietnamese, 37)*

Later, Thithy returned to Taiwan after paying £3,000 to the agent, however, her official identity was not that of foreign worker but a bride. She had no idea about the proposed marriage until the broker asked her to sign a marriage document after she had already arrived in Taiwan. Thithy's experience shows that women could be deceived by trafficking gangs even if they had been to Taiwan before. This form of deceiving is one form of the controlling mechanism as discussed in Chapter Two, and is similar to the findings of Gaon and Forbord (2005) who illustrate that women usually become ensnared in sex trafficking after being abducted by traffickers. For Thithy, she had been to Taiwan legally and wanted to return, and she did not think she would be trafficked because it is a common circumstance for Vietnamese women to seek work in Taiwan. Furthermore, she had had a successful experience of working in Taiwan previously.

Four smuggled women and three 'fake married' brides met their recruiters in a similar way to Thithy. After they met the recruiters, they were transported by the traffickers into Taiwan. Another way of meeting their recruiters is found in the stories of two 'true married' women, who met their recruiters in the countries of origin. The recruiters asked the women to work in Taiwan (without telling them that the job was

prostitution).

As 'true married' brides, Woyi and Bobo both met their recruiters when they were still in China. They both met someone who told them that they could find them a job in Taiwan if they wanted one. They rejected this proposition because they thought that they would live very well with their husbands and did not need to work. When they became unhappy with their Taiwanese husbands, they agreed to the work which was arranged by the recruiters<sup>61</sup>.

*He asked me if I would like to work. I said no. He asked me why not. I said it was nothing, I did not need money and my husband was good to me. Then he hung up. A few days later he called me again, asked me if I would like to work and said lots of nice words. I said I was very well to stay at home. Then he said nothing. About ten days later, I quarrelled with my husband... the person called me again and asked me if I would like to do a job. I said it depended on his appearance. (Woyi, China, 30)*

Being a 'true married' bride, Woyi began to work in prostitution after she quarrelled with her husband. Although she knew her recruiter before arriving in Taiwan, her journey was not arranged by traffickers. Therefore, it is difficult for women like her to be identified as trafficked because usually the definition of human trafficking or sex trafficking includes being transported by traffickers. However, I would argue that recruiting foreign women living in Taiwan can also be considered as a form of sex trafficking, and this form needs to be recognised. The key criteria that underpins my argument is whether women are controlled, forced and/or deceived into prostitution, rather than simply the fact of being transported by traffickers.

---

<sup>61</sup> These two recruiters kept asking Woyi and Bobo if they wanted to work in Taiwan when they were in China. Woyi and Bobo did not want to at the beginning, but they became unhappy and later agreed when the recruiters called them again.

Woyi and Bobo were both recruited by someone they knew when they were still in their original countries. Another way of meeting the recruiters is illustrated by two 'true married' brides and two 'runaways' who met their recruiters when they were in Taiwan. One example is provided by Aiya who came from Indonesia and worked as a foreign labourer in Taiwan. She left her job after one month, as she said that her work of caring for an elderly man was too hard for her, and she found a new job through the introduction of her neighbour in Indonesia. The new job was caring for a child, but she then left that job as well. The next time her neighbour offered her a job it was to accompany clients in a karaoke club. Although Aiya did not want to work as an escort, she felt she had to accept this offer.

*It is a bad memory, but it is my fault. I did the bad thing. I was a good girl at home, why I did the bad thing in Taiwan? I know working in the karaoke is a bad thing. I told my friend that I did not want to do this. However, I have no choice, they told me that was the only job I could do. They told me I could work in the karaoke, even if I did not want to, and I still should have a try because I have no money and wanted to earn money. The boss told me this.*  
(Aiya, Indonesian, 25)

Although Aiya did not actually say she was forced to accept the job, she did say she did not want to but her broker told her that she had to. I argue this relates to Kelly's concept of the continuum of violence (Kelly 1988). Aiya's experience may not be categorised as force, but may be seen as a form of intimidation or coercion. Aiya was not forced in an extreme form, but was still persuaded into engaging in prostitution.

Similarly, Ordee, a Thai woman who lived in Taiwan as a foreign bride, met her recruiter in Taiwan. She left her husband because he was a drug addict, and subsequently found a job via an introduction from an acquaintance who she knew in

Taiwan. Just like Ordee, Thitink and Yank also met their recruiters after arriving in Taiwan, as both worked as foreign labourers and then left their positions. Yank left the family that she worked for and asked her friend to find a job for her. Her friend introduced her to a broker:

*Actually, they told me they would offer me a job that is domestic work. I told them I did not want to work as a prostitute. Nobody wants to work as a prostitute. I did not want to work as a prostitute, either. However, later, they told me it was very difficult for me to work here. I said I want to work as a domestic worker. They said 'no, I looked at your body and it is very nice and I look at your face, and it is very pretty, so you should work as a prostitute'. (Yank, Indonesian, 21)*

These four women were not transported by traffickers, and even did not meet a recruiter who promised them a job in their country of origin. However, they all said they did not want to work in prostitution or the escort business, but they had done so because they were in a vulnerable situation, such as being in a foreign country, speaking a foreign language, and were without family and friends. I would argue, therefore, that they were forced to work in prostitution or the escort business although the ways they were controlled were not always direct and easily evident.

### *Meeting recruiters at entertainment places*

About a third of the twenty-eight women met their recruiters when they were going out for entertainment, and they were all younger than 25 years old. Except for Thitang, they were all smuggled Chinese women, and their families did not know they would go to Taiwan. The recruiters met them in entertainment places such as Karaoke establishments, disco pubs, KTV and skating squares. Women who met their recruiters at entertainment places had a similar pattern in the way recruiters lured

them to come to Taiwan. Recruiters can find women in entertainment places, as they provide a conducive context for recruiters to meet their targets. They talked to girls, made friends with them and expressed themselves as role models who had lots of money and lived a wealthy life. They chatted and asked women to come to Taiwan, and told women that they had sent many girls to Taiwan and promised that they themselves and/or other girls would accompany them. Following this, they called the women continually to prevail upon them to come until they finally agreed. Women who met their recruiters at entertainment places appeared to pass extremely quickly through the process of meeting their recruiters and actually beginning their journey. After a few days, the women left. They were given little chance to reflect and often felt pressured into making a very quick choice, from which there was no return.

Lan was a typical example of those women who met the recruiter at a place of entertainment, in her case when she was in a disco pub. She never knew the man until he talked to her that day and asked her to come to Taiwan.

*I met him when I danced in a disco pub. He asked us to come to Taiwan. I also saw he asked other girls to come. We discussed it with each other. He said I could come to Taiwan to have a look, and I thought I had not gone there. It was worth a visit. (Lan, Chinese, 20)*

Lan believed the recruiter's words and came to Taiwan later. Although the recruiter was initially a total stranger to her, Xiaobin also met her recruiter in a disco pub. She explained her regret about trusting the recruiter:

*I know him in that place, and I did not know him before. If I knew he was a bad guy before, I would not get into such a mess. (Xaobin, Chinese, 22)*

Based on what many of the women recounted, it seems that women believed the

recruiters' words because they had painted a beautiful scene of coming to Taiwan. For instance, Lan and Xiaobin both said that they thought visiting Taiwan would be a good experience. Tantan's example also provides a good illustration why women believed the recruiters. Tantan met her recruiter in a disco pub. At the beginning, she told him that she did not want to come to Taiwan, but she agreed after the recruiter told her that many girls would come with her and she could earn lots of money in Taiwan. Even though she had worked as a prostitute in China, she was *not* a migrant sex worker who knew exactly what would happen to her and had 'voluntarily' chose to go to Taiwan to work in prostitution.

*She said it was easy to earn money in Taiwan and asked me to come here. I did not think much about it. I always did things on my impulse. I said yes, but did not take it seriously. I was not certain about this. Two days later, she phoned me to ask whether I had decided yes or no. She asked me to go and said that the broker had come and offered good working conditions. I asked her to bring me to see the broker<sup>62</sup>. Then I met a man from Taiwan. He was about 28 or 29 years old. He told me that I could go back after half a year when I earned some money, and no one would know I would work in prostitution in Taiwan. I agreed...God, I did not even have a chance to consider it. I asked him to give me one day to consider it. The second day, he gave my friend a lot of calls to ask me to come. That was how I came here. But it's not out of my willingness. I came here just because of her. I had been reluctant to do it, but was doing her a favour. (Tantan, Chinese, 25)*

Tantan was told that visiting Taiwan was a great opportunity, and that she could earn a great deal of money. Although Tantan knew what she would do before she came to Taiwan, she did not know smuggling was illegal nor about the debt bondage. Tantan recalled that she was unwilling to come into Taiwan; however a friend of her persuaded her to come by saying it was a good chance to earn money. Therefore, a

---

<sup>62</sup> Tantan and many other interviewees were told the person who owned them in Taiwan was their broker.

woman cannot be simply classified as a 'voluntary' sex worker *only* if she knew what she would do in Taiwan and because she had previously worked as a prostitute. Women should not be identified as 'voluntary sex workers' if they are forced or deceived to work into prostitution. For example, Tantan was under the pressure of her friend's persuasion to come to Taiwan, as she said that she had no chance to consider it. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the voluntary/force binary is ambiguous and can lead to inappropriate judgements. I argue that Tantan could be seen as trafficked because she did not come to Taiwan out of her own volition and her previous life experience, which I have discussed in Chapter Four<sup>63</sup>.

In addition to seeking women through friends/relatives or in entertainment places, in some cases, recruiters also find women at their work places.

### *At the place of work*

The other way women met recruiters in this study was at their place of work. Women who met their recruiters at the places of work had a specific character to their jobs: where they met meet lots of different people everyday increasing the possibility of meeting recruiters, such as restaurant waitresses and hairdressers. Xiaofong and Zinzi, for example, both worked as hairdressers. The recruiter of Xiaofong was a sister-in-law of her colleague. The colleague invited Xiaofong to come to Taiwan when they were cutting hair and told her that she would come to Taiwan too. However, at the end, no one went on the journey but Xiaofong herself.

*I got to know her when I worked out of my hometown. In fact there was a girl who said she would like to come together with me, but finally she did not. The recruiter was her sister-in-law, who promised to come, but did not as well, so*

---

<sup>63</sup> Tantan was raped and trafficked within China, and then she was trafficked again into Taiwan.

*finally, it was myself...The girl was a hairdresser working together with me; she said 'would you like to come to Taiwan?' I asked how I could go there. Since in my city, there were a lot of people who did 'fake marriage' to come to Taiwan. She told me I could come to Taiwan through 'fake marriage'. I told her that can take a long time. She told me: 'no, you can come through smuggling'. Many friends told me smuggling was quite dangerous. People would be thrown in the sea. (Xaofong, Chinese, 29)*

Xaofong agreed to go to Taiwan in part because her colleague had said that she would come with her. The difficulty of earning money in China was also a key factor in Xaofong's decision. Like Xaofong, Zinzi was also a hairdresser. She met her recruiter when she was doing a haircut for the recruiter; a female customer, who asked her if she wanted to work in Taiwan with other girls who also were her customers, so the recruiter also used the technique of promising that other women would go with her and women would believe they are safe to come to Taiwan since she was not alone. Furthermore, the recruiter told Zinzi that she would come to Taiwan as well.

*I knew people in the hair salon which I worked for, who came to wash their hair very often. I was not really familiar with her but had seen her before. I just knew her and did not know any other things. She also brought many girls to my salon, and she asked me if I wanted to come to Taiwan with those girls. She asked me to come first and she would come later, then I was deceived. (Zinzi, Chinese, 19)*

Xaofong and Zinzi both agreed to go to Taiwan because they believed other girls and their recruiter would accompany them. However, they were both cheated because, in the end, no one came with them.

Like Xaofong, Chan was also recruited by her colleague. She was a waitress and knew her recruiter after she just left home to work. At that time, Chan met a girl who also worked in the same restaurant. Later, they went to different working places. After



a few years, they got in touch again, and this time her friend told her that she would find a job for Chan.

*I went to visit her, and she told me she wanted to offer a job to me. I thought it was OK because I had no job. I did not work at that time; I had just resigned from the last job. Only when I did not have a job, I asked her to find a job for me. No, it was not that I asked her to offer me a job. It was she who wanted to offer me a job... That is all. Oops, I was so depressed. I am a person who trusts others easily. That is why I was cheated. I feel I am so childish. Gosh! I cannot stand myself. (Chan, Chinese, 24)*

The women who were recruited at the place of work were all told by their recruiters that they would be offered a high waged job. These three recruiters were all women, a possible explanation that women may be more trusted than men, but the other ways women met recruiters did not show that same situation.

### *At a job centre*

One woman met her recruiter at a job centre. Cosin, who left home at an early age to work in the city, met her recruiter when she was looking for a job in a private job centre. The recruiter officially worked in the job centre and offered her a job as a waitress. However, the recruiter did not exactly tell her where she would go and what she would do. The only thing she knew was she would work far away from her home in China.

*He persuaded me to work in Taiwan when I was on the road. I was shopping at that time, and looking at the posters with job advertisements. The man was there at that moment, and then he asked me whether I was looking for a job. I said yes, and he told me he would give me a job. In fact he did not tell me the exact place, but only said that it was far away. When I asked what the job was, he said that I would be a waitress. But later we knew it would be 'sit-table'*

*when we got on the ship, although I still had no idea about what that would be like. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

Cosin said she thought everything was quite simple. She had no job at that time, so she went to a job centre and talked to an employee.

*They were from a private company, for example, if there is a vacancy in a company, there will be such a job advertisement. I did not know it would be like this, but only followed them.*

Cosin was recruited by the possibility of lucrative work, which turned out to be a false promise, and the recruiter also lied to her about where she would work. When she went back home, the recruiter called her and brought her to Fuzhou. That was the first time she had been there, and she thought that would be where she would work. After staying at Fuzhou for a few days, she was sent to a boat and was told by other women who were also on the boat that they were going to Taiwan. She did not know her destination was Taiwan until she was already on the boat, when other girls also on the boat told her where they were going. Once she had got on the boat, she did not have the choice to go back. Cosin is a typical interviewee in the sense that she had no idea where she would go and what would happen to her. In this case, it can be seen that Cosin was deceived, as she was given no information about her destination and the nature of her work.

### *Recruitment through advertisements*

Rather than through a recruiter, Haozi and Fanfan found jobs from advertisements. From their experiences, it can be seen that no matter where they met the recruiters, the recruiters channelled the women through the process of recruitment step-by-step. They did not ask these women if they would agree to work as prostitutes at the

beginning, but told them when they were controlled by traffickers/brokers. They promised the women 'normal' work first, and met the women before suggesting a sex-related job. The reasons they used to convince the women included stating that there was no other work they could do and that it would be a quicker way to save money, and the underlying meaning of 'a quicker way to save money' was the sooner they could go back home.

Haozi and Fanfan, both 'true married' brides, found the life in Taiwan was not the same as their expectations. At the beginning, Haozi lived with her husband and mother-in-law. However, her husband became unemployed a few months after she migrated to Taiwan. One day, her husband left home when he quarrelled with his mother and left Haozi at home alone. Haozi did not get along well with her mother-in-law and could not get in touch with her husband at that time, so she decided to leave her husband's home and find a job to earn some money to allow her to return to China.

*I was looking for a job on the newspaper. There were many job ads. Actually, I knew many things by watching TV when I was at home. Watching TV was the only thing I can do when I was at home. I have worked outside for a long time, so I am not an idiot, I must have known something about this work. Although I had never worked in this field, I have heard about it. I did not work at a regular place, in the beginning; I worked as a masseuse... Every work has some difficulties; I think it should be better not to do this job. (Haozi, Chinese, 33)*

According to Haozi's account, it sounds like she knew what she would do when looking for a job. However, when asked in more detail about what exactly happened, it can be seen that her work was different from what she was told:

*Q: When you called to ask a job, what did the person actually say to you?*

*A: He told me to work as a masseuse.*

*Q: what did he tell you about the payment?*

*A: He told me we would talk about it later.*

*Q: How long should you work per day?*

*A: That was not regular. If there was a customer, I worked. Otherwise, I went back home. I was not their employee, and he was only my agent. The place I worked was a flat on the second floor; it looked like a normal flat in a house with stairs. I only saw a room, and there were other doors. However, I could not push and have a look into other rooms. I only had been there once. I cannot express my feeling.*

Although Haozi did not expect to work as a prostitute, she was convinced it was the only job she could do and earn money quickly. The way she was persuaded and convinced may not be accepted as a form of force. However, as I have argued, living in a foreign country without friends and family can be seen as a form of vulnerability that makes it easier to be trafficked in my sense of the term. Fanfan provides a similar example. Two months after she arrived in Taiwan, Fanfan left her Taiwanese husband because she thought her husband might have been having an affair with someone else.

She described the way she found her job:

*I phoned them when I went out. In Taiwan, there are some wanted advertisements with phone numbers on the walls and phones. The ad said 'looking for an employee. People will talk to you when you phone them'. Then I phoned the number. (Fanfan, Chinese, 29)*

Again social isolation was a significant factor in Fanfan's vulnerability. She was alone in Taiwan without friends and family, and also without financial support. Just like Haozi, the broker did not tell Fanfan the truth on the phone. He told her that she would work in a regular job and there were lots of jobs she could do.

*He only told me it is normal work, just working for him. There is much work to*

*do, selling goods, working in the market, and all kinds of work. He told me he would look for a job for me and call me later. So, he asked me where I was, he would come to pick me up. He took me to a room and told me the truth. (Fanfan, Chinese, 29)*

The broker deceived Fanfan by promising to offer her a 'normal' job in order to meet her. After Fanfan met and talked to the broker, he persuaded her to work as a prostitute by telling her that she had no family, no friends and no money and if she would like to go back home she would better work in prostitution to earn money.

In summary, typically, Chinese smuggled women and 'fake married' women were trafficked by meeting the recruiters in the countries of origin and were transported into Taiwan through the arrangement of traffickers. Some of the 'true married' brides met their recruiters in the countries of origin, but began to work in prostitution after living in Taiwan for a while. Some 'true married' brides and foreign labourers met their recruiters in Taiwan, and others knew their brokers in Taiwan without going through recruiters but via advertisements.

## **What recruiters told the women**

According to the women's accounts, typically, the recruiters told a package of lies to lure them into sex trafficking. They told the women that they would offer them a high paid job and, for some, that they would send them to Taiwan, and if they did not like the job they could change to other forms of employment. Moreover, they could stay in Taiwan as long as they wanted, and if they wanted to go home, they could go at any time. This package of lies usually did *not* include telling the women that they had to pay back a large amount of debt, or that they would be illegal immigrants (if they were smuggled), and that they had to work in prostitution.

The information that the recruiters told the women affected their willingness to embark on the journey that would end in Taiwan. There were three main things the recruiters usually told the women: one was about the reasons for coming to Taiwan; the second was how long the interviewees were told they would stay in Taiwan; and the third concerned the income and, in a few cases, the debt before the women came to Taiwan. This giving of information is often reported to involve forms of trickery, deception and/or falsehood (Hughes 2002; Kelly 2004; Jobe 2008). Analysis of these three aspects provides a context for understanding why women did agree to travel to Taiwan with their recruiters, as well as highlighting the gap between what they were told and what they subsequently experienced.

Table 5-2 shows the methods of the interviewees coming to Taiwan, eight of the 28 interviewees did not have their journey arranged by traffickers. They were 'true married' brides and foreign labourers and were not transported by traffickers. As I discussed, although 'true married' brides and foreign labourers who work in prostitution in Taiwan are not transported by traffickers, some of them could be regarded as trafficked if they are forced, deceived or controlled. A recent study of foreign brides working in prostitution in Chayi county, Taiwan, reported that most of the police found that Southeast Asian women who work as 'sit-table' were purchased or lured by trafficking gangsters, and that they were almost always young (20-25 years old), and only a few foreign women were married to Taiwanese husbands and worked as 'sit-table' escorts and prostitutes because of a shortage of money (Wang 2005). Wang's research suggests that foreign brides working as 'sit-table' escorts or prostitutes in Taiwan are usually sold or lured by traffickers. In my study, five 'true married' brides and three foreign labourers migrated to Taiwan on their own then

obtained a legitimate job or lived with their husbands. After staying in Taiwan for a short time, they left their job or husbands then worked as escorts or prostitutes. Two of the eight met the recruiters before coming to Taiwan and the others met the recruiters or brokers in Taiwan. The following discussion will focus on what the recruiters told the women, and so will mainly focus on the twenty women who were clearly transported by traffickers.

**Table 5-2: Reasons given by recruiters and methods of coming to Taiwan**

	<b>Reasons given by recruiters</b>	<b>Method of coming</b>	<b>Number of interviewee</b>
The trips not arranged by traffickers	Marriage	Transnational marriage	5
	Working	Foreign labour	3
The trips arranged by traffickers	Working	Smuggling	14
		Transnational marriage (fake marriage)	4
	Tourism	Tourism	1
		Smuggling	1

*Reasons given by recruiters to travel to Taiwan*

Every interviewee had a reason for coming to Taiwan, and it was not always the same as the reasons recruiters used to lure women to come to Taiwan. The first issue has been discussed from the viewpoint of the women in Chapter Four; largely speaking they left home because they wanted to go far away from someone, they were persuaded by someone, they wanted to get a better job, or they were kidnapped, or a mixture of all these reasons. The other issue concerned the reasons the traffickers gave the women to lure them to come to Taiwan, although in some cases they did not even

tell the women where they were going.

As I have discussed in Chapter Two, Huang (2005) in his study found that of the most common reasons that the recruiters asked women to come to Taiwan, 284 (37.1%) were told earning money was much easier in Taiwan, and 166 (21.7%) were told someone would take care them and provide them with high waged jobs. Just as importantly, 125 (20.9%) women did not know they were coming to Taiwan and 128 (21.4%) women were told they would only be travelling to Taiwan for a few days. Only 24 (3.7%) responded that it was because they would have higher pay for working as prostitutes. Y. Chiang (2006) reported seven interviewees who said they came to Taiwan to earn money, one for seeing her boyfriend and two were deceived. Tang (2003) interviewed 33 'fake married' women, and she concluded the reasons those women came to Taiwan were because one woman was deceived, twelve came for marriage, sixteen for work and one to visit relatives. That is to say, over half of the women in Huang's research, the majority of the women in Y. Chiang's research and near half of the women in Tang's study said they were told they would come to Taiwan to earn money. These results are similar to the findings in this study, in that the majority of the twenty smuggled, 'fake married' women and one tourist were told by their recruiter that they would work in Taiwan with high pay.

Eighteen of the twenty women who came to Taiwan through arrangements made by traffickers were told by the recruiters that they would come to Taiwan to work in jobs such as waitresses, hairdressers, or in a factory. Earning money was the typical reason the recruiters/traffickers gave to the women. However, it was not the only reason, as two interviewees came to Taiwan for the purpose of tourism.



The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (US 2000) pointed out that traffickers lure women and girls into their networks through false promises of decent working conditions at relative good pay as nannies, maids, dancers, factory workers, restaurant workers, sales clerks, or models. In this study, similar practices emerged as shown in Table 5-3. Most of the twenty smuggled 'fake married' and tourism women were told that they would come to Taiwan to work. The nature of jobs the recruiters used to lure women included working at what they used to do, but at a much higher wage; or low-technical jobs like waitresses or factory workers. A few of the women were told that they could work at any job they wanted.

Of the interviewees who were promised working opportunities, typically, twelve of them were promised non-sexual jobs and six other women were told they would work in the sex industry including 'sit-table' and 'out-table'. Working as a waitress was the major job that most of the women were told they could do. In some cases, the traffickers and/or recruiters used indistinct language to describe the working content, rather than an exact description. So, fourteen of the eighteen women who were told they would be offered a job in Taiwan, and that the job content was usually not sex-related.

Table 5-3: The purposes recruiters gave for coming to Taiwan

Purpose of coming	Told job	Number of interviewee
Tourism		2
Work	Waitress	6
	Hairdresser	2
	Factory worker	2
	Unclear nature of work	2
	Escort	2
	Prostitute	4
Total		20

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act points out that working as a waitress is one of the most common jobs used by recruiters to convince women (US 2000). In this study, about a third of the twenty women were told they would work as waitresses in Taiwan. The women were told they just needed to serve drinks in KTV, karaoke establishments or restaurants. Typically, Chacha, a 24 year old Chinese woman, was told by a friend, who was her recruiter, that:

*You can work in Taiwan and the wage will be very high. It is a job in KTV. If you do not want that job, you can find some other jobs. You work there if you like it; if not, you can find another job. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Based on Chacha's account, the method that the recruiter used was promising Chacha the offer of a low-technical job in persuading her to come to Taiwan, and he also promised that she could change her job if she wanted to. In fact, after Chacha arrived in Taiwan, she found the reality was not the same as what she was told that she would work in KTV. However, in the end, she was forced into working in prostitution.

*We finally found the truth. It is not as simple as we were told. We were miserable. Later there was someone forcing us to 'sit-table' or something. It is because I think it in a too simple way at first. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

These women were told about the false jobs they would be offered, which turned out to be prostitution. This confirms findings in other research of the route into sex trafficking (Hughes 2002; Kelly 2003; Zimmerman *et al* 2003; Jobe 2008). Besides these false promises of jobs, the recruiters also told the women other lies, such as they could change their jobs if they wanted. In addition to the six women who were told their job was to be as a waitress, Cosin was told her job would be 'sit-table', and she thought that meant being a waitress. She explained that:

*I did not know what that meant. I thought it would be a normal job with 8 hours working every day. So I went with him with no idea of what should I do. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

Luring women by promising to offer them a low-technical job, such as a waitress, was the main method the recruiters used. The second most common method recruiters used was to offer women the same job that they were working in already, although at a much higher waged job than they had at the time. This is illustrated in this study by Zinzi and Xiaofong, who were both told they would work as hairdressers in Taiwan because both had worked as hairdressers in China. The recruiters told them that they could work in the same job in Taiwan, albeit with a much higher wage.

*I worked in a hair salon when I was in China, and she told me I would still do this kind of job after I came to Taiwan. She told me I would get a higher salary when I worked in Taiwan, and I could go back home at anytime if I wanted. I told her I did not have money to come here, and she said that is OK, they would just claim the money from my salary. She did not tell me the exact situation and did not tell me what my real work was. She would tell you these things, and just told me what I told you. She said she would give me some time to think about it, and I rethought it. This looked quite good, I can earn 5000 to 6000 RMB (£300-400) per month and I can go back home at any time I want. It is not that I cannot go back anymore. So, everyone wants to come. (Zinzi, Chinese, 19)*

Similar to many women in this study, Zinzi was lured by a package of offers from her recruiter. Earning money was not the only reason she agreed to come to Taiwan. What the recruiter told Zinzi was that she would have the same job but with a much higher salary, could return home at anytime, and had no need to pay in advance travel costs to Taiwan. However, all this was not true. Zinzi had to work as a prostitute to pay back her debt, and could not go anywhere before she paid back her debt in full.

Xaoshy and Xaojane were the only two women who had previously worked as sit-table girls/escorts, and they had also been told by their recruiters that they would come to Taiwan to work as escorts. However, the work they encountered in Taiwan was different from their expectations.

*At the beginning I just thought it's the way that 'xiaojie' did, because I worked as a 'xiaojie' in China before. That is 'sit-table'. I just accompany consumers to drink for a table. When they left, I could get 100 RMB (£7) tips for this. 'Xiaojie' just did this kind of things, dancing and drinking as well as chatting. That was my concept about being a 'xiaojie'. (Xaoshy, Chinese, 21)*

'Xiaojie' is a blurred word in Chinese. It could refer to being a prostitute, an escort and some other kind of sex work. However, according to Xaoshy when she was told that she would work as a 'xiaojie', she did not know it meant prostitution. 'In China, some "xiaojie" they are only doing "out-table". However, he did not tell me I should do "out-table" all the time', she said.

After arriving in Taiwan and being told by her broker that the nature of her work was prostitution, Xaoshy asked the broker 'why it was different from what he told me to be a "xiaojie", and he said it was all like this, just one step difference'. The broker persuaded her by saying she had to pay back her debt, and then she started to work as a prostitute. Like Xaoshy, Xaojane had also worked as an escort in China. She was sold in China and resold in Taiwan again. Before she came to Taiwan, she was told that 'it was just to accompany customers to drink', and did not know it meant prostitution. In the end, they were both told by their brokers that they should work as prostitutes to pay back their debt. These two cases show that even if women were told they would work as 'xiaojie', that did not mean they understood what 'Xiaojie' meant

exactly.

Another method recruiters adopted was alleging to offer women a job that they wanted. For example, Thihong and Thithy both came to Taiwan for a second time, the first time they came they were working legally as domestic workers. After they returned to Vietnam, they decided that they wanted to work in Taiwan again. They met Vietnamese 'agents' who promised to send them to Taiwan.

Although Thihong and Thithy were trafficked through 'fake marriage', they both did not know it until they arrived in Taiwan. Low-technical migrant labourers in Taiwan usually work as factory workers and domestic maids. As I indicated above, Thihong and Thithy both worked as domestic workers the first time they were in Taiwan. However, they thought working as domestic workers was too hard and the Vietnamese 'agents' promised to offer them jobs in a factory.

*When I was in Vietnam, one of my friends who legally worked in Taiwan also belonged to this company, and she introduced me to work in Taiwan. She introduced the man who helped her to come to Taiwan to me. He told me I would work in a factory. Because of the last experience, I was afraid of working as a domestic worker. I wished I could work in a factory this time and it would be better. He told me I would work in a factory, a television factory. He told me I could earn 18,000 NTD (£600) per month, and stay here for three years. (Thihong, Vietnamese, 28)*

The Vietnamese interviewees were usually told the nature of job would be a factory worker or a domestic maid. This is because that, according to Taiwanese government policy, the main jobs migrant labourers could obtain were exactly these sorts of jobs. Moreover, working in a factory is seen as less hard than working as a domestic worker, and is therefore more attractive, and it provided traffickers a persuasive story

to lure women by the promise of a job in Taiwan. Vietnam is a labour-exporting country, therefore Thihong and Thithy wanted to work in Taiwan as foreign labourers. According to Thihong, the recruiter told her clearly about the false nature of job, the wage and the time of staying in Taiwan. Because Thihong had been to Taiwan once, she did not want to work as a domestic worker again. In order to entrap Thihong, the recruiter told her that she would work in a television factory with high pay. However, both Thihong and Thithy were trafficked through 'fake marriage' and never worked in a factory.

Instead of being told about false future employment possibilities, a few of the women were told nothing about the job they would do in Taiwan. Thitang, a 20 year old Vietnamese woman, wanted to earn money and she told the Vietnamese 'agent' that 'I would do any job. I wanted to earn money so I could do any job he gave me'. However, for her, the meaning of any job did not include prostitution. After finding out she was expected to work in prostitution, she said 'I really did not know I would work like this'. Unlike Thitang who told the recruiter she wanted to do 'any job', Xiaofong was told she could do anything she wanted.

*I could do anything here. The recruiter said that the broker would arrange it, and we can do anything we would like to. (Xaofong, Chinese, 29)*

However, in the end, the broker of Xiaofong did not offer her a job she wanted, but forced her to work in prostitution. Working and getting a higher wage is the main reason the women were encouraged to go to Taiwan and the nature of the jobs recruiters spoke of to lure the women were jobs which the women wanted and were capable of.

Only four women were told their job was prostitution before they came to Taiwan. All of them had siblings and were the oldest child of their family, and their background shows the influence of the issues of gender inequality and male supremacy (three had young brothers). Moreover, they all encountered debt bondage. Two of these, Janjan and Tantan, had both been trafficked in prostitution when they were in China. Tantan worked into prostitution after being raped and was without money, and although she did not want to come to Taiwan, she was persuaded to by her friend. Janjan was sold into a brothel when she was eight, and she came to Taiwan to earn more money. They knew they would work as prostitutes in Taiwan, as they had been in China.

*I was working as a 'xiaojie' [prostitute] in China, a friend of mine who also worked as a prostitute came back to China from Taiwan. She told me I could earn a lot in Taiwan. (Janjan, Chinese, 20)*

As well as Janjan and Tantan, Lan and Xiaoyu also knew they would work as prostitutes in Taiwan. Lan knew about the job from one of her friends.

*I knew these things from my friends who are prostitutes in China. (Lan, Chinese, 20)*

The reason Lan came to Taiwan was because she wanted to earn some money and for tourism. A more specific reason that Xiaoyu came to Taiwan was because she wanted to break up with her boyfriend<sup>64</sup>.

To sum up, only four women knew they would work as prostitutes before they came to Taiwan, the others were told about jobs which were not prostitution. Not all interviewees were told they would be offered a job in Taiwan; two of the interviewees came to Taiwan for tourism. Yaya met her recruiter in a disco pub, and he asked Yaya

---

<sup>64</sup> Please see Chapter Four.

and her friends whether they would like to come to Taiwan. She said 'I thought we were coming for tourism, so I agreed'. Afterward she was transported through smuggling and involved through the whole trafficking pattern. Corn also came to Taiwan for tourism. The trafficker applied for a tourist visa for her and subsequently brought her into Taiwan.

Corn met the recruiter, Peter, through an introduction by her landlord. Typically, he was an acquaintance. Similar to the recruiters women met at entertainment places, Peter was described as a rich guy who chatted and dined with women, and then persuaded them to come to Taiwan, as well as promising them he would sort out the official documents for them and pay for the journey. The first time they met was with Corn's landlord and three other flatmates in a store nearby her accommodation. A month later they met again and had dinner together. Many times after this they went shopping and had dinner together:

*Then Peter asked me whether I would like to come to Taiwan. He persuaded me all the time, asking me which Taiwan super star is my favourite, and talked about interesting things'. (Corn, Indonesian, 21)*

Corn told Peter that she liked the Taiwanese superstar Jay Zhou, and then Peter asked her whether she would like to attend one of his concerts. The recruiter asked what Corn was interested in and lured her by promising her she could attend a concert of her idol; moreover, she was told that she did not need to worry about any documentation or pay for the journey. Corn was not the only one woman Peter tried to recruit. He also asked Corn's other three friends:

*I had three friends, and two of them wanted to come. So Peter helped all three*



*to apply for visas. But later one could not come because her family member was ill, and another woman did not come either because her mother did not permit her. When two of our three could not come, I did not want to as well, although everything had been prepared. I planned to come to have fun in Taiwan, but now the two could not go together with me, so I regretted it. Peter was a bit angry, saying that it would be a waste if you don't come, since everything has been done. When I was thinking, my landlord told me that if you don't want to, you need not. I thought things were all prepared and thirty days was all right for me, so I had better go. (Corn, Indonesian, 21)*

As I have indicated, all of the women I interviewed had worked as prostitutes or masseuses in Taiwan, except for three women who were arrested before being sold. Only four women knew about the real nature of work before they came to Taiwan, so a majority of the twenty women were abducted by the traffickers after the (false) promise of lucrative work. Kempadoo (1998) argue that trafficked women are often migrating sex workers who are made vulnerable to trafficking and exploitative labour conditions due to the illegality of their migration and the illegality of prostitution itself. Doezema and Kempadoo assert that the majority of trafficked women would have been working in prostitution before they migrate. However, Liz Kelly (2003) argues that women are rarely aware if they will work in prostitution before their arrival in the destination country, and if they know some form of prostitution will be involved it is often misrepresented to the women by their traffickers. In this study, the majority of the women recounted that they were not aware that prostitution would be involved when they left their country of origin. Two women's accounts did indicate that they believed they would work as 'sit-table' and four women were told they would work in prostitution (see similar findings, Jobe 2008).

### *Length of time they would stay*

A further element of the story the recruiters used to persuade the women to go to

Taiwan concerned the length of time they would stay in Taiwan. In this study, some interviewees were never told about this issue, some were told they would stay for a few months and others were told a few years (see Table 5-4 below).

**Table 5-4: The length of time the interviewees were told about staying in Taiwan**

Length of time	Number of interviewees	Method of coming
Never told	5	Smuggling
Any time they want	4	Smuggling
One month to one year	6	Smuggling
	1	Tourism
One to four years	4	Marriage(fake marriage)

This table is quite revealing in several ways. First, about a quarter of the twenty women were never told about this issue and they did not think about it. This illustrates the limited information that some women had before coming to Taiwan. Moreover, because some of the women had not thought about the period of staying in Taiwan, it is possible that these women did not know that the way they came to Taiwan was illegal. Second, another group were told they could go back at anytime they wanted. This is another example of how the traffickers deceived women in order to traffick them into Taiwan as, in fact, none of the women who came to Taiwan through smuggling and 'fake marriage' could go home whenever they wanted. They had to pay their debt back before they could return home. Third, Chinese women who came to Taiwan by smuggling were always told that they would stay/work in Taiwan for a few months, if they were told anything at all, and then they could go home with their money. Women who came from Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia through 'fake marriage' were told they would stay in Taiwan from one to four years. The difference of this the length of time told by the recruiters may relate to the Taiwanese government's policy toward foreign labour. As I have discussed in Chapter Two, the

migrant labour policy in Taiwan allows migrant workers to work in Taiwan from two to four years. Therefore, women who were recruited into Taiwan through 'fake marriage' from countries which export workers into Taiwan were told they could stay in Taiwan for a similar period. They believed that they would work as migrant workers in Taiwan, but through different routes.

About a third of the twenty women discussed in this section were told the length of time they would stay in Taiwan was between one month and twelve months. All these women came through smuggling, except Corn who came through tourism. According to these women's accounts, it usually took a few months to pay back the so called debt, and another few months to earn the 'boat ticket' for being sent back to China. One of the six smuggled women who were told about the length they would stay before coming to Taiwan, Xiaobin, was told that she would come to Taiwan through tourism, 'I was told that it was probably three months like a tourist', she said. Of the other five women, four of them were the only four interviewees who knew they would work as prostitutes. For instance, Janjan described what she was told about this:

*She told me that we can earn 3,000 RMB (£200) every day in Taiwan, and if you are lucky enough, 10,000RMB (£666) was no problem. I did not believe her, thinking that it was too exaggerated. She said 3,000 RMB (£200) was no problem in my condition so that I could pay the debt back within twenty days. Besides, I was told by her that in her company, prostitutes won't be caught until at least three months later. (Janjan, Chinese, 20)*

This might suggest that these four women were given more truthful information than others. They knew what they would do and how long they would stay in Taiwan. Moreover, three of them also knew about the debt they would have and that they would enter Taiwan through smuggling. The other counter example is Corn. She was

the only non-Chinese interviewee who was told she would only stay in Taiwan for less than one year. She was told by the trafficker that she would come to Taiwan for tourism and stay for a month. After she arrived in Taiwan, she was locked up in a room and forced to work as a prostitute.

Compared with the Chinese interviewees, all four women from Vietnam, Indonesia and Thailand who came through 'fake marriage' were all told that they would stay in Taiwan for a few years, usually between two to four years. The difference of the length of stay in Taiwan between Chinese women and Southeast Asian women is based on their different understanding of their trip to Taiwan. According to the *Employment Service Law* (1984) Article 52, the duration of the Permit for staying in Taiwan for foreign labourers shall not exceed two years; upon the expiration of which the employer may apply one time for an extension, and the extended duration shall not exceed one year. According to this Article, the longest period foreign labourers can work in Taiwan in any one period is three years. Therefore, Southeast Asian women can suppose they could stay in Taiwan for up to three years. This circumstance explains the reason why 'fake married' interviewees who came from Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam were all told they could stay in Taiwan for a few years.

Thitang provides a typical example:

*My boss applied for the visa for me. She said I could work here for two years. The visa was only for one year, but it can be extended. (Thitang, Vietnamese, 23)*

Thitang was promised a clear period of working in Taiwan, and Thihong was as well. She was also told that she would work in a factory, a television factory, earn £300 per month, and stay in Taiwan for three years. Thithy was told similar information:

*He told me that I could earn more than 20,000 NTD (£333) per month, and the working hours are eight per day. And, I could work overtime. He told me that I would work in Taiwan for three years and plus one year, so the total is four years. The first time I came here, I knew I could work here for two years and plus one year, that is three years. But this man told me I could work here for four years. (Thithy, Vietnamese, 37)*

The length of time, the wage and the type of job they were told they would have were similar to that which foreign labourers normally have, which goes some way to explain why women believe recruiters, especially if they had worked in Taiwan previously.

In addition to the women who had been told the time they would stay in Taiwan, five women were not told anything about how long they would stay in Taiwan before coming to Taiwan. These interviewees all came from China to Taiwan through smuggling. As I mentioned earlier, Yaya was kidnapped and sold after her arrival into Taiwan. She did not know she would come to Taiwan and therefore did not know for how long she would stay. The other four women (all Chinese smuggled women) were not told by recruiters about the length of time they would stay and they did not ask either. For example, when Xiaofeng was asked during the interview about the information she was given about staying in Taiwan, she said 'I did not ask the recruiter about that, I never even thought of it'. Xiaofeng was not the only woman who did not ask about it. Xiaoshi also illustrated how she trusted the recruiter and agreed to come to Taiwan in a short time, and did not think about the nature of the job.

*I didn't know how long I would stay here, because I came here in a hurry and did not think too much. I was lost then. I didn't know where I should go and what to do. (Xiaoshi, Chinese, 21)*

Sending women to Taiwan in a short time was also a typical situation in the process of

transportation. I argue that the reason Chinese women did not ask about the period of staying in Taiwan may in part be due to the fact that going to Taiwan was not viewed by them as going abroad, as many Chinese people think of Taiwan as a part of China. This helps to explain why women who came through 'fake marriage' were usually concerned about how long they would stay in Taiwan, but that this was not the case with smuggled women. This argument is supported by Hong-Chun Yeh's (2004) and Wang-Ting Lin's (2005) studies. Yeh used a questionnaire survey to elicit responses from 239 Chinese smuggled women, and 191 (79.9%) women pointed out that they thought Taiwan was a part of China, of whom 36 women thought they could enter to Taiwan without any documentation (Yeh 2004 p.162). Lin's study also concluded that the Chinese smuggled women in her study believed that Taiwan is a part of China and that smuggling is not an illegal activity, and some of the women did not know where Taiwan was and had no idea about the political situation between Taiwan and China. As a result, women are more easily lured to come to Taiwan because they think coming to Taiwan is simply travelling to a different part of China (Lin 2005 p. 65-66). Compared with women who had no idea about how long they would stay in Taiwan, other women were told they could go home at anytime they wanted. Four of the twenty interviewees were told this, for example, Xiaoju, who recounted:

*He said that I could go back home whenever I want, and I believed him so much. I did not think he would cheat me. (Xiaoju, Chinese, 14)*

However, what happened was different from what the recruiter had said to Xiaoju as she then was told she could not go home until she paid back her debt. Another example is provided by Chacha who was trafficked via smuggling, although she was initially told she would come through tourism.

*One of my friends told me that I could work in Taiwan and the wage was very high. I believed her words and discussed with my friends, talking about coming and working together. I believed what she said and decided to come here on my own. I did not know it was smuggling when I was planning to come here, I only knew it later. At the beginning, she told me I would come here by tourist visa. I did not often go out with others. I really did not know much about what smuggling was and totally had no idea about this. Then, she told me we could go to Taiwan with a tourist visa and could come back at any time as we wanted to. I have no idea about these smuggling things. I just realized it when I got on the boat. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Chacha was deceived in several ways. First, she was deceived about the length of time she should stay in Taiwan. Second, she was deceived regarding the method she would come to Taiwan as she was smuggled into Taiwan, which required no visa at all. Third, she was told by her broker later that she must pay back her debt and earn money for smuggling her back to China. Telling women they could go home at any time was a common strategy used by the trafficking gangsters in the recruitment process, yet all the interviewees who were trafficked through smuggling were subsequently told that unless they paid the debt they could not go home after they arrived in Taiwan.

### *Debt and income*

Debt bondage is one of the main methods that traffickers use to control women (Farr 2005). Typically, in this study women trafficked through smuggling and tourism were not informed about the debt before arriving in Taiwan. In other cases, the alleged debt was increased continually to avoid women being freed, since they would be told that they would go home after they pay back the debt.

Alternatively, the women who came through 'fake marriage' all knew about the debt,

but they did not know they would expected to work in prostitution to pay back the debt. Some of them had to pay before their journey started; others only needed to pay after they started to work. The debt bondage operated in many forms to control women. First, women were asked to pay some money before coming to Taiwan, and told they had to pay the rest of the money after arriving in Taiwan. In this situation, women could not reject coming to Taiwan after they paid a huge amount of money. Because they had a huge debt already, they had higher pressure to earn money in order to pay back the existing debt. They had to come and work to pay back the existing debt. These cases were mainly 'fake married' brides. Second, women did not know they have to pay the debt before coming to Taiwan. After they arrived in Taiwan, they were told they had to work in prostitution to pay it off. The other eight women who came through 'true marriage' and foreign labour did not have debt bondage because they were not transported by traffickers. This section will analyse the women's understandings of debt, and of the income they were told they would receive.

Debt bondage means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his/her personal services or of those of a person under his/her control as a security for debt (TVPA 2000). Farr (2005) suggests that many of the youngest girls who are trafficked from the poorest countries are told almost nothing about the terms of their debt; the first they may hear about this is the alleged price for which they were purchased. C. Chiang (2006) supports the argument of Farr, and claims that, in his study, smuggled women who came to Taiwan and worked as prostitutes were paid nothing before they came. He also concluded that snakeheads were paid a smuggling fee for the smuggled women when they sold the women to brothels; each woman was sold for between £3,000 and £3,333, and then the brokers would tell women that they



should work as prostitutes to pay back the debt.

In my study, only four of the fifteen smuggled women were told about debt bondage before coming to Taiwan, and three of those four knew they would work as prostitutes in Taiwan. This finding is in line with Farr's findings. Moreover, this phenomenon of women who do not know about the debt bondage is further evidence of the women being deceived in the process of trafficking. Debt bondage worked both as a way to control women to work in prostitution and as a way to escape because women were told they would be freed if they pay off the debt. In some cases, women not only had to pay off a debt, when they had just arrived in Taiwan, but also were told their debt was increasing continually. Since women were told they would be freed when they paid the debt off, if brokers did not want women to leave the brothels, they increased the debt continually making it almost impossible for women to be able to pay it off. This is an important way to control women and keep them working for brokers.

Table 5-5 shows the amount of the alleged debt the smuggled, 'fake married' and tourism interviewees were told about before or after they arrived in Taiwan<sup>65</sup>. Most interviewees were told their debt for smuggling or 'fake marriage' into Taiwan was between £3,000 and £3,500. Three women were found or arrested by the police before they were told about the debt and one woman who came through a tourism visa was not told about the debt either. The amount of debt the women were told about was very similar, irrespective of the methods that were used to transport them to Taiwan.

---

<sup>65</sup> Other women included five 'true married' brides and three foreign labourers.

Table 5-5: The price of the debt

The price of debt	The number of interviewee
£2000-2500	1
£2501-3000	2
£3001-3500	11
£3501-4000	2
Not told	4
Total	20

The first form of control in debt bondage is paying money to traffickers in advance, which is also a powerful method to control women. Thihong paid £3,500 before she came to Taiwan. After arriving, she still needed to pay more than £200 per month for the 'fake husband fee'. The money she gave to the agent was borrowed from a bank. Since she had a huge loan, she had a stronger reason to earn money for paying back the debt:

*I spent \$7,000 (£3,500) not for coming here for two weeks and being sent back home. I wanted to earn money before going back. It is not so easy to earn money in Vietnam. I should work for many decades so that I can earn \$7,000. He asked me to sign in and I could only do that. I wished to find work as soon as possible, I was so nervous and worrying about this. I was almost worried to death as well as I lost 5 kilograms in weight because I cried all day without eating anything. I was so worried about it. My family is very poor and I spent \$7,000 to come to Taiwan. If I was really cheated, I would lose my house and have no place to live. I was so worried about my parents who were so old. Where they could live since we lost our house? I was so worried and cried all day. (Thihong, Vietnamese, 28)*

Family responsibility worked as a form of control to force Thihong to agree to work in prostitution. Although Thihong did not want to sign a marriage statement, the broker told her that she had to sign the document before she could find a job. In order to pay back the huge loan, Thihong signed the document because she believed that she could begin working as soon as possible. She expressed her worry that she had no

choice but to do what the traffickers asked her to do in order to earn money because she had family responsibility to care for her parents. The other way the traffickers forced Thihong to obey them was by asking her to pay a fee for food every day. 'He told us we could not work or go back home until we sign the document. We would be bonded and could not go anywhere, moreover, we paid 100 NTD (£1.6) for food everyday'. So, Thihong paid \$7,000 (£3,500) first to come to Taiwan, and was then charged 100 NTD everyday for food. She was therefore persuaded into obeying her trafficker because she had debt, was not free to go out and felt helpless.

The amounts of debt displayed in Table 5-5 are similar to the research findings of C. Chiang (2006) and Huang (2005). In Huang's study, 369 (62.5%) Chinese smuggled women said their debt was between £2,500 and £4,000, and 454 (79.2%) participants did not pay anything before they travelled. Y. Chiang's research (2006) also had similar results; nine out of the ten Chinese smuggled women reported that they did not know about the debt before arriving in Taiwan; one interviewee paid £500 before she came because she came to find her Taiwanese boyfriend. Similarly, in my study, all Chinese smuggled women, except the three who were arrested before being sold, recalled finding themselves in huge debt to their traffickers or brokers on arrival in Taiwan, and they felt that they had little choice other than to work in prostitution to pay it back. This is another form of control via debt bondage. For example, Zinzi described how information on the debt bondage was used to force her to begin work:

*The broker told me I should work as a prostitute and I just cried, I was continually crying. I told them I did not want to work but he said I owe him 200,000NTD (£3,300) and I must pay it back to him. I told them I did not want to do that, I could find a job by myself and kept crying. He said 'doing a normal job in Taiwan you only can earn from 20,000 to 30,000 NTD (from £330 to £500) per month and when could I pay back all the money?' (Zinzi,*

*Chinese, 19)*

Zinzi was a typical example of a woman who knew about the debt bondage only after arriving in Taiwan and being sold to the broker. According to her experience, we can see that debt bondage is not simply a method traffickers use to persuade women to pay them money, but is also as a way of persuading them to work in prostitution and raise future income. Also, it can be seen as a way to escape because all the women who were told about the debt were also told that they could *only* leave if they pay the debt off. As other researchers have argued (see, for example, Jobe 2008), debt bondage acts in this way as an important mechanism of control in the trafficking process. The traffickers forced women to obey them by telling them that they owed the traffickers a lot of money and they had to pay the debt back and then they would be free. For example, Xiaoshi facing this situation asked if she could do other work to pay back the money. The traffickers told her that she could not:

*At the beginning they said I should do this kind of work. If I did other jobs, I cannot pay off the debt. So I did the job first. He told me 'if you want to do something else, you can change to another one after you pay back. If you know someone, you can find another job by yourself'. He said 'it is OK only if you pay the debt off. However, if you can't pay it off, you can't go anywhere'. He controls my freedom. (Xiaoshi, Chinese, 20)*

The debt is a form of coercion because Xiaoshi could not go back home if she could not pay back the debt. Also, it was a way to encourage her to work to pay quickly to get out of it and to go home. Moreover, the majority of the smuggled Chinese women did not inform their parents that they would come to Taiwan and after they arrived in Taiwan, and in some cases before they arrived in Taiwan, they could not communicate with their friends and families. This enhanced their desire to go back home, which meant they felt they had to work in prostitution to pay back their debt as

quickly as possible. Xiaoshi said 'they absolutely hope women can stay there and would not help women to find other jobs'. Since women were told they could not pay back the debt by working for other jobs, it was difficult to avoid what brokers asked them to do. The other way that brokers used to make women believe there was no way not to work in prostitution, was to make women understand that they cannot pay the debt back immediately. Xiaobin provided an example of this:

*He said that you can call back your family and ask them to pay back the debt, and then we can send you back home. I thought it was impossible for my family to provide them with ten or twenty thousand immediately, so I did not tell my family, and did not tell them that I was in Taiwan. He said that I should work as a prostitute. I really felt so sad, because I had not done anything like this in China. I did not feel easy to do it. (Xiaobin, Chinese, 22)*

Poverty made Xiaobin vulnerable, because she could not afford to pay a huge amount of money without resorting to work in prostitution. Having no money to pay back the debt, wanting to return home, having no friends and family, being told that they had no choice were all factors in leading the women feel that they had 'no choice' but to work as prostitutes and make money for their brokers. Xiaobin expressed her situation of being convinced that she had to work in prostitution: 'he said that there is no other choice and I did not dare to run away. Besides, I had no family and friends here, so I had to obey them. He was bad'. The authority of being a broker was also a form to control women. Yaya also expressed her unwillingness to work as a prostitute:

*I did not want to do it, but I had no choice, since I had been here, the only way for me to come back home earlier is to work. He [broker/ agent] said now that you have been here, how can you go back home if you do not do this, because the money for the transportation here was offered by him, so we had to pay 200,000 NTD (£3,333) to him. He asked us to work so that we go come back home earlier after paying him back. I was thinking that since I had no relatives here, I had to work to earn that money. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

Although she said that her broker did not obviously *threaten* her, he convinced Yaya that to obey him was the only way to get to go home. Yaya did not want to work as a prostitute; however, she felt that she had no other option but to do so. Social isolation was also an important factor in causing Yaya to listen to her broker, as she recalled that:

*I did not want to do it but to run away. However, I do not know where I should go. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

All of the women in this study who came to Taiwan through smuggling did not pay any money before coming to Taiwan. As I have outlined, most of them did not know about the debt until they were sold to their brokers, a typical situation found in other studies (Farr 2005; C. Chiang 2006). However, this was different to the women who came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage'. The interviewees who came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' were all told about the debt or the fee of coming to Taiwan before they came. Thithy and Thihong even paid a large amount of money before they left home, in addition to having to pay more money after arriving in Taiwan. The money they were required to pay included a monthly 'fake husband fee', a 'fake marriage fee', and other charges. Thithy explained the debt she had to pay in this way:

*And then I paid more than \$6,000 (£3,000) to the Vietnamese agent. I did not know I came here through 'fake marriage' at the beginning. I was told later. But the document is real. I paid the agent \$6,000 (£3,000) before I came to Taiwan. And I should pay more 12,000 NTD (£200) per month after I worked in Taiwan. My total wage is 30,000 NTD and they take 12,000 NTD away, so I only could get 18,000NTD (£300) per month. (Thithy, Vietnamese, 37)*

As I have indicated, in some cases the debt to brokers increased continually. For instance, Thimai was told by the recruiter that she would have to pay back \$3000

(£1,500) for the fee for coming to Taiwan. She also needed to pay 10,000 NTD (£166) monthly for the 'fake husband fee'. However, after arriving in Taiwan, her broker said Thimai should pay 30,000 NTD (£500) per month for the 'fake husband fee' and what was the left of her wage would go to pay off the \$3000 debt. After Thimai paid all the money back, the broker still charged her more money:

*I told the boss that I had repaid \$3,000 (£1,500), and paid the fake husband fee for five months (£2,500). It should be called an end, and I could go back to Vietnam. The he asked me to live here for one year. If I did not live here that long, I should repay \$1,000 (£500) for the flight ticket and another \$2,000 (£1000) for not staying longer than one year. That comes to \$3,000. He said if I pay that money, I could leave. I did not have another \$3,000 to pay so I could not go home. (Thimai, Vietnamese, 20)*

Therefore, Thimai felt she could never break free of debt because she would later have added charges. So the debt she was initially told about paying back was a 'fake promise'. Arguably, debt bondage was a very powerful mechanism to control women to submit to their traffickers' demands. The consequences of not paying back the debt, according to what the women were told by the traffickers or brokers, was that they could not return home. For the smuggled women, as it was illegal for them to stay in Taiwan, they were told that they had no other job to do but prostitution. Moreover, the later they started to work as prostitutes the longer it would be to return their country of origin, so, paying back the debt was a way to return home. Even after paying back the debt, the women often still needed to 'earn' the money for an air ticket or boat ticket to return home. Sometimes, the debt was increased time after time. These persuasive strategies which the women described were employed to force women to work as prostitutes and make money for traffickers.

Although, as I have described, over half of the interviewees had no idea about the debt before coming to Taiwan, the majority *were* told about the income they allegedly could earn. A recent study in the Chiayi County of Taiwan (Wang 2005) points out that trafficking gangsters usually deceive women by luring them to Taiwan with the promise of very good working conditions, such as they could choose to work as escorts or prostitutes, and also could choose the consumers. This research in Chiayi County shows the foreign women can either work as escorts/ sit-table women where they could get £5 per table, or work as prostitutes where they would be paid £13 per hour. They are also often told that if they do not want to work, they could go home right away. However, after arriving in Taiwan, according to Wang (2005), they are controlled to work as escorts or prostitutes and cannot ask for help.

The eight 'true married' brides and foreign labourers did not talk about debt; since they were not transported by traffickers they did not have the alleged debt. The main reasons these women worked in prostitution relates to their vulnerability, which I have discussed in Chapter Four.

Eighteen of the women talked about the wage they were told by their recruiters they would get, the other ten women were not told exactly the pay they could earn, although this information were usually false. Table 5-6 shows that the wage the recruiters told these women they could expect to earn was diverse, ranging between 18,000 NTD (£300) and 90,000 NTD (£1,500) per month. The average wage in Taiwan is 40,309 NTD (£640)<sup>66</sup> and the basic wage is 17280 NTD (£288)<sup>67</sup>. Eight interviewees were told their wage would be around 20,000 NTD (£330), which is

---

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/fp.asp?xItem=16451&ctNode=3255> .7/2006 when the fieldwork was conducted, the average wage of the industry and service industry employees

<sup>67</sup> The basic wage of 17280NTD was announced by the ministry of labour affairs after 30/06/2007.



similar to what Taiwanese labourers are paid. This wage compared much more favourably with the pay they could expect to earn in their hometown. The other five women were told not the exact income, but were informed that the wage would be very high.

Table 5-6: The wage interviewees were told: unit: NTD

Alleged wage per month	Number of interviewees
18,000-24,000 (about the basic Taiwanese wage)	8
40,000-90,000 (higher than the average wage)	5
Never told specific amount	3
easy money	2

As Table 5-6 shows most of the eighteen interviewees who were given information about wages were told this would be close to the basic wage in Taiwan. Although 20,000NTD (£300) is almost the minimum wage per month in Taiwan, however it is a considerable sum of money in China, Indonesia, and Vietnam, as Chacha described:

*The pay in China was very low, just hundreds to 1000 RMB (£60) per month.  
(Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

*The recruiter said the payment was more than 20,000 RMB to work in Taiwan and the pay was averagely high there. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Five women were told they could expect to earn a higher than averaged wage, two of these were told they would work as waitress, one as hairdresser, one as sit-table woman and one as a prostitute.

The alleged highest monthly wage told by recruiters was 90,000 NTD (£1,385).

Janjan, for example, was told she could earn 3,000 RMB (£200) everyday, which is much higher than the average wage in Taiwan. Janjan worked as a prostitute in China and she knew she would also work as a prostitute in Taiwan<sup>68</sup>.

Three women did not talk about the wage and two women said they were told it was 'easy money'. For example, Xiaoshi recounted what she was told the wage she would earn:

*'It depends on you'. I remembered he said: 'if you can work hard, you could pay off 20, 000 NTD (£333) in one and a half months'. It also depends on your luck and when you get caught. It's possible on the next day you pay off your debt that you get caught, and thus, you make no money. It's also possible that you can earn hundreds of thousands of dollars if you work for two or three months. It's just like that. He didn't tell me. He just said it's easy to make money and didn't tell me the exact amount. (Xiaoshi, China, 21)*

Again, Xiaoshi was also encouraged that if she 'worked hard' she could pay back the debt in a short time and earn money. Moreover, the broker controlled her by telling her that she might be caught at any time, so she had to have as many consumers as she can just in case.

The discussion in this section has focused on the women's accounts of what the traffickers told them such as that they could earn significant sums of money in Taiwan and, in the case of the smuggled women, that they did not need to pay anything before coming to Taiwan. Thirteen of the subsample of eighteen interviewees were told clearly about the income they would get, whereas two women were only told they would earn a lot of money. Most of the women were told by their recruiters before arrival in Taiwan that they could do any work they wanted, stay as long as they

---

<sup>68</sup> See the quotation on page 153.

wanted and were free to pay off the debt and then go home (or were not told about the debt). The recruiters painted alluring pictures of well-paying jobs in glamorous lands (Malarek 2004). According to these accounts, it can be seen that the information women received was at best partial, and often false. On this basis I argue that the understanding of the trafficking process of trafficked women cannot be divided between those who understood about the nature of their journey and those who did not, as there was a wide spectrum between having full knowledge and knowing nothing at all about what was going to happen to them.

## **The process of transportation**

*This section describes the process of transportation. The journey from the women's original countries to their country of destination, Taiwan, could be very dangerous. However, the majority of the twenty smuggled, 'fake married' and tourist women had only a limited idea of the trip ahead of them and the dangers that might be involved. Most of the time, as I have described, they were controlled by the traffickers, the recruiters and/or the brokers and did what they were asked to do. The following section will first discuss the journey to the port or airport from the hometown of the twenty interviewees whose trips were arranged by traffickers. These twenty women were transported from their hometown to urban or seaside cities, so they could be sent easily to boats or planes. Second, the journey of coming to Taiwan by boats/planes will be analysed through the accounts of the four women who came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' and one by tourism, all by plane, and the fifteen women who were smuggled to Taiwan by boat. Third, this section will discuss what happened to the women after arriving in Taiwan.*

### *The journey from home to port/airport*

After the women who were trafficked agreed to come to Taiwan, or were kidnapped, they were transported from their original country to the destination country, Taiwan, by boat or aeroplane. Chen (2003) described the trafficking process of Chinese women coming to Taiwan through smuggling. She illustrates that, in the beginning, recruiters, so called 'chicken heads' in China entrap women and sell them to traffickers. Selling each woman, they could charge between £333 and £666, depending on their appearance. Then, the women are sent to a secret place nearby the coast to gather them together and control their movement. Meanwhile, their means of communication, such as mobile phones, are taken off them to avoid them asking for help. This is called being 'put into the storehouse' and women usually wait there to catch a boat for approximately two to three days. C. Chiang (2006) claimed that usually managers of 'storehouses' were the relatives, or girlfriends of snakeheads, or someone the snakeheads really trust. The functions of 'storehouses' are to put women together and cut off connection with others.

Once boats arrive, trafficking gangsters transport the women on to Chinese boats and these boats transport women to the high sea. On the high sea, Taiwanese boats connect with Chinese boats by using light and steam whistles as signals, and then the women are transported from the Chinese boats to the Taiwanese boats. To avoid investigation, women were often transported to a smaller yacht when the Taiwanese fishing boats sail into Taiwanese waters. The traffickers usually chose to moor the boats at a rocky coast at night time. After they arrive in Taiwan, trafficking gangsters are waiting on the road to pick up the women. The transportation team of the trafficking gang includes one 'mother car/van' to deliver the women and four 'children cars' to protect

the mother car (Chen 2003). Figure 5-1 shows the trafficking process described by Chen, outlining how Chinese women were transported by boats to Taiwan.

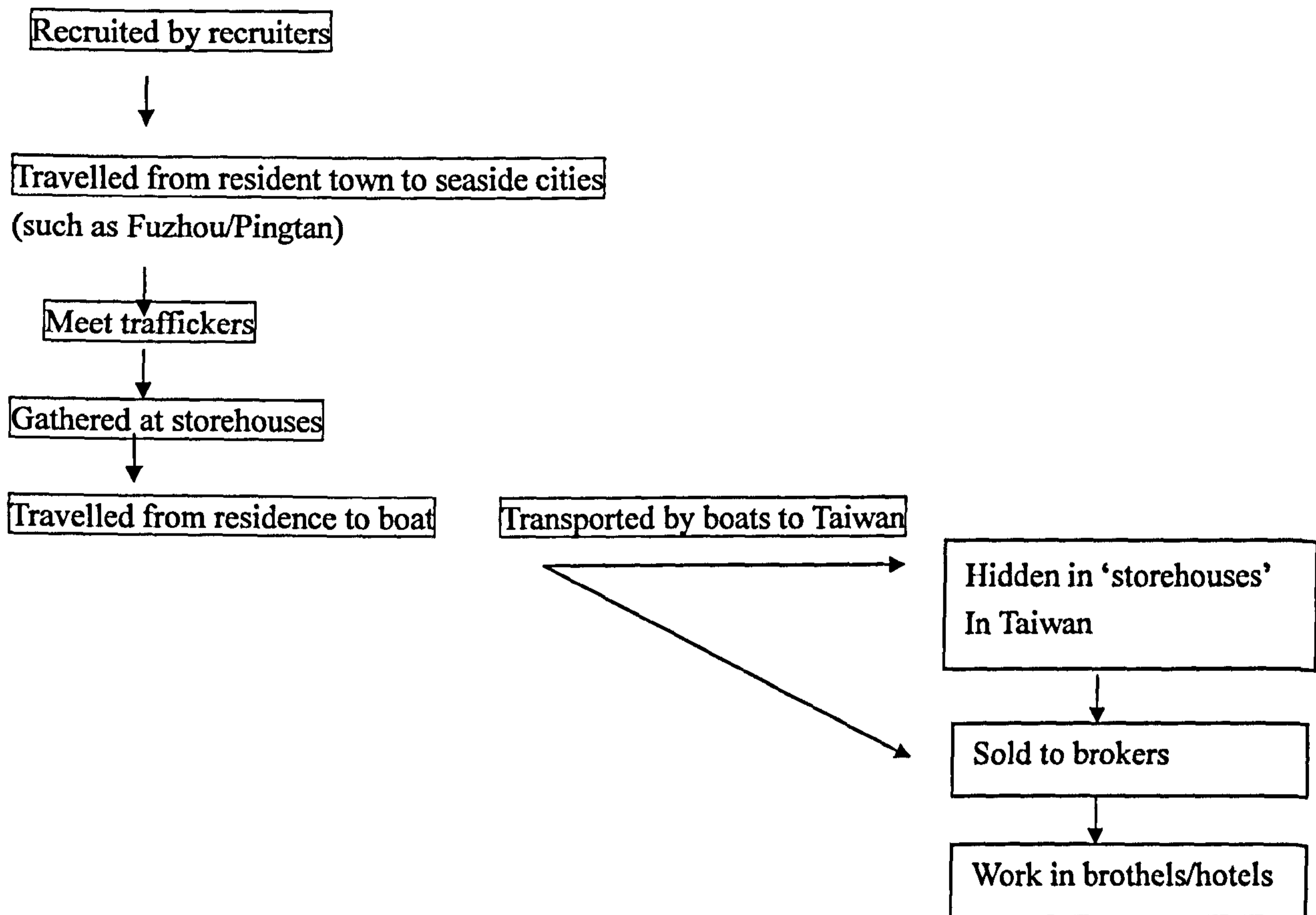


Figure 5-1: The process of being trafficked  
Source: Chen (2003)

The process by which traffickers recruited women reported by Chen (2003), is similar to the descriptions of the transporting process given by interviewees in this study. In Chen's research, after agreeing to come to Taiwan, women left their cities and usually came with their recruiters to the coast. He pointed out that Fuzhou is the main seaside city where traffickers gather women. Figure 5-2 shows the location of Taiwan, Fuzhou and Guangzhou, and illustrates that these two cities are close to Taiwan. Similarly, in this study the majority of the Chinese women I interviewed had stayed in the province

of Fujian and Guangdong<sup>69</sup>. According to the research of Y. Chiang (2006), usually each boat smuggles at least 6 or 7 people and at most around twenty, the average number of people on a boat being between 11 and 20.

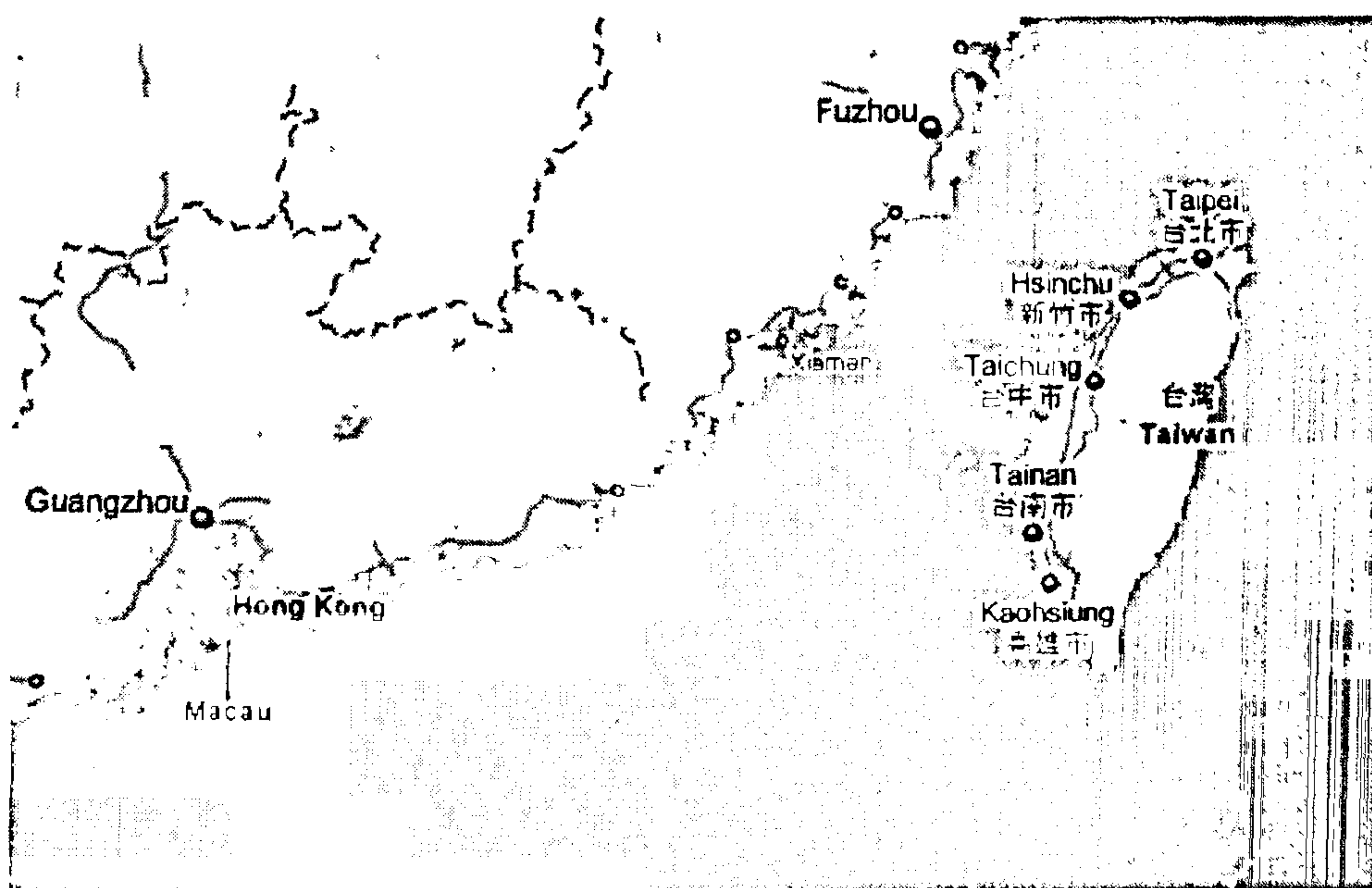


Figure 5-2: The location of Taiwan, Fuzhou and Guangzhou

In this study, the forms of control during the transportation process included being accompanied by the brokers, the women not knowing where they were, geographical isolation, no communication and surveillance. Cosin provides an example of women who was sent to a storehouse before coming to Taiwan.

*After agreeing to come, I went home. Then he called me and told me when we should go. Then he took me to Fuzhou, since I had not been there before. We met at the Xiamen coach station and took a coach to Fuzhou. I thought I would work in Fuzhou, because we stayed in Fuzhou for quite a few days. Then he came and asked me to get on a boat, I asked why should I take a ship, and where should I go, then he told me, to go to Taiwan. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

<sup>69</sup> Fuzhou is the capital of Fujian, and Guangzhou is the capital of Guangdong.

The case of Cosin provides an example of a woman who did not know where she was going even when she was on the way to a particular destination. Her case also illustrates how recruiters control women through arranging the trips and accompanying them during the journey. For example, the recruiter of Cosin arranged her whole journey, while guarding her at the same time. Another example was Xiaojane, who came to Shenzhen by bus with her recruiter. On the way to Shenzhen, she was told 'do not make any call and ask any questions on the bus'. She was controlled through having no communication with others from the time she left her hometown with the recruiter. Xiaobin was also controlled during the transporting process in a more direct way. A gangster picked her up at her house, and she was controlled from that moment:

*He picked me up from my home to the coach station and bought the ticket for me and went to Pingtan with me. There, I could not get in touch with anybody. I could not connect to anyone for a long time. Our mobiles were all collected, and we were told that it was not allowed to take either money or a mobile phone during the time of waiting to come to Taiwan. I did not know where I was living; the only thing I know is that the place is Pingtan. It is a private house, which is nearby in the mountains. I think that was someone's house. We stayed there for a week. Somebody there would cook for us. We could not do it by ourselves. They did not allow us to do anything while we lived in Pingtan. We were totally controlled by him. We dare not use money even if we wanted to, and we could not find any car, since there is no car on the mountain. (Xaobin, Chinese, 22)*

Xaobin's account provides another example of recruiters' control over the women's movements, which included isolation (communication restrictions) and lack of freedom of movement (not being able to cook for themselves and being unable to purchase anything) and being geographically isolated. These mechanisms of control are similar to the concepts of deprivation of agency and place and space restriction

which Gaon and Forboed (2005) claim is common in the trafficking process. Another example of the situation at the 'storehouse' was recounted by Chacha, a 24 year old Chinese woman:

*At that time even if I would not go, I have to go...I did not know it was smuggling at that time. When I came to the seaside, I knew I screwed up. It is smuggling. Even if I did not want to come, she would force me to come. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Surveillance is another form of control in the transportation process. Chacha had no way to escape since she was under surveillance by traffickers. Xiaobin said that she and the other women trafficked with her were asked 'to wear flat shoes and not carry luggage' by the traffickers. The reason for this was so that they could catch and transfer to boats easily. Xiaofong also had her luggage taken away:

*All luggage was taken by that person [a trafficking gangster]. Nothing left. At first I took a bag with me with some cosmetics, but they were all taken away. When we went to the boat, he asked to help me to carry luggage, but he threw them away. (Xiaofong, Chinese, 29)*

Similarly, Tantan recalled that she was persuaded not to bring any luggage with her before she left home:

*I asked whether I needed to pack something. He said no. I just need to wear one dress and bring one and nothing else. I would get new things, anything after I arrived there. (Tantan, China, 25)*

Tantan was not apprehensive when she was told about this, because she was also told that she would have everything new after arriving in Taiwan. Based on what was a typical experience of Tantan, it can be again seen that one of the mechanisms of control recruiters' employ is the false promises of a prosperous lifestyle in Taiwan.



Also, from the experiences of Chacha, Xiaofong and Tantan, it can be seen that they had little idea about the transportation process. The ways they were deceived included not knowing they were smuggled, and their luggage being thrown away although they thought the traffickers kept it for them.

The majority of the Chinese smuggled women left home with their recruiters, although two interviewees went to meet the traffickers on their own. For example, Xaiyu went to Fujian alone.

*He sent 5,000RMB (£333) to my bank account and asked me to buy a bus ticket to Guangzhou. So I bought the ticket. He also asked me to tune in my mobile all the same and he would call me once he arrived there. A few days later after I met him, he gave me a telephone number and asked me to phone this number when I arrived in Fujian. As soon as I arrived there, I phoned this number. Later two of his friends, one of them came from Taiwan and the other from Fujian, came to pick me up. They took me to an apartment. I just stayed there for one night and left to Taiwan on the second day. (Xaoyu, Chinese, 26)*

According to these stories, it can be seen that after the women met traffickers, they were very quickly brought under their control. Once again, the mechanisms of control included communication restriction, having money taken away, and the control of freedom of movement. Because most of their families did not know they would go to Taiwan, and when the journey began, they could not call back to their families and friends, and in any case they were under surveillance.

In some cases, women had 'interviews' with traffickers. Xiaoshy spoke of the experience of meeting the trafficker/snakehead, 'We met twice. He is mysterious, so I thought it was because of him being a smuggler, and I did not think it's odd'. Chacha described the situation when she met the snakehead:

*Before coming here, they sent me to another woman's place to live. So, I lived with her and she took me to a hotel to attend an interview with the snakehead. And the snakehead picked me up. He asked me whether I knew what I would do in Taiwan. Because my friend had told me about it, and I believed her words, I thought she told me the truth. Therefore, before coming here, the snakehead met me and asked me whether I knew what I would do in Taiwan or not. I said I knew. Actually I didn't know the truth, but I told him that I knew.*  
(Chacha, China, 24)

In the interview, it seems that the snakehead wanted to confirm whether Chacha knew that she would work as a prostitute after arriving in Taiwan. However, he only asked Chacha 'do you know what you will do in Taiwan?' He did not express his question clearly, nor give an indication of the real propose of her journey. On the other hand, Chacha thought she knew about what she would do in Taiwan because the recruiter told her she would work as a waitress in karaoke bars.

Typically, the Chinese smuggled interviewees met other women who were also being smuggled with them when they were waiting for boats. For example, Cosin said that 'I found more women there when I arrived at Fuzhou. I stayed with those women, but I was not willing to chat with them, because I did not know them'. So she did not find out more about her journey by talking with other women. However, Xiaofong did talk with other women and talked about the trip, 'We talked about it. Some would say that they were going to Taiwan, so did another one. So we went together, it went like this'.

Even women who talked to each other and knew they were going to Taiwan did not necessarily know they would travel to Taiwan through smuggling. Chacha was told by her recruiter that she would come to Taiwan for tourism, so she thought the boat she would take would be like a cruise ship. Some of the women did not know they were

being smuggled until they saw the boat, and some did not know where they were going until they were on the boat. Although most of the smuggled interviewees knew something about their journey, Chan did not have any idea about what was happening. Chan was kidnapped and thrown into a boat. She described her feelings while she was on the boat:

*When I knew about it on the boat, I could not do anything. I was alone and nobody could help me. I could not do anything. I was so depressed and thought of jumping into the sea. I was so depressed'. (Chan, China, 24)*

### *The journey by sea/aeroplane*

Eight 'true married' women and foreign labourers were not transported by traffickers from countries of origin to Taiwan, and are therefore not discussed in this section. Of the twenty smuggled, 'fake married' and tourism women, fifteen women were transported to Taiwan through smuggling. The four women who came through 'fake marriage' and the one woman came as a tourist were transported by aeroplane. Two of these women went to the airport with traffickers, while the others went by themselves.

The journey of trafficking by boat is more dangerous than by aeroplane (Y. Chiang 2006). However, the methods via which the women were trafficked were decided by trafficking gangsters instead of the women themselves. Smuggling was always used to transport women by boat from China, and an aeroplane was used to women from different countries. This section will describe the process of trafficking first by boat then by plane.

C. Chiang (2006) in his study of trafficking described the journey from China to

Taiwan. Transporting women through smuggling, he argues, is well organised. Most women are smuggled/trafficked with many other girls together, with around 20 women on a boat per time. Many women suffer from serious seasickness and the trip can take up to four days. They usually embark on the journey at night, and arrive in Taiwan at night as well. Firstly, women take a Chinese fishing boat to the high sea, and then they transfer to a Taiwanese boat. They always, finally, transfer to another small boat when they are close to the Taiwanese shore. Changing boats on the sea is also a typical situation in my study. For example, Xiaofong recalled her experience of changing boat:

*We changed from boat to ship, then to a yacht. (Xiaofong, Chinese, 29)*

Not all of the fifteen Chinese smuggled interviewees were transported in this way; for example Yaya only changed boats once:

*The boat was a small boat like a fishing boat. I spent two hours in the boat and then, at midnight, another boat seemed like also from Fuzhou and also a fishing boat but different from the first boat. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

From the analysis of the smuggled women's accounts it can be seen that after arriving in Taiwan, the boats moored at a pier or stopped on the beach. Some of the women jumped into the water, others walked onto the beach. Chacha described the situation while she was boarding:

*Except for the man driving the boat, there were only three men. There was a man to keep the boat at the seaside. The boat was near to the seaside. We- the ten or more girls- walked there from the land. The two guys watched us just in case we ran away. (Chacha, Chinese, 14)*

Similarly, Xiaojane described in more detail what happened when she went aboard:

*I saw so many people when we got boarding. It's horrible to get on board. There were a lot of stones on the coast. You'll die if you drop there without care. It's dark or dimly lit, we cannot see the stones clearly. So we walked very carefully. There's someone pulling you to get on board. If you fall down you'll be dead. It's really horrible so I shook all the time. We waited for the boat for a long time. (Xiaojane, Chinese, 15)*

As discussed, over half of the smuggled women changed boats when they were transported into Taiwan. The location where women board the boats were sometimes deserted, craggy and bumpy. When Xiaoyu went aboard, traffickers told her to 'Hurry up, Hurry up!' and 'I hurried to get on the boat without wearing shoes. I took my shoes in my hand', she said.

After getting on the boats, it took at least a whole day to travel from China to Taiwan, and in some cases it took four or five days. Women stayed under the deck or on the deck. Tantan talked about the situation when she was hidden under the deck.

*It was so terrible on the sea. We were 20 girls on the boat. It was crowded and hot. I came here in June. It's hot to death. The boat was up and down all the time. We were in the bottom of the boat, under the deck. Our heads hit the deck and then our bottoms hit the floor of the boat. We just bumped between the decks. The things those girls vomited out was very dirty. I almost could not breathe. And shoes were a big problem, too. We threw our shoes away when we boarded the boat so our feet were very painful. (Tantan, Chinese, 25)*

Crowded in a very small space, feeling seasick and vomiting were common descriptions of the women's experiences of being smuggled by boat. 'We threw up all

the time, we vomited, we fainted, and even bile came out', Xiaofong said. Staying on the deck was not necessarily better than under the deck, as Chacha described:

*I did not do anything on the boat. The condition on the boat was miserable. Our skin was exposed to the sun and it got sunburnt. The boat was like a small yacht. That was daytime; the driver said we could not board during the daytime. So, we drifted on the sea for a whole day. We were exposed to the sun for a whole day. We were drifting on the sea one day and one night. (Chacha, Chinese, 14)*

During the time on the boat, Xiaojane finally knew that she was smuggled. Xiaojane recalled the situation as follows:

*I asked my friend, 'oh, is this smuggling?' She said, 'Yes'. I have no idea that smuggling is illegal. I also did not know smuggled people would be caught by the police. I don't know these things when I was on the mainland at all. I know the police will catch bad guys, who kill people and rob. I did not know smuggling is illegal. (Xiaojane, Chinese, 15)*

Knowing about smuggling when Xiaojane was on the boat was too late for her. She could not run away on a boat, and was surrounded by the sea. Xiaojane described similar feelings when she was on the boat:

*I knew it was useless to regret. I was crying when I was on the boat. I wanted to go back and did not want to go out. It was useless. I didn't know it was smuggling and that it was illegal before I was arrested. (Xiaojane, Chinese, 14)*

Xiaojane and Xiaojane both said that they did not know they would be illegal immigrants in Taiwan. The stories of Xiaojane and Xiaojane illustrate women who lack knowledge of the way of coming to Taiwan, and of their subsequent illegal status.

C. Chiang (2006) claimed that when boats approach Taiwan, they always land at night. If boats arrive in Taiwan in the day time, then they wait until the night. This was the experience of many of the women who were smuggled in this study. Ajane and Xaoju, for example, both waited for the night coming when their boat arrived in Taiwan.

*The boat stopped. I asked him whether we had arrived. He said we had arrived. I wanted to get off the boat immediately, but he said no. We would get off when it was getting dark because it would be uneasy to be explored. (Xaoyu, Chinese, 26)*

*We arrived in Taiwan in the daytime, however, the traffickers asked us not to go out until the night comes. Then we waited until eight o'clock in the night. (Ajaine, Chinese, 17)*

The process by which the women who were smuggled were transported seemed to be very systematic. Most of the smuggled women changed boats on the sea, which corroborates the findings of Huang's study (2005), where 435 (74.2%) smuggled women took Chinese boats and then changed to Taiwanese boats. Compared with being transported by boats, transportation by aeroplane is less dangerous (Tang 2003). Three women came to airports by themselves or with family, and two came with traffickers. Women trafficked through 'true marriage' or tourism were not involved initially in illegal activity, unless they worked as prostitutes instead of living with their husbands or travelling. Women who were transported by traffickers were more highly controlled than others who were not. When women were on the boats or aeroplanes, their freedom of movement was controlled because they had no where to go. Arguably, this is the reason that the women transported through smuggling were more controlled than women trafficked through 'true marriage' and tourism. Besides,

when women arrived in Taiwan, for them, Taiwan was a strange place and where had no friends and family, women were social isolated and helplessness.

### *Arrival in Taiwan*

As I have outlined, C. Chiang (2006) found that after arriving in Taiwan, women are usually sent to a storehouse, first, and are then sold to brokers/bosses/agents. Women trafficked through boats are typically in a group, while women trafficked through 'fake marriage' are normally transported alone. No matter how they arrive in Taiwan, women who are trafficked are sent somewhere for a short time by traffickers, then sent to their accommodations or brothels (see Figure 5-1 p.175). Huang (2005) describes how women can be transported via coach, ambulance, car, taxi, motorcycle, van or train, and how the trafficker gangsters use different methods to avoid women being discovered by law enforcement officials. The smuggled women usually have no idea where the boat has pulled into shore as it is dark. However, boats may be moored to a pier or stop somewhere near the beach. For instance, Chan described the situation when she arrived in Taiwan:

*I totally did not know where I was. I only knew there was a quayside. We were sneaking when getting off board. We got off the boat in the evening, and they asked us to do this and that. He even did not allow me to stand and did not allow me to walk when I wanted to. He asked me to squat down, squat down. I felt I was doing something illegal. (Chan, Chinese, 24)*

In fact, Chan was engaged in illegal activity since she was trafficked through smuggling without any legal identity. However, she still did not know this was the case, even after she had arrived Taiwan.



Sometimes, women said they were asked to jump into the sea because the boats did not pull into shore in case they were seen.

*When we landed, we were on the beach. The seawater nearly got on my belly. He was afraid we would jump into the water without caution. Everyone got off hand-in-hand. Some males wore black clothes like the gangsters of Taiwan. They wore black clothes and trousers. They drove us up to the hill winding all the way for a long time. (Xaoshy, Chinese, 21)*

*We jumped into the water one-by-one because the boat did not get close to the beach. We jumped into the sea and the sea was very deep. Many girls were too afraid to jump. Then the traffickers throw women into the sea directly. I did not want to be thrown so I jumped by myself so to avoid my head being hit on the stone and dying when they threw me into the water. My shoes were missing when I was walking in the water. After getting on shore, we walked in the mountains then walked along the railroad. After a few minutes, I saw many cars were parked there waiting for us. (Ajane, Chinese, 17)*

After landing, nearly half of the fifteen Chinese smuggled women in this study were asked to take cars directly and were driven away, the others walked for a distance before catching cars.

*They led us one-by-one, no one falling behind. They hurried us and climbed the mountain. It was very tiring. (Xaojane, Chinese, 15)*

C. Chiang (2006) reported that after women are picked up by the gangsters, there are two different ways to be sold. First, traffickers drive women to a storehouse and sell women there. Second, women are sold directly to brothels after arriving in Taiwan. The reasons he gives for traffickers putting women into a storehouse include asking women to get clean, calling back to their families to say they have arrived safely, avoiding the investigation of the police, controlling their movement and training

women to be prostitutes. Sometimes, he claims, traffickers ask women to watch pornographic films, teach them how to 'serve' sex or even rape women in the storehouse. Xaojane described the typical situation when women arrived in the storehouse in Taiwan:

*We went there and stayed in a house. It was small and untidy. We changed to wear sport jeans, which have letters on the clothes. It's November then, a little cold to wear that. He asked me to throw off all my clothes and only wear those sport jeans. So I threw my clothes away. There were a lot of people outside keeping an eye on us in turn. There were many men. (Xaojane, Chinese, 15)*

During the process of landing in Taiwan and staying in the storehouses, women were physically guarded to avoid them escaping. Similarly, Xaoju was also under surveillance. She was told to hide in a trunk for pig trading which was covered by cloth on all sides: 'we were sent to a cottage after we landed. There was a man then who kept an eye on us to prevent us from escaping' she said. Yaya said the trunk 'was too smelly to stay', and then she was driven to a small house 'with nobody living inside, but only mosquitoes'. Ajane described the house she was brought to: 'it was not a home. It had nothing there, but only two bedrooms and a bathroom. The ground where we were slept just spread with duvets for temporary sleeping'. Chacha was sent to a storehouse as well. She said 'It looked like no body had lived there for a long time, and was so dirty'. After arriving there, Chacha and the other women had a shower there and then, 'they sent us to another place and sold us', she said. After cleaning themselves, women were then sold to their brokers. For example, Xaobin recalled how she was sold.

*Women were separated from each other later, the bosses came later, and they came to take us away. Some brokers took one girl, some took two. We just*

*waited there, and then would be informed of the boss that we belonged to, who we would follow later. (Xaobin, Chinese, 22)*

Similarly, Lan described the situation when she was sold:

*We were brought in many times; a few girls were sold at a time. When a broker came in, they asked some girls to come out and the broker could pick girls from one of the group. When a girl was chosen, she would go with the broker. (Lan, Chinese, 20)*

Sometimes, women were even checked by traffickers/brokers about how they looked naked.

*A woman brought us into a room one-by-one. I did not know what she was doing at that time. I knew it later. She asked each woman to take off all their clothes to make sure we have pubic hair<sup>70</sup>. I did not take off my clothes, because when I was brought into the room and she asked me to take off all my clothes I did not want to and asked her why I should be naked since I just came here for working. Then she did not ask me to take off my clothes but took me to my broker. (Ajane, China, 17)*

Most of the smuggled women in this study were sent to storehouses first, and sold to brokers later. A few women, however, were sold directly to brokers after arriving in Taiwan. Women who were sold to their brokers directly were transported in two ways. One way was to be taken by their brokers separately. For example, Tantan and other women who came with her were allocated reference numbers on the boat. 'The girls were put into groups. All the girls were taken away', she said. Lan was in a similar

---

<sup>70</sup> It is a cultural belief in China that having sex with someone who has no pubic hair will bring bad luck.

situation:

*After getting down off board, everyone was taken away by their boss. (Chan, Chinese, 24)*

The other way traffickers sold the women to brokers was when traffickers delivered women to brokers one-by-one. This is illustrated by Xiaofong below:

*We got in a car, then the girls got off one-by-one, so at last, there was no one left, but some will be two together, some will be three. He asked the broker to pick me up, I kept on waiting in a park, and then he told me that my broker was coming to receive me. There was a roll book, and he asked my name when he came, and the trafficker may have told him, because the trafficker asked my name, who I am, and to whom I should be introduced to. It mainly goes like this. (Xiaofong, Chinese, 29)*

In this study, four Vietnamese women came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' and one Indonesian woman came through tourism. The four interviewees who came to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' all travelled alone. After arriving at the airport in Taiwan, gangsters picked them up from the airport and then sold them to brokers.

*After I arrived in Taiwan, my boss picked me up. I did not know where I went, I only knew I was sent to someone's house. In the house, there was a couple with children. I lived there for a week and then they took me to apply for the resident permission. I spent a whole week in the house without going out. I could not speak Mandarin so I could not go out. After a week, my boss took me to a massage store where I met many Vietnamese women. (Thitang, Vietnamese, 23)*

As Thitang said, the language gap and culture gap meant she was socially isolated and could not go out since she could not communicate with others in Mandarin or

Taiwanese. After being picked up by her boss, Thitang stayed in a house for a few days, and then started to work in a massage store. Thihong had a similar experience. She was picked up at the airport, and transported to a house later. She stayed there for two weeks, and then was sent to work. She said, 'I still cannot believe that I am deceived'. Thithy and Thihong were trafficked by the same trafficking gang. They stayed in a house together. Thithy described the situation there:

*Someone picked me up from the airport. I was locked up after he took me to a house. I had stayed there for a month and could not go to anywhere. There were many people there imprisoned like me, about 20-30 people were there everyday. (Thithy, Vietnam, 37)*

From Thithy's account, it appears that the trafficking process included recruiters, drivers, guards and document suppliers.

*The first day I arrived, there was a guy who took me to his home, where I stayed with some other girls also from Vietnam, and they cooked something for me to eat. One day later, his wife took me to apply for resident permission. After that she gave me some condoms and contraception pills, and said these were going to be used during my work. I felt quite strange, why should I use this. Other Vietnamese girls asked me had I not known what we should do here. I said it was just to serve drinks in Karaoke, so we would not use all of these. So they told me that we were going to sell sex, there might be more than 10 customers everyday. So we need these. (Thimai, Vietnamese, 20)*

All of the four women who were trafficked through 'fake marriage' stayed at a house until they had residence permission. They lived with their brokers after they arrived in Taiwan and then two were sent to brothels, and two were sent to massage parlours. According to Article 9 of the *Immigration Act* (1999) in Taiwan, foreign spouses could apply for resident permission in Taiwan. Once foreigners have foreigner

residence permission, they could legally work in Taiwan, unless they do something against the law. This is the reason women trafficked through 'fake marriage' stay somewhere for a few days until they have residence permission. They have the legal identity to live and work in Taiwan, unless they are found working as prostitutes, as prostitution is illegal in Taiwan. Therefore, when 'fake married' brides were forced to work in prostitution, they were also told that they were doing something illegal and should avoid being found by the police. The brokers used this as a way to threaten and control women in not asking for help from the police.

Corn is a specific case in this study because she was the only interviewee who was trafficked through tourism.

*I lived with him after travelling with him on the same flight. Three or four days later, I started to think of going back. But he said it was not necessary to go back to Indonesia, he could introduce me to a job to work in a clothes shop in Banchao (a city in Taiwan). Later the guy introduced me to another girl, who looked like a landlady, and took me to another apartment, which is his friend's and different from the former male apartment. (Corn, Indonesia, 21)*

And then Corn was forced into prostitution by the man who brought her into Taiwan. She had no family and friends, and did not speak the language and her freedom of movement was controlled. Corn's experience of being trafficked was not as smuggled or 'fake married' women, but nevertheless she experienced being controlled in similar ways to the other women in this study.

## *Conclusion*

This chapter has examined the ways women were recruited/lured to Taiwan and, also, the ways women were deceived and/or controlled. Although there were five different

ways women came to Taiwan, smuggling, 'fake marriage', tourism, 'true marriage' and foreign labour, the methods by which they were deceived and controlled were remarkably similar. The ways in which the women were controlled/regulated in the process of being recruited was similar to the ways Gaon and Forbord (2005) claim that women become ensnared in sex trafficking by being abducted by traffickers and promised lucrative work. In the process of transportation, from the moment women agreed to go with the recruiters, women were controlled/regulated by being in social isolation, deprived of agency, and restricted in place and space (Farr 2005). Moreover, these data show how difficult it is to define threat and force. In some cases, women said they had no choice but to listen to their traffickers, however, it is important to identify if the situation they faced included the use of force. This is similar to Kelly's (1988) argument that the related concepts of force and threat are conceived of as along a continuum, and cannot be simply divided into 'being forced' or 'not being forced' in a binary fashion. I argue later that these controlling mechanisms should be considered as principles of identifying women in Taiwanese policy. In the following chapter, I explore the circumstances of the women I interviewed that were sold to brothel owners or brokers, as well as identifying the mechanisms of control used during the process.

## Chapter Six: Mechanisms of control and regulation

In this research, I argue that the definitions of sex trafficked women in Taiwan are not sufficiently inclusive, and that such definitions have to be developed in conjunction with an understanding of the experiences of women who have experienced sex trafficking, with acknowledgement to the ways they feel they were controlled and/or forced during the process. Therefore, if the definition of sex trafficked women is based on women's experiences of how they are forced, controlled and/or regulated, then women who experience sex trafficking in the future will have a greater opportunity to be identified as being trafficked and subsequently receive the protection and services they need. According to the *Act of Combating Human Trafficking*, if a woman is identified as trafficked, she will receive medical treatment, shelter services, temporary residence permission, interpretation services, financial assistance, legal assistance, and consultation if needed (Legislative Yuan 2009). Therefore, this chapter will examine mechanisms of control or regulation experienced by the women after they arrived in Taiwan, which led them to feel they had 'no choice' but to work as prostitutes after being sold by their brokers. Firstly, it will focus on how women were told about their work and how they reacted when they knew about it. Secondly, it will examine the 'training' they received, since the majority of them had not previously worked as prostitutes. As women usually refused initially to work in prostitution, various mechanisms were used to force, persuade and threaten them to do what the brokers asked them to do. Thirdly, the women's views about escaping and asking for help will be analysed.



## **Reaction to being told about their future work**

As discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of the twenty women who came to Taiwan through smuggling or 'fake marriage' were told about the alleged jobs on offer to them whilst they were still in their countries of origin, and only found out about the real nature of future work after their arrival in Taiwan; except for four women who did know they would work in prostitution before leaving their original countries<sup>71</sup>. Another eight women who were interviewed were not transported into Taiwan by traffickers; they came as foreign labourers, tourism or 'true married' brides, and then subsequently worked as prostitutes. Brown (2005) argues that trafficking refers to the transportation of people using force, trickery and/or the abuse of power. Based on Brown's idea, transportation is one of the key elements of the definition of human trafficking. However, according to the European Commission Communication definition (1996, see Chapter One), even if women knew they would work in prostitution; they are also trafficked if they are deprived of their basic human rights and/or are in conditions which are akin to slavery. Therefore, transportation by traffickers need not be an essential element in the human trafficking process. As I have argued in Chapters Four and Five, 'true married' brides and foreign labourers could also be regarded as trafficked if they are controlled, forced and/or deceived to work into prostitution, even though they were not transported by traffickers.

The way the women described how they reacted when they found out about their future work illustrates their original attitude to working in prostitution. Of the twenty women who were trafficked through smuggling or 'fake marriage', two ended up working as masseuses, two were arrested before being sold, four women knew they

---

<sup>71</sup> All these four women were smuggled Chinese women.

would work in prostitution before arrival in Taiwan, and the other twelve women were asked to work as prostitutes after arrival in Taiwan. These twelve women all rejected working as prostitutes when they were first told that they would work in prostitution, however, the majority of them did subsequently work in prostitution. The other eight 'true married' brides and 'runaways' were also only told they would be offered jobs,<sup>72</sup> but subsequently knew they had to work in prostitution.

Typically, most of the twenty women transported by traffickers knew about the true nature of the work by the time they were sold to the brokers. They usually had a few days rest after their journey and were then told they would work as prostitutes or, for two of the women, as masseuses. Chan, a 24 year old Chinese woman, typically illustrated this when she talked about her understanding of how traffickers tell women about the work they will do and how she was told that she would work as a prostitute:

*The brokers must let you take a rest at the beginning of arrival; they will tell you everything on the second day. On the second day, he [the broker] asked a Chinese woman to tell me what I should do in Taiwan. I said I did not want to do that. She told me that I just have to do that kind of work [prostitution]. I said I did not want to...And then, she said since I have come here and could not go anywhere and persuaded me to do that work. I told her I did not want to do that. (Chan, Chinese, 24)*

Having a rest during the first few days after arriving in Taiwan, and then being told about the nature of work was the typical situation in my study. However, a few of the women were kept waiting longer before being told about their future work. Zinzi, for example, commented:

*When I just arrived here, they [the gangsters] did not ask me to go to work or*

---

<sup>72</sup> The nature of jobs were always not mentioned in the beginning when the women met the recruiters or brokers.

*to do anything immediately. There was time for rest. We rested for more than ten days then they asked me to go to work. (Zinzi, Chinese, 19)*

As I have discussed, all of the twelve women who were transported by traffickers and had not known they would work in prostitution in their original countries did not agree to work as prostitutes initially, although ten of them began to work in prostitution later<sup>73</sup>. According to the women's accounts, there were many reasons why women eventually agreed to work in prostitution. The women described how trafficking gangsters used several methods to engineer them into working as prostitutes. The mechanisms of control the brokers used were complex and varied, and were usually related to the women's characteristics and vulnerabilities. For example, the majority of the women in my study were lured to be trafficked because of poverty. Later, after they were sold, they were told that they had to pay back the debt if they wanted to go home. However, because they were poor, they had no money to pay it back. Therefore, they had to work in prostitution (obey their brokers) because they had no money. So, the characteristic of poverty made women vulnerable to be forced to work in prostitution because they had no money to pay the debt. So, debt bondage became an important mechanism of control. On the other hand, if women are from a rich family, even they are lured or kidnapped into sex trafficking; they may have a chance to escape if they have money to pay off the debt. Another example is that women lacked knowledge and were naïve, therefore they trusted traffickers easily and were lured to be trafficked. Moreover, the language and culture gaps increased women's vulnerability and helplessness.

---

<sup>73</sup> Cosin escaped on the first day she was required to work in prostitution, and Zinzi was 'bought'/rescued when she was forced to work in prostitution by her broker. I will discuss this more in later section.

In Chapter Two, I analysed the mechanisms of control used on women that other researchers have identified, including social isolation, the deprivation of agency, restriction of place and space and violence or the threat of violence (see p.55-56). According to the analysis of women's accounts in this chapter, I examine the mechanisms brokers used to control and regulate women to get them to obey them.

Certain mechanisms of control (among state level or inter-psycho level) are more difficult to be recognised by law enforcement officials who break into a brothel, such as illegal identify and social isolation. These mechanisms of control are not such an obvious means of control, therefore, women may be controlled by these methods but not be identified as trafficked by the law enforcement and other key officials if they do not recognise these as legitimate mechanisms of control within their definitions of trafficking (see Chapter Seven).

Violence, rape, place and space restriction, and starvation are more easily recognised and identified as means of controlling women. These mechanisms of control are usually interpersonal levels of control, as discussed in Chapter Two. As Malarek (2003) and Farr (2005) both pointed out, place and space restriction and violence or the threat of violence are common forms of control. Malarek also claims that not being able to refuse a customer or a demand is also a form of control, something that commonly happened in my study. Other issues, which have not been discussed as mechanisms of control, were raised by the women, such as starvation, illegal identity and training to be seen as 'voluntary' prostitutes.

The control of interviewees during the transportation process was described in Chapter Five. This chapter will focus on mechanisms of control that were deployed

after the women were sold to brokers. Being afraid of the power of the brokers was one of the main reasons the women agreed to 'accept their fate'. The second reason was debt bondage. Third, the threat of being beaten, being killed, being forced to use drugs and to bring shame to their families also acted as powerful ways to get women to obey the brokers. These reasons were the main mechanisms that brokers used to control women to work in prostitution. Over half of the twenty-eight women began to work in prostitution after brokers convinced them how helpless they were, for instance by telling women they were socially isolated, were illegal and/or had debt bondage. If women still did not agree to work as prostitutes, the brokers would use other methods to force women to work in prostitution, such as starvation and violence.

### *Fear of brokers*

The image the women held of brokers as buyers and owners appeared to be a powerful mechanism of control for many of the interviewees. Fear of brokers was one of the main reasons that women believed they had to obey their brokers and, therefore, begin to work in prostitution, be trained as 'standard' prostitutes, and not try to escape. For example, Xiaobin described her fear when she faced the broker:

*The broker told me I would work as a prostitute. I asked him did we not come here to become waitresses? He asked me: 'who told you that?' The boss was very vicious; he was going to call the man to ask for the one who had told me this. Then I believed that he was telling me the work was not to be a waitress but a prostitute. He said that there is no other choice, and I did not dare to run away. Besides, I had no friends here, so I had to obey him. (Xiaobin, Chinese, 22)*

Xiaobin's account shows that she was afraid of her broker, which acted as a form of regulation in coercing her to work as a prostitute for her broker and not to try to escape. Moreover, she was alone in Taiwan without family and friends, contributing to

her feeling that she was helpless and no one could help her but only herself. Soon after she decided to obey her broker, even though she did not know about her work prior to coming to Taiwan and did not want to work as a prostitute. The perceived power of the broker, compiled with social isolation and deprivation of agency contributed in Xiaobin feeling that she had no choice but to obey her broker and that she could not escape. Similarly, Chacha began to work in prostitution because she felt that she had 'no choice' but to obey her broker.

*When I have arrived here for a week, he asked us to go to work. It was the first time we were told about what we would do. He just said that we needed to work as 'out-table' women. I never did this kind of work. We said we did not want to do this kind of work and asked whether we could choose other jobs. He said no. We cannot do what we want to do. Actually, he forced us to work as a prostitute all the time. We have arrived here; we had no other choice and had to follow his words. Finally we began to work in prostitution. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

### *Debt bondage*

Another powerful method that brokers used to control the women was by asking them to pay back the smuggling fee or 'fake marriage' fee, even if some of them did not want to come to Taiwan. All the smuggled and 'fake married' women had debt bondage, as discussed in Chapter Five, except two women who were arrested before being sold to brokers. Debt bondage was then a typical method used to control women. The traffickers charged women a huge amount of money in the name of sending them into Taiwan. Usually, the alleged price of the debt was around £3,300 (see Chapter Five).

Only eight of the twenty interviewees who were transported by traffickers knew about

their debt before they came to Taiwan<sup>74</sup>. As Table 6-1 shows, four of eight women who knew about the debt before arrival in Taiwan came from China through smuggling. They did not pay anything before arriving in Taiwan, whereupon they were informed that they should pay back a debt. These four women were the only smuggled women who knew they would work as prostitutes before coming to Taiwan. The other four women who knew about the debt before coming to Taiwan were all Vietnamese women and came through 'fake marriage'. Three of the four 'fake married' Vietnamese women had paid part of the money before coming to Taiwan. The phenomenon of women paying before coming to Taiwan was different according to the women's nationality. In this study, most Chinese interviewees had not paid any money before coming to Taiwan, but most Vietnamese 'fake married' women had paid some money up front. Also, most Chinese smuggled interviewees were not told about the debt before they came to Taiwan, whereas the Vietnamese interviewees knew about it.

Table 6-1: Knowing about the debt

Knowing about the debt before coming	Paid some money before coming	The way they were trafficked	Number of interviewees	Nationality
Yes	Yes	Fake marriage	3	Vietnamese
		Smuggling	0	
	No	Fake marriage	1	Vietnamese
		Smuggling	4	Chinese
No	No	Fake marriage	0	
		Smuggling	11	Chinese
		Tourism	1	Indonesian

<sup>74</sup> For 'true married' brides and foreign labourers, they came to Taiwan without being transported by traffickers, therefore, they were not charged by traffickers for transportation. However, I argue that some of these women could be trafficked if they are forced, controlled or deceived into prostitution in similar ways to the others women in the study.

The debt does not only refer to a fee for transporting women, most importantly it appears both as bondage to control women to obey the traffickers, and also as a hope of escape in the future by paying of the debt. Besides, it is a way to exploit women via how they pay back the debt, and also a way to control women not to leave by increasing the debt continually. For example, Xiaoshy recalled how her broker had used debt bondage to force her to work as a prostitute and not to escape. The following quotation illustrates the process by which Xiaoshy was convinced by her broker:

*After I came here, I knew it was different from what I thought, but the broker said, 'I told you clearly, and you should know what 'xiaojie' does. Since you are here, you have to pay off the debt'. I said: 'you did not tell me clearly', but he continued, 'It is useless for you to argue about this since you are here. You should settle down and work hard. After you pay off your debt, you can go wherever you want'. Then, I thought it is OK since I do not have a place to go. I was in a low mood then. Since I am here, I have to face it. I worked for one month and paid off the debt, and then I stopped'<sup>75</sup>. (Xaoshy, Chinese, 21)*

Xaoshy did not want to earn money by prostitution but she felt that she had no choice, and that the only way she could go back home was by paying back the debt, and the quicker she paid the debt off the sooner she could go back home. Similarly, Cosin was convinced by her broker and began to work in prostitution when she believed that paying the debt off was the only way to go back home.

*He said that I would become 'xiaojie' [prostitute], but I did not know what that meant, since there are different kinds of 'xiaojie'. Then he said it was prostitution. When I heard this I did not want to do it, but he threatened me that it was the only way that I can go back home earlier. Since I really wanted to go back home, I started to work. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

---

<sup>75</sup> Xiaoshy turned herself in after she paid the alleged debt off.



When some of the interviewees asked to pay off the debt by doing other jobs, such as Chacha, they were told that working in prostitution was the only way they could pay the money back:

*I said I did not want to do that. He said I must. We owed him a lot of money, if we did not go to work, how we could pay him back. In the end, we accepted, and finally, we went to work. Even if we did not want to go, he would force us to go. He said we should pay back the debts. They spent money to buy us and decided what kind of work we should do. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Chacha said she was sold to her broker, moreover, since she was sold she was told that she had no choice but to listen to her broker. The mechanism of control of debt bondage and the power of the broker interacted to enhance the idea of women having no choice but to obey brokers. It was up to the brokers to decide the way women paid the debt off, not the women. Facing debt bondage, Zinzi also tried to challenge the idea of working as a prostitute to pay back the debt, and asked to pay the debt off by doing other jobs. However, Zinzi was told that she could not do this.

*He [the broker] told me I had to work as a prostitute. However, the job what I look down most of all in my life is prostitution. I do not care what others do; I would never do this kind of job. I do not exclude people who work as a prostitute and do not look down upon them, but I will never do it. I told him that I would not do it, but he said it was impossible. (Zinzi, Chinese, 19)*

In addition, the debt was also a way women were exploited via how they paid back the debt. For example, Xiaobin, a woman who was trafficked through smuggling, was asked to pay back 200,000 NTD (£3,000) back. Although each customer paid about 3,000NTD (£45) for sex, that did not mean Xiaobin paid this much of her debt back. For each case, the broker earned £30 and Xiaobin earned £15. That is, she only

'earned' 1000 NTD (£15) per customer, and even this money did not belong to Xiaobin. Since she owed her broker £3,000, she was expected to give all the money to her broker. Xiaobin typifies the situation of all of the interviewees who were asked to pay back their debt in a similar way.

Paying back the debt was also seen as a main means of escaping, primarily because women were told that they would be free when they had paid their debt off. However, in fact paying back the alleged debt did not guarantee that a woman could leave the brothel. In a few cases, brokers increased the debt continually and there was no end to paying back the money. For example, as I have discussed earlier, the broker of Thimai asked her to pay more money when she was going to pay off the debt<sup>76</sup>.

### *Threat*

Threatening women was also a major mechanism by which the brokers controlled the interviewees. Threat was used to force women to work in prostitution and not to try to escape. According to the interviewees, the brokers used a variety of threats to make the women obey them, including saying they would be sent to jail, or they would be beaten, or they would be photographed naked and the pictures sent to their families, and/or they were threatened by being made to take drugs. These threats usually operated in many ways at once. To prevent them from trying to escape, women were often threatened that they would be beaten seriously if they are found trying to escape, and would be sent to jail. Moreover, they were told the situation in the prison was terrible. Xiaoshi, for instance, was threatened by being told about a woman who was caught by the broker after she had escaped from the brothel, which implied that she would be beaten and sent to jail if she tried to escape:

---

<sup>76</sup> Please see page 171.

*There was one girl who could not pay the debt off. The girl found it was tiring and could not bear to sell sex anymore when she did this job for a while, so she ran away. She knew one customer so she ran to his place. However, the customer knew the broker. Thus, she was caught by her broker. The broker told me that they beat her so badly that her legs were broken and threw her in the police station. (Xaoshy, Chinese, 21)*

Although Xaoshy did not see the woman and did not know whether it was a true story or not, the story served as a warning to her that she should not try to escape. Threats of this kind operated as a powerful way to self-regulate the women to work in prostitution and not to try to escape. The importance for policy is that law enforcement officials need to recognise that threat is a powerful mechanism by which to control women and to investigate this to ascertain if women were threatened. Similar threats were described by Yank. She was told by her broker and the gangsters that she would be beaten and sent to jail if she tried to escape.

*What can I do? I have no friend in here. There were so many their people. And they told me that if I wanted to run away they would beat me and I was so scared. So, no chance and no choice, I have to do it. They told me I should work as a prostitute. They told me if I did not work as a prostitute they would send me to the jail. I was very scared because I wanted to live in Taiwan for a long time and make money for my family. (Yank, Indonesian, 21)*

Yank illustrated that social isolation accompanied threat of violence and this combined with her illegal identity leading her to feel that she had no choice. Another form of threat is to shame a woman's family. For instance, Zinzi was threatened by shaming her to her family:

*They frightened me. They told me if I did not work they would take off all my clothes and take pictures then send these pictures to my parents. They asked me if I would work or not, if I did not work they would do that to me. They*

*threatened me always. (Zinzi, Chinese, 19)*

Another way brokers threatened women was by telling them that they would be forced into using drugs, such as amphetamine or heroin, if they did not work in prostitution.

This was the case with Chacha, who commented:

*I have never done this kind of thing in the past, so I really wanted to run away at that time. However, someone was watching me when I just arrived. I wanted to runaway but I could not. And then, another girl started to work but I still did not want to do that. He planned to force me into using drugs. I worried that what I can do if I am addicted. So I had no other ways but to follow him. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Chacha was also told by her broker that she was in Taiwan illegally, and so she was scared about being found by the police. However, she still resisted working in prostitution until she was threatened by her broker that she would be forced to use drugs.

### *Starvation and violence*

The majority of the women had their freedom controlled in some way, at least in the beginning of the trafficking process when being sold to their brokers. Control of freedom of movement is recognised in other studies of trafficking as an important mechanism of control (Malarek 2003; Farr 2005). In my study, most of the women had their place and space restricted either by being guarded all the time or through being locked in a house. For example, Cosin was not allowed to go out at any time; the broker controlled all aspects of her life:

*I think my broker is bad. He controlled us. He controlled me when I wanted to buy things. Our tips were all taken by him, and he did not allow me to send money which I earned back home. Besides, we cannot buy what we want for*

*daily life by ourselves. He asked others to buy everything. We cannot go out. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

According to Cosin's account, the control of freedom included surveillance, being locked up and her money being taken away. Arguably, taking money away from women is also a method to avoid women escaping. Further evidence of control of freedom of movement was where women were locked in their houses. For instance, Xaojane was locked up and also beaten:

*I was beaten and locked up. The broker said 'if you do not follow my order, I will give you an injection'. (Xaojane, Chinese, 15)*

In this study, six women said they were beaten, and one was raped. Zinzi, for example, was beaten and threatened by her broker until she was bought by one man. Corn provides another example of how brokers controlled the women's movements:

*I could do nothing else, being locked inside. Even at the meal times, I could only eat the food passed through the bottom of the door. He [broker] kept a watch on my every movement, and even followed me to the toilet, so I could not escape anywhere. His house was just like a prison, there was no opportunity to escape. Even when I was selling sex with customers, he also waited outside the room, thus I had no chance. He raped me, blamed me, and beat me. (Corn, Indonesian, 21)*

Again, in Corn's case, rape, violence, surveillance and control of freedom were used together and these three forms control and regulation led Corn to feel that she had no choice but to obey her broker.

Thimai, a 20 year old Vietnamese woman at the time of interview, was trafficked into Taiwan through a 'fake marriage'. In order to force Thimai to work in prostitution, her broker used debt bondage and social isolation. However, when these two methods

did not work, the broker locked her up and left her in an empty house without food and water.

*In the night, one man brought me to an empty house, leaving me alone, and asked me to think about it [working as a prostitute] thoroughly. It was dirty there, without anybody but full of cockroaches, mice. I could only sleep on a piece of wood, since there was no bed. Two days later, a guy aged nearly 30 brought me a bottle of soft drink and bread. But I told him I did not want the food but just let me go. He rejected me and told me I should continue to wait here for my boss if I did not agree to work. Another one day later, the third day, the boss came. He called another Vietnamese girl, and asked me whether I agreed to do the job. I rejected this again. I told her I did not want to do this kind of work. And I asked to talk with the Vietnamese woman who introduced me to Taiwan. He did not want to call her, saying that the calling fee was expensive and it was waste of time to call her. I insisted that I wanted to talk with her to ask her why I was brought here to do a job different from what she told me, and left myself here. Then he called that girl, and I asked her why they asked me to do the job that was different from what you told me. The girl replied that now that you already came there, you should pay their money off, and if you did not want, you can come back after paying off and did not need to work for a year. I was so angry that I spoke loudly to refuse, I told her I did not want to do this job but she hung up. Then the boss asked me to consider it and left, telling me he would come the day after. He did come later, and asked me would I do the work. He forced me after my refusal once and again. He said that he would leave me here if I did not do it, and not let me go back to Vietnam. He really left, and left me alone.*

Thimai was left alone in the empty house for a further four or five days. Because leaving Thimai alone did not make her to agree to work in prostitution, Thimai's broker asked another Vietnamese woman who worked as a prostitute to convince her. Thimai finally began to work thinking that she might have a chance to escape while selling sex, and also she was starving and had been threatened to be beaten if she would not work. In the end, she agreed to work as a prostitute because she thought she might be able to escape when she was sent to hotels.

Customers also could be abusers. In my study, four of the twenty-eight women had been beaten by their customers. The interviewees said that they were asked to please their customers as much as they could. In the cases where women were beaten, their brokers did not protect them but cajoled them to satisfy the customers.

*Customers beat and shouted at me; sometime they got drunk and beat me. That was horrible. If the customers were unsatisfied, they [the broker and gangsters] would beat me. (Thitong, Vietnamese, 23)*

Similarly, Yaya also talked about how she was worried about being beaten by customers all the time, and that they would not pay.

*The only thing that made me frightened was when customers would beat me. Every time I worked, I was afraid to be beaten. For instance, some drunken men asked not to wear a condom, and they beat me if I rejected them. My leg has been bitten by customers, but they did not pay for me, I had no way but only to tell them that I would ask staff in the company to get the payment. So another thing I was afraid was that they did not pay me. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

Thimai recalled when she was beaten by customers; her broker did not help her but blamed her because she could not satisfy them.

*If the customer was not satisfied, he would beat me, and gave me no money. Sometimes, I was bleeding, and begged the customers to stop, but they did not care about me and kept on. So I got up and refused to keep on, but the customer would beat me and curse me. If I told them to stop doing that they just beat me. The boss assailed me, saying that if you did things like this, all of my customers would leave. 'If you did such things again, I would let you know what would happen to you'. (Thimai, Vietnamese, 20)*

According to Yaya, Thitong and Thimai's accounts, it can be seen that customers often beat women when they were drunk and/or unsatisfied, and sometimes, they also

refused to pay the cost of the transaction. Corn had a similar experience. She was raped by her customer, after she insisted she would not have sex with him.

*The door was locked, and I could not escape. Then, the guy inside the room asked me to take off my clothes. I refused, but he forced me and did it for me. I was thinking what was he going to do? I used my poor Chinese to ask him: 'what do you want?' He told me later that: 'it is the job you should do'. I kept on asking him to stop, but the guy kept on forcing me. I was slimmer than now, and could not go against him at all. After he raped me, he put money into my purse, with me crying beside him. (Corn, Indonesian, 21)*

As I have already mentioned, all of the interviewees who did not know before their journey to Taiwan that they would be expected to work as prostitutes did not want to do this when they were told they should work in prostitution. Not all women agreed to work in prostitution, as eight women escaped or were helped and three women tried to ask for help. Their experiences will also be described later in the chapter. However, most of the women did begin to work as prostitutes later, although they recalled that they did not want to in the beginning. Since the majority of the women had not worked in prostitution, the brokers trained them to work as prostitutes before going to work. The following section discusses how women were 'trained' to be prostitutes.

### **'Training' to be a prostitute**

Typically, women were trained to be 'standard' prostitutes by the brokers, mama-san and/or other prostitutes. This training included how to provide sexual services, how to use condoms, and how to chat with customers. According to five women who talked about how they were taught to be prostitutes, a 'standard' process of prostitution includes that women should have a nickname, should say hello to customers and chat with them, smile, then take a bath with customers, perform fellatio with them, have



intercourse with a condom and make noise during sex. For example, Xiaoyu described how she was trained:

*My broker is the boss of my company, he told me about the service principles. I should say hello to customers when I just saw them. So the customer would feel happy. And a woman who worked as a prostitute for a while told me I should have a nickname. All women should have their own nicknames and my nickname was Angel. She told me when I come into a room, I should say hello to the customer and have a chat with him. And then, I should take a bath for him with a smile. She also tried to persuade me to perform fellatio with customers but I did not want to. She said: 'dear Angel, actually, fellatio is clean. You just need to put a condom on the customers. If you do not like the smell of condom, you just wipe condoms with a wet tissue'. (Xiaoyu, Chinese, 26)*

Furthermore, Thimai and Yaya recalled how they were trained to have fellatio and intercourse by watching pornographic films or by having sex with brokers. Being asked to have sex with brokers was mentioned by two of the twenty-eight women in this study. According to the research of the Primary Report of the Relationship between Chinese Smuggled Women and Human Trafficking (TWRP 2005), one fourth of 118 women said they were asked to have sex with their brokers and/or other gangsters in the name of teaching women how to work as prostitutes, and fifty women said they were asked to watch pornographic films.

*The boss brought me to his home, and showed me a porn film to let me learn from it. He did not ask me to do something when I watched that. After that, he asked a driver to bring me to a restaurant. He asked me to kiss the customers, suck a straw, and use my tongue to do something. There were a lot of people there, but he still forced me to do it, to learn it. (Thimai, Vietnamese, 20)*

Besides learning how to have intercourse and oral sex by watching pornographic films, Yaya was asked to have sex with her brokers in the name of teaching her to work as a

prostitute.

*He asked to have sex with me, but I refused. The girls in our company all came from Fujian, they told me that if the boss asked to teach you how to sell sex, do not accept it. At once, when he asked to teach me to see how I served the customers, he booked a room in a motel. The moment I saw him, I ran away. My boss asked me why I escaped when I saw him. I said that I was too shy. So he told the other girls, saying that 'she was a chicken-hearted girl that she ran away when she saw me, as if she had seen a ghost'. Others said that 'she was young as well as shy, so she would be flustered when she saw you'. At that time I was the youngest one in our company, so my boss did not force me to have sex with him but he did with others. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

According to Yaya, the broker systematically raped women because other women had told her not to agree to be taught how to work as a prostitute if the broker asked her. However, being 'taught' by brokers to have intercourse is rarely discussed in studies of trafficking. Arguably, it should be recognised as a form of sexual violence by law because women cannot say no under the control of brokers. Furthermore, as I will go on to discuss in Chapter Eight, we might consider whether the policy of identifying sex trafficked women should include women who are forced to have sex with her broker or broker's friend because her broker says he wants to teach the woman how to have sex or to examine if she is a 'good' prostitute. Another aspect of training women to be a 'standard' prostitute that the majority of the twenty-eight interviewees described is that they were asked to use condoms when selling sex. Typically, using condoms was not what the interviewees wanted to do, however, the brokers asked them to do this. Some interviewees did not even know about condoms previously. Explaining how to use condoms was not so much as a protection for these women, arguably it is more likely that the brokers wanted to make sure that women would stay healthy so they could make as much money as possible for their brokers. For example, Cosin explained that:

*The mama-san told me to use condoms. I had not seen them before when I was in China, and she taught me how to use them. She said there was a risk of getting some diseases, but I did not know what kind of disease it would be, and how did people get it, but for me, I would not do it unless sex buyers put condoms on. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

Brown (2005), Gaon and Forbord (2005), Malarek (2003) and Naim (2005) claim that prostitution is controlled by managers as a business and the training of women described in this study also supports this idea. A boss of a company does not want to sell women with sexual transmitted diseases which may harm the reputation of the company, therefore, that is one reason brokers ask women to use condoms. Thimai was also taught to use condoms, to use make up, to dress up and to speak Mandarin by the other Vietnamese women in the brothel with her:

*He brought condoms and prophylactics, and asked the girl to teach me how to use those. Besides, they taught me some simple Chinese words like the price and time. The Vietnamese girl also taught me to put on make up and dress up. The boss said he would take me to work at 3pm the next day. He did that the next day after the Vietnamese girl taught me to use make up.*

The other 'training' the interviewees said they had received were about fellatio and 'mandarin teal bath'. Xiaoyu and Thimai talked about fellatio (see p.211), and Xiaojane was also taught how to perform fellatio and take a bath with customers.

*He told me how to perform fellatio, "mandarin teal bath" and back-to-back shower. It is Thai style bath. Take off all your clothes and trousers, and rub the guy to have a bath. I thought it was disgusting and wanted to vomit. I did not want that and something like fellatio. I have no idea about something like making sex noise. Whatever it is totally different in China. It is super disgusting. I really do not want to do this. (Xaojane, Chinese, 15)*

According to women's accounts, it can be seen that working as prostitutes is not only

having intercourse with customers, women are also required to please customers in a variety of ways. Therefore, I argue that these training sessions are also methods of controlling women to become *good* prostitutes. Through this training, women were trained to perform as 'voluntary' prostitutes, because what they learnt was to please customers. However, performing as 'voluntary' prostitutes makes it more difficult to observe the ways that these women are controlled and/or forced. In the next section I will examine the ways women escaped or asked for help, as well as explore some of the reasons why some women did not.

### **Thinking of escaping and asking for help**

This section examines women's attitudes towards, and experiences of, escaping from brothels. Six of the twenty-eight women in this study had escaped from their brokers, two women were helped to leave the brothels, three women had tried to escape but did not succeed, and seven women said that they did not dare to try to escape or ask for help. Besides, eight women who were all 'true married' and foreign labourers did not think about escaping and another two were arrested before being sold to brokers.

#### *Escaped or rescued*

Malarek (2004) claims that the ways for trafficked women and girls to gain freedom are either to be rescued or to escape. In this study, the majority of smuggled and 'fake married' women said that they did not want to work in prostitution. As I have described, some of them began to work as prostitutes because they thought they had no choice, or they wanted to find a chance to escape when they were working. Some, however, did try to escape. Table 6-1 shows that six interviewees escaped from their brokers and two were rescued, one of them was bought by her broker's friend before working in prostitution, one escaped on the first day she worked in prostitution, others

escaped after working as prostitutes. After escaping from their brokers, two of the six escapees went to police stations and asked for help, one went to live with one of her customers, one went to work for her friend but turned herself in to the police later, one was resold by her recruiter in China, and another one was almost resold by a stranger she met on the street before she was eventually found by the police. Two women were rescued: Ajane called the police and was rescued by them, and Zinzi was bought by a friend of her broker.

Table 6-2: The interviewees who escaped or were helped

Escaped/Asked for helping	After leaving the brothel	Number of interviewees
Escaped	Went to the police station	2
	Resold	2
	Lived with a customer	1
	Worked at other place/friend	1
Rescued	Called the police	1
	Bought by a friend of her broker	1

Cosin and Xaojane both escaped from the brothels where they worked. Cosin ran away the first day she went out to a hotel to work, but did not know where she could go, so she called the recruiter she met in China. The recruiter resold her again to another Taiwanese man.

*When the broker asked me to pay him back 200,000 NTD (£3000), I escaped the first day I worked. I called the man I met in China who recruited me to come to Taiwan. And he told me to go some place, but I did not know the place, so he called a man to pick me up on a road. However, I had no idea where to go, so he asked me to take a taxi, and told the taxi driver the place. In this way, I found the place, and he brought me to Taipei on the second day. After I arrived in Taipei, I took a few days to have a rest, and then he asked me to sell sex in different hotels with a driver. I did not want to do it after one day. Then he asked me to sell sex in a hotel so that I did not need to go to different hotels. And then he asked me to pay him back 100,000 NTD (£1,500) in his usual way*

*of threatening people. I argued why I should pay that money, and there is no reason to do that. Because I did not see the money, even the money I earned. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

Cosin's story illustrates the helplessness of many of the women after they arrived in Taiwan. Even after she escaped; she could not find someone reliable to help her, and she was subsequently resold by her recruiter. Similarly, Xiaojane had nowhere to go after escaping from her broker, and also met a man who wanted to (re)sell her. Eventually, Xiaojane was found by the police, and was sent to a detention centre to wait for deportation.

*After a few days of work, the broker told me to stay in my accommodation and he would pick me up in few days. I did not wait for him but ran away. I hid myself in a park...Then I met someone. He told me that I could go to some factories to work and earn thousands of dollars a month. I said: 'it is fine'. When I met someone who told me he can provide a job, at that time a policeman arrested me. The policeman asked me 'do you know that man is going to sell you?' I said 'I do not know. I just saw the man was given some money from another man'. (Xiaojane, Chinese, 15)*

The quotes from Cosin and Xiaojane illustrate how even though they escaped from their brokers, because they had no family and friends in Taiwan, they were still vulnerable. Chan and Thimai chose to turn themselves in to the police after escaping.

*I just wanted to run away. I totally did not want to stay there and did not want to be imprisoned by someone. Then I ran away, I met someone and told him that I am Chinese and I want to go back home and what could I do now. Because I wanted to go back home, I really wanted to. I asked people like this and he helped me sincerely. He told me to go to a police station. And I really did go to a police station. When I went there, the police officer was also nice to me and other policemen were nice to me, too. He told me I should call back home and tell my family I am safe after I have not contacted them for a long time. They also bought me some food. The police officers were all very nice, and were not as bad as what the broker said. They are so nice in my opinion,*

*and are pretty decent to me. I appreciate anyone who is willing to help me.  
(Chan, Chinese, 24)*

Thimai also escaped and went to the police station:

*I and my sister came to report to the police, we did not care what they would do to us. So I put some clothes in my bag, and escaped to look for the police at 3-4am when the drivers were playing cards and did not notice us. (Thimai, Vietnamese, 20)*

Most of the twenty-eight women did not know anyone in Taiwan besides their traffickers. So for those who escaped, they called back to the recruiters, looked for strangers to help, went to the police station if they knew where it was, or lived with customers. For example, when no one else was there Yaya run away from the brothel after she had worked there for more than one month:

*I did not want to stay there, so at the break time, I run away when nobody was there. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

Thitang also escaped when she was told by her broker that she should work as a prostitute.

*However, my boss wanted me to have sex with customers, so I ran away because I did not want to. When I was working in the massage store, there was a Vietnamese woman who also worked there; she thought I was so poor that I earned no money since I had worked there for a long time. And she told me not to work there anymore and then I moved out and lived with her. I moved out and lived with her for two months. After that, I gave myself up. Because my residence permission was overdue, I surrendered myself to the police. (Thitang, Vietnamese, 23)*

Instead of escaping from the brokers, two of the interviewees were successfully rescued. Ajane recalled how she was rescued by the police:

*I did not dare to tell the broker that I did not want to work as a prostitute although I did not want to. I thought I might be beaten to death if I told him that I did not want to. Then he gave me a mobile phone for working. I called the police. I told the police I was a smuggled Chinese woman. In the beginning, the policeman thought I was hoaxing him but he believed me later. Soon, the police came to rescue me. They came with guns and I was so afraid. They found three smuggled Chinese women including me and our broker. (Ajane, Chinese, 17)*

Zinzi left the brothel because she was bought by a man. When the broker of Zinzi asked her to work as a prostitute, she insisted she would not do this. Then a friend of the broker bought Zinzi because she kept refusing to work as a prostitute, even after her broker had beaten her. At that time, a friend of her broker agreed to buy her. He paid her debt off and lived with her until Zinzi was arrested by the police.

*My later husband [partner] was there and he understood that I really did not want to do it. He told me that he treated me as one of his friends and wanted to help me. So, he paid back the money for me. (Zinzi, Chinese, 19)*

Zinzi called her partner 'husband' although they did not get married. They lived together until Zinzi was found by the police when she tried to smuggle herself back to China. These eight women escaped or were rescued after they were sold to their brokers. The next section will consider those women who tried leave or asked for help, but did not succeed.

### *Tried to leave, but without success*

Three women tried to escape but did not succeed, and seven women said they wanted to escape but did not have a chance. Women who wanted to escape did not try to because of fear of being caught by their brokers and/or believing that being trafficked



was their 'fate'. Corn, for example, commented on how she was rejected when she asked for help from her customers:

*The customers were not only native Taiwan guys, but also Japanese and American. One time, I asked a Taiwan Muslim customer, who spoke Malaysian and had been to Malaysia to help me to escape, but he was afraid of trouble, so he refused me. I had also asked for help from Taiwanese customers, but they also refused. Every time when we were waiting for the traffic lights to change, my broker would press my head down, avoiding being seen by policemen. (Corn, Indonesian, 21)*

Lan also asked for help from her customers but, like Corn, no one helped her.

*It is all useless unless we turn ourselves in. I was asking help from other people but they would not help me. They might sell me to other people. I know some Chinese girls were resold in Taiwan. (Lan, Chinese, 20)*

Seven of the twenty-eight women wanted to run away or asked for help, however, they thought they did not have any chance to escape. These women were controlled and believed they had no chance to escape, and felt that being trafficking was their 'fate' and had not tried to escape, and felt that even if they had chance to escape they would not. For example, Chacha wanted to escape, however she did not try because she was told if she tried to escape, she would be killed.

*He told me that: 'if you run away you will be killed'. He said: 'I will catch you if you escape. If you run away, when I catch you back you will be killed'. That is why I did not run away. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Threatening women in this way was a powerful way to stop them from trying to escape. Similarly, Thihong did not try to escape because of being frightened that she would be caught by her broker, although she hoped to escape.

*I wanted to run away but I did not dare to. Even if I have a chance to run away, I would not dare to escape. (Thihong, Vietnamese, 28)*

Two women thought about asking for help, but they did not do so. Yaya explained in more detail why she did not run away.

*I thought about asking for help but I was afraid to be caught by my broker, because my broker had told me that we would be locked up in the detention centre if we were caught by the policemen, and we would be beaten here, which made me very scared. My boss and other people all deceived me by saying that we would be beaten if we were caught by the police. (Yaya, Chinese, 20)*

Yaya was threatened that if she was found by the police she would be beaten by them, which made her afraid of asking for help from the police. Moreover, she also was afraid of being caught by her broker, and therefore decided not to try to escape. Thimai was also afraid of asking help from customers, because she believed that they would tell her broker that she wanted to escape.

*Because the only people I had contact with were all my customers, some of them are friends of the boss, but I could not tell who his friends are, so I did not dare to do anything, and did not dare to tell anything to the customers. (Thimai, Vietnamese, 20)*

### *Do not dare to escape or ask for help*

Seven of the interviewees said they did not even dare to think about escaping or asking for help because they were afraid of being caught by the gangsters. Another reason they gave was that even if they could escape, they had nowhere to go, especially when they were told they would be beaten if they were caught by the police. They stayed because they thought they would eventually be freed and not die in the

process, were frightened of being beaten, resold, abused by the police, and of being locked in detention centres. Some women did not think about escaping because they thought no one would help them. They had been educated by the traffickers that there was no hope to escape, and despaired of being rescued. For example, Lan worried about being caught by the broker, and Xiaoyu and Xiaoshi worried that no one would help them. So, helplessness and social isolation made these women feel that it was not worth trying to escape.

*Running away? I still need to pay back. It is useless to run away. I only know of a girl who ran away and she got caught and brought back. I don't know other things. (Lan, Chinese, 20)*

Xiaoshi thought nobody would help her since she had no friends or family in Taiwan. She was also afraid of being caught by the broker.

*It was useless to ask for help, for no one would help you. There was someone asking me to run away with her. But where should I go if I run away? It seems I was brainwashed by the pimp. I really doubt it because sometimes I really did not know what I was doing. Sometimes I did not have my own opinions; some things I just forgot. I just remembered it here; otherwise I know nothing, the same as being brainwashed. At that time many things happen in this condition. (Xiaoshi, Chinese, 15)*

Xiaoshi said she stayed because of social isolation and helplessness.

*It was because I was alone and no one could help me, I accepted it as my fate. I thought if I ran away, once I was caught by him, it would be worse. They are not decent people; some are even heartless and cruel. You do not know what kind of person he is. So, it was better to pay off the debt. (Xiaoshi, Chinese, 21)*

Besides feelings of helplessness, Xiaoshi was controlled by her broker and believed that being trafficked was her fate. She blamed herself and thought it was her fault that

she had been trafficked. Another reason for some of the women not trying to escape was because of their illegal identity. Transporting women illegally, or making women become illegal immigrants, is one method traffickers use to control women to work in prostitution and not try to escape. In Taiwan, trafficking gangsters transport undocumented Chinese women through smuggling, which renders these women illegal immigrants after they arrival in Taiwan. Also women who come through 'fake marriage' have their passports taken away. For example, five interviewees said that they were told that they were illegal and should take care not to be found by the police because they did not have their passports with them. However, the traffickers also did not want the women to be found by the police or ask for help, so they told them that if they were arrested by the police they would be beaten or held in prison for a long time.

*The broker told me that I was illegal because I did not have a passport. I was scared to be caught by the police. (Chacha, Chinese, 24)*

Similarly, Thihong described being warned about being found by the police:

*I always worried about being caught by the police. Sometimes, I wanted to go out to buy something, when I saw the policeman was outside and I was afraid to go out. I was really afraid of being arrested by the police. (Thihong, Vietnamese, 28)*

Chacha and Thihong both said they were afraid of the police because they thought they were illegal; one was smuggled and the other was 'fake marriage'. Rather than being warned about their illegal identity, Cosin, Xaojane and Tantan were all told by their brokers that the situation would be very bad if they were caught by the police.

*I was told that if I was arrested, I would be sent to the detention centre where living conditions were very bad. (Cosin, Chinese, 16)*

*When we arrived here, we were just told we would be locked up for one or two years if we would be caught. I was scared to death. I was living in fear every day. It might be better to be dead. (Tantan, Chinese, 25)*

Arguably, the more careful the women were not to be found by the police, the easier the broker could control them. For example, Xaojane was given a bad impression of the police in Taiwan from her broker:

*He told me not to be caught by the police, otherwise it would be miserable. He said 'the police will beat you. If you do not behave yourself, the police will give you an injection'. I tried to hide all the time but got caught in the end. (Xaojane, Chinese, 15)*

Xaojane explained that she did not trust Chinese policemen, which affected her impression of Taiwanese policemen.

*I did not have a good impression of the police. Poor families have an allowance but my family never had it. We are orphans. But the government just ignored us. I thought they were so bad. When I worked in China, a policeman went to a prostitute and gave her no money just because he was a policeman. I think it is unfair. He treated other people as if they were not human beings and he seemed to be noble. (Xaojane, Chinese, 15)*

A further consequence of being smuggled illegally was that traffickers used the women's illegal identity to control them by telling them that they could not work in other jobs instead of prostitution because they did not have a legal identity. Hence, in order to pay off the debt, they *had* to work in prostitution.

## **Conclusion**

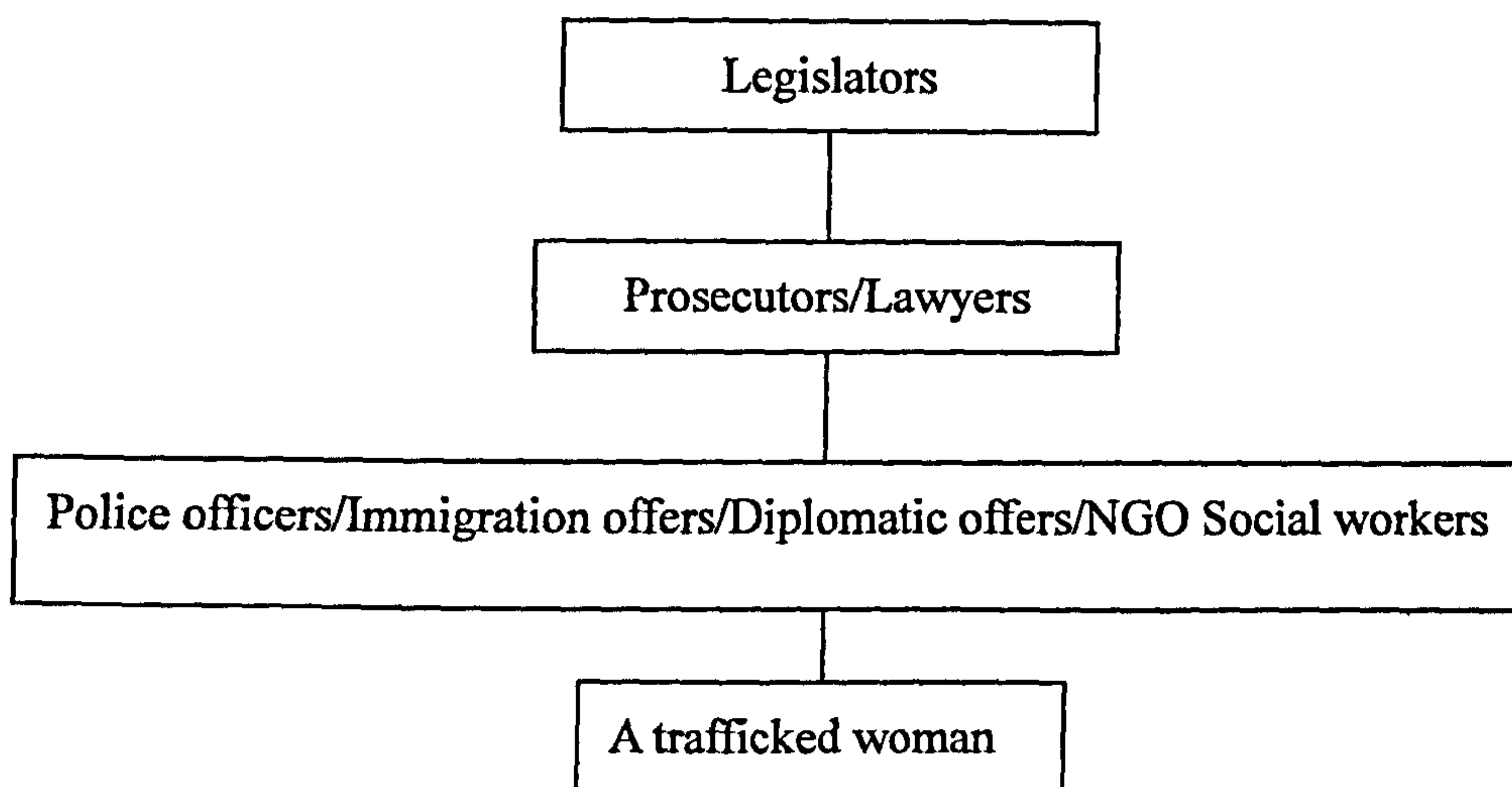
This chapter has focused on the mechanisms of control that the brokers deployed to get interviewees to work as prostitutes. Most of the interviewees knew about their

work only after they were sold to the brokers. After being told of the nature of work, the brokers brought them to buy clothes which they would wear to sell sex, and also trained them to be prostitutes. The 'trainings' included being polite to customers, using condoms, taking baths with customers, and performing fellatio. Before the interviewees agreed to work as prostitutes, the brokers used many methods to control them. The brokers used their power, debt bondage, threat of violence, threat of rape, threat of going to jail, threat of drug use, control of freedom of movement, starvation and abuse to make them obey the traffickers. Some interviewees began to work in prostitution, but others tried to escape. Beginning to work in prostitution was also viewed as a way to escape because women may have a chance to run away from brothels, or as they were told that they could leave if they paid off the debt.

Chapters Four, Five and Six have examined the experiences of women being trafficked, and the methods women were controlled in the trafficking process. In the next chapter, I will analyse the ways women were defined as trafficked from the perspectives of professionals who work on combating human trafficking.

## **Chapter Seven: Policy issues on combating sex trafficking**

This chapter will analyse the interviews with key professionals involved in various ways with combating sex trafficking in Taiwan, and in particular will examine how their definitions of sex trafficking were socially constructed. Figure 7-1 illustrates the key professionals who work on combating sex trafficking in Taiwan, and indicates how a sex trafficked woman can be found by a police officer, an immigration officer, a diplomatic officer or an NGO worker, and then be investigated by a prosecutor and, at the same time, may have a lawyer to help her in the investigating process. Also, from the policy perspective, legislators draft the laws on combating sex trafficking in Taiwan. Therefore, I wanted to interview those key professionals who had worked on the issue of sex trafficking and explore how their definitions of sex trafficking are socially constructed and implemented. As I have discussed in Chapter Three, regarding the access to these professionals, in the end, it was only possible to interview eight professionals including one police official, one immigration official, one diplomatic offer, one social worker, one chief executive officer of a NGO, one prosecutor, one lawyer and one assistant legislator. Although this is a small sample, they are the key actors involved in sex trafficking in Taiwan. So, although this is a small number of interviewees, this represents the key individuals who work in variety of professional roles who work in the policy and legislative process in Taiwan. I wanted to examine the ways by which the professionals identified sex trafficked women which would determine whether the women would receive services or not.



**Figure 7-1: Professionals involved in the process of combating sex trafficking**

This chapter is organised into three sections; firstly, I will discuss the definitions of sex trafficking as articulated by the professionals; then I will go on to explore problems they had met in combating sex trafficking. In the final section, the discussion will focus on suggestions for law and policy reform that were raised in the interviews with these key professionals.

### **The ambiguity of definitions of sex trafficking**

In this section, I will analyse the central elements in the construction process by which it is determined if a woman is trafficked or not and, moreover, who has authority to make these decisions (see also Chapter One). The following will not only discuss the law on sex trafficking, but also how this policy is implemented. Here, I am problematising the current definition of sex trafficking of women in Taiwan on the basis of the ways of identifying whether women are trafficked or not. *The National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons* (2007) and *the Act of Combating Human Trafficking* (2009) provides the official definition of human trafficking<sup>77</sup>, and the

<sup>77</sup> See Chapter Two (page 27 ) for the definition of human trafficking in the National Plan for Action on Trafficking in Persons and the Act of Combating Human Trafficking.



*Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims* (2007) was developed by the Taiwanese government to use as an indicator when law enforcement officers find human beings who are suspected of being trafficked. The following are the principles that *the Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims* list to assess if a person can be considered to be trafficked or not.

1. They are under 18 years old
2. Transported without agreement
3. Freedom is controlled, they are abused, threatened, coerced, raped, or cannot communicate with others freely in the process of transporting
4. After arriving at the destination, if women's freedom is controlled, they are raped, threatened, coerced, abused, or cannot communicate with others freely
5. Legal documentation is detained
6. The working pay is withheld, or they get unreasonable pay
7. The nature of work is different from the promised work (Ministry of Justice 2007: 1-2)

These seven principles are used to identify trafficked human beings. The first principle is based on the idea that children who are less than eighteen years old are incapable of consent, so they are viewed as sex trafficked persons whether they agree to work in prostitution or not. Except for persons who are less than 18 years old, the principles of identifying women who are trafficked include the other six principles, such as persons are transported without their agreement, have their legal documents withheld, working pay withheld or receive unreasonable paid, have been lied to about the nature of work, and/or have been subjected to mental as well as physical abuse. However, most of the professionals I interviewed said that they had problems identifying sex trafficked women. For example, an immigration officer stated that:

*According to the Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims of Department of Law Affairs, the definition of trafficking victims including people under 18 years old who work as prostitutes whether they agree to come to Taiwan or not,*

*people who are older than 18 years old, if they are controlled, exploited, forced to work in prostitution, such as prostitutes or sit-table women, they are sex trafficked victims. If a policeman cannot identify if a woman is trafficked, he/she can ask a prosecutor.*

This immigration official illustrated how sex trafficked women are defined and also said if the police cannot decide if a woman is trafficked or not they can ask a prosecutor, which implies that some police officers may have a problem in identifying trafficked persons. This official analysed the key concepts to identify trafficked women, including force, control and exploitation. However, the meanings of force, control and exploitation may be socially interpreted differently by different professionals. For example, in the following quote, a lawyer illustrated what the term 'control' meant for her:

*The process of forcing women into prostitution, traffickers would rape women firstly, which is what usually happened. After raping women, traffickers control the freedom of women, and then force women to work as prostitutes. The freedom of control, language gap and having no legal document or their legal documents being kept from them causes women to be in a vulnerable situation. The vulnerable situation means women cannot ask for help and cannot go back home either. This is the reason that sex trafficked victims are easily controlled.*

Most of the methods the lawyer mentioned have been incorporated in the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*, apart from the language gap. These methods were also used against the women interviewed in my study, as described in Chapters Five and Six. This lawyer's opinion supports my argument that traffickers use a variety of methods to put women into a vulnerable situation in order to make women obey them. A prosecutor explained her methods of identifying sex trafficked women:

*There are many ways to identify if a woman is trafficked or not. For example, if she was offered a job which was not about prostitution but asked to work in*

*prostitution later, in other words, the nature of the job is different from what she was told. Another example is if a woman was told she would work as a cleaner but in fact her work was nothing like a cleaner. Or, a woman's freedom is controlled or she is raped, I will think she may be trafficked. A legal foreign labour agent would not rape foreign labourers or control their freedom. In order to understand if a woman is free to move, I would ask her if she keeps her passport and is free to go out.*

This prosecutor illustrated her ways of identifying sex trafficked women, which included control of freedom, rape, having no legal document with them and the false nature of work. She said keeping a woman's passport was also a way to control her. A passport is an important identity document for foreigners as women cannot find a legal job in Taiwan without one. Moreover, the prosecutor also went on to say that women are deceived by being told 'fake marriage' is the only way women can come to Taiwan. She explained why, in her view, foreign women come to Taiwan through 'fake marriage':

*Why do foreign women come to Taiwan through 'fake marriage'? Maybe because traffickers tell them that they can only come through 'fake marriage'. So they may know they are coming through 'fake marriage', but it is because they think or are told it is the only way they can come to Taiwan. Moreover, they do not know that they will work as prostitutes before coming, they are told about other jobs. After arriving in Taiwan, a strange country with a foreign language and culture, their passports are impounded, which makes them totally controlled.*

This explanation of why foreign women come to Taiwan through 'fake marriage' shows another way that traffickers lie to and control women, and this idea has been included in the criteria list in the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims* (criteria 7). The prosecutor explained that women who were deceived into coming to Taiwan through 'fake marriage', which was another example of how women are frequently deceived right from the beginning of the trafficking process. The

prosecutor's idea of women being controlled through illegal identity is similar to the findings in this study. The 'fake married' women I interviewed knew they would come to Taiwan through 'fake marriage', but they did not know that they would work as prostitutes in Taiwan and that, after arriving in Taiwan, they would be told by traffickers that working as prostitutes was the only thing they could do. Both the prosecutor and the lawyer identified a language and culture gap as important to making foreign women more vulnerable in these circumstances, however these two issues are not included in the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*.

The lawyer and the prosecutor both illustrated ways they identify sex trafficked women. However, the police official and immigration official argued that there are still many problems in identifying sex trafficked women, such as the definition of exploitation. Exploitation can be defined in economic terms, which means women do not get paid or only receive unfair pay (criteria 6 outlined in *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*). The police official problematised the definition of exploitation in the following way:

*We need a very clear definition to know how to identify a sex trafficked human being. If using 'exploitation' as a discipline to define if someone is trafficked or not, that is very difficult.*

He went on to explain how he defined unreasonable pay:

*For example, a woman should be paid 3,000 NTD (£50) for a customer but actually she only has one fourth or one fifth pay. This extremely unfair payment is a kind of exploitation.*

However, although he thought that unreasonable pay is exploitation, he did not agree

that women who only faced this kind of exploitation were trafficked.

*If a woman works voluntarily as a prostitute but gets unreasonable pay from the broker, by the definition it may be a kind of exploitation, but I think it is not sex trafficking...women who have more reasonable pay and work voluntary as prostitutes are not suited to be identified as sex trafficked.*

This police officer stressed the need for a clear indicator of exploitation. He advocated that women cannot be identified as 'sex trafficked women' only because they do not receive the full wage. Although 'exploitation' is viewed as one criteria in identifying trafficked women in the *Identify Principle of Human Trafficking Victims*, he did not agree to identify women who 'voluntarily' work as prostitutes but are exploited as sex trafficked. This is an example that although the Taiwan government has recognised wage 'exploitation' (criteria 6) as a principle of identifying trafficked persons, it is not always recognised by professionals who work on combating human trafficking. The police officer went on to explain his opinion of what is sex trafficking:

*In some situations, women can be seen that are obviously controlled, such as women are locked in a room, or using drugs. In the current cases which I have found, controlling women by using drugs happens to few trafficked women compared with all the cases that I know. However, it happens quite often in Southern Taiwan. The gangs force women to use drugs, and after women become drug addicts, they are controlled by gangs. It is undoubtedly a human trafficking case. There are many cases found like this situation. The situation of using drugs, violence and being forced into prostitution can easily identify women as trafficked. Although a woman comes to Taiwan voluntarily, but her freedom is controlled, and is threatened or she is even beaten if she does not follow what the gangsters ask her to do.*

This police officer pointed out the ways by which he defined women as being trafficked or not, in particular the use of violence and drugs, control of freedom, and serious financial exploitation. However, it can be argued that the key factors by which

he identifies trafficked human beings are more 'direct' aspects, than for instance withholding legal documents. Using drugs is not one of the principles of the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*, but it is viewed as a way to identify if women are controlled and trafficked. The women I interviewed did not recall that they were controlled by using drugs, but a few of them said they were threatened with drugs if they did not obey their brokers. Therefore, using drugs might be considered as a mechanism of controlling women. The police official questioned whether withholding passport has to be recognised as a principle of identifying whether women are trafficked or not.

*It is controversial if the employer keeps the passport of the employee, is this a kind of exploitation or not? It should be considered if the wage is fair or not, instead of the passport. It needs a clear definition at this part, what is sex exploitation and what is labour exploitation? So the police could clearly realise what is human trafficking.*

The police official challenged two principles of identifying sex trafficked women: financial exploitation and the withholding of a passport. He claimed that if a woman works 'voluntarily' as a prostitute and without being seriously exploited, it would not be appropriate to view her as a trafficked woman. However, as I have argued, it is often difficult to define 'serious' exploitation or 'voluntarily' prostitution where, as I have discussed women and girls are trained to appear as working voluntarily (see Chapter Six). Exploitation is defined as an important concept in the definition of human trafficking in global discussions, for example, by the United Nations<sup>78</sup>, the Council of Europe<sup>79</sup>, and the *Act of Combating Human Trafficking* (see Chapter Two).

---

<sup>78</sup> The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Support and Punish the Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2000) which is discussed in Chapter two.

<sup>79</sup> The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005) which is discussed in Chapter Two.

However, this police official did not view a woman who 'voluntarily' works as a prostitute without 'serious' exploitation as being sex trafficked. The way he constructed the concept of exploitation was based on ambiguous concepts, such as 'voluntary' and 'serious'. As I have argued it is often difficult to define what is 'serious' exploitation and 'voluntary' or 'forced' prostitution.

Moreover, the police official did not agree that withholding legal documents is necessarily a criterion of identifying sex trafficking, although the *Identify Principle of Human Trafficking Victims* lists withholding legal documents and exploitation as principles of identifying trafficked women. His ideas differed from the views of the lawyer I interviewed, who thought withholding passport is a way of control and a clue to find out whether women are trafficked.

The immigration officer I interviewed also questioned whether or not having access to legal documents is an indicator of being trafficked.

*Under the following situations, persons can be defined as trafficking victims: they are sold and bought; they do not get any of the money they are promised to be paid even if they agree to the work, or they know they would work as prostitutes, I think they are trafficked if they are financial exploited or controlled no matter what kind of situation they are found in. The broad definition includes if the passport or other identification documents are owned by other people to stop them escaping. However, I think if only documents being kept is viewed as an indicator of being trafficked, this definition would be too broad.*

From these interviews, it can be seen that although exploitation is recognised as a principle to identify sex trafficked women, it is not accepted as a sufficient enough factor to identify them as trafficked by all eight professionals. I would argue that if a woman who is working as a prostitute is investigated by the police official or the

immigration official I interviewed, it is possible that she may not be identified as being sex trafficked if it is only her passport that is being withheld by her broker. However, she may be identified as trafficked by the prosecutor and the lawyer because they both agree that withholding legal documents is a form of control, and a principle to identify women as trafficked.

The police official and the immigration official both attempted to draw a line between sex trafficked women and 'voluntary' prostitutes. They both agreed that women are not sex trafficked if they are 'voluntarily' working as prostitutes and without 'serious' exploitation. This definition will make some sex trafficked women more difficult to be identified as trafficked, if they are viewed as 'voluntary' prostitutes, especially women who are 'true married' or foreign labourers who work in prostitution after arrival in Taiwan. Since they are not transported by traffickers, the ways they are controlled are more difficult to identify and recognise. In Chapter Six, I argued that if these more 'indirect' ways of control are not recognised, women may not be identified as trafficked if they do not experience direct forms of control, such as rape, beatings or control of their freedom. The prosecutor held a similar opinion and stated that:

*It is really difficult to identify if these 'runaways' and 'true married' brides are trafficked or not. For example, if a foreign bride had lived with her husband at the beginning, it is very difficult to say she is trafficked.*

The situation of foreign 'runaways' and 'true married' brides working in prostitution, as the prosecutor said, makes it difficult to identify if they are trafficked or not, more especially, because these women are not transported by trafficking gangs. However, I would argue that 'true married' brides and foreign labourers could be viewed as trafficked if they experience the forms of control similar to other trafficked women.



However, the findings in my interviews with 'true married' brides and foreign labourers show that they were usually controlled by state level and psycho level of control, such as threats and debt bondage. Therefore, they are more difficult to be identified as trafficked. The prosecutor I interviewed tried to define what a 'voluntary' prostitute is stating that:

*This kind of case is vague, because they could choose to have sex trades or not. However, if they could not reject working as prostitutes, but can only choose clients they like, it is still a sex trafficking case since she cannot choose to work in other jobs but only in prostitution. I think only a few women would voluntarily work in prostitution. Women usually would not want to work in prostitution unless under some kind of pressure, for example, a woman maybe had her passport taken away and could not find a job in Taiwan, these reasons directly or indirectly press her to work in prostitution. Women who can only choose their clients, but who cannot choose not to work in prostitution, are also trafficked.*

This prosecutor argued that a woman who cannot choose *not* to work in prostitution under pressure is also sex trafficked, even if she can decide on her clients. This view echoes my findings where some women began to work in prostitution because they were forced in various ways (see Chapter Six). The problem of identifying if women are trafficked on the basis of whether women are forced to begin working in prostitution is difficult to ascertain. For example, if women work as masseuses or as sit-table women, would they be considered as sex trafficked? The prosecutor explained that:

*In this case, although she says that she did not have intercourse with clients, it does not mean that she understands the definitions of prostitution. In Southeast Asia, people may have different definition of prostitution from Taiwanese people. Sometimes, because of the language gap, people may misunderstand each other. According to the Law to Suppress Sexual Transactions Involving Children And Juveniles (2000), Article 2, the sexual transaction in this Act is defined as sexual intercourse or obscene act for a consideration. It defines sex harassment as*

*touching breasts or the privates also as a form of intercourse, moreover, not only when people are naked but also with clothes. Another example of the term of prostitution is Taiwanese people who are around fifty or sixty years old, they would not use the term prostitution but instead 'sleep with someone'. 'Sleep' means having sex with someone. If you ask foreign women the definition of prostitution, they may give you different answers by different countries. So, we need to know exactly the content of working as masseuses and sit-table women, and then we can know what happened to them.*

This section has examined the principles of identifying trafficked human beings that certain key officials used, and illustrates how criteria are used in practice in the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*. Although identification principles are listed in this policy, the police officer, the prosecutor, and the immigration officer illustrated the problems of defining trafficking human beings, especially the definition of 'exploitation'. The two main arguments the police official and the immigration official raised are, first, the meaning of exploitation, and second, the relative significance of being denied legal documents in terms of identifying someone as trafficked. Although the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims* provides indicators, there are grey areas evident in differing ways what the officials interpreted the process of identifying trafficked women.

The eight professionals I interviewed were all in agreement that children less than 18 years old, women who have been raped or have been controlled of freedom (all principles based on the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*) identify women as trafficked. If women only have their passport withheld or are exploited, it is not always viewed as an indicator of being sex trafficked. The immigration official and the police official argued that only 'serious' exploitation, such as not being paid, can be viewed as a criteria of sex trafficking. However, the meaning of 'serious'

exploitation is controversial. Moreover, control of freedom is recognised in the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims* as a way to know whether women are trafficked or not. The prosecutor saw withholding of a woman's passport as a principle of identifying women may be trafficked or not, but the police official and the immigration official did not. This suggests that although the law has defined ways to identify sex trafficked women, there are a number of problems. One is that law enforcement officials may have different interpretations of these principles; another is that some forms of control are not viewed as a sufficient basis for defining someone as trafficked by all law enforcement officers. For example, the lawyer and the prosecutor both agreed that women who have no legal documents lead them to be controlled by traffickers, but the police official and immigration official disagreed.

According to the analysis in Chapters Five and Six, it can be seen that trafficked women were deceived and/or controlled from the point that they first met recruiters. The majority of the women were told false reasons about coming to Taiwan and/or the false nature of work they would have in Taiwan, and then encountered debt bondage and had no legal identity. Moreover, usually, their freedom was controlled, they were sent to a foreign place, kept under surveillance, and could not communicate with others. However, the fact that they were controlled and/or deceived in their original countries is not included in either the criteria of the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims* or the interviews with the officials.

In addition, I would like to raise the issue of transportation without agreement. In my study, most women who were transported by trafficking gangs were transported from where they lived to a storehouse without obviously being forced. This was because they were convinced by their recruiters to come to Taiwan under false pretensions.

As I have indicated, in Taiwan women may be viewed as trafficked women if their freedom is controlled, or if they have been raped, threatened, coerced, abused, or if they cannot communicate with others freely. However, the five 'true married' brides and three foreign labourers in my study were not raped, abused, and their freedom had not obviously been controlled, nor had their ability to communicate been curtailed. The situations they faced were language and cultural gaps, and having no family or friends in Taiwan. Moreover, 'runaways' are illegal and because of the illegal identity they cannot find a legal job. Even if 'true married' brides have legal identity in Taiwan, they are still in vulnerable situations. The five 'true married' brides were told by their recruiters or traffickers that working as a prostitute was the only way to earn money in a short time. However, they may not be viewed as trafficked women because they were not seen to be 'forced' to work as prostitutes. Although the prosecutor agreed that if women can only choose clients but cannot choose not to work as prostitutes they are also trafficked.

Even though the Taiwanese government institutes rules to identify trafficked persons, I would argue that these rules are socially constructed and interpreted differently by various professionals, and that, as a consequence, a woman may be identified as trafficked or not by different professionals. The police officer illustrated the circumstance of sex trafficking in Taiwan.

*The main cases of human trafficking are for the purpose of sex exploitation. Usually, the ways that a case is viewed as a sex trafficking case is because of forcing women into prostitution or the activity is operated by snake gangs. There are still many Chinese women smuggled into Taiwan. However, the method of sex trafficking is changing. The ways it is changing include that Chinese women are mainly selling sex in the urban areas and Vietnamese women are mainly in the*

*rural areas. The methods by which Vietnamese women come to Taiwan include fake marriages and 'runaways'. Some of them are true married brides but leave their husbands later then work as prostitutes. These are the major ways.*

The police officer concluded that there are four methods that foreign women come to Taiwan: smuggling, 'fake marriage', 'true marriage' and runaways. He explained a way of control which makes sex trafficking more difficult to be identified:

*The traffickers sometimes even go shopping, buying things and travelling with these women. And they are making women think these gangsters are nice. So, when the police ask women if they are beaten, treated or deceived, they all say no. However, it is also a kind of control, the soft control. It is difficult to detect the gangs.*

Shopping or travelling with women is not usually viewed as a mechanism of control, for example, it is not included in the Identify Principle of Human Trafficking Victims and rarely mentioned by the professionals. However, as the police officer said, it is a powerful way to make women obey traffickers, and make it difficult to be recognised. Another mechanism of control which is difficult to identify was named by the same police officer.

*These Russian women come alone; there must be someone who arranges it in Taiwan. They could not come alone without knowing anyone. There must be someone to arrange things. It is more difficult to know if she is controlled or exploited. She just leaves Taiwan when her visa is due.*

The police officer questioned how foreign women may go to another country they have never been to as they cannot speak the language, and how can they find a brothel to work as prostitutes in a foreign land, implying that the trips would probably be arranged by trafficking gangs, However, it is very difficult to find the evidence if they are trafficked because there is no obvious control during the process, and women only

stay for a few months and then leave Taiwan.

## **Policy implications and recommendations**

Facing the problems of defining/identifying sex trafficking women, the officials had different ideas on how to respond to sex trafficking, because of the ambiguous definition and principles of identification. The immigration official, for example, explained the difficulty of devising a thorough definition of trafficked persons.

*We are thinking about the definition of human trafficking victims. The current definition is abstract. To identify a thorough definition, it should be considered case by case. We are collecting the cases to find the common elements and are putting the findings in the law.*

It is recognised by this immigration official that the existing definition of human trafficking persons is incomplete. The police officer also claimed that the problem of investigating is that the current definition of sex trafficking is not complete.

*For the police, the definition should be clear and the police can catch the gangs according to the law. There is no difficulty at detection, but needing a clear definition for the law enforcement to know how to protect victims. This is more important. Now, the definition is not clear, when the police break into a brothel, they do not know who victims are and who they are not. They just bring all persons they found back to the police station. It is not enough protection if victims are identified after arriving at the police station. Although we will protect victims after we realise who they are, we could not provide immediate protection and related assistance.*

However, the lawyer did not agree and thought the police did not investigate potential cases of sex trafficking.

*Now, when a foreign woman is arrested because of prostitution, the case depends on whether they are lucky or not to decide whatever a case is investigated or not. A responsible policeman will investigate trafficking gangs which sell women into*

*brothels and also investigate brokers, as well as other gangsters. If the policeman does not trace the related crime gangsters, a case maybe closed. Although prosecutors say that they investigate crimes by laws, the results of sex trafficking crimes are diverse and it depends on different prosecutors. If there is a standard investigating process, there will be a training programme to each police force to investigate sex trafficking crime, and the police will be required to investigate every possible sex trafficking crime.*

The lawyer recommended that policy needs to stipulate that the police should investigate all possible sex trafficking cases. However, the police official thought the investigation was complete as it is. I argue that the different positions of professionals generate different ideas about combating sex trafficking which, in turn, impacts on the way they decide whether women have been trafficked or not, or at least whether to even investigate the question.

As Figure 7-1 shows, usually, if a woman is found by the police because of prostitution, it is a police officer to identify if she is trafficked or not. Therefore, if a woman is not identified by the police as a possible trafficked woman, she would be treated as an illegal immigrant or a criminal because of prostitution. She may be unable to have another chance to be re-identified if she is trafficked or not. Even she is fitted the definition of trafficked woman of a prosecutor or a lawyer, she would not have a chance to be identified as trafficked, because she may be deported after the police/immigration officers/diplomatic officers define she is not trafficked. So, as shown in Figure 7-1, the professionals who first meet possible trafficked women are most important people in practice, because they decide if a woman has a chance to be identified as trafficked. For prosecutors, it is less important in the practice of identifying trafficked persons, because they only involve in a possible trafficking case when the police agree it is or has a problem to define if it is a trafficking case or not.

As discussed above, the officials seek a standard method to identify if a woman is trafficked or not. Although, as I argue, it is very difficult to draw a clear line between ‘voluntary’ prostitutes and sex trafficked women, in practice, the law enforcement officers felt the need for a clear principle that they could invoke when identifying trafficked human beings. Besides, the chief executive officer of an NGO who works on combating sex trafficking illustrated further policy suggestions that could be made to the government.

*First, the government should provide a clear definition of human trafficking. Second, the government should make some policies to combat human trafficking. It includes extending explanation or redefining the existing laws, the training of law enforcement officers, the building of working process and the establishment of the rewarding system. Third, the government should increase the cooperation with NGOs. For the public sector, especially for the prosecutors, they do not have many experiences of working with NGOs, but they should be monitored and supervised. There is one more thing that policies should be administrated as it is easy to become just a formal process and not meaningful. It is clear that most victims are found by local law enforcement workers. If the law enforcement officers do not treat women as trafficked victims or ignore women’s experiences and just deport them, policies would be meaningless. The policies could not be implemented. So, what my NGO is going to do is educate the law enforcement officers about the knowledge of human trafficking.*

The chief executive officer illustrated that the majority of trafficked women are found by the police officers, others are found by the NGO workers, immigration officers or diplomatic offers. Therefore, the police have a key role to play in identifying sex trafficked women. The NGO worker also raised the issue of the cooperation between the government and NGOs. The prosecutor raised another issue of interpretation and the ability of the police to investigate properly.



*Interpretation is a problem for us. We cannot find the interpreters who know the languages of Mandarin and women's native language, as well as understanding Taiwanese law. Moreover, the investigation of the police is not good enough, sometimes; the prosecutors need to investigate by themselves. The problems we meet including settlement of victims, interpretation, and the investigation ability of the police.*

The suggestions that these professionals raised included a more complete definition of the crime of sex trafficking, establishing the protection of sex trafficking persons, conducting a standard investigation system, and improving the cooperation between government and NGOs. The main issue the professionals focused on was the need for a clear definition of sex trafficked women. However, the findings from the interviews with twenty-eight women in this study conclude that many methods exist whereby traffickers control women and put them into vulnerable situations (e.g. various kinds of threat, violence, social isolation and debt bondage). Some of these methods were also illustrated by the officials, whereas others have not been viewed previously as ways by which traffickers control women. This study explores new perspectives on women who are controlled by traffickers, and provide new thoughts on the policy and practice dimensions of combating sex trafficking that the ways to identify women should be based on an understanding derived from the lived experiences of sex trafficked women.

According to the analysis of this study, I argue that there are three perspectives of identifying women as sex trafficked in Taiwan, one is the principle of Identify Principle of Human Trafficking Victims, the other principle is based on the experiences of the women I interviewed, and another is defined by the eight professionals. According to the analysis of these definitions, I argue that there are some overlaps and some gaps over whether women are seen as trafficked or not from

the women's viewpoint, the professionals' viewpoint and according to the current policy definitions. This research examines these gaps and shows how this influences how women are treated in practice, because some women are trafficked but are not viewed officially as being trafficked. My aim is not to provide an exact definition, rather I am arguing that there are legal definitions, and there are also working definitions that the authorities used. It may not be useful to have a standard definition within policy to identify sex trafficked women, because there are groups of women who overlap, i.e. smuggled women, 'fake married' women and sex trafficked women. The propose of this thesis is not about proving one definition or another, rather it seeks to identify what implications follow from the fact that the definitions of sexual trafficking are social constructed. As I mentioned, the definition of sex trafficking of women is vague. Two women with similar experiences but may get labelled as sex trafficked or not, because officials may take different criteria to decide one is trafficked but not the other. To sum up, I argue that the definition of sex trafficking women needs to be informed by the experience of women, as recounted by the women themselves, who thus contribute to the criteria for defining women as being sexual trafficked or not.

## **Conclusion**

*The Identify Principle of Human Trafficking* (2007) lists the ways to identify if a woman is trafficked or not. However, the professionals I interviewed did not all agree with these principles. For example, exploitation (criteria 6) and withholding a passport (criteria 5) are listed in the *Identify Principle of Human Trafficking*, but the immigration official and the police official both argued that women who 'voluntary' work as prostitutes and do not experience serious exploitation should not be identified

as sex trafficked. They also argued that women should not be identified as trafficked only because they have their passports withheld. On the other hand, the lawyer and the prosecutor agreed that exploitation and withholding of a person's passport are ways to recognise sex trafficked women. However, the point is, usually, it is the police/immigration officers decide if a woman is trafficked or not at the first stage. If she is not identified as trafficked woman, she may have no chance to be identified as trafficked.

Exploiting the cultural gap and the language gap were identified as ways of control by the prosecutor and the lawyer, and using drugs was also viewed as a way traffickers control women. However, these three mechanisms are not included in the *Identify Principle of Human Trafficking Victims*. The research findings of my interviews with women also conclude that the language gap and the cultural gap can be used as mechanisms of control (see Chapter Six). The findings also showed that threatening women with use of drugs is also a way to control women. Although no women in my study were controlled in this way, a few women were told they would be forced to use drugs if they did not obey traffickers (Chapter Six). These examples problematise the current principles, which are not accepted by all professionals who work on combating sex trafficking, and also influences whether women are identified as trafficked or not when they are found by law enforcement officials.

According to the analysis of the current policy in Chapter Two, the professionals' opinions in this chapter and the women's experiences in Chapters Four, Five and Six, I argue that these three ways of constructing trafficking do not necessarily coincide. Therefore, in order to provide the protection and services to sex trafficked women, the principles of identifying sex trafficked women need to take into account trafficked

women's experiences. Moreover, the women's experiences in their original countries have to be investigated, as discussed in Chapter Five, as what women experienced in their original countries is also a way to help the law enforcement officers to identify if a woman is trafficked, for example, if they felt they were forced, controlled or deceived in the process. Therefore, the principles to identify if women are trafficked need to be better informed, and the mechanisms of control used in the trafficking process have to be investigated and recognised. The next chapter will summarise the research findings of this thesis and provide recommendations for policy and further research.

## **Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Discussion**

In this thesis, my central purpose has been to explore the phenomenon of sex trafficking in persons in Taiwan through the voice of the women involved, and a key focus has been in the ways in which women are identified as sex trafficked or not (for example, as migrant sex workers), and why there is a difference between viewing a woman as a migrant sex worker by some officials, and as a sex trafficked woman by others. Also a key objective was to explore the ways that women are trafficked and are controlled during the trafficking process. In this thesis, I have discussed the gaps in definitions of sex trafficking between current policy, women's experiences and key professionals', and also the differences between professionals. In this conclusion, I summarise my research findings, and then go on to consider the contribution my analysis makes to current knowledge around definitions of sex trafficking, both for policy agendas and further research.

### **Summary: research findings**

From a methodological perspective, this study employed qualitative research methods and collected data from trafficked women directly. I discussed the methods to conduct interviews with trafficked women in Chapter Three. Kelly (2005) identified the methodological weaknesses and limitations in trafficking research. She pointed out that existing research failed to produce qualitative material except in an illustrative way, that there was a shortage of discussion concerning how interviews were conducted with interviewees, and that studies which had collected data from trafficked human beings were still rare.

The importance of my research is not only that it is an empirical study of trafficked women themselves, but also that it problematises the definitional division between a migrant sex worker and a sex trafficked woman. I challenge the situation where women who were trafficked were not identified as trafficked women by the Taiwanese government, and acknowledge the possible effects of this for policy. As I have illustrated in Chapter One, this study did not set out to provide a new definition of sex trafficking, rather seeks to point out that the current definition of sex trafficked women is not sufficiently informed without a wider consideration of the experiences and viewpoints of women themselves.

This study contributes to understandings of trafficking, including an examination of the definition of trafficking based on the narratives delivered by the women I interviewed. I argue that existing definitions of sex trafficking persons needed to be developed, and should include the methods by which sex trafficked women were controlled in the trafficking process, in particular from the women's point of view. The need for such elaboration of definitions of sex trafficking persons is underlined by the fact that trafficked women can receive services and protection *only* if they are identified as trafficked women.

This study explored new perspectives on women who were controlled by traffickers, and provided new thoughts on the policy and practice dimensions of combating sex trafficking. For example, that the ways to identify women should be based on an understanding derived from the lived experiences of sex trafficked women. According to women's experiences, this study listed many ways that women said they were controlled, forced and/or threatened in the trafficking process. First, this research investigated how social-economic, cultural, and marital status factors interacted and

affected women, making them vulnerable to being trafficked. According to the analysis in Chapter Four, trafficked women were not always from poor financial backgrounds, although many studies claim that most trafficked children and women are from poor countries and families, and most women in my study did support this assumption. However, women who came from low social-economic status were typically forced to leave school at an early age in order to work to earn money. The low education background increased the possibility of working in low paid and unskilled jobs, and, moreover, some women might work in prostitution. As I indicated above, however, not all women in this study were from low social-economic background. For example, Lan, Xiaoyu, Chan, Thitang and Aiya all came from wealthy families. Moreover, Yank, another woman in my research, was educated up to the first year of university. Also, most of the interviewees did not work in prostitution before coming to Taiwan and have good family relationships. Based on this, I argued that current research has to some extent oversimplified the characteristics of sex trafficked women.

Admitting the complexity of sex trafficking is an important premise to understanding this issue. I have argued that it is dangerous to oversimplify and/or reduce the characteristics of who is presumed to be sex trafficked human beings. This is because the constitution of laws and policies may exclude certain women if sex trafficking is viewed as an uncomplicated crime and the 'no choice' situation women face may be ignored. I would also argue that the discussion of women being trafficked cannot ignore the role of traffickers: it is traffickers who choose the women to be trafficked. Structurally and globally, women are trafficked from poor countries to developing countries, however, it cannot be said that trafficked women are all from poor financial background or presume trafficked women are always from poor countries or poor

families, otherwise the risk is that definitions of sex trafficking exclude certain women.

As I mentioned in Chapter Four, human trafficking is a process whereby traffickers are looking for women to buy and sell, it is not about women who choose to be bought and sold. It is understandable that vulnerable women are at risk of being trafficked, however, women who are not vulnerable may also to be trafficked. Being poor is not enough, as Gaon and Forbord (2005: 227) argue, 'poverty alone does not offer a full explanation for migration and trafficking for women and children'.

Second, I argue that the process of sex trafficking is a continuum involving various mechanisms of regulation and control of women. The analysis in Chapters Five and Six pointed to the methods that the traffickers used to coerce and/or to lure women into prostitution. As I have discussed in Chapter Two, Farr (2005) claimed control methods are intended to make women dependent on pimps or traffickers and to deter individual acts of disobedience or rebelliousness. She listed the major forms of control utilized by traffickers which include social isolation and deprivation of agency, place and space restriction, and violence or the threat of violence. Gaon and Forbord (2005), in their study of sex trafficking in Southeast Europe, examined the ways women and children become ensnared in sex trafficking; including being without official documents, being abducted by traffickers, being promised lucrative work, and many other ways. In comparison, the mechanisms of control that recruiters, traffickers and brokers used, as analysed in this thesis, include deception, threat, including of drug addiction, place and space restriction, 'training' to be prostitutes, debt bondage, social isolation, putting women into vulnerable situations, starvation, coercion and violence. In each step of the trafficking process, trafficking gangsters used multiple



methods to lead women into vulnerable situations, or as women said that they were in a 'no choice situation'.

As I have mentioned, the government polices and laws were also ways that the traffickers used to bring the women into vulnerable situations. For instance, where women were transported through smuggling it was usually the traffickers' choice to make women be classified as illegal, because an illegal identity, apart from preventing women from asking help from the police, also gave women no choice but to obey the traffickers. For example, in my thesis most women were transported through smuggling or 'fake marriage', yet most of them did not know that as a result they would become illegal immigrants in Taiwan before they came. Another example was provided by foreign labourers who are lured to become 'runaways', then are told that they are now illegal immigrants and therefore cannot find legal work, so they have to work in prostitution. These examples provide evidence to support my argument that traffickers purposefully engineer women into become illegal immigrants and that giving women an illegal identity is one of the methods that traffickers use to control them.

This discussion echoes the discourse of consent/force discussed by Kelly (1988). I argue that the definition of sex trafficked women should not be identified through a simplistic binary of either forced or voluntarily working in prostitution. In fact, in this study, the analysis shows that all twenty-eight women were more or less deceived and forced, and no one could be easily identified as a 'voluntary' sex worker. Although some women did not say they were trafficked, arguably because they did not realize that they were trafficked or did not understand what trafficking meant, when I listened to the stories I would argue that almost all of them had undergone experiences which

could lead one to consider that they were trafficked. This raises the question of whether the definition of trafficking is too narrow, in which case the law enforcement officers may fail to identify women as trafficked. Moreover, sex trafficked women cannot receive social services which they need if they are not viewed as trafficked.

The women in my study can be divided into two main groups: one is where women are transported from their original countries to the destination country, Taiwan, by traffickers; the other is where they are transported by marriage agencies or foreign agencies, which means they are not transported by traffickers. The first group of women meet recruiters in their original countries then are lured by force, being deceived and being given unclear information. The information that recruiters tell women is designed to lure or coerce women to come to Taiwan. Sometimes, control of their freedom begins at the time the women agree to come, or even do not agree to come (i.e. are kidnapped). The group of women who are not transported by traffickers may meet recruiters in their original countries or in Taiwan. They live with their husbands or work for employers then leave their position and work in prostitution. Sometimes, they met brokers not through recruiters but through advertisements. However, women who come to Taiwan without this being arranged through traffickers are more difficult to define as trafficked, because the role of recruiters and traffickers cannot in their case be seen so obviously. I am not concluding that these 'true married' foreign brides and foreign labourers are definitely trafficked or not, but I argue that they are also in a vulnerable situation and are deceived by, for example, the language gap and through social isolation from family and friends in Taiwan. Moreover, once foreign labourers leave their positions, and become illegal 'runaways', it is a possibility that brothel owners or brokers lure women to leave their positions then tell them they are illegal and therefore cannot find any legal job. This is one method that

trafficking gangsters use to force such women into working in prostitution. Smuggling, 'fake marriage', tourism, 'true marriage' and foreign labour are the five methods by which women come to Taiwan, which I have discussed in my research. Existing studies in Taiwan have usually viewed these five methods as five separate issues. According to my analysis, although the women came into Taiwan through different ways, the methods by which women were controlled were very similar.

Foreign women who have lived in Taiwan as brides or labourers who are then lured to work in prostitution might be regarded as another method to traffick women if they are deceived, forced or controlled in the process. On this basis, I problematise the definition of sex trafficking, which I argue needs to focus on the situations women are faced and ways women are treated.

Four women in my study knew they would work in prostitution before coming to Taiwan. Although they knew about the work in Taiwan, they all had debt bondage, two of them had been trafficked in their original country, and two had financial difficulties. Moreover, in the trafficking process, they also faced a cultural gap, illegal identity, deprivation of agency, place and space restriction, and were threatened. My argument is that even if women know they will work in prostitution before arriving in Taiwan they could also be regarded as being trafficked if they are controlled/forced/deceived in these ways. This argument is similar to the definition of sex trafficking from the European Commission (EU 1996), which accepts that even where women know that they will work in prostitution they may still be considered to be trafficked if their basic human rights have been violated.

Third, I also raised the issue that being 'taught' by brokers to provide sexual services

should be recognised by law enforcement agencies as a form of sexual violence and a way of control because women could not say 'no' while under the control of brokers. Furthermore, the policy of identifying sex trafficked women should include the situation when a woman has said that she had sex with her broker or broker's friend because her broker said he wanted to teach the woman how to have sex or to examine if she is a 'good' prostitute. Moreover, I also argue that through this training, women were trained to perform as 'voluntary' prostitutes, because what they were taught that this was how to please customers, so this means less chance to see as sex trafficked. However, their vulnerability should be recognised in order to reveal if a woman has been trafficked. The point is women who are not transported by traffickers are *apparently* less controlled in the process, and therefore their vulnerability to controlled is more difficult to recognise.

I not only wanted to explore the methods women define themselves as being controlled, forced, trafficked and/or regulated, but also analyse the principles of identifying sex trafficking human beings which are social constructed by Taiwanese police officers, immigration officials and professionals who work on combating sex trafficking. Through the analysis of women's experiences of being controlled, forced, and/or threatened, the policy of identifying trafficked women and the ways professionals identify trafficked women, I concluded that the methods women said they were forced, controlled and/or threatened were not always be viewed as principles of definition by the professionals or in Taiwanese policy.

## **Recommendations for policy and further research**

The analysis of this study involved women who came to Taiwan through different routes and from different nationalities. In the discussion chapters, according to the

literature review and the interview results, I argue that women who come through smuggling are usually from China, and those who come through transnational marriage (both 'true marriage' and 'fake marriage') are from various countries (mainly from China and South East Asia); those women who come as foreign labourers are usually from South East Asia. There is only one case in my study that came through tourism and she was from Indonesia, for women who come through tourism could be any nationality. Therefore, it seems that, according to the discussion in Chapter Two, the main routes women were transported was through smuggling, then through 'fake marriage', and finally through 'true marriage' and foreign labour. One affect of this means the forms by which women are abused, deceived and/or exploited are more invisible (see Chapters Four, Five and Six). It also may mean that it is more difficult to identify if a woman is trafficked or not.

Based on the analysis of women's and professionals' experiences, I have argued that the current definition of trafficked women in Taiwan is problematic. The definition of trafficked women should not be based on the route by which they come, but on the experiences they have had. Existing studies mainly discuss human trafficking from a criminological perspective (see Chapter Two), whereas this research is from a sociological and social policy perspective. Therefore, I argue that government officials need to protect trafficked women instead of only being concerned to repatriate them. In order to protect trafficked women, firstly, I argue that the principles employed to define trafficked women should be based on the experiences they have had. So, the definition of trafficked women should be concerned with women's experiences before and after coming to Taiwan. Law enforcement officials have to investigate potential trafficked women's experiences, from the time they were asked to come to Taiwan until they were found by the police, if women are forced, deceived,

threatened, and/or controlled in the whole trafficking process. In order to reveal if women understood the nature of work they will do in Taiwan before they agree to work, I argue that law enforcement officers need to clarify if women exactly know the nature of their jobs before they 'agree' to them. As a consequence, this may enable government officials and Non Government Organizations (NGOs) workers to have more understanding of sex trafficking in Taiwan, and 'trafficked women' may have more chance to be identified as trafficked, and receive the social services which they need. On the other hand, in order to encourage the police to identify if women are trafficked or not, the government needs to provides other services for women who are identified as trafficked. For example, financial support, housing services, employment opportunities, and the allocation the case managers at the time women stay in Taiwan. Therefore, as the NGO chief executive officer raised, for officials and social workers who work with trafficked women they have to be trained by other professionals who had worked with trafficked women who understand that these women are vulnerable, which would reduce the chances of re-traumatizing trafficked women and help professionals to understand the needs of trafficked women. Also, since human trafficking/sex trafficking is a global issue, the ways to combat human trafficking/sex trafficking should also be global. The Taiwanese government and NGOs have to cooperate with the counties of original. Women should not just be repatriated back to their counties. At the original countries, the NGOs workers need to know when women are sent back, to help women to find a job, and settle down.

This study explores new perspectives on women who are controlled by traffickers, and provides new thoughts on the policy and practice dimensions of combating sex trafficking, specifically that the ways to identify trafficked women should be based on an understanding of the lived experiences of sex trafficked women. These

mechanisms of control which are discussed in the thesis need to be considered in relation to add into the principles of identifying sex trafficked women.

To sum up, the policy suggestions raised by this research are as follows:

\*The definition of human trafficking need to be reconsidered, including women's point of view. Moreover, law enforcement officials and policy makers need greater understanding based on women's voices about their experiences.

\*When law enforcement officials interview women who have worked in prostitution, they have to ask about the way women are recruited, transported, and sold. Moreover, if women say they feel they had no choice and/or they were forced or deceived in the process, then she might be considered trafficked. The questions should include:

- How did women meet someone who ask them to work?
- What was the job they were initially told?
- Why did they begin to work in prostitution?
- What did they feel when they initially began to work in prostitution?

\*The government needs to build up other services to encourage the police to indentify women as trafficked if indeed they have been trafficked. For example:

- Shelters/accommodation
- Protection service
- Financial support
- Working opportunity

\*Law enforcement officials, social workers and those who work with trafficked

women should be provided with adequate training about how to work with trafficked women and the needs of trafficked women.

\*Global cooperation: the Taiwan government and NGOs should work with government and NGOs in original countries, to support women after they go back home.

This thesis discusses the definitions of sex trafficking, and concludes that the current definitions need to be re-considered to include clear identification of sex trafficking. I critique the current definitions as not being comprehensive enough. Although my study has argued that 'true married' brides and 'runaways' may also be classified as sex trafficked women, they are difficult to be viewed as sex trafficked persons according to the *Identify Principles of Human Trafficking Victims*. This is because they are usually older than 18 years old, not transported by traffickers and rarely raped, have not had their freedom controlled or been threatened. As I have analysed in Chapters Five and Six, the reasons why 'true married brides' and 'runaways' work in prostitution are mainly because they are in vulnerable situations, such as they cannot find other jobs or are told by brokers they cannot find any other jobs. Therefore, I argue that further research could have more detailed investigation into how women are trafficked by different methods.

One limitation of my thesis is that this study is based on twenty-eight sex trafficked interviewees. This is a limited number of sex trafficked women, their experiences cannot include all sex trafficked women's experiences. Moreover, my study only includes women who come from China, Vietnam, Indonesia and Thailand, and it could be that including other sex trafficked women who are from other countries



would have raised different issues. The methods by which women came to Taiwan in my study included smuggling, transnational marriage, foreign labour and tourism; it may be that there are other methods which have not been revealed yet. Because of these limitations, further research on sex trafficking could focus on women who come from other countries, such as Russia, as the social worker and the police official mentioned, and via other methods. In my research, only one woman came through tourism, further research is needed here to understand the circumstance of foreign women working in prostitution through tourism.

In summary, analysing women's accounts of sex trafficking in this thesis I have found a complex relationship between women's experiences, vulnerability and methods of being controlled and regulated. This study, as I have documented, will be an important contribution to the literature and to policy debates; adding to existing, albeit currently very limited, knowledge about the sex trafficking situations of women in Taiwan and to the development and implementation of policy in this field.

## **Appendix A**

### **Consent Form for women in detention centre UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE School of Geography, Politics & Sociology Interview Information Statement and Consent Form**

I am Ying-Chun, a student studying in the UK, and doing some research into how women from foreign countries come to be in Taiwan. I want to talk with women who have come to Taiwan in order to understand what happened to them, and how they feel about what happened to them. Very often, women in the circumstances you are in do not have the opportunity to talk completely freely, and your voices are therefore not heard properly. This is the chance for you to express your thoughts and experiences during this interview without any worry that anything you say will be used against you in any way.

The interview will last for one to two hours, and will be completely confidential, and no one else will be able to identify you from what you have said. I promise not to tell the guards or the police or anyone else anything that you say here today. The interview will be tape-recorded so that I do not miss anything, and that I get your story in your own words. My aim is to decrease the number of women who have had experiences like yours through exploring your story and the stories of other women who have had similar experiences to you. If you decide to talk with me, you can say anything about yourself. During the interview, you can say stop at anytime and you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to or if these questions are not appropriate for you. This interview will be anonymous and strictly confidential and the tape will be kept securely. I do not need to know your address, name, or specific details. It will not be possible to identify any person in the report that I write. None of the information will be shared with people in the detention centre, and the police will not be present during the interview. I will be very glad if you decide to talk with me, but I will understand if you choose not to. If you are willing to take part in the study and talk with me, please sign your name below.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me.

I agree to talk with Ying-Chun.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for your co-operation.

**Consent form for women in Yilan shelter**  
**UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE**  
**School of Geography, Politics & Sociology**

**Interview Information Statement and Consent Form**

I am Ying-Chun, a student studying in the UK, and doing some research into how women from China come to be in Taiwan. I want to talk with women who have come to Taiwan in order to understand what happened to them, and how they feel about what happened to them. Very often, women in the circumstances you are in do not have the opportunity to talk completely freely, and your voices are therefore not heard properly. This is the chance for you to express your thoughts and experiences during this interview without any worry that anything you say will be used against you in any way.

The interview will last for one to two hours, and will be completely confidential, and no one else will be able to identify you from what you have said. I promise not to tell the guards or the police or anyone else anything that you say here today. The interview will be tape-recorded so that I do not miss anything, and that I get your story in your own words. My aim is to decrease the number of women who have had experiences like yours through exploring your story and the stories of other women who have had similar experiences to you. If you decide to talk with me, you can say anything about yourself. During the interview, you can say stop at anytime and you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to or if these questions are not appropriate for you. This interview will be anonymous and strictly confidential and the tape will be kept securely. I do not need to know your address, name, or specific details. It will not be possible to identify any person in the report that I write. None of the information will be shared with people in the shelter, and the police will not be present during the interview. I will be very glad if you decide to talk with me, but I will understand if you choose not to.

If you are willing to take part in the study and talk with me, please sign your name below.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me.

I agree to talk with Ying-Chun.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for co-operation.

## Appendix B

### Interview Questions of Women

#### Interview: smuggled women

##### Characters of interviewee

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your family life in your country?
  - 1.1 Did you live in a village or a city?
2. Did you have a job before coming to Taiwan?
  - 2.1 If yes: What were your past working experiences and wages?
    - 2.1.1 By the way, how old are you?
    - 2.1.2 Did you need to support your family with money?
  - 2.2 If no: what were you doing? (looking after siblings, parents, studying etc)

##### Reasons for going to Taiwan

3. How did you come to be living in Taiwan?
4. At the beginning, who asked you to go to Taiwan? What did they say?
  - 4.1 When was it?
  - 4.2 Where were you?
  - 4.3 Did you know this person before you were asked? If so, how?
  - 4.4 If he/she told you would be working in Taiwan, what was the job and wage you were told?
    - 4.4.1 Did they say you can change it or go home back to China?
5. How much did you know about Taiwan?
  - 5.1 Did you know the working in Taiwan is illegal?
  - 5.2 How long did you think you would be in Taiwan? Did they tell you that?
  - 5.3 Who knows you are in Taiwan?
    - 5.3.1 Of your family, who knows? And how do they know?
    - 5.3.2 If your family did not know, why they do not know? Where do they think you are living?
6. At that time, what did you think about going to Taiwan?

##### The route from home to brothel

8. How and where did you meet the person who arranged your trip?
9. After you meet him/her, can you describe what happened to you?
  - 9.1 Did you also meet other people? If yes, did you know who were they?
  - 9.2 Where did you live before you went to Taiwan? Was there a hotel, home or else?
  - 9.3 And how long did you stay there? Who lived there, too?

- 9.4 Could you tell me what did you do during these days?
- 9.5 How did you get on the boat from your residence? Who went with you?
- 9.6 How many people were on the boat?
- 9.7 How many days did you stay on the boat?
- 9.8 Did you change boat? If yes, how many boats did you change? Could you describe the detail since you have gotten on a boat?
- 9.9 Before you come to Taiwan, have you signed any document or attended any interview?
- 10. When you arrived in Taiwan, what happened next?
  - 10.1 Where did you go? Who did you meet?
  - 10.2 Where did you live and who lived with you?
  - 10.3 What were you doing at that time?

**The control mechanism**

- 11. What kind of work were you asked to do? What did they actually say?
  - 11.1. What did you say and think about this?
  - 11.2 Did you feel you could say no?
  - 11.3 Did you feel you could change your work? (Did they ask?)
- 12. Where did you work?
- 13. How did the pimp or broker treat you?
  - 13.1 Did you get well with other girls?
- 14 Have you ever thought about run away?
  - 14.1 If yes, did you try? What happened?
  - 14.2 If yes, but you did not do, what stop you?
  - 14.3 If no, why you never think about that?
  - 14.4 Have you ever heard about or seen someone tried to run away? What happened to her?
- 15. Did you think about asking anyone for help?
  - 15.1 If yes, who did you think you could ask for help?
  - 15.2 If no, why not?
- 16. Who found you? Police?
  - 16.1 Did others be found, too? What happen next?
- 17. Some women said to me, even they were in the shelter, pimps or brokers were also settled in the shelter with them and they were still threatened by the pimp or others, have you heard about this?
- 18. Do you have any advice for women who might find themselves at risk of the kind experience like you?

Thank you for your co-operation. Is there anything else you want to tell to me?

## Interview: foreign brides

### **Characters of interviewee**

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your family life in your country?
  - 1.1 Did you live in a village or a city?
2. Did you have a job before coming to Taiwan?
  - 2.1 If yes: What were your past working experiences and wages?
    - 2.1.1 By the way, how old are you?
    - 2.1.2 Did you need to support your family with money?
  - 2.2 If no: what were you doing? (looking after siblings, parents, studying etc)

### **Reasons for going to abroad**

3. How did you come to be living in Taiwan?
4. At the beginning, who asked you to go to Taiwan? What did they say?
  - 4.1 When was it?
  - 4.2 Where were you?
  - 4.3 Did you know this person before you were asked? If so, how?
- 5 Who knows you are in Taiwan?
  - 5.1 Of your family, who knows? And how do they know?
  - 5.2 If your family did not know, why they do not know? Where do they think you are living?
6. At that time, what did you think about going to Taiwan?
  - 7.1. To work in Taiwan: What was the job you were told?
  - 7.2 To marry a Taiwanese man: What was the detail you were told about marry a Taiwanese man?
8. Do you want to get marriage?

### **The route from home to brothel**

9. After the trip to Taiwan was planned, what happened next?
  - 9.1 Where did you go?
  - 9.2 What did you do?
10. How did you meet your husband?
  - 10.1 Where and what did you do after you met each other?
11. How did you go to the airport from your residence? Who went with you?
12. When you arrived in Taiwan, what happened next?
  - 12.1 Where did you go? Who did you meet?
  - 12.2 Where did you live and who lived with you?
  - 12.3 What were you doing at that time?
13. Have you met your husband again in Taiwan?
  - 13.1 What happened after you met him/ not met him?

13.2 If no, what did you think?

**The control mechanism**

14. What kind of work were you asked to do? What did they actually say?

14.1. What did you say and think about this?

14.2 Did you feel you could say no?

14.3 Did you feel you could change your work? (Did they ask?)

15. Where did you work?

16. How did the pimp or broker treat you?

16.1 Did you get well with other girls?

17 Have you ever thought about run away?

17.1 If yes, did you try? What happened?

17.2 If yes, but you did not do, what stop you?

17.3 If no, why you never think about that?

17.4 Have you ever heard about or seen someone tried to run away? What happened to her?

18. Did you think about asking anyone for help?

18.1 If yes, who did you think you could ask for help?

18.2 If no, why not?

19. Who found you? Police?

19.1 Did others be found, too? What happen next?

20. Some women said to me, even they were in the shelter, pimps or brokers were also settled in the shelter with them and they were still threatened by the pimp or others, have you heard about this?

21. Do you have any advice for women who might find themselves at risk of the kind experience like you?

Thank you for your co-operation. Is there anything else you want to tell to me?

## **Appendix C**

### **Questions for anti-human trafficking officers and NGO workers**

1. First of all, what would you define human trafficking?
  - How do you define a typical victim?
  - Is different definition of trafficked victim between you and others?
  - how are the definitions of trafficking changing?
2. Can you tell me about your work with trafficked persons?
  - what are the main aims of the work of your organization?
  - How successful do you think your organization is?
  - what are the major difficulties you face in achieving your aims?
3. Can you tell me about the role of anti-human trafficking NGOs are playing?
4. What do you think about the government policy about anti-human trafficking?
5. How can the government and NGOs co-operate?
6. What do you think the more important problems that trafficked women face?
  - how do you think these problems could be addressed?
7. Have you ever been able to talk with trafficked women about their experiences?
  - If yes, what sorts of things did they say?
  - if no, can you tell me why you have not been able to talk with them about their experiences?
8. In your opinion, what could be change to combat human trafficking?
  - The policy dimension
  - The practice dimensionPlease tell me the detail.
9. In your opinion, what is the different policy model between Taiwan and other countries?



## Appendix D

### The information about the interviewees

No.	Nationality	Arrived Way	Age at arrival	Case provider	Interpreter	Interviewing time	Reason for being arrested	Marital status	Name
1	China	Smuggling	16	Yilan Shelter	x	55min	Prostitution	No	Cosin
2	China	Smuggling	15	Yilan Shelter	x	80min	Prostitution	No	Xaojane
3	China	Smuggling	14	Yilan Shelter	x	112min	Smuggling	No	Xaoju
4	China	Smuggling	24	Yilan Shelter	x	37min	Prostitution	No	Chacha
5	China	Smuggling	17	Yilan Shelter	x	43min	Prostitution	No	Ajane
6	China	Smuggling	20	Yilan Shelter	x	32min	Prostitution	No	Lan
7	China	Smuggling	22	Yilan Shelter	x	32min	Prostitution	No	Xaobin
8	China	Smuggling	29	Yilan Shelter	x	38min	Prostitution	Divorced	Xaofong
9	China	Smuggling	20	Yilan Shelter	x	50min	Prostitution	No	Yaya
10	China	Smuggling	20	Yilan Shelter	x	47min	Prostitution	No	Janjan
11	China	Smuggling	21	Yilan Shelter	x	36min	Prostitution	No	Xaoshy
12	China	Smuggling	26	Yilan Shelter	x	66min	Prostitution	No	Xaoyu
13	China	Smuggling	25	Yilan Shelter	x	50min	Prostitution	No	Tantan
14	China	Smuggling	19	Yilan Shelter	x	31min	Prostitution	No	Zinzi

15	China	Smuggling	24	Yilan Shelter	x	23min	Prostitution	No	Chan
16	China	Marriage	30	B detention centre	x	42min	smuggling (Arrested before sold)	Divorced	Woyi
17	China	Marriage	33	A detention centre	x	58min	Prostitution	Divorced	Haozi
18	China	Marriage	24	Yilan Shelter	x	23min	Prostitution	Married	Bobo
19	China	Marriage	29	Yilan Shelter	x	26min	Prostitution	Married	Fanfan
20	Vietnam	Marriage	20	TWRF	o	130min	Prostitution	Fake	Thimai
21	Vietnam	Marriage	23	E detention centre	o	110min	Prostitution	Fake	Thitang
22	Vietnam	Marriage	28	C detention centre	x	42min	Masseuse	Fake	Thihong
23	Vietnam	Labour	22	E detention centre	o	21min	Prostitution	No	Thitink
24	Vietnam	Marriage	37	C detention centre	o	65min	Masseuse	Fake/ Divorced	Thithy
25	Indonesia	Tourism	21	TWRF	o	150min	Prostitution	Divorced	Corn
26	Indonesia	Labour	25	D detention centre	x	40min	Prostitution	No	Aiya
27	Indonesia	Labour	21	D detention centre	x	20min	Prostitution	No	Yank
28	Thai	Marriage	24	C detention centre	x	64min	Masseuse	Divorced	Ordee

## Name of the Women in Order

Name	No.
Aiya	26
Ajane	5
Bobo	18
Chacha	4
Chan	15
Corn	25
Cosin	1
Fanfan	19
Haozi	17
Janjan	10
Lan	6
Ordee	28
Tantan	13
Thihong	22
Thimai	20
Thitang	21
Thithy	24
Thitink	23
Woyi	16
Xaobin	7
Xaofong	8
Xaojane	2
Xaoju	3
Xaoshy	11
Xaoyu	12
Yank	27
Yaya	9
Zinzi	14

## Bibliography

- Adams, N. (English Collective of Prostitutes) (2003) 'Anti-Trafficking Legislation: protection or Deportation', *Feminist Review* 73: 135-138.
- Adepoju, A. (2005) 'Review of Research and Data on Human Trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa', *International Migration* 43 (1/2): 75-98.
- Adler, Z. (1987) *Rape on Trial* London: Routledge.
- Agustin, L. (2005) 'Migrants in the Mistress's House: Other Voices in the Trafficking Debate', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*: 96-117.
- Agustin, L. (2006a) 'The Disappearing of a Migration Category: Migrants who Sell Sex', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (1): 29-47.
- Agustin, L. (2006b) 'The Conundrum of Women's Agency: Migrations and the Sex Industry' in R. Campbell and M. O'Neill *Sex Work Now* Devon Willan Publishing.
- Agustin, L. (2007) *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry*. London: Zed Books.
- Amnesty International. (2004a) 'So does that mean we have rights?' in Serbia and Montenegro (ed) *Protecting the Human Rights of Women and Girls Trafficked for Forced Prostitution in Kosovo* London: Amnesty International.
- Amnesty International. (2004b) *Get It Right: How Home Office Decision Making Fails Refugees* London: Amnesty International.
- Amnesty International. (2005) *Prisoners without a Voice. Asylum Seekers Detained in the UK* London: Amnesty International.
- Anderson, B. and O'Connell-Davidson J. (2006) 'The trouble with trafficking' in Anker, C. and Doomernik, J. (ed) *Trafficking and Women's Rights* Palgrave.
- Andrees, B. and Mariska N. J. van der Linden (2005) 'Designing Trafficking Research from a Labour Market Perspective: The ILO Experience' *International Migration* 43:55-73.
- Anthias, F. (1998) 'Rethinking Social Divisions: Some Notes Towards a Theoretical Framework' *Sociological Review* 46 (3): 505-535.
- Anthias, F. (2000) 'Metaphors of Home: Gendering New Migrations to Southern Europe', in F. Anthias and G. Lazardis. (Eds) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move* Oxford: Berg.
- Anthias, F. (2002) 'Beyond feminism and multiculturalism: Locating the politics of difference' in *Women's studies International forum* 25 (3): 275-286.
- Anti-Slavery. (1997) *Redefining Prostitution as Sex Work on the International Agenda*

Anti Slavery International.

- Anti-Slavery. (2003) *The Migration Trafficking Nexus. Combating Trafficking through the Protection of Migrants' Human Rights* London: Anti Slavery.
- Arksey, H. and Knight, P. (1999) *Interviewing for Social Scientists: An Introductory Resource with Examples* London: Sage.
- Askola, H. (2007) *Legal Responses to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation in the European Union* Oxford University Press.
- Bal K.C., Govind S., and Keshab P.A. (2001) *Trafficking in Girls with Special Reference to Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment International*. Labour Organization International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC).
- Bales, K. (2000) *Disposable People. New Slavery in the Global Economy*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Bales, K. (2005) *Understanding Global Slavery: A Reader* Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Balzacq, T. Carrera, S. (2005) *Migration, Borders and Asylum*, Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Barrett, C.M. (2006) 'Responsibilities of the Destination Country', in UNCHR. *People Trafficking, Upholding Rights and Understanding Vulnerabilities*. Forced Migration Review May: 28-30
- Barry, K. (1995) *The prostitution of sexuality*, New York: New York University Press.
- Barry, K. (1979) *Female Sexual Slavery*, New York: New York University Press.
- Bell, J. (2007) *Dirty Work*, Young Picador.
- Bell, S. (1994) *Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Feminist Body*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Bertaux, D. (2003) 'The Usefulness of Life Stories for a Realist and Meaningful Sociology' in Humphrey, R., Miller, R. and Zdravomyslova, E. (Eds.) *Biographical Research in Eastern Europe: Altered Lives and Broken Biographies*, Ashgate Publishing
- Blaxter, L., C. Hughes, et al. (2006) *How to Research*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Brennan, B. (2005) 'Methodological Challenges in Research with Trafficked Persons: Tales from the Field' *International Migration* 43 (1/2): 35- 54.
- Brents, B. G. and Hausbeck, K. (2005) Violence and legalized brothel prostitution in Nevada: examining safety, risk, and prostitution policy. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 5(3): 270-295.
- Brown, L. (2000) *Sex Slaves: the Trafficking of Women in Asia*. London: Virago Press.

- Brown, L. (2005) *The Dancing Girls of Lahore* New York: Fourth Estate.
- Bruner, J. (2002) *Making Stories: Law Literature, Life*, Harvard University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bumiller, K. (1991). 'Fallen Angels: The Representations of Violence against Women in Legal Culture', in Fineman, M.A. and Thomadsen, N.S. *At the Boundaries of Law. Feminism and Legal Theory*, New York: Routledge.
- Burgoyne, B. and Darwin, C. (2006) 'UK Victims of Trafficking', *Forced Migration Review*, 25.
- Calandruccio, G. (2005) 'A Review of Recent Research on Human Trafficking in the Middle East', in IOM (Ed.) *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva, International Organization for Migration.
- Campbell, J. C & Dienemann, J. D. (2001) 'Ethical issues in research on violence against women' in *Sourcebook on Violence Against Women*, eds C. Renzetti, J. L. Edleson & R. K. Bergen, Sage Publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, California.
- Castle, S. and Davidson, A. (2000) *Citizenship and Migration: Globalisation and the politics of Belonging* London: Macmillan Press.
- Castles, S and Miller, M.J. (1993) *The Age of Migration* London: Macmillan.
- Chang, Shu-Ming (2002) *Marketing International Marriages: Cross-Border Marriage Business in Vietnam and Taiwan*. Thesis of Master, Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, Tamkang University. (In Chinese)
- Chang, Yu-Ping (2003) *A Study for Investigating the Roles of Taiwanese-Vietnamese Cross-national Marriage Agency*. Master dissertation, Graduate institute of Political Economy, National Cheng Kong University. (In Chinese)
- Chapkis, W. (1997) *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labour*, London: Caswell.
- Chapkis, W. (2003) 'Trafficking, Migration and the Law', *Gender and Society*, 17(6) 926.
- Chen, Chia-Cheng (2001) *Happiness of Foreign Bride in Taiwan*. Thesis of Master, Institute of Medical, Kaoshiung Medical University (In Chinese)
- Chen, Ching-Chong (1996) *The Research of Stowaway in Mainland China*. Master dissertation, Institute of Mainland China, National Dong-Hwa University. (In Chinese)
- Chen, Li-Yu (2001) *Brides form Southeast Asia--An In-depth Report with the Perspective of Post-Colonial Feminism*. Master dissertation, Institute of Journalism, National Taiwan University. (In Chinese)
- Chen, Mei-Hui (2002) *A Study on the Child-rearing Experiences of Foreign Brides:*

- Voices From Southeast Asia Brides in Changhua County in Taiwan*. Master dissertation, Family Education Graduate School, National Chiayi University. (In Chinese)
- Chen, Pei-Jung (2007) *Life Adaption Research of Southeast Asian Foreign Spouses in Tainan City*. Master dissertation, Kaoshiung Normal University. (In Chinese)
- Chen, Ting-Yun (2002) *The Adjustability of International Marriage in Peng-Hu County Comparison with Indonesian and Vietnamese Brides*. Master Dissertation, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University. (In Chinese)
- Chen, Zung-Fan (2003) 'the detection and protection of victims of human trafficking crimes in Taiwan', paper presented at the *Conference on the Problem and Policy of Human Trafficking*, 5th September, 2003, ECPAT at Taipei, Taiwan.
- Cheng, Ya-Wen (2000) *From South Asia to Taiwan: a Study of the Marriage and Life of Southeast Foreign Brides in Taiwan: An Example of Tainan City*. Master dissertation, Graduate Institute of Ethnic Relations and Cultures, National Dong-Hwa University. (In Chinese)
- Chiang, Chin-Kun (2006) *The Causes, Structures and Operations of China-Taiwan Cross-strait Human Smugglers Organizations*, Master dissertation, National Taipei University. (In Chinese)
- Chiang, Yuan-Chin (2006) *Female Stowaways from Mainland China Entering Taiwan for Sex Trade: A Study of Illegal Female Chinese Immigrants in Matsu Detention Center*. Master dissertation, Department of Criminology, National Chung Cheng University. (In Chinese)
- Chiu, Fan-Si (2003) "The research of Southeast foreign brides' family problem and assistant demand" *Community Development Journal*, 101, p176-181: The Ministry of Interior, ROC. (In Chinese)
- Chiu, Shu-Wen (2002) *Gender and Immigration-The Brides of Japan and Taiwan*. Taipei: Su-Ying. (In Chinese)
- Collett, E. (2005) Research on Human Trafficking in North America: A Review of Literature in IOM (Ed.) *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva, International Organization for Migration.
- Communication of the European Communities (2000) *Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Combating the Sexual Exploitation of Children and Child*

## *Pornography*

- Cornell, D. (2000) *Feminism and Pornography* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Council of Europe (2005) *Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings and its Explanatory Report* Council of Europe.
- Council of Labour Affairs (2007) *Statistics of Labour Affairs*.
- Cover, R. (1983) 'The Supreme Court 1982 Term: Nomos and Narrative' *Harvard Law Review* 97 (4)
- Craig, G. Gaus, A. Wilkinson, M. Skrivankova, K. McQuade, A. (2007) *Contemporary Slavery in the UK. Overview and Key Issues* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Davies, J. (2003) 'The role of Migration Policy in Creating and Sustaining Trafficking Harm', *Paper for the Trafficking in Persons Conference, University of Nottingham: 27<sup>th</sup> -28<sup>th</sup> June*.
- Day, S. (1994) 'What Counts as Rape? Physical Assault and Broken Contracts: Contrasting Views of Rape among London Sex Workers' P, Harvey. P, Gow. (Eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in Representation and Experience* London: Routledge
- Department of statistics (2005, 21<sup>st</sup> July) *Report of interior statistics*, 94(29). Retrieved 27<sup>th</sup> November, 2005, from World Wide Web [http://www.moi.gov.tw/news/news\\_p.asp?NewsId=1755](http://www.moi.gov.tw/news/news_p.asp?NewsId=1755)
- Derks, A. (2000) 'From White Slaves to Trafficking Survivors. Notes on the Trafficking Debate' *The Centre for Migration and Development Working Paper Series* Princeton: Princeton University
- Ding, Su-Lan (2001) *A Study of the Problems of Cooperation between China and Taiwan for Combating Crime*, Master dissertation, National Cheng Chi University. (In Chinese)
- Ditmore, M. (2005) 'Trafficking in Lives: How Ideology Shapes Policy' in K, Kempadoo. J, Sanghera. B Pattanaik (Eds) *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered. New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Doezema, J. (1998) "Forced to choose: Beyond the voluntary v. Forced Prostitution Dichotomy", Kempadoo, K & Doezema, J, (Eds), *Global Sex Workers. Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, London: Routledge.
- Doezema, J. (2001) "Ouch! Western Feminists 'Wounded Attachment' to the 'third world prostitute'", *Feminist Review* Spring (67): 16-38.
- Doezema, J. (2002) Who Gets to Choose? Coercion, Consent and the UN Trafficking Protocol, *Gender and Development* 10 (1): 20-27.



- Dottridge, M. (2002) 'Trafficking in Children in West and Central Africa' *Gender and Development* 10 (1):38-42.
- Dottridge, M. (2007) 'Introduction' in GAATW *Collateral Damage. The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights Around the World* Bangkok: GAATW.
- Duncan, N. (1996) "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces" Duncan, N, *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* London: Routledge
- Duvell, D. Jordan, B. (2003) 'Immigration Control and the Management of Economic Migration in the United Kingdom: Organisational Culture, Implementation, Enforcement and Identity Processes in Public Services' *Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29 (2): 299-336.
- ECPAT. (2001) *What the Professionals Know: The Trafficking of Children into, and through the UK for Sexual Purposes* London: ECPAT.
- ECPAT. (2004) *Cause for Concern? London Social Services and Child Trafficking* London: ECPAT
- Edwards, L. (2000) Women's Suffrage in China: Challenging Scholarly Conventions, *Pacific Historical Review*, 2000, 69, 4, 617-38.
- Eleonore, K. (2003) *Women Migrants and Refugees in the European Union The Economic and Social Aspects of Migration*. OECD.
- Elzbieta M. Gozdziaak and Elizabeth A. Collett (2005) 'Research on Human Trafficking in North America: A Review of Literature', in IOM (Ed.) *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva, International Organization for Migration.
- Epele, M.E. (2003) 'Excess, Scarcity and Desire among Drug using Sex-Workers' N Scheper- Hughes (Ed) *Commodifying Bodies* London: Sage
- Erez, E. Ibbara P.R. McDonald W.F. (2004) 'Transnational Sex Trafficking: Issues and Prospects' *International Review of Victimology*, 11 (1)
- European Commission (1996) *Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation*. Web link:  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/employment\\_and\\_social\\_policy/cquality\\_between\\_men\\_and\\_women/l33095\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/cquality_between_men_and_women/l33095_en.htm)
- European Union. (2002) *European Framework Decision on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings*.
- Farr, K. (2005) *Sex Trafficking; The Global Market in Women & Children*. New York: Worth.
- Fineman, M.A. and Mykitiuk, R. (1994) *The Public Nature of Private Violence*

London: Routledge

- GAATW. (2007) *Collateral Damage. The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights around the World* Bangkok: GAATW.
- Gagnon, J.H. and Simon, W. (2005) *Sexual Conduct: The Social Sources of Human Sexuality*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter
- Gana, S. H., Jr. (2002) International Cooperation in Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants. Presented at the 122nd International Training Course, *The Effective Administration of Criminal Justice to Tackle Trafficking in Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants*, Tokyo, Japan.
- Gaon, I. D. and Forbord, N (2005) *For Sale: Women and Children, Trafficking and Forced Prostitution in Southeast Europe*. US: Trafford.
- Gilbert, A. (2006) "An Analysis of Human Trafficking Cases in the English Court of Appeal", *Twenty First Century Slavery: Issues and Responses*, WISE University of Hull, Conference proceedings, November
- Gilbert, A. (2007) *Confusing Trafficking with Smuggling: The Offence of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in English Law* Cambridge: Anglia Ruskin University
- Gilbert, N. (2008) *Researching Social Life*. Third Edition. London: Sage.
- Good, A. (2004a) "Expert Evidence in Asylum and Human Rights Appeals: an Experts View" *International Journal of Refugee Law* 16:3, 358-380
- Good, A. (2004b) "Undoubtedly an Expert: Anthropologists in British Asylum Courts" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10 (1): 113-133, March
- Goody, J. (2003). Migrant, crime and victimhood: responses to sex trafficking in the EU. *Punishment and Society*, 5(4): 415-431. London: Sage
- Gozdziak, E.M. and Collett, E.A. (2005) "Research on Human Trafficking in North America: A Review of the Literature" *International Migration* 43 (1/2)
- Greig, J. and Taylor, T. (1999) *Doing Research with Children*. London: Sage.
- Guevarra, N. H. (2002) 'Trafficking in Women and Children and Smuggling of Migrants'. Presented at the 122nd International Training Course, *The Effective Administration of Criminal Justice to Tackle Trafficking in Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants*, Tokyo, Japan.
- Gulcar. L. and Ilkkaracan, P. (2002) 'The Natasha Experience: Migrant Sex Workers From the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey' *Women's Studies International Forum* 25 (4): 411-421.
- Han, Jia-Ling (2003) Maid or wife? The migration of female labourers: A study of Chinese brides in Taiwan. *Journey of Community Development*, 101, p163-169.

(In Chinese)

- Hao, Hsin-Cheng (2007) *Globalization of Sex Industry: a Study of Chinese Women Work as Prostitutes in Taiwan*, Master dissertation, Department of Politics, National Sun Yat-Sen University. (In Chinese)
- Haynes, D.F. (2004) 'Used, Abused, Arrested and Deported: Extending Immigration Benefits to Protect the Victims of Trafficking and to Secure the Prosecution of Traffickers' *Human Rights Quarterly* 26: 221-272.
- Hayter, T. (2003) 'No Borders: the Case Against Immigration Controls, *Feminist Review* 73 : 6-18.
- He, Ching-Jung (2003) The Education of Cross Country Immigrants: Discussions of the Myths, *Journal of Adult Education*, 75, 2-10.
- Heyden, A. (2004) 'Trafficking of Ukrainian Women: Best Practices in Trafficking Prevention Efforts from Ukraine' *Human Rights Law Review Special Issue* Spring: 37-48
- Hsia, Hsiao-Chuan (2000) 'The International Marriage of International Capitalism -An Example of Foreign Brides in Taiwan'. *Journal of Taiwan Society Research*, 39, p45-92. (In Chinese)
- Hsia, Hsiao-Chuan (2002) Internationalization of Capital and the Trade in Asian Women, invited panel at the *54th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies*. Washington, D.C..
- Huang, Ming-Ning (2005) *A research of experiences of Chinese women smuggled into Taiwan and experiences of investigation of law enforcement officials*, Master dissertation, National Chung Cheng University. (In Chinese)
- Huckerby, J. (2007) 'United States of America (US)' *GAATW Collateral Damage. The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights Around the World* Bangkok: GAATW.
- Hughes, D. (2001). "The "Natasha Trade: Transnational Sex Trafficking", *National Institute of Justice*, January: 9-15
- Hughes, D. (2002) *Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: The Case of the Russian Federation* IOM Migration Research Series No 7. Geneva: IOM.
- Hughes, D. Denisova. (2001) "The Transnational Political Criminal Nexus of Trafficking in Women from Ukraine". *Trends in Organised Crime* 6 (3-4):2-22
- Hume, M (2007) "Unpicking the threads: Emotion as Central to the Theory and Practise of Researching Violence", *Women Studies International Forum*
- Immigration Bureau (2004a) *The Statistics of Migrants in Resent Three Years*. Taiwan: Department of Police. (In Chinese)

- Immigration Bureau (2004b, 18<sup>th</sup> February) *Statistics Report of Police Agency*, 93,7  
Retrieved 16<sup>th</sup> November 2005, from World Wide Web  
[www.nap.gov.tw/download.php?file=9313.doc](http://www.nap.gov.tw/download.php?file=9313.doc)(In Chinese)
- Immigration Bureau (2004c, 30<sup>th</sup> March) *Statistics Report of Police Agency*, 93, 13  
Retrieved 16<sup>th</sup> November 2005, from World Wide Web  
[www.nap.gov.tw/download.php?file=9313.doc](http://www.nap.gov.tw/download.php?file=9313.doc) (In Chinese)
- International Organization for Migration (2001) new IOM figure on the global scale  
of trafficking. *Trafficking in Migrants: quarterly bulletin* 23rd April (Geneva)
- International Organization for Migration (2003) *A General Overview of the  
Psychological Support and Services Provided to Victims of Trafficking*, Kosovo:  
IOM
- International Organization for Migration (Ed.) (2005) *Data and Research on Human  
Trafficking: a Global Survey*.
- International Union of Sex Workers (IUSW) (2003) 'Prostitution is Beneficial to  
Society' *International Union of Sex Workers Home Page* (<http://www.iusw.org>,  
accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2003)
- Jaggar, A. (1994) 'Prostitution', Jaggar, A (Ed), *Living with Controversies.  
Controversies in Feminist Social Ethics*, London: Westview Press
- Jarvis, C. (2004) *Can Trafficked Persons Be Refugees?* UNHCR Colloquium,  
February.
- Jobe, A. (2008) *Accessing Services: Trafficking Victims/Survivors Experiences in the  
UK*, PhD thesis, Newcastle University.
- Justice. (2006) *Human Trafficking: Joint Committee on Human Rights*, London:  
Justice.
- Kantola, J. and Squires, J. (2002) 'Discourses Surrounding Prostitution Policies in the  
UK' *European Journal of Women's Studies* 11 (1): 77-101.
- Kapur, K. (2004) 'Traffic Controls: Legal Responses to Transnational Migrations'  
*GAATW Alliance News*, 22 (December) Bangkok: GAATW: 38-51.
- Kapur, R (2005) 'Cross Border Movements and the Law'in K, Kempadoo. J,  
Sanghera. B Pattanaik (Eds) *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered. New  
Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights* Boulder: Paradigm  
Publishers.
- Kelly, L. (2001) 'From Rhetoric to Curiosity: Urgent Questions from the UK about  
Responses to Trafficking in Women', *Asian Women Winter* (13)
- Kelly, L. (1988) *Surviving Sexual Violence*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kelly, L. (2002) *Journeys of Jeopardy, A Review of Research on Trafficking on Women  
and Children*, IOM Migration Research Series 11.

- Kelly, L. (2003) 'The Wrong Debate: Reflections on Why Force is not the Key Issue with Respect to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation' *Feminist Review* 73: 139-144
- Kelly, L. (2004) "The Perils of Inclusion and Exclusion: International Debates on the Status of Trafficked Women as Victims", *International Review of Victimology* 11(1): 33-48.
- Kelly, L. (2005a) You Can Find Anything You Want. A Critical Reflection on Research within and to Europe, *International Migration* 43: 235-266.
- Kelly, L. (2005b) *Fertile Field: Trafficking of Persons in Central Asia*, IOM and Regional Clearing Point.
- Kelly, L. Burton, S. Regan, L. (1998) *Supporting Women and Challenging Men: Lessons from the Domestic Violence Intervention Project* Bristol: Policy Press
- Kelly, L. and Radford, J. (1996) "'Nothing really happened': the invalidation of women's experience of sexual violence", Hester; Kelly; Radford, *Women, Violence and Male Power*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Kelly, L. and Radford, J. (1998) "Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls: An Approach to an International Overview" Dobash and Dobash, *Rethinking Violence Against Women*, London: Sage.
- Kelly, L. and Regan, L. (2000) *Stopping Traffic: Exploring the Extent of, and Responses to, Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation*, Police Research Series Paper 125, London: Home Office
- Kempadoo, K. (1998) 'Introduction: Globalizing Sex Workers Rights' in Kempadoo, K. Doezema, J (Eds) *Global Sex Workers: Rights Resistance and Redefinition* London: Routledge
- Kempadoo, K. (2005) "From Moral Panic to Global Justice: Changing Perspectives on Trafficking" in K, Kempadoo. J, Sanghera. B Pattanaik (Eds) *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered. New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers
- Kilvington, J., Day, S. and Ward, H. (1991) 'Prostitution Policy in Europe: A Time of Change?' *Feminist Review* 67 (Spring): 78-93.
- King, G. (2004) *Woman, Child for Sale: the New Slave Trade in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Chamberlain Bros.
- Kofman, E. (2003) *Women Migrants and Refugees in the European Union. The Economic and Social Aspects of Migration*. OECD.
- Koser, K. (2000) 'Asylum Policies, Trafficking and Vulnerability' *International Migration*, 38 (3): 91-111.
- Lackzo, F. (2005) "Introduction: Data and Research on Human Trafficking", *International Migration* 43 (1/2): 5-16.
- Laczko F and Thompson D. (Eds), (2000) *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling*.

*A Review of the evidence with case studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine*, Geneva, IOM

- Laczko, F. and M. A. Gramegna (2003) Developing better indicators of human trafficking. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 5:179-194
- Langberg, L. (2005) A review of recent OAS research on human trafficking in the Latin American and Caribbean region. IN IOM (Ed.) *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva, International Organization for Migration.
- Lazaridis, G. (2001) 'Trafficking and Prostitution: The Growing Exploitation of Migrant Women in Greece' *The European Women's Studies Journal*, 8 (1): 67-102.
- Lee, J. J. (2005) *Human Trafficking in East Asia: Current Trends, Data Collection and Knowledge Gaps*. IN IOM (Ed.) Geneva.
- Lee, May-Zeng (2002) *Foreign Brides' Social Network and Social Support*. Thesis of Master, Department of Social Welfare, National Chung-Cheng University. (In Chinese)
- Lee, Ping & Lee, Lay-Jing (2001) *Research of Foreign Brides' Social Coping- An Example of Vietnam Brides*. Taipei city government. (In Chinese)
- Lees, S (1996a) "Unreasonable Doubt: the outcome of rape trials" M. Hester. L. Kelly. J, Radford, *Women, Violence and Male Power*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lees, S (1996b) *Rape on Trial: Carnal Knowledge* London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Legislation Yuan (2009) *Act of Combating Human Trafficking*.
- Legislative Yuan (1997) *Sexual Assault Prevention Act*.
- Leidholt, D, (2002) "Position paper for the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women", CATW HomePage. (<http://www.catinternational.org/posit1.htm>, accessed 18/12/2008)
- Leu, Shin-Tsair (2006) *Bogus' Marriages for Purposes of Prostitution: A Pair-analysis of Chinese Women and Taiwanese Men*. Master dissertation, Department of Criminology, National Taipei University. (In Chinese)
- Limanowska, B (2002) *Trafficking in people in South-East. Status Quo and Combating Trafficking in People in Albania, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, former Republic of Yugoslavia, FYROM, Moldova, and Romania*. Belgrade: UNICEF, UNOHCHR, OSCE/ODIHR.
- Lin, Chii-Shyuan (2003) *A Research On Taiwan's Frontier-Security Policy-Case Study*

- Of Curbing The Influx Illegal Immigrants from Mainland China*. Master dissertation, Department of Public Policy, Feng-Chia University. (In Chinese)
- Lin, Ming-Jiun (1998) *A Study on Legal System of Anti-Trafficking of Police Officer*, Department of Politics, National Sun Yat-Sen University. (In Chinese)
- Lin, Qing-Jiang (2005) *A Research of Legal System of Prevention and Regulation of Mainland People's Using Fake Marriages to Come to Taiwan*. Master dissertation, Department of Politics, National Sun Yat-Sen University. (In Chinese)
- Lin, Tsai-Jung (2001) *A Study on the Marriage Problems between Mainland China and Taiwan People-the Case of Mainland China Spouses Family in Hualien*. Master dissertation, Institute of Public Administration, National Tsing-Hua University. (In Chinese)
- Lin, Wang-Ting (2005) *The research of the smuggling hot spot in Taiwan and the illegal immigration population flowing*. Master dissertation, Department of Criminology, National Chung-Cheng University. (In Chinese)
- Linden, B. (2005) *Designing Trafficking Research from a Labour Market Perspective: The ILO Experience*. IN IOM (Ed.) *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva, International Organization for Migration
- Ling, Jun (2004) *Study of the Sexual Trade and Experience of Young Women From Continental China in Taiwan*. Master dissertation, Department of Crime, National Chung-Cheng University. (In Chinese)
- Liu, Mei-Fang (2001) *Lived experiences of intermarriage among Filipino women in Taiwan*. Thesis of Master, Institute of Nurse, Kaoshiung Medical University. (In Chinese)
- Lu, Yi-Hsuan (2003) *Globalization and Human Trafficking: Economic and politics analysis of Chinese women work in prostitution in Taiwan*. Graduate Institution of International Politics, National Chung-Hsing University. (In Chinese)
- Luibheid, E (2006) "Sexual Regimes and Migration Controls: Reproducing the Irish Nation- State in Transnational Contexts" *Feminist Review* 83: 60-78.
- Malarek, V. (2003) *The Natashas: The New Global Sex Trade*. London: Vision Paperbacks.
- Mameli. P.A. (2002) 'Stopping the Illegal Trafficking of Human Beings', *Crime, Law and Social Change* 38: 67-80.
- May, T. Hunter, G. (2006) 'Sex Work and Problem Drug Use in the UK: The Links, Problems and Possible Solutions' in R. Campbell and M. O'Neill. *Sex Work Now* Devon: Willan Publishing.

- May, T. (2001) *Social Research : Issues, Methods and Process*. 3rd Ed Open University.
- McDonald, W.F. (2004) 'Traffic Counts, Symbols and Agendas: A Critique of the Campaign against Trafficking of Human Beings', *International Review of Victimology* 11 (1)
- McGill, C. (2003) *Human Traffic: Sex Slaves and Immigration*. London: Vision.
- Miller, J, (1997) "Researching Violence Against Street Prostitutes Schwartz, M, (Ed) *Researching Sexual Violence Against Women*, London: Sage.
- Miller, J. and Jayasundara, D. (2001) Prostitution, the sex industry, and sex tourism. In C. Renzetti, J. Edleson & R. Bergen, Sourcebook on intimate violence, (pp. 459-480). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Monzini, P. (2006) *Sex Traffic: Prostitution, Crime and Exploitation* London: Zed Books.
- Moore, H. (1994) "The Problem of Explaining Violence" in P, Harvey. P, Gow. (Eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in Representation and Experience* London: Routledge.
- Moran, L. J, Skeggs, B. Tyrer, P, Corteen. (2003) 'Safety Talk, Violence and Laughter' in M. Raymond and E.A. Stanko *Researching Violence. Essays on Methodology and Measurement*. London: Routledge:107-125.
- Moran-Ellis, J (1996) "Close to Home: the Experience of Researching Child Sexual Abuse" Hester; Kelly; Radford, *Women, Violence and Male Power*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Munro, V. (2005) 'Stopping Traffic? A Comparative Response to the Trafficking in Women for Prostitution' *British Journal of Criminology* 46: 318-333.
- Murphy, E., Ringheim, K. (2002) 'An Interview with Jo Doezema of the Network of Sex Work Project: Does attention to Trafficking Adversely Affect Sex Worker's Rights' *Reproductive Health and Rights- Reaching the Hardly Reached* Seattle: Path publications.
- Nagle, J. (1997) *Whores and Other Feminists*, London: Routledge.
- Naim, M. (2005) *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy*. New York: Anchor.
- National Immigration Agency (2007) *Immigration Statistics*  
<http://www.immigration.gov.tw/aspcode/xls.asp> accessed on 02012008.
- National Police Agency (2004) *Statistics Report of Police Agency No.13*.
- Nazer, M. and Lewis, D. (2004) *Slave* London: Virago Press
- Nemcova, T. (2004) "The street without Joy, La Strada", *Organized Crime and Terrorism Watch*. Vol. 4, No. 15, 22 June 2004



- O'Connell Davidson, J (1998) *Prostitution, Power and Freedom*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2002) The Rights and Wrongs of Prostitution, *Hypatia*, 17 (2) 84-98.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2003) Prostitution, Power and Freedom in Weeks, Hollands and Waites, *Sexualities and Society: a Reader* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2004) "Child Sex Tourism: An Anomalous Form of Movement?" *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 12 (1) April: 32-46
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2006a) "Will the Real Sex Slave Please Stand Up?" *Feminist Review* 83: 4-22.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2006b) *Children in the Global Sex Trade*, Cambridge: polity press.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. Layder, D. (1994) *Methods, Sex and Madness* London: Routledge.
- O'Neill, M. (1996a) "Researching Prostitution and Violence: Towards a Feminist Praxis" in M. Hester, L. Kelly, J. Radford *Women, Violence and Male power* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- O'Neill, M. (1996b) "Prostitution, Feminism and Critical Praxis: profession prostitute?" *The Austrian Journal of Sociology, Special Edition on Work and Society*, Winter
- O'Neill, M. (1997) 'Prostitute Women Now' in G. Scrambler, A, Scrambler (Eds) *Rethinking Prostitution: Purchasing Sex in the 1990s* London: Routledge.
- O'Neill, M. (2001) *Prostitution and Feminism. Towards a Politics of Feeling*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Orbuch, T.L. (1997) 'People Accounts Count: The Sociology of Accounts', *Annual review of Sociology* 23: 455-478.
- Pan, Shu-Man (2004) The practice and limitations of citizenship: an analysis of marriage immigration. *Journal of Community Development*. 105, 30-43.
- Pearson, E. (2002) *Human Traffic: Human Rights. Redefining Victim Protection*, London: Anti Slavery.
- Peterson, L.L. (2001) 'Trafficking in Women: The Danish Construction of Baltic Prostitution' *Cooperation and Conflict* 36 (2): 213-138.
- Phongpaichit, P (1999) "Trafficking in people in Thailand" P Williams (Ed), *Illegal Immigration and commercial sex. The new slave trade*, London: Frank Cass Publishers.
- Piotrowicz (2002) European initiatives in the prostitution of victims of trafficking who give evidence against their traffickers. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 14, 2/3:263-278.

- Piotrowicz, R. (2002) European initiatives in the prostitution of victims of trafficking who give evidence against their traffickers. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 14, 2/3:263-278.
- Piper, N. (2005) 'A Problem by a Different Name? A Review of Research on Trafficking in South-East Asia and Oceania'. in Gozdzia, F. (Ed.) *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva, International Organization for Migration.
- Pitcher, J (2006) 'Support Services for Women Working in the Sex Industry' in R. Campbell and M. O'Neill (Eds) *Sex Work Now* Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Plummer, K (1995) *Telling Sexual Stories: Power, Change and Social Worlds*, London: Routledge.
- Plummer, K (2001) *Documents of Life 2: An Invitation to Critical Humanism* . London: Sage.
- Plummer, K (2003), "Intimate Citizenship and the Culture of Sexual Story Telling" Weeks, Holland; Waites, *Sexualities and Society: A Reader*, Cambridge: Polity
- Poudel, M. (2009) *Dealing with the Hidden Issue: Social Rejection of Trafficked Women in Nepal*, PhD thesis, Newcastle University.
- Raymond, J. (2002) 'The New UN Trafficking Protocol', *Women's Studies International Forum* 25 (5): 491-502.
- Reinharz, S. (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Richardson, D. May, H. (1999) 'Deserving Victims? Sexual Status and the Social Construction of Victims?' *Sociological Review* 47 (2): 308-331.
- Rubin, A. and Babble E. (2007) *Research Methods for Social Work*. Wadsworth.
- Salt, J (2000) "Trafficking and Human Smuggling. A European perspective", *International Migration*, 38 (3): 31-54.
- Salt, J. and J. Hogarth (2000) Migrant trafficking and human smuggling in Europe: a review of the evidence. In Laczko F. and Thompson D. (eds.) *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe: A Review of the Evidence with Case Studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine*. Vienna: IOM.
- Sanghera, J. (2005) 'Unpacking the Trafficking Discourse' in K, Kempadoo, J, Sanghera. B Pattanaik (Eds) *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered. New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Sassen, S. (2003) "Global Cities and Survival Circuits", Ehrenreich and Rothchild, *Global Women: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, Granta Books: London.

- Saunders, P. (2000) 'Working on the Inside: Migration, Sex Work and Trafficking in Persons' *Legal Link* 11 (2).
- Sawicki, J. (1991) *Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power, and the Body*. Routledge.
- Scheper- Hughes, N. (2003) (Ed) *Commodifying Bodies*, London: Sage.
- Sharma, N. (2005) "Anti Trafficking Rhetoric and the Making of a Global Apartheid", *NWSA Journal* 17 (3) Fall: 88-111.
- Shaw, Zhao-Jan (2000) *The Adoption of Migrants' Lives: An Example of the Foreign Brides in Shetou, Changhua County*. PhD thesis, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University. (In Chinese)
- Shearer- Demir, J. (2003) *Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation. A Gender Based Well- Founded Fear? An Examination of Refugee Status Determination for Trafficked Women from CEE/CIS Countries to Western Europe* University of Pavia.
- Shen, Hsing-Ju (2002) *Stairway to Heaven? Power and Resistance within the Commodified Taiwanese-Vietnamese Marriages*. Master dissertation, Institute of Sociology, National Tsing-Hua University. (In Chinese)
- Shildrick, M. (2004) Silencing sexuality: the regulation of the disabled body. Jean Carabine (ed) *Sexualities: Personal Lives and Social Policy*. The Policy Press.
- Silverman, D. (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research : a Practical Handbook*. London: Sage Publications.
- Simmons, M. (1998) "Theorising Prostitution: The Question of Agency" *Sexuality and Culture* 2: 125-149.
- Skrivankova, K. (2007) 'United Kingdom', in GAATW *Collateral Damage. The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights Around the World* Bangkok: GAATW.
- Skrobanek, S, Boonpakdi N & Janthakeero, C, (1997) *The Traffic in Women: Human Realities of the International Sex Trade* London: Zed Books.
- Stanko, E. (2006) "Theorizing About Violence. Observations from the Economic and Social Research Council's Violence against Women Research Program" *Violence Against Women* 12 (6): 543-555.
- Stanko, E. (2007) "From Academia to Policy Making: Changing Police Responses to Violence against Women", *Theoretical Criminology* 11: 209.
- Sugiyama, K. (2004) *Literature Study Report: U.S. Anti-Trafficking Law and its impact on Asia*.
- Surtees, R. (2006) *Other Forms of Trafficking in Minors: Articulating Victim Profiles and Conceptualising Interventions* NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking and International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

- Tang, Kuo-Chiang (2003) *A Research on the Prevention of Mainland Immigrants in the Name of Getting Married*, Master dissertation, National Chung Cheng University. (In Chinese)
- Tavcer, D.S. (2004) 'From Poverty to the Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation: A Study of Causal Factors of Trafficked Women from Moldova', *Human Rights Law Review*. Special Issue Spring: 49- 61.
- Temple, B. (1997) 'Watch Your Tongue: Issues In Translation and Cross-Cultural Research', *Sociology* 31(3): 607-618
- Temple, B. and Young, A. (2004) "Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas" *Qualitative Research* 4 (2): 161-178.
- Tiau, Chien-Sheng (2007) *Globalization Governance, A Research on Combating tactics of Human Trafficking*. Master dissertation, Department of Politics, National Taiwan University. (In Chinese)
- Tsai, Ya-Yu (2001) *A Study of Intermarriage Between Taiwanese and Vietnamese*. Thesis of Master, Graduate Institute of political Economy, National Cheng-Kung University. (In Chinese)
- TWRF (2005) *The Primary Report of the Relationship between Chinese Smuggled Women and Human Trafficking*.
- Tyldum, G., and Brunovskis, A. (2005) 'Describing the unobserved: Methodological Challenges in Empirical Studies on Human Trafficking', *International Migration* 43 (1/2): 17-34.
- Tzvetkova, M. (2002) 'NGO Responses to Trafficking in Women', *Gender and Development* 10 (1) March: 60-68
- UNHCR (2005) *Combating Human Trafficking: Overview of UNHCR Anti-Trafficking Activities in Europe*. Bureau for Europe Policy Unit.
- UNICEF (2005) *Combating Child Trafficking*. Inter-parliamentary Union
- United Nations (2000a) *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*.
- United Nations (2000b) *United Nations Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants*, United Nations.
- US State Department (2000- 2009) *Trafficking in Persons Reports*.
- Vullamy, E. (2004) 'Inside Europe's Slave Trade' *The Observer Magazine*, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2004: 20-31.
- Wang, Chun-Hsiung and Tang, Chin-Min (2004) A qualitative research of women

- work as prostitutes through fake marriage. *Conference of Combating Crime Cooperated between China and Taiwan*, Taipei. (In Chinese)
- Wang, Hong-Zen (2001) Social Stratification, Vietnamese Partners Migration and Taiwan Labour Market. *Journal of Taiwan Society Research*, 41, p101-127. (In Chinese)
- Wang, Mei-Chuan (2005) An discussion of foreign women working in prostitution through transnational marriage: an example of Chai-Yi County, paper presented at Combating Human Trafficking Workshop, Central Police University. (In Chinese)
- Watts, C. and Zimmerman, C. (2002) 'Violence against Women: Global Scope and Magnitude' *The Lancet*, 359 (9313): 1232-1237.
- Waugh, L. (2006) *Selling Olga: Stories of Human Trafficking and Resistance*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Weitzer, R. (2000) *Sex for Sale. Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. London: Routledge.
- Weitzer, R. (2005) 'Flawed Theory and Method in Studies of Prostitution' *Violence against Women* 11: 934-949
- Weitzer, R. (2007) The Social Construction of Sex Trafficking: Ideology and Institutionalization of a Moral Crusade, *Politics and Society* 35 (3) Sept: 447-475.
- Westmarland, N (2006) 'From the Personal to the Political: Shifting Perspectives on Street Prostitution in England and Wales' in G. Gangoli; N Westmarland, *International Approaches to Prostitution. Law and Policy in Europe and Asia*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Westmarland, N; Gangoli, G (2006) 'Introduction: Approaches to Prostitution' in G. Gangoli; N Westmarland, *International Approaches to Prostitution. Law and Policy in Europe and Asia*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Wijers, M. (1998) "Women, labor and migration. The position of trafficked women and strategies for support", Kempadoo, K & Doezema, J, (Eds), *Global sex workers. Rights, resistance and redefinition*. London: Routledge.
- Wijers, M. (2004) 'An Exploration of the Meaning of a Human Rights Based Approach to Trafficking' *GAATW Alliance News* 22 (December): 7-14.
- Wijers, M. Lap Chew, L. (1997) *The Traffic in Women. Forced labour and slavery like practices, domestic labour and problems* Utrecht: Foundation against Trafficking in Women (STV) & Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW).
- Williams, P, (1999) (Eds) *Illegal Immigration and Commercial Sex; The Slave Trade*, London: Frank Cass Publishers.
- World Health Organisation, (2003) *WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for*

*Interviewing Trafficked Women*, London, Health Policy Unit, London School of Tropical Medicine

Wu, Li-Chun (2005) *Construction of Treatment Process of Human Trafficking Victims: An Example of Foreign Women who are Sexual Exploited*. Master Dissertation, Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Police University. (In Chinese)

Yan, Yu-Yun (2002) *A Survey of Chinese Women Working as Prostitutes in Taiwan*. Master dissertation, Department of Criminology, National Chung-Cheng University. (In Chinese)

Yeh, Hong-Chun (2003) *The Factors and Models of Chinese Women Working in Prostitution in Taiwan through Smuggling*, Department of Criminology, Central Police University. (In Chinese)

Zatz, N.D. (1997) 'Sex work/ Sex act: Law, Labor, and Desire in Constructions of Prostitution', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 22 (2) Winter: 277-308.

Zhao, Yen-Ning (2003) Modern image, cross-country and boarder control: an example of Chinese foreign brides, paper presented at *Conference of Identity, Identification and Practice*, 27<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> September, National Tsing-Hua University. (In Chinese)

Zimmerman, C, (2003) *The Health risks and Consequences of Trafficking in Women and Girls. Findings from a European Study* London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine