

Destination Australia: Working Conditions of Korean Women Working in the Entertainment and Sex Industry

Bronwen Dalton
University of Technology Sydney

Haeyoung Jang
University of Sydney

Kyungja Jung
University of Technology Sydney

Robyn Johns
University of Technology Sydney

Abstract

The experience of women working in the sex and entertainment industry is an issue central to feminism, social and human rights movements, and ongoing political debate. Although now an area of scholarly research the clandestine nature of this industry makes research challenging and means many aspects remain unknown. In this paper, the researchers examine the working conditions of Korean women working in the sex industry in Australia. The paper reports on recent trends in patterns of migration and draws attention to the fact that increasing numbers of Korean women are utilising 'working holiday' visas to work in the sex and entertainment industry and that under Australian law this practice is essentially legal. The paper also examines the nature of their service in the sex industry and details the conditions of their employment. Findings from this study aim to inform recommendations to policy makers in relevant government and non-government community service organisations.

Introduction

In Australia, the sex industry is an important sector of employment for women coming from different countries. Australia's history of being a destination for the international sex industry can be traced back to the late 19th century when Japanese prostitutes were brought into brothels in Western Australian. This practice ceased with the 'White Australia' policy between 1901 and 1973. The importation of Asian women (mostly Thai) for sex work re-emerged in the mid-1980s and greatly proliferated during the 1990s with an increasing number of Asian operators infiltrating the Australian sex industry (Brockett and Murray 1994; Frances, 2003; Orhant, 2000). One senior law enforcement officer estimated that most of the illegal brothels in Victoria were predominantly Asian businesses in the 1990s (Orhant 1999).

The rapid growth of Asian-owned businesses has resulted in a massive influx of illegal labour from various Asian countries. Illegal sex workers, mostly Asians including a large number of Koreans, are routinely discovered by the Immigration Department, which makes raids on sex and massage businesses operating both lawfully and unlawfully in the Sydney area. Some suggest that some 200 illegal immigrants were working as prostitutes in Sydney in the late 1990s (Orhant 2000). While Sydney has been a favourite destination of migrant sex workers, increasing numbers of illegal migrant sex workers seemed to have flowed to other parts of Australia. In early 1998, for instance, immigration raids on Canberra's 17 legal brothels found 16 illegal sex workers who were working in breach of their visas (Miller, 2005). Identified illegal workers, with no investigation into the nature of their work or their passage into Australian brothels, only faced deportation. Until recent law changes' employing illegal workers was not a criminal offence in Australia. However, since 19th August 2007, it is an offence to knowingly or recklessly allow a person to work illegally or refer an illegal worker for work. People convicted of these offences could face fines of AUD13,200 and two years' imprisonment, while companies face fines of AUD66,000 per illegal worker. The penalties are higher where an illegal worker is being exploited through slavery, forced labour or sexual servitude.

As with the case of Japanese prostitutes in the late nineteenth century, the latest wave of Asian sex workers has been somehow tolerated by the Australian press and public. But in the late 1990s the issue of 'sex trafficking' emerged as the object of intense national and international concern (Doezema 2000; Frances 2003). Until the late 1990s, very little was known about the situation of sex trafficking in Australia. Some data shows that the number of people deported as a result of having been located in brothels increased from 56 in 1996-1997 to 243 (237 women) in 1998-1999 (the Immigration Compliance records, cited in Fergus 2005: 18). A sex industry insider said that following the publicity about trafficking in Thai women and strong police action against the importation of Thai sex slaves, traffickers turned to Korean women (Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission 2004: 21). Statistics from the Department of Immigration, and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) show that while the majority of people detected working illegally in the sex industry (e.g. visitor visa or bridging visa holders) have been from Thailand (25per cent in 2004/05), Koreans have comprised a large percentage over recent years (19per cent in 2004/05). This paper therefore aims to report on recent trends in patterns of migration and draws attention to the fact that increasing numbers of Korean women are utilising 'working holiday' visas to work in the sex and entertainment industry. The paper also examines the nature of their service in the sex industry and details the conditions of their employment. The research conducted for this study forms part of a broader body of research into the plight of Korean women in the Entertainment and Sex Industry. Findings from this study aim to inform recommendations to policy makers in relevant government and non-government community service organisations.

Method

The study is informed by the findings drawn from semi-structured in-depth interviews and a content analysis of relevant secondary source materials including, articles in the media, academic publications and government and NGO reports. Interviewees fell into two distinct groups. The first group was made up of 21 Korean women over the age of 18 who were working or had worked in the Australian entertainment and sex industry. The second group was made up of 10 informants from government/non-government organisations, which had extensive knowledge about and experience of working with Korean sex workers in Australia. Organisations covered the following fields: sex workers association, human trafficking victim support groups, sexual health clinics, women's groups, police, Korean community organisations, Korean vernacular media, central government, social services and other local government departments.

Due to the nature of the work the women did, gaining access to the first group of interviewees was not easy. Two strategies were used to allow the researchers to approach potential interview participants. Firstly, organisations that were supposed to have a high level of contact with sex workers in Australia were contacted and asked to help with the recruitment of potential interview participants. They were asked to make initial contact with potential interviewees, using their established contact with Korean workers. Some organisations like Sydney Sexual Health Clinic agreed to distribute advertising leaflets to their Korean service users. Korean community organisations were also used as a contact point to Korean women. Secondly, advertisements on community papers and internet websites were also used to approach a broader group of Korean women working in Australia. As a result, a small number of women responded to the leaflet and advertisements and agreed to participate in the interview. Each interviewee was asked if they could suggest other potential interviewees at the end of the interview. Through this snowballing method, the researcher was able to complete survey interviews with a total of 21 Korean women working in karaoke bar (so-called noraebang or in Korean¹), room salons², massage parlours and "full shops" (establishments that provide sexual services only) in Sydney, Australia. As no interviewees consented to their interview to be audio-taped, interview notes

¹ A noraebang or "song room" is a Korean name for a Karaoke bar. In Korean communities in Australia they are registered as a restaurant business and prohibit sex work. The women who work at noraebangs as hostesses are generally referred to as doumi.

² A room salon is a Korean-style drinking and entertainment establishment. It typically refers to a place where male customers, usually in groups, come to have a social drink and be waited upon by young hostesses who can provide various entertainment and/or sexual services.

were taken during each interview. Each interview was conducted at a public location (usually coffee shops) and at a time of the interviewee's choice.

Due to significant discrepancies in their working experiences, the Korean women interviewed can be separated into two groups, namely "doumi" (hostess) workers and sex workers (we found that there were no obvious discrepancies between the working requirements of room salon "doumis" and noraebang (karaoke) "doumis" as they essentially provided similar kinds of services, moreover many noraebang workers used to be room salon workers and vice versa). In this study doumis specifically refer to those who are working as a hostess either at a room salon or at a noraebang to entertain customers but they are not expected to engage in sexual intercourse with customers. Sex workers include massage parlour workers and brothel workers who performed sex-related services for financial reward. Massage workers, along with brothel workers, are categorised as sex workers. Most of the massage workers interviewed seemed to have sex with clients just like brothel workers. As explored later, working conditions and labour practices under which they worked were greatly varied between doumi workers or sex workers. Out of the total 21 Korean women interviewed for this study, 10 identified themselves as sex workers while 11 others identified themselves as doumis. Karaoke and room salon doumis, despite the sexual nature of the work they might do, differentiated themselves from sex workers. In the case of three women who were out of the industry at the time of interviews, interviews were concerned about the latest job they had within the entertainment and sex industry in Australia.

For interviews with the second group, a number of potential key informants from government/non-government organisations were identified through initial research through the internet, literature review and advice from the steering groups. They were contacted by the researcher through letters, e-mails or telephone calls and given an information letter explaining the research and requesting an interview. Of them, a total of 10 informants agreed to be interviewed. Interviews with individual key informants were conducted at the informant's office. Interview questions were semi-structured in nature, and thus allowed informants a broad freedom to respond in a manner of their choice.

To maintain and maximise protection of confidentiality of the interview participants, no identifiable information (e.g. name, address) was collected during the interview. For the same reason, oral rather than written consent was required and an information letter (written in English and Korean) was offered to each interviewee³. Interviewees, through the information letter, were informed and assured that the information they provide would be held in strict confidence and used for limited purposes to which they would consent. Interviewees were also informed that they could freely withdraw their participation at any time during the research.

Research Findings

Official statistics

Investigations by government and law enforcement agencies in Australia observe that a significant number of Korean nationals have worked, both lawfully and unlawfully, in the sex industry in Australia. According to a government record, of non-Australian citizens working in the sex industry over a twelve-month period in 2004/05, South Koreans accounted for more than 97per cent (208 out of 215) of the total cases identified (ANAO 2006: 75). The record also shows that Working Holiday visas were the favoured visa class for sex workers, accounting for 215 out of the 638 cases identified. The AFP also reports that 185 Korean nationals were found working illegally in the sex industry in Australia between 2002 and 2005. The Attorney-General's Department in addition confirmed that, between 1 March 2004 and 31 March 2007, 530 Korean nationals were found working lawfully in the sex industry in Australia and 135 Korean nationals were found working unlawfully in the same industry (e-mail communication 2007).

³ The Korean women interviewed feared their identity and profession being known and loathed exposure to any type of authority for fear of negative repercussions. For this reason, interviewees were not asked to sign their names (even work names) or complete forms.

Accessing Australia

Most Korean women working in the sex industry, including those interviewed for this research, come to Australia on temporary visas, mostly working holiday visas and student visas⁴. Working Holiday Makers (WHM) Visa Programme (subclass 417) was introduced in Australia in 1975. This programme allows young people between 18 and 30 from certain countries (with which Australia has reciprocal arrangements) to enter and stay in Australia for an extended holiday (normally up to 12 months) and to supplement their funds by incidental employment. A WHM visa gives the visa holder a permit to work in a variety of industries but for no more than a limited period (six months)⁵, with any one employer unless the visa holder has DIAC's written permission. Holders are also allowed to study or train for up to four months while in Australia.

Australia has reciprocal arrangements with 19 countries including South Korea⁶. The number of temporary entrants to Australia on WHM visas has grown from fewer than 20,000 a year in the early 1980s to more than 100,000 currently (ANAO 2006). To be granted a WHM visa, applicants must;

- be outside Australia when they apply and, when their visa is granted;
- not have entered Australia on a Working Holiday visa before;
- be aged between 18 and 30 years (inclusive) at the time of applying;
- be applying no more than 12 months before they intend to travel to Australia;
- not have dependent children (either at the time of applying or after the visa has been granted); and
- hold a passport for a country or region participating with Australia in the Working Holiday Maker programme.

In addition to these, all applicants must have sufficient money for departure air fare and personal support for the initial stage of the holiday. DIAC explains that AUD5,000 is generally regarded as sufficient for personal support for the initial stage of the holiday. Applicants may be asked to provide supporting evidence such as a certified copy of a bank statement and an air ticket out of Australia. There are also certain health criteria that all applicants are required to meet. They may need to undertake a medical examination which may include a chest x-ray, HIV, Hepatitis B and/or Hepatitis C test. As a tourist, WHM visa holders are not covered by Australia's national health scheme, unless there is a reciprocal health care agreement between Australia and his or her country of origin. Most visa applications for the Australian Working Holiday programme are processed within six days.

On 1 July 2002, DIAC implemented a system for people to lodge their WHM visa applications electronically over the Internet (referred to as 'eWHM'). Around 98 percent of WHM visa applications are now lodged through this eWHM system. The WHM visa application must accompany, as in July 2007, the application charge of AUD190.00, not refundable when unsuccessful.

Neither Australia nor Korea imposes a limit on the number of participants in this programme. Korea is one of the main source countries of working holiday makers in Australia. In the period 2002-03, 73,945 WHM visas were granted by Australia of that 7.9per cent were issued to Korean nationals. In the 2006-07 period, this had increased to 100,684 with 28.4per cent of these successful applicants being Korean nationals (DIAC 2008).

Given this dramatic increase in the number of Korean nationals who have received WHM visas since, an audit report on visa management in Australia (ANAO, 2006) highlights increasing propensity of WHM visa applicants from Korea to use the WHM visa either as an alternative to a student visa or as a means to enter the Australian sex industry. The report indicates that, unlike applicants from the other significant East Asian source country, Japan, the vast majority of South Korean WHM visa applicants (over 90per cent as in November 2005), in their application form, declare that their primary intention to apply for this visa is to learn English. Besides, the report also draws attention to a growing trend to use the WHM visa for Koreans working in the

⁴ People who enter Australia on temporary visas include three broad categories: visitors, overseas students and temporary residents. Working holiday makers are regarded as visitors.

⁵ This period was formerly three months but was extended to six months from 1 July 2006.

⁶ Korea initiated its Working Holiday Program with Australia in July 1995.

sex industry. According to a government record, the number of Korean nationals on WHM visas working in the Australian sex industry, has increased from 63 in 2003/04, to 222 in 2004/05 (ANAO 2006). Although it is not a breach of visa conditions for a person on a WHM visa to work in the legal sex industry in Australia⁷, concerns have been raised about cases involving women on a WHM visa trafficked for the purpose of slavery and sexual servitude. In May 2004, four South Korean women on WHM visas were identified to have been trafficked into the sex industry in Melbourne. In addition, between March 2004 and February 2006, 38 South Korean sex workers with WHM visas were found to be working illegally in Australia. In April 2005, two South Koreans applying for WHM visas were discovered to have substituted their x-rays because the originals showed they had tuberculosis. This incident in particular generated suspicion about a link to an organised racket trading in sex workers using the WHM visa (ANAO 2006). Following several reports of such incidents involving Korean women on WHM visas, the Australian government has been cautiously monitoring WH visa applications made by Korean nationals and trying to develop profiling methods to reduce the incidents of visa fraud and criminality including sex trafficking (ANAO 2006).

A student visa is granted to those who wish to undertake a registered course or part of a registered course on a full-time basis. A registered course includes an education or training course offered by an Australian education provider who is registered with the Australian Government to offer courses to overseas students. To apply for a student visa, applicants are advised to get a letter of offer or electronic confirmation of enrolment (eCoE) in relation to one or more full-time courses of study.

Student visa holders:

- have access to Australia's subsidised student health cover
- are able to study for more than three months
- are generally able to change status to an overseas student in Australia, and
- can apply for permission to work.

Student visa holders can work a maximum of 20 hours per week during the term and unlimited hours when their course is not in session. Dependent family members of students can work a maximum of 20 hours per week throughout the year, or, in some cases, can apply to work unlimited hours.

In the 12 months between 2004 and 2005, 34 people on student visas have been found working in the sex industry in breach of visa conditions while a further 100 were found to be working legally (DIAC 2005b).

Primary Research Findings

The following details findings from the survey, including the use of both a questionnaire and in-depth interview, conducted between February 2007 and April 2008, in which 21 Korean women employed in the entertainment and sex industry in Australia participated.

All the women interviewed except for one were in their twenties, with the average age of 26. The ages ranged between 22 and 35 with the majority (67per cent) situated between 24 and 28. This may reflect their eligibility for WHM visa and their economic position in Korea, which may involve being unemployed or in low-paid work. The characteristics of the participants interviewed were greatly similar in that they were all unmarried and had no dependent child.

The Korean women in this study had relatively high educational attainment. Some 62per cent were university students, dropouts or graduates. Another 33per cent were high school graduates, leaving 5per cent who were middle school graduates. The educational level of the women who worked at massage parlours and brothels was also high with 70per cent of them either college students or graduates as seen in the table below. In addition, more than 33per cent of the women said that they came to Australia for study. At the time of the interview, five women (2 doumis and 3 sex workers) were enrolled in an educational institution (e.g. university, English language school) in Australia.

⁷ However, if the person works more than six months with the one employer, it will be a breach of visa conditions.

More than 33per cent of the women participating in the study stated that they were only able to speak basic English or no English while more than a half (67per cent) said that they were capable of daily conversation including three with fluent English. Sex workers and doumi workers did not display noticeable differences in their English language proficiency. However contrary to the typically narrow perception that these women might have worked in a similar industry back in Korea, these women previously worked in diverse areas. Some 86per cent of them were employed in a wide range of businesses and industries in Korea. Including two women who were enrolled in college, the vast majority of the women had been employed in a wide range of businesses and industries in Korea. Many used to work as sales assistants or waitresses. Many women talked about their experience of working as a waitress or shop assistant. Most of them had small salaries that did not enable them to support their own living. Being frustrated at working long hours for little pay, one woman said, she was finally attracted to working in the entertainment and then the sex industries. She said it was the only job where she could earn a good income. She said:

Upon the graduation from my high school, I moved to Seoul by myself. I lived in a cheap dormitory and had two or three part-time jobs. As a shop assistant and a waitress, I worked day and night. But I only earned small money and my life was just a daily struggle to get by (S, 25, noraebang doumi).

Of the 21 women, more than 38per cent (or 8 women) had previously worked as sex workers and another 14per cent (or 3 women) had working experience as doumis in karaoke bars. Many of them started these jobs as a matter of survival or as a way of maintaining independence without family support after leaving home or school or supplementing family income (especially when they had a single mother or siblings attending school or university).

At the time of the interviews, the women had been in Australia for an average of 13 months approximately, ranging from 1 to 36 months. The shortest period that a woman had been staying in Australia was one month and the longest was four years. Around 62per cent of the women stayed in Australia less than 12 months. The remaining whose stay in Australia exceeded 12 months included those on a student visa or on second working holiday visas and those who were able to extend their stay through visa transfer (e.g. from working holiday visa to student visa). In all cases, the women interviewed said their migration to Australia was basically legitimate and self-directed. All of the women, with no exception, said that they left Korea on their own initiative. In more than 76per cent of cases, they responded that they came to Australia with an intention to work in the entertainment or sex industry. For the rest (24per cent), working in the entertainment or sex industry was a secondary activity to their primary purpose (often study or travelling) of coming to Australia.

When asked about how they were recruited into the industry nearly 67per cent (14) indicated that they had been assisted by others (e. g. brokers, colleagues) in gaining employment in Australia while the other 33per cent (7) indicated that no one was involved in their recruitment. Those with no involvement by others said that they just responded to ads (mostly on the internet) and then were employed, rather than being recruited by someone.

Of the 14 women assisted by others, more than 70per cent mentioned a friend or a former colleague who was working in Australia as an important person in their recruitment to Australia. Many of them obtained job-related information from this friend or colleague and were assisted to find a job in Australia. The other 30per cent said that they were assisted by a broker (recruiter) in Korea, who pre-arranged their employment in Australia (to work at a room salon, a massage parlour or a brothel in Sydney). The women usually contacted the broker out of their own initiative. One woman, working as a massage parlour madam, assumed that about 30per cent of the Korean women were assisted by a broker to get a job in the Australian sex industry. In most cases, the women seemed to have met or talked with one person during the recruitment but the actual number of people involved in recruitment could not be determined. Recruiters, however, usually had links to some business owners (Korean origin) in Australia, which seemed to help them establish themselves as agents for international recruitment of entertainment and sex workers. These recruiters often ran advertisements on major web search engine and web portals in Korea (such as "Naver" and "Daum"), which spelled out the pay and other conditions that women could expect from working in Australia as well as other countries.

A 24-year-old doumi worker interviewed said that she came into contact with an agent through one of these internet advertisements. The agent offered her a job as a doumi at a Korean room salon in Sydney where he used to work (as a staff member) whilst he stayed in Australia as a WH maker. He explained that the room salon owner was a good person and the work was easy. This finding suggests that there are individuals or groups in both Korea and Australia who recruit the women and bring them to Australia. One anonymous informant from a Korean community newspaper suggested that there were people (including Australia-based Koreans) whose prime or secondary business was the recruitment of women from Korea and the disbursement of them throughout Australia. However, he was doubtful that they were linked to organised crime, saying; "they are just ordinary people" (Interview 2007).

Of the 21 women, six (nearly 30per cent) had previous work experience in foreign countries other than Australia. Among them two stated that they had been involved in sex work in another foreign country (Japan for both cases) while the remaining four said that they had been involved in other activities such as waitressing and translating work in Guam, New Zealand, China and Spain. For most others, Australia was the first foreign country they had visited. Those who had been involved in sex work in another foreign country agreed that working conditions were much better in Australia. As one put it:

"It may be because of the legal market here in Australia. In Japan, employers tend to be more controlling. Customers are also awful. They are very demanding and hardly use condoms (M, 29, brothel worker)".

In this study, no women claimed that they were forced to do sex work or that they had no other options to choose. Of the 21 women, around 48per cent, including all the massage and brothel workers, identified that they were aware of the possibility of doing sex related work while the rest (52per cent, all the doumi workers) indicated that their work did not necessarily involve sex-related services. Doumi workers commonly mentioned that sex work was prohibited in their workplaces and that there was no coercion by the employer for them to provide sexual services. Of all 11 doumi workers, two, including one room salon worker and one noraebang worker, indicated that they privately and occasionally had sex with their clients for extra money outside the workplace.

In all cases, the women were required to pay nothing but travel expenses to come to Australia. Nearly 81per cent paid their own travel expenses (mostly airfare, around AUD1,200) to come to Australia while the remaining 19per cent (including 3 doumi workers and 1 brothel worker) said that they paid a part of the cost or nothing. These women were provided with an air ticket to Australia by the employers (three with the round-trip air ticket and one with a one-way ticket) under a verbal agreement to work for more than three months. They were not required to sign a contract but asked to provide their passport number or a copy of their resident registration from Korea for the air ticket to be mailed.

All the 21 women, with no exception, stated that they came to Australia lawfully with their own passport. Around 86per cent of the interviewed women came to Australia with a one-year working holiday (WHM) visas while the remaining 14per cent were on either student visa or tourist visa. More than 11per cent of the 18 WHM visa holders were later granted a student visa through visa transfer. At the time of the interviews, four of the women on student visas were enrolled in an educational institution. Some other women extended their stay in Australia by obtaining a second WHM visa or having a series of temporary visas.

For most of the women interviewed with WHM visas there seems to have been no barriers to their coming into and working in Australia legally. With relatively easy visa processing arrangements in Australia allowing electronic lodgement of WH visa applications, most of the women interviewed found it easy to arrange their entry to Australia by themselves. However, situations seemed different for those who were not eligible for WH visas or student visas as their migration into or working in Australia often required illegal mechanisms. A 35 year old doumi said that she had to come to work in Australia on a tourist visa as she was out of the age bracket (between 18 and 30) eligible for a WH visa. At the time of the interview, she was planning to travel to New Zealand in order to get her tourist visa reissued. Another woman, a 28 year old massage worker, also talked about some cases of Korean women she saw or heard

about who obtained WH visas by changing their names (e.g. by using a different way of spelling) or using other persons' passport (e.g. sister's).

When questioned regarding the legality of prostitution more than 52per cent observed that prostitution in Australia is a legal activity while the others either perceived it as an illegal activity (around 29per cent) or had no idea (19per cent). Interestingly, not every sex worker was well aware of the legality of the sex industry in Australia. Of the 12 women who stated that they were engaged in sex-related work in Australia (including 10 sex workers and 2 doumis), around 17per cent (two doumis) thought prostitution was an illegal activity while one massage worker had no idea. This indicates that, in working in Australia, many Korean women may be guided by work practices experienced in Korea, with little understanding of their options in Australia.

The women interviewed were also questioned on the type of premises in which they worked. Just over 52per cent worked in the entertainment industry with 9 women working at noraebangs and 2 at room salons. The remaining 48per cent worked in the sex industry with 5 working at massage parlours and another 5 at brothels. In 80per cent of these cases, their involvement in sex work in Australia was the continuation of their former occupation in Korea. However, many women did not adhere to one type of workplace but moved around different types of workplaces (although usually within the same industry). For example doumi workers often moved from a room salon to a noraebang or vice versa while sex workers moved about from a massage parlour to a brothel. Of the 21, three women (one room salon worker and two noraebang workers) said that they were involved in doumi work for a relatively short period of their stay in Australia and were out of the industry at the time of the interview.

All of the women reported that they met their customers at a fixed place (usually at their workplaces) except for one massage worker who stated that when she worked at a Chinese room salon, she sometimes carried out escort services to a requested location (for instance where the customer had a big private party). Although not indicated in the data, two doumi workers mentioned that they occasionally met customers outside of their workplace to have sex for money as it was prohibited at their workplaces. In fact, socialising with customers outside of the workplace and working hours seemed to be a common activity for some women. This, however, varied according to the different types of business. It was strictly prohibited for noraebang doumi workers to meet customers in private, while room salon workers were often encouraged or pushed by their employer or the manager/madam to meet the customer during the day. This was because, for room salon workers, it was an important part of their duties to build a good connection with customers and secure more regular customers.

Around 52per cent of the women responded that they had been involved in jobs other than entertainment and sex work in Australia. Just over 33per cent answered that they had had no other jobs in Australia. The most common job choice was student, which was undertaken by over 29per cent of the women. Others included cleaning, sales assistant, waitress and room salon hostess. With the lack of language and other skills, jobs they could do in Australia were very limited and rarely available outside the Korean community.

None of the women signed written contracts of employment. In all cases, the employment contract was done verbally and no IOU (I owe you) was required. None of the women were under a slavery or bondage agreement. With no written contract they had to sign, most considered their verbal contracts as practical agreements which would provide them with prior knowledge, although usually vague, about their working conditions. The amount of pay, the pay system, working conditions and sometimes living arrangements were usually settled through verbal contract.

None of the women were given a basic salary except for one woman who was formerly a massage worker and now salaried as a massage parlour manager. She said she was given AUD2,000-2,500 per week for her six days of 12 hours/day shift work as manager. In most cases, women perceived and described themselves as freelancers or independent workers on the ground that they had freedom to work and quit. In terms of conditions of their employment, they were also more like freelancers or independent workers. They were given no basic salary, but a performance-based and therefore insecure income. In a few exceptional cases, however, a 29 year old brothel worker said, some newly opened brothels offered a basic salary (around

AUD300-500.00 a day) to induce more workers but it was usually only for the first one or two months of employment.

Should any of the women choose to terminate their employment, no financial punishment would be imposed. However, some women (just over 14per cent) reported that at the start of their employment they were required to put down a deposit (normally two weeks income) to secure their position, which was refundable usually with two-week notice of stopping work. This seemed to be a common practice employed especially at Korean-owned room salons and massage parlours in order for business operators to prevent workers from quitting without notice. With and without the deposit, women were often placed under great disadvantages, both financially and psychologically, as a result of their notice to quit. When receiving the notice, the employer and the madam often refused to pay back the deposit, threatened and bullied the women and restricted her opportunity to see customers (and make money). Being afraid of all these disadvantages they would face, two doumi workers said that they had to give up their deposit and quit without notice.

Of the 21 women, around 48per cent indicated that they had been involved in sex-related work back in Korea. They included all of the five 5 brothel workers, 60per cent of the 5 massage workers and 22per cent of the 9 noraebang doumis. In many case, they said, they started their career as karaoke or room salon workers, which did not always involve sexual intercourse with clients. This seemed to make the women enter the industry easily often with little perception about the nature of the work they were going to be involved in. As one put it:

Being attracted to higher hourly payment on the ad, I became involved in massage work in Korea. It first seemed OK as I was advised that no sexual intercourse with customers was required. But things were different in reality. Some customers tried to have sex by force (T, 23, massage worker).

In this study, noraebangs and room salons workers were more likely than massage parlour and brothel workers to work in Korean-owned and operated establishments. In all 11 cases of noraebang and room salon workers, the owners and organisers of the business were Korean. In sex-related businesses, including massage parlours and brothels, only 30per cent of the owners were Korean while the remaining 70per cent included other nationalities (60per cent Chinese and 10per cent Anglo-Saxon). Some 80per cent of brothel workers, in particular, were working in non-Korean establishments. Business owners and managers (or madams) were usually of the same nationality. Chinese or Australian agencies did not usually have Korea-speaking staff members. In this study, only 14per cent (1 out of 7) of non-Korean-owned businesses had a Korean-speaking manager. This implies difficulties in communication in the workplace for these women, most of whom had little command of English.

Particularly notable was that the women usually started working at Korean-owned premises and then moved to non-Korean-owned (mostly Chinese) agencies for better income and/or better working conditions often because of abuse and control by the employer and staff in Korean-owned businesses.

None of the women suggested evidence that their migration to and employment in Australia had a link with a criminal network. No information was available to show the involvement of organised crimes including false documentation, drugs or money laundering within their industry. According to limited information collected, organisers of the importation of Korean sex workers into Australia usually included owners and managers (or madams) of the business in Australia, who were also engaged in training the women, accommodating them and/or taking them to and from the airport and work. One anonymous informant from a Korean community newspaper, during the interview for this study, suggested that most people involved in trafficking Korean women into the Australian sex industry engaged in other normal economic activities rather than conventional or traditional organised crime activities.

However, considering that there are people regularly and efficiently recruiting women from Korea and bringing them to Australia, placing them in a business and moving them between states (major cities like Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide), it is speculated that there may be organised crime involved. Various media reports also suggest that the recruitment of sex workers from Korea to Australia involves organised criminal activities such as false documentation and money laundering. Some women interviewed also mentioned that many of

the Korean business owners were involved in money transferring businesses. They said that these business owners helped the women remit money to family in Korea for which they charged a high fee. In some cases, a 28 year old massage worker said, the money was seized by a wicked employer. She said: "my friend was stolen AUD6,000.00 by the owner. But, because he was connected with gangsters, we didn't dare to fight against him". In fact, there were a number of women in this study who suspected Korean and other ethnic (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese, and Middle East Asian) gangsters to be involved in the industry (see the table below). Many indicated that they saw gangster-looking men who often hung around the premises where they worked although most of them did not experience direct violence by gang members. However, some women, including two doumi workers and one massage worker, stated that, being accused of encouraging other workers to quit, they had been threatened by gang members (Korean) or by the business manager (Korean) who was accompanied by gang members.

Most women interviewed worked relatively long hours with the average of 8.7 hours a day. Due to the nature of the business, they tended to work more during the weekend than they did on weekdays. Working hours were in general different, depending on the individuals and the different businesses. Some worked on a part-time or casual basis (e.g. one or two days a week, weekends only) and were engaged in other activities like study. Others worked full-time (6 days a week), often involving 12-hour shift work (in the case of massage and brothel workers) or 7-8 hours of night work (in the case of noraebang and room salon workers). Through pre-employment negotiation with the owner, many women said that they were able to choose when, for how long, and for what amount or kind of payment they worked. Longer working hours, however, were not necessarily reflected in their income as they were paid not by the time they were present on the premises but by the time they spent with customers.

In general, sex workers were more likely than doumi workers to have relative freedom in deciding their working days and hours. For doumi workers, working hours tended to be set depending on the business hours preferred by the business owner. Doumi workers usually started their work between 19:00 and 20:00 with the opening of the business and finished between 02:00 and 04:00 at the close of business. One doumi worker explained that they were initially told to finish whenever they wanted to, but were effectively forced to remain working for a longer period of time. She said;

You have to stay on premise until close of business, which is normally three or four o'clock in the morning as free transport is available only at that time. Otherwise you have to take a taxi at your expense. And he prefers girls working at least six days a week. If you try to choose working days and hours at your own convenience, he won't let you continue to work. That how I got fired (E, 28, former noraebang doumi).

In the case of brothels and massage parlours, which often operated 24 hours a day, women were usually supposed to work on a two-shift (day/night) basis. They, however, were free to work as many or as few days as they wanted although brothel workers in general appeared to have more freedom in deciding working hours than massage workers. In the most unconstrained case, a 28 year old woman working at a Chinese brothel said that she had been allowed by the owner to adjust her schedule at her convenience. She said,

They [working hours] all depend on my pulse on the day. I can work whatever hours I want at a moment's notice. The other day I came back home in just one hour since I felt unpleasant that day. The owner doesn't say anything (H, 28, brothel worker).

However, most other brothel worker interviewees were working 6 days a week, doing 12 hour shifts as sex work was usually their principal career.

Based on the 21 women, the average time off was 9.4 days out of four weeks. Exactly which days off they took was different for different women depending on whether they chose to work full-time, part-time or casually. With no doubt, part-time or casual workers had more days off than full-time workers. In addition, brothel and massage workers tended to have more days off than noraebang and room salon workers. Some brothel workers worked only one day a week while some noraebang workers had only two-to-three days off a month. Brothel workers seemed to have more freedom to take sick days than others. Noraebang and room salon workers often said that they were not allowed to have a sick day on their own. One doumi worker said: "One day I was very sick and I called the owner to ask for a day off. But he told me

to show up no matter what" (O, 24, doumi). Massage workers also had difficulties in having a sick day as the business usually operated 24 hours a day with 12-hour shifts, which allowed little room for time flexibility.

During working hours women were often restricted (but not necessarily by force) in their movement often because they were supposed to be on call for any possible clients or because coming and going (of not only workers but also customers) was always monitored at the entrance. Of the 21 women, 33 per cent indicated that they found it difficult to go out during breaks. Whenever they wanted to go out, for example to buy something or get something to eat, many said that there was always a receptionist or a manager who would do that for them. In some cases, women did not want to go out during breaks. This was particularly true for those who were supposed to wear a costume while working (e.g. room salon workers, massage workers and brothel workers). If they went out without notice, some said, they normally received a verbal warning.

For Doumi workers, working in noraebangs or room salons, customers were usually Korean men based in Sydney. These businesses were all Korean owned and operated and advertised in Korean community newspapers and magazines. Noraebangs, in particular, were located usually within or near the Korean community and had many Korean customers walking in off the streets. In contrast, sex workers, who worked at either massage parlours or brothels, had a more diverse group of customers including Australian, Europeans, Chinese, Vietnamese, Middle-Eastern as well as Koreans. These businesses are more typically advertised in English language local newspapers and magazines.

The number of clients the women saw a day varied greatly according to the type of work, working date, working hours, commitment, willingness, and/or popularity of an individual worker or a business establishment. For instance, one hardworking sex worker was seeing up to 10 clients during her 12-14 hours on duty while a casual sex worker met only three to four clients in her 6 hours of working. For noraebang and room salon doumi workers, the number of clients they saw a day was relatively small in relation to their total working hours. The number of clients, however, did not really matter to them as the customers usually came in a group and the doumis were paid by the hour they spent with a group of customers. A 25-year-old room salon doumi served up to five tables on a busy Saturday night while she was only able to attend one table on another day. The women basically saw any client selecting them. For most of them, refusing customers was not really an easy option, as they were desperately in need of money or often feared verbal abuse by the employer. Their financial circumstance often gave them little motivation to refuse a client. In general, sex workers saw more customers than did doumi workers. Of the 21 women interviewed, 10 sex worker interviewees were seeing, on average, 6 customers a day while noraebang and room salon doumis usually attended 2-3 rooms a day. A single job normally involved either 30 minutes or one hour of sexual services for a client for massage and brothel workers, while it meant three-to-five hours of hostessing (no sex) a group of clients for noraebang and room salon doumis. In two exceptional cases (one noraebang doumi and one room salon doumi), doumi workers were occasionally (e.g. once a day or once a month) involved in sex with customers. For massage workers, sex with a client was optional. The deal was reached normally at the reception and the worker, according to the deal reached, provided either massage only or massage plus sex.

In most cases, the women found it difficult to provide accurate information about the number of co-workers in their workplace. This was because many workers were working on a part-time or casual basis and had little contact with other workers outside of their own working hours. The number of women workers in the workplace was different with different agencies. In general, massage parlours, for their 24 hour operation, had the most women workers compared to other business types. On average, massage parlours had 25 workers while others had 10-12 workers. These numbers often included all the full-time, part-time and casual workers. The number of doumi workers of noraebangs and room salons establishments shown in the table below, however, did not indicate the number of co-workers engaged in sex-related services but included those involved in entertaining services. All the doumi women claimed that, unlike in Korea, doumis were not allowed by the employers to have what they called "second round (going out to have sex with a customer)" in Australia.

In Korean-owned businesses (including all the noraebang and room salon establishments), the working women were usually Koreans. Occasionally there would be a small number of other ethnicities (mostly Japanese and Chinese). When the business owner was of another nationality, the working women tended to be from a more diverse group including a small number (2-3) of Korean women. In the case of noraebang and room salon establishments, workers only included those engaged in entertaining services.

Most women made good money from their work as doumis or sex workers. Very few of these women had other sources of income. Basically, the more clients they saw the more income they could earn. However, the amount of money they earned greatly varied according to the types of work they did. In general, sex workers earned more money than doumi workers did as their work was very different in nature and the hourly pay was accordingly varied. Including the contribution of tips⁸, the average income of all the women interviewed was over AUD5,000 per month (4 weeks), with a mean of about AUD3,000 for women working in a noraebang, AUD3,500 for room salon workers, AUD6,525 for massage workers and AUD9,100 for brothel workers. The highest monthly income reported was AUD10,000 (by a full-time brothel worker) while the lowest was AUD1,600 (by a casual massage worker).

The women were usually paid by the hour they spent with a customer, which was the industry standard. It was brothel workers who earned the highest hourly rate. A noraebang doumi had to do a full one hour hostessing for AUD40-45.00 while a room salon doumi was paid AUD55-60.00. The money they earned was the tip the customers were required to pay extra apart from drinks. A massage parlour-based worker earned AUD30-80.00 for a one-hour massage (depending on whether sex was involved or not) while a brothel-based worker received AUD100-105.00 for one hour of sex. For massage and brothel workers, the money they earned was a portion of the fee paid by each customer, which was split, usually from 50:50 up to 65/35 favouring the worker, between the business owner and the sex worker. Some sex workers were able to achieve relative prosperity in a short period of time. A 28 year old massage worker said a very hard-working massage worker could earn up to AUD20,000 for a two-week roster if she travelled to work in other states. Another woman, 29-year-old brothel worker, said that she was able to save around AUD100,000 after a year of working in the Australian sex industry. Doumis, on the contrary, could not always be certain about how much they would earn. One doumi said: "It's hard to tell. Sometimes, for instance if I get to see more clients, I earn more. But sometimes I earn much less. It depends on each day" (L, 26, Noraebang doumi). She also talked about the competition for clients amongst women. "You have to be chosen by the client. Popular girls always earn more than others. Sometimes the difference in income becomes really huge" (L, 26, Noraebang doumi).

For this reason, individual financial circumstances varied greatly and so was the way they spent their money. Some said that the money they earned only could cover daily living costs while others were able to earn enough money to support their own study, to take home or to spend lavishly on buying goods and travelling. However they spent it, money was a great deal of the reason why they entered and remained in their work. As one put it;

This job can let you earn big money not easily but very quickly. Once, I could earn \$700 for two-hour work. But saving is not easy. As you can make money quickly, you get to spend it quickly too. It's because you know you can make \$1,000 in the next few days (C, 25, former room salon worker).

Daily payment was the most common type of wage payment. Of the 21 women, just over 76 per cent indicated that they were paid on the same day they worked. As the business flourished and became more competitive, agencies often competed with each other to offer the workers the best possible working conditions especially in terms of payment. Most women preferred to be paid on a daily basis as they frequently changed work locations. Daily payment was the most common type of wage payment for noraebang workers and brothel workers while room salon workers and massage workers were often paid on a weekly or monthly basis. In a few other cases, however, some women indicated that the payment was not necessarily made on the same day as promised. One explained:

⁸ Many workers received tips usually around AUD5.00 to 10.00 per service. Massage workers received the most tips, which was around AUD20.00-50.00. A 29-year-old brothel worker said that she earned AUD4-500 a month from tips.

Some employers often postpone daily payment with an excuse that they don't have cash on that day. They often say, 'because your customers have paid with credit card, you have to wait until the credit card company pays me'. This makes you continue to work even though you're not on any work contract (L, 26, former noraebang worker).

The 21 women in this study had on average been employed by four different workplaces in Australia. In general, sex workers made more workplace changes than did doumis, which may reflect their broader choice in workplaces. Many doumi workers said that the number of Korean-owned noraebang and room salon businesses where they could choose to work was still very limited in Sydney.

Women frequently moved between premises seeking better incomes and/or better working conditions. Many obtained job information through ads and word-of-mouth from friends and colleagues. In comparison to doumi workers, sex workers were even more highly mobile as they often moved between states. Many sex workers in this study, especially those engaged in massage work, had once or twice (or more times) done sex work on a short-term (usually two-week) roster in other cities in Australia. This was how one 29-year-old massage worker said she had worked at 14-15 different work locations during her 18 months stay in Australia.

Frequent movement of work locations was in fact one WH visa condition, which permitted visa holders to work with any one employer for no more than six months. The following comments by a 29-year-old sex worker, however, indicated that this condition could be of some assistance to some business owners;

They actually prefer short-term or casual employment as it meant more new workers and therefore higher turnover for them. Top selling establishments wouldn't let you work as many days as you want as they want to have more variety to their workers. Then you'll have to work at different locations on different days during the week (M, 29, Brothel worker).

The women moved between agencies for a range of reasons with 'low income' the most common cited reason. Employers and brokers usually overstated the amount of money that could be earned from the work and many women found their actual income to be much lower than that. One doumi worker explained: "the broker in Korea told me that it was a top selling room salon. But it had no customers. I couldn't make money there (O, 24, noraebang doumi)". Another said: "By moving to a new location, you can become a "new face", which can mean more money (S, 25, noraebang doumi)".

Frequent movement was also closely related to exploitative and controlling practices at the workplace. Many talked about having no freedom and/or abusive treatment (especially verbal abuse) by the owner (see question D-15 and D-16 for more explanation).

Hard work was also one of the common reasons for movement. Many women found the work they did demanding both physically and mentally. Massage workers frequently talked about the hardship of physical labour in performing massage techniques. Besides, they were often pressed by the burden of generating more regular customers as they otherwise were verbally abused by the employer. For this reason, one brothel worker said, massage workers often moved into a brothel. Noraebang and room salon workers referred to the use of alcohol as one of difficulties they experienced relating to their work. Drinking was an important part of their work. They were saddled with the burden of constantly drinking large amounts of alcohol and encouraging their customers to spend more and more money on buying drinks. One said:

It is physically hard. You have to drink a big bowl of "poktanju (boilermaker)" over and over again. If you don't drink it, you're removed from the room by the customers (C, 24, former room salon doumi).

Trouble with co-workers was also another reason as one maintained: "there are always little fights and jealousy between women (S, 25, noraebang doumi)".

In this study no women seemed to have been treated in the exploitative and abusive way, physically or sexually, as trafficking victims usually were. Violence did not seem to be a major concern for these women. No women reported incidences of physical violence or sexual assault by the employer or any other business organisers. However, there was one doumi worker who revealed her direct experience of all the death threats, the use of weapons and drugs, and verbal threats related to her work. The following narrative detailed her experience;

I was once employed as a “madam” at a newly opened room salon in Sydney. I was offered a fixed monthly wage by the Korean owner of the business. I worked hard recruiting doumis, putting ads on the internet and cleaning up the premise as they were all parts of my duties as madam. The business, however, did not go well but had difficulties in pulling customers. As the business was finally closed after a couple of months, the owner began to put all the blames on me. He then demanded to give back what he paid me. As I refused, he became very violent and began to threaten me. He frequently called my mobile phone and came to my place and the new workplace. He sometimes brought a small knife with him and threatened me with death. Although it made me feel upset and victimized, Not knowing what to do, I could not help but gave him back some of the money [around AUD1,000.00] (K, 24, noraebang doumi).

Although she claimed that it did not make her worry about her safety and there was no actual physical abuse, she showed the extreme feeling of aversion to her former employer.

Some other women also provided a few anecdotal stories, which suggested some level of violence and coercion (although not by the employers, managers or madams) existing within their workplaces. A 28 year old brothel worker, for instance, indicated that she witnessed physical violence by the employer. She said;

My friend was beaten by him [the employer]. I got extremely angry with him but I couldn't do anything. I was afraid of disadvantages that would be given to me as a result of my action. I know sex work is legal in Australia and I have done nothing wrong but I still feel reluctant to approach law enforcement agencies to report what I witnessed (H, 28, brothel worker).

In another case, a 25 year old room salon doumi said that she once experienced physical violence by a drunken customer, although she was saved by her manager just before she got seriously hurt. Another, 24 year old noraebang doumi, also spoke about one of her work colleagues, who was badly beaten by her customer in a noraebang room. In this case, she said, the customer threatened the noraebang owner to call the police and walked away with no trouble. Seeing from these stories, security measures that these women could rely on were rarely available. The women only could rely on the protection of the owner or manager who was normally present nearby in their workplace. Considering that they were usually left alone with drunken customers, it was more likely to be doumi workers than sex workers that were greatly exposed to potential abuse and violence.

In Australia, Korean noraebangs and room salons are operated completely in the shadows. The existence of noraebang and room salon doumi workers has not been really recognised and therefore their legal and social rights have not been discussed or guaranteed. In this study, the hidden and informal nature of the work they did and their disadvantageous statuses (commonly as a visitor, being young, female, and having little English and limited information and funding), often by forcing these workers underground and reliant, seemed to increase the vulnerability of doumi workers to abuse and control of the employer. Whether they became a victim of abusive and deceptive management practices or not seemed to depend on whether they met ‘good’ or ‘bad’ operators. Meeting bad ones was regarded bad luck and they just walked across town and got another job.

In many cases (usually when working at Korean owned or operated businesses), women were vulnerable to verbal abuse and control of the owners, managers, and/or madams. Of all 21 interviewed women, over 42per cent stated that they had been verbally abused (38per cent) and/or imposed a fine (29per cent). One said:

At the room salon where I worked, if a customer makes any complain about me, the manager always swore at me. I was also severely cursed and scolded by him for being late or being absent from work (O, 24, noraebang doumi).

Verbal abuse and imposition of a fine were more common to doumi workers than to sex workers. Forty six per cent of doumis reported that they had been verbally abused and/or imposed a fine while 30per cent of sex workers did so. Decriminalisation of sex work in Australia might have provided an environment where sex workers can be more fairly treated especially by the employers.

Many women were effectively controlled by the employers not necessarily through physical and sexual violence but by the use of subtle techniques. For instance, they were often bound by a large set of house rules related to being late, being absent and working hours. Of all 21 interviewed women, over 67per cent stated that they received either warning (24per cent) or a

penalty (43per cent) for being late for work. In addition, over 71per cent stated that they received warning (29per cent), a penalty (38per cent) or no day-off (5per cent) for being absent. In a massage parlour, for example, one explained; "If you're one hour late, the penalty is \$10.00. For two hours late, it's \$15.00 and, for three hours late, it becomes \$20.00" (T, 23, massage worker). In a room salon, another said; "the penalty is \$50 for being late and \$200 for not showing up" (O, 25, doumi). Fines were deducted from the payment at employers' convenience. Although not fully reflected in the tables below, many women agreed that room salon works and massage workers were more likely than noraebang doumis and brothel workers to be under the strict control of the employer.

Punishment for getting drunk at work was not extensive for noraebang and room salon workers, as drinking was a part of their job. Over 24per cent stated that they only received warning (more like preaching) for getting drunk. In addition, no women reported that they received any punishment for going out during working hours. However, many women, during the interview, said that the owners and managers did not like them to go out even briefly during working hours. One brothel worker said: "when I needed something to buy or eat, there is always either the receptionist or the manager who would go out instead of me" (N, 27, brothel worker). Another said: "Going out during the working hour was not really easy. The entrance was always monitored by a security camera and even the customers were not allowed without checking" (C, 25, former room salon).

All 21 women said that they were able to quit their work at any time and on their own. Most women said that it usually required no punishment but only two week's notice. Only a small number of women received either warning (5per cent) or penalty (5per cent) for quitting before the verbally agreed period to work was over. One woman explained: "It usually depends on whether the business requires a job security deposit or not. It is because it can get seized by the employer as a penalty" (K, 29, massage worker).

According to the information collected during the interview, room salons and massage parlours were more likely than noraebangs and brothels to have strict house rules about working hours and making a deposit. More significant about women's experience of house rules, however, was that it was typically observable in Korean-own premises often regardless of the business type. Many women talked about exploitative and deceptive work practices they experienced whilst working in Korean-owned businesses. Exploitative and deceptive work practices commonly mentioned included issues like being forced to make or give up a deposit, not getting paid at all or on time, being fined for being late or absent, not being allowed to leave the premises or not being able to choose clients. Confronted with these, many women felt that they were purposely deceived but could not do anything. One said:

When employed, I wasn't given any information about the house rules like penalties and making a deposit. As I protested later, the owner insisted that it was the ABC to anyone in the industry (O, 24, former room salon doumi and current noraebang doumi).

With no detailed contract between the employer and the workers, women were not fully aware of working conditions in detail and some house rules were often subject to changes at employers' convenience. Especially when giving notice to quit, variable house rules regarding penalty and deposit often most adversely affected the women. There were usually some consequences, visible or invisible, they had to suffer when they tried to quit.

A common management practice, especially in Korean-own room salons and massage parlours, included collecting a security deposit which workers were meant to reclaim when they finished working. The amount they had to make a deposit was usually a two-week's income or more. In practice, the deposit was used to try and control workers' behaviour, for example deducting from the deposit a penalty for turning up late, not turning up for work or quitting a job with a short notice. One worker explained:

When I started to work at a room salon, the owner wouldn't pay me on a regular basis but instead kept a record of my payment in a book promising a lump sum payment later. He said it would help me save money but, in fact, it was for him to stop the workers from quitting on their own. I was able to get some payment, about \$200.00 at a time, only when I lied to him that I needed urgent money, say, to pay rent or to pay a bill. Then I gave him two weeks notice to quit. Then he began to claim various fines and deduct them from my unpaid wages. For instance, he charged me \$50.00 for turning up for work five minutes late and \$100.00 for not answering his call to my mobile. Fines were applied all at his discretion.

I knew that he would do anything to turn down my claim for the deposit and unpaid wages. He wouldn't let me see any customers but take my money after all by making something out of nothing. That's what he does. To get out of his control as soon as possible, I just gave up my money but had to grin and bear it (O, 24, doumi).

There were some tougher women who could stand up to the employer in relation to such exploitative and deceptive work practices. One massage worker said:

As I gave him a notice to quit, there were a few women who followed me. Then the employer told me to come and see him. Before I went to see him, I told my colleagues to call the police if I did not come back in safe. During the meeting there was a Chinese gang standing next to him. He accused me of instigating other workers to quit, which I denied. I kept telling myself to remain calm and strong. At the end of the meeting, I was able to get my deposit back (K, 29, Massage worker).

Most women mentioned that employers were often offended by a worker's notice to quit, assuming that she might try to move to another agency. Although a small number, some said that they were actually threatened by their former employer, who said: "never try to come back to Australia" or "when spotted by me again in Sydney, you'll be dead". They also heard that some employers even escorted the worker to the airport to make sure that she returned to Korea not working in other agencies. An recent media report about three Korean women, as seen earlier, who were arrested at the Korean international airport for doing sex work whilst in Australia, advocates suspicion that there might be somebody behind this case, who, possibly as an act of retaliation, informed the police about these women and the work they did. It might be the former employer, staff member or one of colleagues who knew about the work they did in Australia. Interviews with some women in this study to some extent confirmed this suspicion.

Facing abuse, exploitation and deception, these women hardly made police reports or sought external assistance partly because they thought their work was illegal (particularly doumi workers) and partly because they perceived unfair treatment they received as unexceptional practices within the industry. Revealing her experience of verbal abuse and threat by the former employer, one doumi worker simply said: "these people [room salon owners] are all like that" (T, 24, doumi). Most women did not have an awareness of their rights as workers and did little to insist on them. They did not have information about the normal routes for addressing bad working conditions. Besides, again due to the illegal nature of their work, they were often ineligible for the legal protections that were available to other vulnerable workers in Australia. There seemed to be not many things that they could do to fight against exploitative and abusive working conditions and employers but keep changing workplaces until they met the better workplace and employer.

Of 21 women, 48per cent found their working conditions or life to be either worse (38per cent) or much worse (10per cent) than what they expected or heard. The remaining 52per cent found them either much better (5per cent), better (24per cent) or the same as expected (24per cent). In general, sex workers were more likely than doumi workers to perceive their working conditions or life in Australia to be much better or better than expected.

Many mentioned that prices were higher than anticipated. Some said that they initially came to Australia to attend a language course but found it hard to afford it. Others said that they wanted to experience a new environment but found themselves isolated within the Korean community. Working conditions were also often seen as bad in comparison with those promised on job advertisements or by the business owners. To attract more women (or "better" women), advertisements for doumis or sex workers, showing nice pictures of an apartment with a pool in Sydney, often exaggerated or misled about the working and living conditions in Australia. The business owners usually overstated the amount of money that could be earned from the work. One woman explained that: "it is usually overstated by 150-200per cent" (K, 29, massage worker). Many women found actual working conditions to be different from those which they expected but they were verbally but effectively forced to submit to them (often due to lack of information, social network, language, funds, etc). As examined later, over half the women in this study felt that they were deceived in relation to the conditions under which they were going to work and live in Sydney. This might have influenced the way in which the women experienced their work.

Unfavourable working conditions mentioned by the women included being forced to make a deposit (especially in room salons and massage parlours), not being able to choose working

hours (noraebangs, room salons and massage parlours), shift work (massage parlours), not being able to refuse clients, and/or not being allowed to leave the premises during working hours. They were more commonly mentioned by room salon workers and massage workers than noraebang and brothel workers. For this reason, more women tended to move from room salons to noraebangs or from massage parlours to brothels.

In contrast, favourable working conditions mentioned by the women included higher hourly rates than in Korea (noraebangs), no burden of drinking (massage parlours and brothels) and flexibility in working hours (brothels). One woman explained;

Actually I used to earn more back in Korea [where she worked at a room salon]. But there were so many different things I had to be concerned about, like relationships with customers or madams. There was always pressure from the employer and the madam to increase sale. And you were supposed to spend a lot of money on your clothes and make-up. Customers judged you by the brand name of the clothes you were in. In comparison, the work is relatively easier here in Australia. It may be because the industry is still small. And the customers are little nicer too (S, 25, noraebang doumi).

Of the 21 women interviewed, 19 per cent (4 doumis) replied that they had not been paid by the employer. Some were not paid accumulated unpaid wages and others were not given back the job security deposit. Commonly found from their cases of unpaid wages was that they all occurred when they worked at room salons and when they gave notice to quit the job. In these cases, the employer would not pay the women on a daily or weekly basis often to prevent a short notice to quit but instead kept the record of the number of services the women provided in a book and paid after a good while. In a few cases, by imposing fines and deducting them from the unpaid payment at their discretion, employers often seized the unpaid payment in the end. One said: "At my claim for my unpaid income of AUD1,000 he [the employer] said I had accumulated fines of AUD2,000" (W, 24, doumi worker).

Conclusion

This research has examined recent patterns of migration of Korean women into Australia and their experience of working in the Australian entertainment and sex industry. It has focused on examining working conditions of these women. Through findings drawn from survey questionnaires, open-ended one-on-one interviews and secondary data, the findings can generate not only greater understanding of the difficulties and problems that Korean entertainment and sex workers experience in Australia but can inform how Australian and Korean policy makers and community service organisations can best design and target services to support them.

In this study, all of the Korean women interviewed said that they decided to enter into the Australian entertainment and/or sex industry of their own free will. However, most also said that they were at times deceived, extorted or abused. This was particularly the case among doumi workers. Even though it was not directly 'sex work', their work would have a sexual aspect but to outsiders including authorities this was little known with operators implying that women employees were only expected to provide routine waitress style services. Being invisible in the Australia labour market and operating outside existing legal structures, doumi workers were more likely than sex workers to be subject to exploitation and poor working conditions.

For people outside the industry, Korean women in this study may be judged in as at best opportunistic but at worst morally questionable. Even when they get to learn about the plight of these women, many people may still blame the women themselves for "choosing" to put themselves in such a situation. But "choice" must be placed in context. These women might have made such decisions in extraordinarily difficult circumstances, only be face with choices between undesirable options. As a society we should stay focussed on how best we can protect these women from abuse and exploitation and ensure their basic human rights and welfare.

Bibliography

ABC news (2006). Korean welders they have been misled, TV program transcript, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2006/s1642109.htm>

- ABC News (2007). Brothel to list on stock exchange, Transcript, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/am/stories/s756792.htm>
- ABC News (2007a). Govt taking poor approach to human trafficking: report, [Online], Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/10/02/2048326.htm?section=justin>
- ABC News (2007b). Death prompt calls for 457 visa inquiry, [Online], Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/08/28/2018015.htm>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001). 3412.0 Migration Australia, Available from: [http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/942E4F87725A092ECA256A0F0083BC06/\\$File/34120_1999-2000.pdf](http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/942E4F87725A092ECA256A0F0083BC06/$File/34120_1999-2000.pdf)
- Agustin, L. (2005). Migrants in the mistress's house: other voices in the 'trafficking' debates, *Social Politics*, 12 (1): 96-117
- Australian Crime Commission (2004). Annual Report 2003-2004, Online, Available from: http://www.crimecommission.gov.au/html/pg_annual_rep_04.html
- Australian Crime Commission (2005). To examine Australian Crime Commission's report to trafficking in women for sexual servitude, Submission to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission, Available from: http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/acc_ctte/completed_inquiries/2002-04/sexual_servitude/round_table/acccsub.pdf
- Australian Crime Commission (2006). Annual Report 2005-2006, Online, Available from: http://www.crimecommission.gov.au/content/publications/annual_reports/2006/ACC_Annual_Report_2005-06.pdf
- Australian Federal Police (2005). Media release, [Online], Available from: http://www.afp.gov.au/data/assets/pdf_file/1990/mr03122004asperity.pdf
- Australian Federal Police (2006). Australian Federal Police Annual Report 2005-06 Chapter 2 Performance Reporting, [Online], Available from: http://www.afp.gov.au/data/assets/pdf_file/24494/2.0_Performance.pdf
- Australian Government Attorney-General's Department (2004). Australian Government's Action Plan to Eradicate Trafficking in Persons, [Online], Available from: <http://www.ag.gov.au>
- Australian National Audit Office (2006). Visa management: working holiday makers, Audit report No 7 2006-2007 performance audit, [Online], Available from: http://www.anao.gov.au/uploads/documents/2006-07_Audit_Report_72.pdf
- Bae, S H and Song, J H (2006). Youth unemployment and the role of career and technical education: a study of the Korean labor market, *Career and Technical Education Research*, 31(1), [Online], Available from: <http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/CTER/v31n1/pdf/bae.pdf>
- Banach, L. (1999). Unjust and counter-productive: the failure of governments to protect sex workers from discrimination, Scarlet Alliance and Australian Federation of AIDS Organisation, [On-line], Available from: http://www.afao.org.au/library_docs/policy/unjust.pdf
- Banach, L and Metzenrath, S (2000). Principles for model sex industry legislation, [Online], Available from: http://www.afao.org.au/library_docs/policy/sex_law.pdf
- Beasley, M, Thomson, T and Davidson, J (2003). Resilience in response to life stress: the effect of coping style and cognitive hardness, *Personality and Individual Differences*, 34(1): 77-95
- Brockett, L and Murray, A (1994). "Thai sex workers in Sydney", in Perkins, R., Prestage, G., Sharp, R. and Lovejoy, F. (Eds), *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney: 191-202
- Bruckert, C and Parent, C (2002). Trafficking In Human Beings and Organized Crime: A Literature Review
- Burn, J and Simmons, F (2005). Rewarding witnesses, ignoring victims: an evaluation of the new trafficking visa framework, *Immigration Review*, 24: 387.
- Carrington, K and Hearn, J (2003). Trafficking and the sex industry: from impunity to protection, Current Issues Brief, no 28, [Online], Available from: <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/CIB/2002-03/03cib28.htm>
- Catholic Women's League Australia Inc (2003). Submission for Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission: inquiry into trafficking in women for sexual servitude, [On-line], Available from: www.aph.gov.au/SENATE/committee/acc_ctte/completed_inquiries/2002-04/sexual_servitude/submissions/sub20.doc

- Chew, Lin (1999). Global Trafficking in Women: Some Issues and Strategies. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 1 and 2: 11-17.
- Clennell, A (1999). "Brothel boom: the Asia connection", *Sydney Morning Herald*, [Online], Available from: <http://www.friends-partners.org/lists/stop-traffic/1999/0370.html>
- Daily telegraph (13 December 2006). Three charged with sex slavery, [Online], Available from: <http://www.news.com.au/dailytelegraph/story/0,22049,20921131-5001028,00.html>
- David, F (2007) Law enforcement responses to trafficking in persons: challenges and emerging good practice, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No 347, [Online], Available from: <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi2/tandi347.pdf>
- Decriminalize Prostitution Now Coalition (2007). Queensland Australia prostitution law-proposed brothel changes, [on-line], Available from: <http://www.sexwork.com/coalition/queenslandbrothels.html>
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2003a). Inquiry onto trafficking in women for sexual servitude, Submission for Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission, [On-line], Available from: http://www.aph.gov.au/SENATE/committee/acc_cte/completed_inquiries/2002-04/sexual_servitude/submissions/sub36.pdf
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2003). Sex slavery cases referred APF, [On-line], Available from: http://www.immi.gov.au/media/letters/letters03/smh_201003.htm
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2005). Managing the boarder: Immigration compliance, [Online], Available from: <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/compliance/managing-the-border/pdf/mtb-complete.pdf>
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2005b). Media centre: Sex workers, [Online], Available from: <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/letters/letters05/le05037.htm>
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007). Report on Performance, [Online], Available from: http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/2006-07/html/outcome1/output1_3.htm
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship (07/03/2008). Sex trafficking syndicate smashed, [Online], Available from: <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/media-releases/2008/d08014.htm>
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2008). Visitor visa statistics, [Online], Available from: <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/statistics/study/tempentstat.htm>
- Derks, A (2000). *Combating Trafficking in South Asia. A Review of Policy and Programme Responses*. Genève, Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations. 2000. <http://www.iom.int>
- Dijck, M (2006). Trafficking in Human Beings: A literature survey, Project report, Tilburg University.
- Doezema, J (2000). Loose women or lost women? The re-emergence of the myth of white slavery in contemporary discourses of trafficking in women, *Gender Issues*, winter, 18(1): 23-50
- Dunne, V (2005). Australian brothels and sexual slavery, On Line opinion-Australia's e-journal of social and political debate, Available from: <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/print.asp?article=188>
- Fergus, L (2005). Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation, Briefing, No 5, Australian Institute of Family Studies, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.aifs.gov.au/acssa/pubs/briefing/b5.html>
- Fifield, A (17/01/2008). Young Koreans set great store by secure jobs, *Financial Times*, [Online], Available from: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5e64f47a-c49e-11dc-a474-0000779fd2ac.html?nclick_check=1
- Ford, M (2001). Sex Slaves and Legal Loopholes: Exploring the Legal Framework and Federal Responses to the trafficking of Thai 'Contract Girls' for sexual Exploitation to Melbourne Australia, Victoria University on behalf of Project Respect, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.projectrespect.org.au/resources/sexslaves.pdf>
- Frances, R (1994). The history of female prostitution in Australia, in Perkins, R., Prestage, G., Sharp, R. and Lovejoy, F. (eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 27-52.

- Frances, R (2003). Australia's trade in sex: a history, Available from: <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/09/16/1063625035891.html>
- Fergus, L (2005). Trafficking in women for sexual exploitation, *Briefing*, No 5, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.
- Gallin, D (2003). Note on the international sex workers' movement, Global Labour Institute, [Online], Available from: http://www.global-labour.org/sex_workers.htm
- Han, P (2007). Sex worker visa ban 'ups slave risk', ninemsn, [Online], Available from: <http://news.ninemsn.com.au/article.aspx?id=327243> [05/12/07]
- Harcourt, C, McNulty, A, Holden, J, Moylan, M and Donovan, B (2006). Sustained health promotion success for migrant sex workers in Sydney, *International Journal of STD and AIDS*, Vol. 17, No 12, December, pp. 857-858(2)
- Hojuonline (2005). Korean women detected working illegally in the Australian sex industry, [Online], Available from: <http://www.hojuonline.net/detail.php?seq=2948&andc1=andc2=andc3=andfindstr=호주에서per cent20불법으로per cent20성매매andscale=20andpage=1>
- Humantrafficking.org (2006). Australia, [Online], Available from: <http://www.humantrafficking.org/countries/australia> [20/07/07].
- Humantrafficking.org (2005). Sex slavery in Australia, [Online], Available from: <http://www.humantrafficking.org/updates/10> [20/07/07]
- IOM (2001). Trafficking in Women and Children from the Republic of Armenia: a study. Geneva. <http://www.iom.int>
- IOM (2005). Fertile Fields: Trafficking in Persons in Central Asia, Geneva. <http://www.iom.int>
- Jeffreys, S (2004). The legalisation of prostitution: a failed social experiment, [Online], Available from: http://sisyphe.org/article.php?id_article=697
- Jordan, J (2005). The sex industry in New Zealand: a literature review, The Ministry of Justice, [Online], Available from: <http://www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/2005/sex-industry-in-nz-literature-review/index.html>
- Kelly, L (2002). Journey of jeopardy: a commentary on current research on trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation within Europe, Conference paper, EU/IOM European Conference on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings.
- Kempadoo, K and Doezema, J (1998). *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*. Routledge, New York.
- Kim, S (22/05/2008). South Korea's experience in developing education, The Jakarta Post, [Online], Available from: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/05/22/south-korea039s-experience-developing-education.html>
- Kim, T and No, C (2003). Life Experiences of North Korean Refugee Women in China, Ha-U, Seoul. [in Korean]
- Korean Herald (11/03/1999). "Some 40 per cent of 'noraebang' engage in illicit business", [Online], Available from: <http://www.koreaherald.co.kr>
- Lim, T (2006) The smuggling and trafficking of Korean women to the United States: a preliminary study, working paper (unpublished), Bom-bit 2006 International symposium, Seoul.
- Maltzahn, K (2003) Stopping the traffic, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/natint/stories/s968530.htm>
- Maltzahn, K (2004) Paying for servitude: trafficking in women for prostitution, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.projectrespect.org.au/resources/paying-servitude.pdf>
- Markson, S (21/01/2007) Councils funding brothel spies, News.com.au, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.news.com.au/story/0,23599,21093530-2,00.html>
- May, M (10/08/2006). U.S. among top three destinations for sex traffickers in \$8B trade, San Francisco Chronicle, [Online], Available from: <http://www.azstarnet.com/allheadlines/150129>
- McDonald, L, Moore, B and Timoshkina, N (2000). Migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: the Canada case, [Online], Available from: http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/pubs/pubspr/0662653351/index_e.html
- Meaker, L (2002). 'A Social Response to Transnational Prostitution in Queensland, Australia' in Thorbek, S. and Pattanak, B. (Eds.), *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Global Patterns*. Zed Books, New York. 59-68
- Miller, J (2005). Prostitution in the national capital, Sexual Integrity Forum, [On-line], Available from: http://www.sif.org.au/papers- john_miller_2.html

- Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Justice and Customs (2004). Joint Media Release: Australia joins UN Convention to strengthen fight against Transnational organised crime, [Online], Available from: http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/releases/2004/joint_fight_against_crime.html
- Mitchell, A (10/12/2006). Illegal brothels flourish across Sydney, Sydney Morning Herald, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2006/12/09/1165081201712.html>
- Nett, A (1999). Australia seeking new laws for sex slavery, The Albion Monitor, [Online], Available from: <http://www.albionmonitor.com/9901b/copyright/oztrafficking.html>
- O'Brien, N and Wynhausen, E (15/05/2008). DPP to test laws in sex slavery case, The Australian, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,23700912-5006785,00.html>
- O'Connor, CC, Berry, G, Rohrsheim, R and Donovan, B (1996). Sexual health and use of condoms among local and international sex workers in Sydney, Academic Unit of Sexual Health Medicine, University of Sydney, Australia.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2007). Jobs for Youth: Korea, Press release, [On-line], Available from: http://www.oecd.org/document/22/0,3343,en_2649_33729_39807382_1_1_1_1,00.html
- Office for women (2007). Australian Government Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, Fact sheet- support for victims of people trafficking, [On-line], Available from: http://ofw.facs.gov.au/downloads/pdfs/people_trafficking_factsheet.pdf
- Office for women (2008). Australian Government Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, Trafficking of women for sexual purposes, Research and Public Policy Series-No95, [On-line], Available from: http://www.ofw.facsia.gov.au/trafficking_of_women/default.htm
- Okolski, M (2000b) *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Poland. Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe: a Review of Evidence with Case Studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine*. Frank Laczko and David Thompson (Eds.). Genève, Organisation internationale pour les migrations. 233-328. <http://www.iom.int>
- Orhant, M (1999). Brothel boom: the Asian connection, Stop Traffic, Available from: <http://www.friends-partners.org/lists/stop-traffic/1999/0370.html>
- Orhant, M (2000). Asian prostitute figures growing, agency says, Stop Traffic, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/stop-traffic/1999/1108.html>
- Oxman-Martinez, J, Martinez, A and Hanley, J (2001). Human Trafficking: Canadian Government Policy and Practice. *Refuge, Canada's Periodical on Refugees*. 19, 4: 19-23.
- Paran Media (22 October 2007). Doing sex work, learning English and marihuana to boot?, [On-line], Available from: <http://media.paran.com/sdiscuss/newsview2.php?key=surprisinganddirnews=2415565a&ndyear=2007> [in Korea]
- Payne, C (2005). Trafficking of women and children, Conference paper, Fourth Australasian women and policing conference: improving policing for women in the Asia-Pacific region, [Online], Available from: <http://www.aic.gov.au/conferences/2005-policewomen/payne.pdf>
- Parliament of New South Wales (2007). Second reading, Brothels legalisation amendment bill 2007, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/Prod/Parlment/HansArt.nsf/V3Key/LC20070628066>
- Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission (2004). Inquiry into the Trafficking of Women for Sexual Servitude, [Online], Available from: http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/acc_ctte/completed_inquiries/2002-04/sexual_servitude/report/report.pdf
- Perkins, R, Prestage, G, Sharp, R and Lovejoy, F (1994). Sex work and sex workers in Australia, New South Wales University Press, Sydney.
- Project Respect (2003). Submission for Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission, Inquiry into the Trafficking of Women for Sexual Servitude, [Online], Available from: <http://www.projectrespect.org.au/resources/submission.pdf>
- Project Respect (2004). *One Victim of Trafficking is One Too Many: Counting the Cost of Human Trafficking*, Project Respect, Collingwood.
- Project Respect (2007). About trafficking, [Online], Available from: <http://www.projectrespect.org.au/>

- Putt, J (2007). Human trafficking to Australia: a research challenge, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, no 338, [Online], Available from: <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi2/tandi338t.html>
- Quadara, A (2008). Sex workers and sexual assault in Australia Prevalence, risk and safety, Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault, Issues No 8, [Online], Available from: <http://www.aifs.gov.au/acssa/pubs/issue/i8.html>
- Raymond, JG (2003). 10 reasons for not legalizing prostitution, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women International (CATW), [On-line], Available from: http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/issues/prostitution_legalizing.html
- Salt, J (2000). Trafficking and Human Smuggling : A European Perspective. *Perspectives on Trafficking of Migrants*. Reginald Appleyard and John Salt (Eds.), Geneva: IOM and OIM, 2000. 31-56. <http://www.iom.int>
- Salt, J and Hogarth, J (2000). Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe: A Review of the Evidence. *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe: a Review of Evidence with Case Studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine*. Frank Laczko and David Thompson (Eds.), Geneva: OIM, 2000. 11-164. <http://www.iom.int>
- Seage, C (2007). 775 illegal brothels: over to you Mr lemma, crikey, Available from: <http://www.crikey.com.au/Politics/20070330-Confessions-of-an-adult-industry-lobbyistpart-4-.html>
- Scarlet Alliance (2003). Submission to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Crime Commission, Inquiry into the Trafficking in Women for Sexual Servitude, [Online], Available from: http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/acc_ctte/completed_inquiries/2002-04/sexual_servitude/submissions/sublist.html
- Scarlet Alliance (2007a). Migrant workers in Australia, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/issues/migrant-workers/>
- Scarlet Alliance (2007b). New brothel closure laws, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/laws/nsw/>
- Scarlet Alliance (2007c). Sex work criminalized in Tasmania, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/laws/tas/>
- Scarlet Alliance (2007d). Scarlet Alliance "Submission on Proposed Trafficking Laws" 2004, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/library/traff-sub04>
- Scarlet Alliance (2008a). Occupational health and safety, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/issues/occ-health-safety/>
- Shin, G (2003). The paradox of Korean globalization, Stanford: Asia Pacific Research Center
- Sullivan, B (1997). The Politics of Sex: Prostitution and Pornography in Australia since 1945, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Sullivan, M (2005). What happens when prostitution becomes work? An update on legalisation of prostitution in Australia, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, N. Amherst, [Online], Available from: http://action.web.ca/home/catw/attach/Sullivan_proof_01.pdf
- Sullivan, M and Jeffreys, S (2001). Legalising Prostitution is Not the Answer: the Example of Victoria, Australia, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, CATWA Australia, [Online], Available from: <http://mc2.vicnet.net.au/home/catwaust/web/myfiles/legalisingprostitution.htm>
- Sydney Korean Herald (21/05/2004). Illegal employment: a shame to the Korean community, [On-line], Available from: http://www.koreanherald.com.au/bbs/board.php?bo_table=newsandwr_id=4353 [in Korean]
- Sydney Morning Herald (05/06/2007). NSW to crack down on illegal brothels, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.smh.com.au/news/National/NSW-to-crack-down-on-illegal-brothels/2007/06/05/1180809499607.html>
- Taibly, R (2001). Organised Crime and People Smuggling/Trafficking to Australia, Australian Institute of Criminology, 1-6. [On-line], Available from: <http://www.aic.gov.au>
- Theage.com.au (2007). Sex slave victim wins abuse claim, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.theage.com.au>
- Thewest.com.au (2007). Sydney councils defend brothel sex spies, [On-line], Available from: <http://www.thewest.com.au/aapstory.aspx?StoryName=349466>
- United Nations (2000a). The Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, [Online], Available from:

- http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_s_mug_eng.pdf
- United Nations (2000b). The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, [Online], Available from: http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_per_cent20traff_eng.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2006). Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns, [Online], Available from: http://www.unodc.org/pdf/traffickinginpersons_report_2006ver2.pdf
- United States Department of State (2000). Country reports on human rights practices-2000, [Online], Available from: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/>
- United States Department of Sates (2005). Trafficking in Persons Report 2005, [Online], Available from: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/>
- United States Department of Sates (2006). Trafficking in Persons Report 2006, [Online], Available from: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2006/>
- United States Department of Sates (2007). Trafficking in Persons Report 2007, [Online], Available from: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2007/>
- Walsh, J (1996). The world's fist prostitutes union, Marie Claire, January: 48-51, [Online], Available from: http://www.walnet.org/csis/news/world_96/mclaire-9601.html
- Wijers, M (1998). Women, Labor and Migration: The Position of Trafficking Women and Strategies for Support, in Kempagoo, K. (ed) Global Sex Workers. Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition. New York: Routledge.
- Wijers, M and Lap-Chew, L (1997). Trafficking in Women. Forced Labour and Slavery-like Practices in Marriage, Domestic Labour and Prostitution, Utrecht, the Netherlands: Foundation Against Trafficking.
- World Health Organization (2001). Sex work in Asia, [Online], Available from: http://www.wpro.who.int/NR/rdonlyres/D01A4265-A142-4E19-99AE-6CC7E44F995C/0/Sex_Work_in_Asia_July2001.pdf
- Yea, S and Burn, J (2005). 'Sex Trafficking of Thai Women and Girls into Australia', in Pierre Le Roux et al (eds.), The Trade in Human Beings for Sex in Southeast Asia, UNODC, Bangkok.
- Zhou, H, Woods, S, Costello, G and Maltzahn, K (2004). One victim of trafficking is one too many: counting the human cost of trafficking: cases of trafficking in Australia, Project Respect, Collingwood.
- XE-Universal Currency (20/02/08). Universal currency converter, [Online], Available from: <http://www.xe.com/ucc/convert.cgi>