

**Melissa Farley & Sungjean Seo (2006) Prostitution and Trafficking in Asia.**  
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If you're afraid of pain, you shouldn't be a flower girl ... Sometimes the girls in this house beg to be put out of their misery... Good people are not in this profession . (1)

Prostitution causes grave physical and emotional harm to women and girls. It transforms women and children into a special type of commodity in which men who rent her shape her into their own entity to masturbate into. Sexual and physical violence are the norm for women in all types of prostitution whether it occurs in an indoor or outdoor location, and whether it takes place in Asia or not. A Thai woman said,

I feel repulsion for him, because he does not see me, he does not know me. He does not know who I am, he just sees my body and feels his own desire and for him I am an empty person. I do not exist, so he just fills me with what he is feeling. (2)

Another woman explained, "What is rape to others, is normal to us" (3). They could be speaking for women in prostitution virtually anywhere. Asian prostitution and trafficking result from lethal sexism, child abuse, neglect, racism/colonialism, poverty, and from men's demands for prostitution. Poverty alone does not explain the existence of prostitution in Asia or anyplace else. In Khmer culture, for example, the very definition of what it is to be female in Cambodia is tantamount to slavery (4). Prostitution thrives wherever women have a devalued status compared with men. It is a specific manifestation of sex inequality with women in prostitution/trafficking described as the most raped class of women in the world (5).

Prostitution and trafficking are institutions built on race and class prejudice. Historically, colonialism in Asia promoted stereotypes of the women in the region as exotic others who were sexually promiscuous by nature. Western men often deny the racist exploitation of women in "native cultures," as detailed in Bishop and Robinson's analysis of the Thai sex industry (6). Women in less dominant Asian cultures are seen as more erotic and therefore more available for sexual use by those from more dominant cultures. The middle-class prostitution tourist feels like a rich man in a third world economy, and rationalizes that he is helping poor women.

These girls gotta eat, don't they? I'm putting bread on their plate. I'm making a contribution. They'd starve to death unless they whored. (7)

One Thai perspective of this situation is diametrically opposed to that of the prostitution tourist:

Thailand is like a stage, where men from around the world come to perform their role of male supremacy over Thai women, and their white supremacy over Thai people. (8)

Military demand for prostitution has also contributed to the sexual exploitation of women and girls in Asia. As Santos observed, “Wherever militarism goes in the world, so goes prostitution” (9). During World War II the Japanese Army took up to 200,000 Asian women and girls by violent force and deception, and pimped them into its military brothels. Most of these “comfort women” were Korean (10). After the war, US troops used prostituted women near “rest and relaxation” centers created by the US military, sometimes with the assistance of government officials who screened the women for sexually transmitted diseases (STD) (11).

### **Physical and psychological harms suffered by Asian and non-Asian women in prostitution/trafficking**

In the past 25 years, the sexual and physical violence of prostitution has been documented by many researchers. In one study 80% of women who had been prostituted or trafficked in Asia and elsewhere suffered injuries caused by violence in prostitution (12). The longer women were prostituted, the more they became infected with STDs (13). More than 80% of prostituted women in Korea who used emergency services suffered from symptoms affecting their reproductive system (14).

Several factors worsen the harm of prostitution. The greater the poverty, the greater the violence, and the longer a woman is in prostitution, the more likely she is to experience violence (15). Women who service more customers in prostitution reported more severe physical symptoms, and higher rates of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (16).

One woman explained, “Prostitution is like domestic violence taken to the extreme.” Pimps and johns use the same techniques that batterers use to control their partners: intimidation, domination, social isolation, economic control, minimization and denial of abuse, verbal abuse, physical and sexual violence, and captivity (17). Many chronic symptoms of prostituted or trafficked women are like those of torture survivors (18). Prostituted women in general die far more frequently than other women and often their deaths are from homicide (19).

In a nine-country study of prostitution on five continents (Canada, Colombia, Germany, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, United States, and Zambia), 71% of 854 people experienced physical assaults in prostitution, and 62% reported rapes in prostitution (20). A similar study found that 76% of 100 Korean women experienced physical assault and 80% were raped in prostitution (21).

Dissociation enables women to function despite overwhelming, inescapable fear and pain. In prostitution, dissociation is a consequence of both childhood sexual violence and the violence of adult prostitution (22). Survivors have noted that dissociation is almost a job requirement for prostitution. A woman from Thailand explained, “You make yourself empty inside” (23).

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) occurs when people are subjected to overwhelming and inescapable stress. The psychiatric diagnosis of PTSD includes avoidance behaviors, psychological numbing, social distancing, flashbacks (such as hearing the voices of traffickers), and anxious hyper-vigilance. It is one measure of the extent of psychological harm perpetrated against women in prostitution. Two-thirds of the women in prostitution in nine countries had symptoms of PTSD. Comparable rates of PTSD have been recorded among battered women seeking shelter, war combat veterans,

rape survivors, and survivors of state-sponsored torture (24). In a separate study, 80% of prostituted Korean women suffered from PTSD (25). In a third investigation, 78% of 89 Korean women in prostitution had PTSD, according to a preliminary analysis of a 2005 study (26).

AFESIP, an international agency working in South East Asia, helps women escape prostitution and learn alternative means of survival. A staff member recently noticed that about 20% of young women in a Phnom Penh brothel district regularly cut themselves (27). This self-mutilation is a consequence of extreme emotional distress coupled with a lack of means to escape. In addition to dissociation, acute and chronic PTSD, and self-injury, other psychological harms commonly resulting from prostitution include anxiety disorders, depression and suicidality, mood disorders, substance abuse, dissociative disorders, and traumatic brain injury (from violent assaults to the head).

Substance abuse among prostituting women is sometimes misunderstood as the cause of their prostitution. Instead, alcohol and accessible drugs are used by women in Asia and elsewhere to diminish the physical and emotional pain caused by prostitution. For example, 90% of prostituted Korean women had symptoms of alcoholism (28).

### **South Korea: an example of prostitution and trafficking in Asia**

We describe prostitution and trafficking in Korea for two reasons. First, these practices in Korea are similar in many respects to prostitution elsewhere in Asia. But more importantly, Korea has enacted groundbreaking laws which have begun to decrease prostitution and trafficking and which may help women to escape prostitution (29)

Men rent women in prostitution in brothels, clubs and bars near military bases, in massage brothels, barber shops, karaoke bars, tea houses, and via the internet. Revenues from the sex industry were estimated at 4.4% of Korea's GDP in 2002 (30). Korean prostitution increased in the 1970s and 1980s, in part a result of demand by US military and Japanese tourists. Encouraging this growth was a legal environment in which prostitution was tolerated as a necessary social evil (31). Demand by Korean men for women in prostitution also increased during this period as businessmen used prostituted women for business entertainment and socializing (32).

Korean prostitution and trafficking include rape, battering, kidnapping, and imprisonment. Korean girls and women are recruited or trafficked into prostitution via deceptive promises of employment (33). As in the rest of Asia and in the United States, Korean girls who run away from home are vulnerable to recruitment (34). Sometimes women and girls may prostitute as a way to earn a living, but they quickly find themselves in unanticipated exploitive or dangerous circumstances (35).

Pimps and traffickers in Korea, as elsewhere in Asia, use debt bondage to coerce women into prostitution and to prevent their escape. In debt bondage, the woman assumes a debt in exchange for what she is tricked into believing is a legitimate job. She accumulates additional debt in the form of fines and fees levied by pimps (36). Prostituted women and their families are threatened with bodily harm if they escape without paying off these coerced debts. In 2005, Korean police arrested crime syndicate members who had trafficked 37 women into brothels in Australia, New Zealand and Canada as punishment for failures to pay alleged debts (37). Once smuggled into the destination country, organized crime members sell off the women's debts to massage

parlor pimps who in turn keep the women imprisoned in brothel prostitution until the ever-increasing “debt” is paid off (38).

### **Trafficking of Women to and from South Korea**

Prostitution is a global business, and the businessmen who control prostitution transport women to wherever the demand exists. Transnational pimps quickly exploit opportunities created by erratic enforcement of laws against prostitution and trafficking (39). Women from Russia, the People’s Republic of China, the Philippines, and Thailand, among others, are trafficked into Korea (40). Ninety percent of prostituted women near US military bases were non-Korean, according to a 2005 report (41).

Korean authorities estimate that large numbers of Korean women are trafficked to other countries, including Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, United States, and Vietnam (42). US authorities arrested 50 people who were suspected of smuggling and pimping Korean women into California. Some of the women had entered the United States on tourist visas while others were trafficked via Canadian or Mexican travel agencies (43). Similar arrests of traffickers occurred in Colorado (44).

### **Recent Korean laws against prostitution**

Korean law criminalizes buying and selling sex acts, levying fines against customers of prostitutes. In 2004, following an educational campaign by women’s and human rights groups, the Korean government enacted two landmark laws against prostitution (45). The laws provide that victims’ debts to their employers are invalid and punish those who use threats, violence, or debt bondage to force people into prostitution. The laws authorize seizure of assets obtained by trafficking in women, increase penalties for trafficking and prostitution, establish supports and resources for prostituted/trafficked women, and provide funds for public education campaigns about prostitution. The passage *and subsequent enforcement* of these laws has been credited with a 37% reduction in the number of brothels in Korea, a 30-40% decrease in the number of bars and clubs (which comprise 80% of the sex industry in Korea), and a 52% decrease in the numbers of women prostituted in brothels (46).

In conjunction with these efforts by the Korean government, the United States military in Korea has adopted a “zero tolerance” policy towards prostitution and its links to human trafficking (47).

### **To describe prostitution as ‘sex work’ makes its harm invisible**

Despite much evidence of its harms, some have proposed that prostitution is work. Truong, a Vietnamese-born Dutch citizen, conflated prostitution with enslaved breeding of women and wet-nursing as “sexual labor” (48). The World Health Organization (WHO) defined prostitution as a dynamic and adaptive transaction between seller and buyer of a sexual service (49). Disappearing the concept of trafficking in women, WHO turned trafficked women into “migrant sex workers” (50). WHO has also recommended decriminalization of prostitution, a means of legally defining prostitution as a job (51). Chillingly, one WHO member-partner saw it this way:

Selling sex is a pragmatic response to a limited range of options...Some women who have been trafficked may eventually begin to define themselves as sex workers (52).

Many other organizations in Asia view prostitution as a reasonable job for poor women, e.g. Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW); UN/AIDS; Amnesty International; Anti-Slavery International; Human Rights Watch; Empower, Bangkok; Dutch Foundation for Women (STV); International Labor Organization (ILO); CARE International; Medecins sans Frontieres; Coordination for Action Research on AIDS and Mobility – (CARAM/Cambodia); and Bangladesh Women’s Health Coalition.

Sex businesses such as escort prostitution, massage brothels, strip clubs, phone sex businesses, and internet prostitution were described by the ILO as the “sex sector” of a state’s economy and prostitution has been proposed as development policy for newly industrializing countries (53). In addition to pimps and traffickers, those promoting prostitution may be law enforcement, government officials or public health officials who promote and normalize prostitution while they simultaneously direct HIV prevention programs (54).

### **HIV and the promotion of prostitution in Asia**

In Cambodia, India and other Asian countries, the devalued status of women sets the stage for prostitution and trafficking (55). Groups such as the WHO are complicit in that when an organization accepts prostitution as a reasonable job for poor women, sex inequality is steadfastly maintained. Prostitution does not thrive anywhere in the world without the complicity of police, politicians, and public health officials, among others. Prostitution/trafficking morphs, “shifting forms to accommodate pressures from state authorities, social activists, donors of HIV prevention projects and others, while still trying to maintain access to clients and profitability” (56).

Since 1990, public and private agencies have initiated AIDS prevention projects among women prostituting in India’s brothels.

Sonagachi is a walled-in sector of Kolkata with an estimated 60,000 women and girls prostituting, many trafficked into India from Bangladesh and Nepal. The Sonagachi Project was initiated in 1992 by the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health with initial funding and technical support provided by the WHO (57). The founder of the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (DMSC), a prostitutes and pimps’ union that controls Sonagachi’s residents, stated that “since sex workers fulfill an important social need, prostitution must be seen as a profession” (58).

Behind the women of Sonagachi and out of the spotlight are criminals who dominate the DMSC, control the money, and run the organization. Despite its description as a “cooperative,” the DMSC’s women pimps and their male handlers extort 50% of the earnings of the women who are prostituted or trafficked in Sonagachi. As in Korea and elsewhere, women who are trafficked to Sonagachi from rural areas are subjected to prison-like debt bondage that extinguishes their hope for escape.

Hundreds of millions of AIDS prevention dollars have poured into India and Sonagachi from WHO (\$1400 million by 2002) and from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (\$100 million by 2002) (59). What happens to this money? It has not been spent on housing outside brothels or on vocational and psychological rehabilitation

centers. In its greed to control every cent of HIV prevention money, the Indian health ministry has banned the free distribution of condoms to women prostituting in Sonagachi (60). AIDS prevention funds were instead used to advertise events promoting prostitution or the funds were distributed directly to corrupt politicians, police, and medical workers (60).

Since WHO's stated goal was to "manage and control the sex work business rather than closing down the brothels" (61), it is likely that WHO partnered with people who in any other context might be described as pimps and traffickers. WHO offered these sex industry businessmen public relations venues where they spoke at celebrations (62). WHO partnered with DMSC, which is "possibly the only organization of sex workers in India which states clearly and unambiguously that its purpose is not to 'rehabilitate' sex workers" (63).

Partnering with multinational pharmaceutical businesses throughout Asia, WHO's 100% condom use projects were attempts "to ensure condom use in every sexual act in every brothel" (64) with "commitment of local authorities and health staff" (65). Yet condom distribution has been administered by WHO and others in ways that are sometimes dangerously naïve. For example, after enforcing the 100% Condom Program in Thailand, there was simply a shift in the location of prostitution from brothels to other locations, such as massage parlors, bars, and restaurants where the program could not be closely monitored (66). An economic analysis of condom use in Sonagachi found that when women used condoms, *they were paid 66%-79% less by johns* (67). Although Thailand's 100% Condom Program was touted as the solution to the HIV pandemic, prostituted and also non-prostituted women remain at high risk for acquiring HIV. One physician observed that abolishing prostitution might help end the HIV pandemic (68).

Despite a decade of programs to "promote health and control over our bodies," WHO's programs have failed to protect basic human rights of women in prostitution, failed to reduce the coercion and violence that is intrinsic to prostitution, and failed to protect women in prostitution from HIV. Despite the millions of dollars spent on HIV prevention, women in Sonagachi still "do not have access to basics such as shelter, education and health care" (69). Violence against women, especially rape, means that HIV has had a lethal impact on prostituted women who are frequently sexually assaulted. Ultimately, the elimination of HIV and the abolition of prostitution both require the elimination of sex inequality (70).

## Conclusions

In nine countries, we found that 89% of 854 people in prostitution who wanted to escape it did not have other options for economic survival. The numbers inside Sonagachi are the same: only 9% were said to be prostituting "voluntarily," with the rest coerced, widowed, abandoned, or destitute (71).

Prostitution and trafficking result from the combined forces of sex inequality, racism/colonialism, and life-threatening poverty. Women and girls in prostitution will remain marginalized and devalued if organizations such as the WHO fail to recognize the inevitability of the violence intrinsic to the institution of prostitution. As the WHO has stated:

The AIDS epidemic will not diminish until discrimination, including persistent gender bias and inequity is eliminated. The protection of the rights of girls and women is critical in the context of AIDS, especially their right to set the terms of their own sexual activity, including its safety, and to refuse sex altogether (72).

The WHO is correct in this analysis, but its statement of the relationship between AIDS and sex inequality rings hollow with no mention of the sex inequality – and overwhelming HIV risk – that is intrinsic to prostitution. How would the WHO protect the equal rights of women and girls in prostitution? We fear that women in prostitution are set aside by WHO and others as a marginalized, devalued class of women who are assumed destined to be prostituted – albeit with condoms.

Along with the history of military tolerance for prostitution, organizations that define prostitution as work in Asia, thus mainstreaming the sex industry, have contributed to the region's increase in prostitution and trafficking. The GAATW perspective (“Women have the right to make a bad decision,” note 73) ignores Asian women's longing to escape prostitution, instead blaming them for being in prostitution. Women in prostitution should be offered real choices, real alternatives to living without prostitution. We disagree that there is an “inexorable trend, in both law and public morals, towards legalization of what is already tolerated” (74). Even though prostitution is socially invisible in many parts of the world, we see a new trend toward the abolition of prostitution, as exemplified in the recent Korean laws, a trend that counters the human rights violations of prostitution and trafficking.

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## ENDNOTES

- 1) Prostituted woman speaking about Chinese prostitution in Hou's film, *Flowers of Shanghai*, 1998
- 2) Seabrook, 1996, p. 117.
- 3) Farley, Lynne, & Cotton, 2005.
- 4) Mam, 2005
- 5) Hunter, 1994. Rape is defined variously in different social and legal contexts. Some prostituted women and researchers define rape as any unwanted sex act which is probably what Hunter had in mind when she wrote those words. And by that definition a woman in Lusaka was thinking about rape when she told the first author she had to leave to perform 3 blowjobs in prostitution which would provide her and her children with the cash for one bag of mealy meal and when provided that money, she smiled, bought the meal, fed her kids, and then stayed home to chat. Others, including many laws, have defined rape more narrowly, such as nonconsensual penetration of mouth, anus or vagina by penis or hands or object. Accepting money is typically assumed to imply consent. Sometimes evidence of violence or resistance to the rape, such as ripped or damaged flesh, is also required to prove a rape. The authors of this paper are not using a legal definition of rape. Our point is that when you listen to what women in prostitution tell you about their experiences, it becomes clear that they strongly dislike performing the sex acts in prostitution and do not want to do them, but have to for a variety of reasons. Those reasons, integral to sex inequality, operate as a form of force. In light of this understanding, and using the broader definition, most acts of sex in prostitution are rape.
- 6) Bishop, R. & Robinson, L. R, 1998.
- 7) Sturdevant & Stolzfus, 1992, p 214.
- 8) Skrobanek cited in Seabrook, 1996, p. 89.
- 9) A. Santos, in Sturdevant & Stolzfus, 1992, p 40.
- 10) Soh, 2001. See Zabarenko, 2000, for a news account of the suit filed by Korean comfort women in U.S. courts. For a fictionalized account of the comfort women issue, see "Comfort Women" (1998) by Nora Okja Keller.
- 11) See Moon, 1997.
- 12) Raymond, et al 2002.
- 13) Parriott, 1994.
- 14) Chung, 2004 (quoting data from a National Police Agency study in Korea).
- 15) Vanwesenbeeck, 1994.
- 16) Vanwesenbeeck, 1994. The higher the number of johns, and the higher the number of overall sex partners, the higher women's rate of HIV in Cambodia and Thailand. (Larson & Narain, 2001, p 17)



17) Giobbe, 1990; Giobbe, 1993; Stark & Hodgson, 2003. The word john has been used by women in prostitution to refer to the men who buy them. It refers to the men's tendency to give a fake name when they rent a woman in prostitution.

18) Vesti, Somnier, & Kastrup, 1992; Peel, Hinshelwood & Forrest, 2000.

19) A Canadian commission found that the death rate of women in prostitution was 40 times higher than that of the general population (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985). A U.S. mortality study found that 50% of the deaths of women in prostituted were a result of homicide. (Potterat et al., 2004).

20) Farley et al, 2003.

21) Kim, H.S., 2002.

22) Ross, Farley & Schwartz, 2003.

23) Erlanger, 1991 (cited in Bishop & Robinson, 1998, p. 47).

24) Farley et al 2003.

25) Kim, H.S., 2002.

26) Chae, 2005.

27) Kapoor, A., AFESIP staff member, personal communication. Madrid, October 2005.

28) Chun, S., 2005.

29) The new South Korean laws against prostitution were described as an "International Best Practice." Trafficking in Persons Report (2005), U.S. State Dept., accessed November 29, 2005 at <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/>.

30) Kim, E.K. et al., 2002, p.283. Kim notes that this amount of revenue is almost equal to the total volume of the nation's agricultural and fisheries production combined, with more than 33,000 women in prostitution.

31) Moon, 1997.

32) Kang, 1997.

33) Kim, E.K., 2002.

34) Lee, M.H., 2001.

35) Kim, E.K., 2002; Hughes et al. (forthcoming)

36) See generally Kim, H.S., 2002. Pimps control every aspect of women's lives, including their money. Fines are levied for minute infractions of pimps' rules, such as a fine for being a few minutes late

to a brothel line-up. Fees are levied such as payment to a pimp for “renting” a room in a brothel, even though she is virtually imprisoned in the room she is required to pay rent for.

37) Lee, K.H., 2005. Ms. Lee is Director of the Department for Youth and Women at the Korea National Police Agency.

38) Hardy, 2005; Hughes et al. (forthcoming).

39) For example, after a crackdown on trafficked Thai women in Australia, Korean women were targeted by traffickers in Australia. (Agence France-Presse English Wire, 2005). Similarly, Denver police officials say that brokers shuttled dozens of Korean women into the Denver area from California after a federal grand jury indicted 29 people involved in a prostitution trafficking ring just a few months previously. (Hardy, 2005).

40) 2005 Trafficking In Persons Report.

41) Lee, M.A., 2005.

42) Lee, K.H., 2005; Kim, T., 2005.

43) Lee, K.H., 2005

44) Hardy, 2005.

45) Act on the Punishment of Intermediating in the Sex Trade and Associated Acts and Act on the Prevention of the Sex Trade and Protection of Victims of the Sex Trade. Korean law enacted March 22, 2004, effective September 23, 2004 (translation by second author).

46) Kim, G.H., 2005. Mr. Kim is Director of Women’s Rights Planning Division at the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in Korea. The laws have also had their share of dissenters. Although there have been several reports of prostitution bouncing back, see e.g., Digital Chosun Ilbo 2006, these criticisms against the effects of the new legislation seem premature, especially in light of the fact that they often confuse both the lack of enforcement or the results of more vigorous enforcement (which result in an increase in the number of *arrests*) with an “increase” in prostitution. See e.g., Cho, K., 2003. For an assessment of how the laws have fared from the perspective of Korean women’s groups working with victims of prostitution, see Cho, Y., 2005 and Jung, M. and Cho, J., 2005.

Given the globalization of world economies and the rapid movement of peoples across borders, it is crucial that laws against trafficking are enacted and subsequently enforced with multilateral cooperation or by use of international conventions. There are indications that, as has occurred in other countries where laws against johns, pimps or traffickers are enforced, Korean men may be traveling to neighboring countries to buy women in prostitution, for example to Philippines or Cambodia (Ferran, 2005; ChanVeasna, 2005). A Cambodian staff member for ECPAT Cambodia (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes) noted that the volume of Korean travelers to Cambodia has more than doubled, from 62,271 in 2003 to over 128,000 in 2004. She fears that many of these visitors, as with tourists from other nations, play a role in the increase in trafficking, prostitution and child sex tourism. (ChanVeasna, 2005).

47) See “U.S. Command in Korea Gets Tough on Demand Side of Prostitution,” September 21, 2004, available at <http://usinfo.state.gov/utills/printpage.html>. for a transcript of the testimony by General Leon LaPorte of U.S. Forces Korea (USFK) before the House Armed Services Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

48) Truong, 1990, p 65.

49) World Health Organization, 1988

50) World Health Organization (2004) Online Toolkit for HIV/AIDS Prevention for Sex Workers. A media release at <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2004/pr80/en/> describes the new WHO sex worker toolkit as offering the EUROPAP/ TAMPEP documents *Hustling for Health* and more than 100 other documents including a TAMPEP document “Multilingual information and education materials for sex workers” in many languages for a range of interventions with “migrant sex workers” in Europe. Pimps and brothel owners are referred to as “gatekeepers,” and are considered by WHO strictly in terms of their usefulness in accessing prostituted women for WHO program delivery rather than also including an understanding of pimps as perpetrators of egregious human rights violations against the women. (Medical Research Council, 2003).

The Horizons Report (2002) obtained from the WHO website describes the global expansion of the political philosophy of the Sonagachi Project from India to Brazil, Cambodia, and Dominican Republic. Organizers described this process as moving from a strictly HIV-STD/health-based project to a “... model...for mobilization and development of sex work communities.” (Horizons Report, 2002, p 7)

51) Ahmad, 2001

52) Butcher, 2003

53) Lim, 1998, p 10, 210. See also M Ditmore (1999) explaining and applauding the ILO’s perspective of prostitution as a form of labor, as articulated in Lim, 1998.

54) Muftaba, 2003. Muftaba quotes from a report by the Indian Community Welfare Organisation, 2003: “The entire sex industry in Madras, it is said, flourishes under police protection, something not entirely unbelievable given that many ‘prominent’ middle-men and brokers have been around in this business for quite some time. Owners of brothels that function openly and street sex workers pay a fixed amount of money to the police to avoid arrest and harassment. Given this nexus between the industry and the police, the latter periodically go through the motions of brothel-busting and arrests, but only to meet the requirement of the minimum number of ‘cases’.

55) Freed, 2003.

56) Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers Making Sex Work Safe in Asia and the Pacific (2003) In some instances mainstreaming prostitution has been viewed as inseparable from public health campaigns against HIV. Sawhney, 2003, writing for the Asia Pacific Network of Sex Work Projects stated “If anything, legalising prostitution [in India] would not only underline the right to earn a living but, more importantly, legalise the fight against sexually-transmitted diseases and the AIDS epidemic.”

57) Nag, 2001

58) Dhar, 1999. Sonagachi was again described in 2003 by another author as a union-like organization with the purpose of “ collective bargaining with the clients.” No other goals of the organization were described (Thottiparambil, 2003)

59) Times of India, 2002

- 60) Times of India, 2002  
 61) WHO 2001, p 3  
 62) WHO, 2001, p 10  
 63) Thekaekara 2004.  
 64) WHO , 2001, p 11. See also WHO, 2005.  
 65) WHO, 2001, p 7 A frequent partner in WHO's HIV prevention projects is the multinational organization Family Health International (FHI), who partner with WHO and almost every Cambodian NGO distributing condoms to women in brothels. FHI's partner is PharmaLinkFHI, a pharmaceutical industry, whose website advertises "Conducting global clinical trials is as easy as going online. While others rush to get their drug to market, yours could already be there."  
<http://www.pharmalinkfhi.com/aboutus/> One wonders how many women in Cambodian brothels have been offered up as subjects for PharmaLinkFHI and FHI's drug trials?  
 66) Hendricks, 2005.  
 67) Rao et al.2003 p 15.  
 68) Hendricks, 2005, p 8.  
 69) Dhar, 1999. Statement of Tapati Bhowmik, Coordinator of the NGO, Sanlaap  
 70) See New York Times editorial, of December 2004 and also Frith, 2003. Nonprostituted women are also at high risk for HIV because of the widespread tolerance of violence against women, for example in India where there is no law against marital rape.  
 71) Singh, 1995 quoted in Rao et al 2003.  
 72) Larson & Narain, 2001, P 58  
 73) Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW), 1997, p 30  
 74) Economist, 1998, p 23

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