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Migrant sex workers in Australia

Lauren Renshaw
Jules Kim

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Foreword

In this report the Australian Institute of Criminology, in partnership with Scarlet Alliance, the Australian Sex Workers Association, presents one of the first pieces of research specifically conducted on the work and migration experiences of migrant sex workers in Australia. Surveying a large sample of migrant and non-migrant sex workers across a range of states and territories in Australia, the study has enabled an assessment to be made of the demographic profile, work conditions and access to services of migrant sex workers. It contrasts and compares the experiences of migrant sex workers with those of Australian-born sex workers. The migration experiences and motivations of respondents for migrating to Australia are also

documented and the possible pathways migrants may take in engaging in sex work are described, along with an analysis of the specific needs and services required by this group.

This research could not have been completed successfully without the dedicated involvement of sex workers, peers, outreach workers and sex work organisations. They were fundamental to the project's success and substantially enhanced access to migrant sex workers, who are otherwise a difficult group to access for research purposes.

Chris Dawson
Director

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Executive summary

There has been little research conducted on the experiences of migrant sex workers both internationally and within Australia. This is despite widespread media and other reports highlighting the perception of migrant sex workers as particularly vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking. This report focuses on consolidating current knowledge of migrants in the Australian sex industry, based on a review of the existing literature and an analysis of responses to a survey conducted among migrant and non-migrant sex workers in a range of states and territories in Australia in 2010. This analysis explores the demographic profile, work conditions and access to services of migrant sex workers and how they differ from Australian-born sex workers. It also seeks to gather information on the migration experiences of migrant sex workers and their motivations for migrating to Australia.

Overview of the Australian sex industry

A review was undertaken of the literature on the predominant features of the sex industry in Australia—including its legality in each state and territory—and of the findings of previous research on the Australian sex worker population, particularly migrant sex workers.

There are three general legal frameworks applied to sex work in Australia—criminalising certain components of the sex industry; legalising certain components of the sex industry, usually under a licensing or registration scheme; and decriminalising certain aspects of the sex industry. The industry can be categorised into brothel work, massage work, private work, escort work (solo or with an agency) and street-based work, although it is acknowledged

that these are simplified distinctions that may not reflect all sex workers' situations. Sex work is largely illegal in Western Australia and South Australia, and in Tasmania only private work is legal (with private work referring to a person working independently or with another person). Sex work, other than street-based sex work, is legal and regulated under licensing schemes in Victoria, Queensland (except escort agencies) and, partially, in the Northern Territory (escort agencies only). In the Australian Capital Territory, both brothel-based and private sex work have been legalised under a registration scheme. Sex work has been decriminalised in New South Wales since 1995, though restrictions on street-based sex work still apply.

The size of the sex industry in Australia is largely unknown, although it has been estimated that there are approximately 20,000 individuals working as sex workers in Australia in any one year (Quadara 2008). Research suggests that in the sex industry in New South Wales, approximately 40 percent of sex workers work privately, with the other 60 percent working predominantly in sex industry businesses, or as escorts or on the street (Donovan et al. 2012). However, there may be variations in this proportion in other jurisdictions due to the different legal frameworks affecting the legality of private and brothel work.

Research on Australia's sex worker population suggests that demographic profiles such as age, education and cultural background may vary by state/territory and sex work sector. Current research, mainly in the Sydney City area, suggests that migrants (largely from Asia) make up a substantial proportion of workers in the sex industry, particularly migrants from Thailand and China, and increasingly from South Korea (Donovan et al. 2012).

Although there have been several surveys on the sex worker population generally, research specifically on migrant sex workers is limited. A number of projects with migrant sex workers have generated valuable demographic data on the lives, backgrounds, experiences and needs of migrant sex workers in Australia (Pell et al. 2006; Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria 1994). The few studies that exist suggest that migrant sex workers may be older than their Australian-born counterparts and less likely to work in a street-based setting (Pell et al. 2006; Woodward et al. 2004). Reports based on immigration data suggest that many have initially entered Australia on tourist (eg Working Holiday and Work and Holiday Visas) and student visas (Bowen 2011; DIMIA, cited in ANAO 2006; Pell et al. 2006). The literature also suggests that several factors (eg language barriers and isolation, gender and race discrimination, stigma attached to sex work and criminalisation of sex work) may intersect for migrant sex workers to increase their vulnerability to experiencing, and barriers to reporting, incidents of violence and exploitation (Allimant & Ostapiej-Piatkowski 2011; Quadara 2008).

With regard to what is known from research into sex workers' work conditions, sex industry businesses employ workers largely as independent contractors, although there is evidence to suggest that many of the employment relationships reflect that of an employer/employee (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee 2010; Murray 2003; Northern Territory AIDS and Hepatitis Council 2005; Simmons & David 2012). Further, incidents of debt contracts among migrants working in the industry have been reported anecdotally, and debt bondage has been observed in a few prosecuted cases involving slavery and sexual servitude (Brockett & Murray 1994; IDC 2014).

Survey methodology

The sex worker migration survey used in this study is an expanded and amended version of the Hong Kong sex worker organisation Zi Teng's 2006–07 Chinese Sex Worker survey administered in Australia by Scarlet Alliance to identify the needs of Chinese sex workers. The survey was redeveloped in collaboration with Scarlet Alliance and its committee of sex workers from Thai, Chinese and Korean-

language backgrounds (the steering committee). Sex workers were involved in critical aspects of the research, including in providing essential input into the survey development and managing the survey collection. The survey included questions on demographics, work conditions, migration experiences and access to services.

Sex workers with Korean, Thai and Chinese-language backgrounds were strategically targeted for survey participation, based on research highlighting these groups as forming the majority of migrant sex workers (Brockett & Murray 1994; Donovan et al. 2012; Pell et al. 2006). Surveys were available in English, Thai, Chinese and Korean and were collected face-to-face between February and November 2010 in a range of sex industry businesses across six states and territories, including in:

- Sydney and Newcastle;
- Melbourne;
- Brisbane, Townsville and Toowoomba;
- Adelaide;
- Canberra; and
- Perth and Kalgoorlie.

The survey was also made available online (in English, Thai, Korean and Chinese) and distributed exclusively to Scarlet Alliance members to ensure that only sex workers received it. The online collection ran from September 2010 until November 2010. Of the 592 surveys analysed, the majority (98%, n=582) were collected face-to-face, with two percent (n=10) collected through the online platform.

Research limitations

Accessing the sex worker population, particularly migrant sex workers, is challenging for researchers. However, the targeted recruitment of survey collectors who were past or current sex workers, and who shared the same language background with the targeted sample (sex workers with Thai, Chinese and Korean-language background), ameliorated these issues and resulted in a large sample size. Although the sex worker organisations involved with the survey collection attempted to administer surveys to a wide cross-section of the sex industry, the sample was still predominantly

composed of brothel workers, with street-based and private workers under-represented. The survey collection was strengthened where culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) peer educators were employed within the local sex worker organisation. Survey collection among street-based workers was not prioritised due to the known low representation of the targeted sample (migrant sex workers) in this sector (see Pell et al. 2006; Woodward et al. 2004). Overall, 49 percent of respondents were drawn from New South Wales, with a particular lack of respondents from Tasmania and the Northern Territory, where face-to-face survey collection did not occur. This prevented the examination of jurisdictional differences.

The survey may have under-represented sex workers who were working in exploitative and/or tightly controlled environments; however, the survey collectors employed a range of strategies to minimise this bias, including:

- conducting multiple visits to workplaces at varying times and on various days to engage with different members of management;
- working with staff at sexual health clinics to approach sex workers to participate in the study, outside the workplace setting;
- ensuring that sex workers could complete the survey privately without interference or observation; and
- targeting survey collection at workplaces where there was anecdotal evidence of bad or exploitative work conditions, and those that had recently experienced police or immigration visits.

Another challenge was the high non-response rate to specific questions in the survey, which limited the analysis that could be undertaken and the extent to which these responses could be generalised to the entire sample. This is in part a reflection of the environments in which the survey was administered. The majority of surveys were undertaken while respondents were at work or waiting for a medical appointment, which meant that some of the surveys were not completed.

Survey results

Overall, 70 percent (n=412) of respondents were classified as migrants and one-quarter (n=151) of respondents were classified as non-migrants. For the remaining 29 respondents, migrant status was categorised as missing or not known. Of the migrant sample, 44 percent indicated they were born in Thailand, 26 percent in China and nine percent in South Korea. These groups were targeted for survey administration as they comprise the major language groups of migrant sex workers in Australia. Five percent of migrant respondents were born in New Zealand.

For the majority of migrant respondents, the last country of residence was their country of birth. This suggests that most had immigrated directly to Australia. The exceptions were migrant respondents previously residing in New Zealand. Nearly one-third of these respondents were born elsewhere, mostly in Thailand.

The survey responses also elicited important demographic information that, although not generalisable to the entire sex worker population, may be relevant for those who provide services to migrant and non-migrant sex workers. This included that:

- 63 percent of migrants who answered the question on age were over 30 years old (compared with 36% of non-migrants);
- a substantial proportion of both migrant and non-migrant respondents were in a relationship, with 20 percent of migrants who answered the question stating they were married;
- although providing information on whether they had children appeared to be too sensitive an issue for some respondents (particularly migrants), a substantial number of migrant (n=85) and non-migrant (n=47) respondents reported having children under the age of 15 years; and a substantial proportion of respondents who answered the question on relationship status and children (25% migrants, 24% non-migrants) were single mothers;
- the majority of migrant respondents born in China (57%) and South Korea (70%) reported low English proficiency (excluding 3 migrants born in

China and 1 born in South Korea who did not respond to the question). Three migrant respondents born in China and one born in South Korea self-rated their English proficiency as nil;

- more than half of migrant and non-migrant respondents who answered the question had tertiary-level qualifications (51% migrants, 66% non-migrants). Migrant respondents were significantly less likely than non-migrants to have tertiary-level qualifications, and more likely to have primary school level to no education; however, migrants were significantly more likely than non-migrants to have a bachelor degree (23% of 9%) and significantly more likely to have completed high school (27% of 11%) as their highest qualification.

Education and financial incentives emerged as the major factors in migration. The largest group of migrant respondents indicated they had enrolled in an educational course in order to enter Australia (43% of those who answered the question). However, there was also a substantial proportion who migrated as a result of marrying or in order to be married (25% of those who answered the question).

One-quarter of respondents arranged their own visa (26%); however, they were equally likely to be assisted by their partner (27%) or broker/agent (26%). Perhaps unsurprisingly, using a broker or agent had higher associated costs than organising migration oneself or having a known person (eg a relative, friend and/or partner) arrange it.

Regarding work conditions, migrant and non-migrant respondents appeared to have similar workloads, with no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant respondents in the amount of days and hours worked during the week. The largest proportion of both migrant and non-migrant respondents worked six to 10 hours per day (38% and 45%, respectively, of those who answered the question) and three to four days per week (42% and 45%, respectively, of those who answered the question). These times reflected how long workers were in their workplace or on call, and do not necessarily reflect the time they spent with clients. However, there were key differences in the types of workplaces at which migrant and non-migrant respondents worked and the types of items for

which they were charged by their workplaces.

Migrant respondents were more likely than non-migrants to work at massage parlours and less likely to work at brothels. Non-migrant sex workers were more likely to indicate that they had never been on a contract (74% of 59%), less likely to be charged for living expenses (such as food and work clothes) and more likely to be charged shift fees (ie charges for incidental items such as drinks and toiletries) by their workplace, in comparison with migrant respondents.

The majority of migrant respondents were satisfied with their work conditions in Australia and many intended to stay long term. However, responses from a very small group of survey participants (n=7) suggested discontent with their current and/or past experiences as a sex worker in Australia. Loneliness and isolation were some of the explanations provided.

It was clear from the survey responses that some groups of migrant sex workers experienced difficulties in accessing services, particularly those with low self-rated English proficiency. The barriers to services and information for migrant respondents involved language, a lack of knowledge about what services were available and a fear of using such services; what those fears related to could not be ascertained from the survey responses. This highlights the important need for multilingual support services and translated information.

Conclusion

This research provided a rare insight into the experiences of migrant sex workers. The majority of sex workers sampled were satisfied with their conditions and did not report undertaking extreme workloads. This research has generated new and important information on the migration experiences and mechanisms used by migrant sex workers to travel to Australia. However, it has also emphasised issues that have important implications for those providing mainstream and/or sex work-specific services and support to migrant sex workers. The survey responses and literature highlighted the intersection of social and structural barriers that may marginalise migrant sex workers from accessing services and resources, such as the stigma

associated with sex work, limited access to safe migration pathways, fear of deportation and language barriers. The survey responses, however, also outlined possible mediums and strategies to increase migrant sex workers' access to services and information, such as increasing access to translated material, employing outreach workers who match the language backgrounds of migrant sex workers, and using the internet to increase awareness about relevant mainstream and sex work-specific services, and their rights and responsibilities as a migrant sex worker.

The survey responses also illustrated areas of needs which could be targeted, by identifying that:

- many migrant sex workers are well educated, in a relationship and/or have children;
- possible subgroups of migrant sex workers may have different needs, including those who temporarily migrate to Australia specifically to do sex work, international students, and divorced migrant women who engage in sex work while in Australia;
- subgroups of migrant workers may require appropriate support, such as those with low English proficiency or who identify as feeling lonely or isolated;
- social stigmatisation impacts on sex workers' experience of isolation;
- different workplace types and work arrangements

are experienced by migrants in the sex industry, compared with non-migrants; and

- there is a gap in addressing violence and harassment against sex workers beyond that perpetrated by clients.

This study has also highlighted the value of peer-based approaches in accessing marginalised groups as a means of providing advice and support, and in guiding research and assisting in the gathering of data. In addition, it has raised further areas of research that were outside the scope of, or otherwise not addressed specifically, in the survey, including:

- the effect of legislation on violence against sex workers;
- the impact of access to visas on working conditions;
- the impact of stigma and discrimination on migrant sex workers' willingness to access services;
- the extent of the use of inflated debt arrangements in the sex industry, and the nature and extent of contractual arrangements used more generally by migrant sex workers; and
- the diversity of sex workers and the different needs of those who migrate temporarily specifically to do sex work, and international students and divorced migrant women in the sex industry.



Introduction

Research on sex workers has traditionally focused on issues of sexual health and violence; however, information on working conditions across different workplace types, and on workers' education, parental and relationship status, is increasingly being collected through surveys and small-scale qualitative research approaches (eg see Donovan et al. 2012; Perkins & Lovejoy 2007; Woodward et al. 2004). Although current research on sex workers often includes those who are migrants, existing literature specifically on migrant sex workers is relatively limited. This is despite widespread media reporting on the perceived relationship between migrant sex workers and trafficking, and documented cases of migrant sex workers experiencing exploitation and human trafficking (IDC 2014). In order to address this gap the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), in partnership with Scarlet Alliance, the Australian Sex Workers Association, initiated a project to explore the demographics, work conditions, migration experiences and access to services of migrant sex workers in Australia. This research was undertaken as part of the AIC's Human Trafficking and Slavery Research Program.

Research aims

The research aims of this project included an examination and identification of the migration experiences of migrant sex workers, sex workers' experiences in Australia, the working conditions migrant sex workers may face compared with non-migrant sex workers in Australia, and the extent of sex workers' access to services and information. The specific research questions included the following:

- What are the migration experiences of migrant sex workers? Detailed questions included:
 - What birth countries and home countries have sex workers migrated to/from?
 - What are the monetary costs, barriers and rewards associated with migration and how are these borne?
 - What processes are experienced by sex workers in entering Australia (specifically the actions undertaken to arrange transport and documents for their journey to Australia) and how does this vary depending on the birth and home countries from which they migrated?
 - What factors play a role in migrant sex workers' decision to relocate to Australia?

- What are the workplace experiences of migrant sex workers and how do these vary from non-migrant sex workers?
 - What are the basic workplace conditions (eg workload, payment, conditions of employment) experienced by migrant sex workers? Detailed questions included:
 - To what extent do these conditions vary between migrant and non-migrant sex workers?
 - To what extent are migrant sex workers satisfied with their workplace conditions, and how does this compare with non-migrant sex workers?
 - Do workplace conditions and satisfaction with workplace conditions vary with sex workers' home country and socioeconomic status in their home country (such as employment and education)?
 - What (if any) negative experiences have migrant sex workers had with people in the workplace environment?
 - Which specialised services (sexual health clinics, sex worker organisations and interpreter services) and government representatives have sex workers interacted with in the context of the workplace, and what was the level of this interaction?
 - What services do migrant sex workers use, which are they familiar with, and what issues do they use them for?
 - Do migrant sex workers experience difficulties in accessing these services?
 - Where do migrant sex workers receive information and advice?
 - How readily do sex workers identify government departments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as their main place of contact for certain issues? How does this vary with non-migrant sex workers?
 - Do sex workers identify the police as the main point of contact for issues relating to criminal incidents? Does this vary between migrant and non-migrant workers?
- A literature review was conducted and a survey of sex workers implemented to examine these questions.



The Australian sex industry

This section of the report provides an overview of the structural elements of the sex industry in Australia—its size and structure, applied legal frameworks and employment practices, as well as the characteristics of the sex worker population such as age and cultural background, education, and health and safety issues. The review of the literature on the characteristics of the Australian sex worker population focuses specifically on female migrant sex workers and the issues pertinent to this subgroup.

Structural elements of the Australian sex industry

Size and structure

There exist no official statistics on the number of sex workers in Australia. However, it has been estimated by the AIDS Council of New South Wales (ACON) that there are up to 20,000 people working as sex workers in Australia in any one year (Quadara 2008). Other attempts to estimate the size of the industry are confined to specific jurisdictions or cities. Using a variety of quantitative and qualitative approaches, it has been estimated in prior research that there are between 1,500 and 10,000 sex workers in New South Wales at any

one time, highlighting the complexities involved with relying on estimates to provide a reliable number (Donovan et al. 2012). Many of these estimates include only female sex workers.

In the Australian literature on sex work, brothel work is generally defined as multiple sex workers working at premises where services are provided on-site. Massage parlours are similar in that they have several employees and provide services on-site, but the 'primary service offered is "relaxation massage"' (Donovan et al. 2012: 19). Private work refers to a sex worker arranging jobs independently (Donovan et al. 2012), where services are provided at private premises (owned or leased by the worker) or an off-site location arranged by a client. Escort agency work involves jobs that are arranged by a business (escort agency), and services are provided off-site at a location arranged by the client. Some brothels fulfil a similar function by arranging services to be provided by their employees off-site (Donovan et al. 2012). It is acknowledged, however, that these are simplified distinctions that may not reflect all sex workers' situations.

Previous research has categorised sex work using varying parameters—for instance, the number of sex workers working in the one location, whether sexual services are marketed directly or indirectly, whether services are provided at indoor or outdoor locations,

and whether sex workers work independently or for another person or sex industry business (Harcourt & Donovan 2005). As outlined later in this report, the legislation concerning sex workers in Australia generally distinguishes between the provision of services at on-site premises (at sex industry or sole-operator businesses such as brothels or massage parlours, or residences), at off-site premises (arranged through an agency or independently) or by soliciting clients in public spaces, although how each type of sex work is legislated varies considerably between each state and territory. Within each state and territory, some workplace types are criminalised while others are decriminalised, legalised and/or regulated.

The structure of the industry is therefore often subject to the legislation of the jurisdiction in which it operates. The criminalisation or licensing system imposed on sex industry businesses and the independent provision of sexual services create a separate category of the illegal or unlicensed sector. It is often assumed that this sector is distinct from legal or licensed workplaces; however, research on licensed and unlicensed brothels in Melbourne suggests that there is movement of employers and employees between these two sectors (Pickering, Maher & Gerard 2009).

According to the Sex Workers Outreach Project in New South Wales (SWOP NSW), about 40 percent of sex workers in the state work privately (Donovan et al. 2012). The proportion working as street-based sex workers or sex workers providing escort services is largely unknown, but has been estimated to be five percent and less than 10 percent, respectively, of all sex workers in New South Wales (Donovan et al. 2012). These proportions may not be observed in other jurisdictions due to the different legal frameworks around private and brothel work. For example, key informants involved in a large-scale research project on the industry in Perth suggested that there were about 530 brothel-based sex workers, 50 private sex workers and 50 sex workers providing escort services in Perth in any one year (Donovan et al. 2010b). It was estimated that there were only a 'few dozen' individuals working sporadically on the streets (Donovan et al. 2010b: 9).

One of the few studies that looked at the number of sex industry clients in Australia, the Australian Study

of Health and Relationships (Rissel et al. 2003), found that overall:

- 15.6 percent (n=1,458) of all males surveyed indicated that they had, at one time, paid for sex. Of these, 97 percent had paid for sex with a woman and three percent had paid for sex with a man;
- less than two percent of all males surveyed indicated that they had paid for sex within the previous 12 months; and
- the majority of men who paid for sex with women in the year before being interviewed paid for sex in brothels (65%), followed by at private premises where one or more sex worker/s worked (37%), through escort services (33%) and in massage parlours (27%). Only six percent stated that they paid for sex in the past year in a street sex-work setting.

Legal frameworks

Current legislation on sex work in Australia varies by state and territory (see Table 1) as a result of major reforms that occurred in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory in the 1970s and 1990s. These reforms led to the decriminalisation, legalisation and implementation of licensing schemes for commercial sex work, reflecting a variety of factors including: changing social mores regarding sex work, growing support for harm reduction for sex workers and the links between illegal sex work and corruption revealed in the Wood and Fitzgerald inquiries (David 2008; Schloenhardt 2009).

Therefore, there are currently three general approaches that are used to regulate the industry across Australia: legalising certain commercial components of the industry, usually under a licensing scheme; decriminalising sex work in all its forms; and criminalising sex work sectors (including clients, workplaces and people associating with sex workers). Victoria and Queensland have legalised sex work within brothels and implemented a licensing system to regulate the brothel industry. Victoria and the Northern Territory use a similar system for escort agencies; however, the sex worker staff of escort agencies in the Northern Territory must register with police and receive a 'free of

convictions certificate' from the Police Commissioner. Private workers/sole operators are allowed to operate legally within Queensland and Victoria without a licence, but in Victoria they must be registered and in Queensland they must work alone. In the Northern Territory private workers/sole operators are not required to be registered or licensed but are not allowed to provide services from the same premises from which they organise their business.

New South Wales has decriminalised all forms of sex work, with the regulations for brothels placed with the local planning and development authorities; however, living off the earnings of the prostitution of another person (with the exemption of brothel employers and employees) is illegal (*Summary Offences Act 1988*, s 15). New South Wales is the only jurisdiction that has legalised the soliciting of sex services (which affects the legality of street-based sex work); however, it is required to operate away from dwellings, schools, churches and hospitals. The Australian Capital Territory has legalised brothels but only in two prescribed industrial suburbs. Brothels, escorts (agencies and sole operators) and private workers must register their business. Brothel workers are not required to register.

The exchange of money for sexual services between adults on its own is not illegal in any jurisdiction with the exception of Western Australia, where it is an offence to act as a sex worker if convicted of a drug-trafficking or Schedule 1 offence (Donovan et al. 2010b; *Prostitution Act 2000*, s 14). However, some or almost all forms of sex work are criminalised in Tasmania, Western Australia and South Australia. While legislation in South Australia and Western Australia remains silent on private workers, Tasmania's legislation makes it legal for up to two sex workers to work from the same premises, on the condition they do not employ or manage each other. Western Australia implemented a 'containment policy' to deal with sex services informally for close to a century, and formally from 1975 (PLRWG 2007). This policy allowed police to grant immunity from prosecution to brothels 'provided that the brothels were located in particular areas nominated by police and that brothels were female only operations' (Donovan et al. 2010b: 32). The policy was officially abandoned in 2000; however, according to Donovan et al. (2010b: 34), 'empirical research thus found a thriving and relatively open brothel industry in Perth'.

Table 1 Legal status of the sex industry in Australia by state/territory and sex work type

	NSW	Vic	Qld	WA ^a	SA	Tas	ACT	NT
Street-based work	Soliciting is illegal in certain areas (near or within view of a dwelling, school, church or hospital) (<i>Summary Offences Act</i> , ss 19, 19A)	Illegal (<i>Sex Work Act 1994</i> , s 13(2))	Illegal (<i>Prostitution Act 1999</i> , s 73(1))	Illegal (<i>Prostitution Act 2000</i> , ss 5, 6)	Illegal (<i>Summary Offences Act 1953</i> , s 25)	Illegal (<i>Sex Industry Offences Act 2005</i> , s 8(1))	Illegal (<i>Prostitution Act 1992</i> , s 19(1))	Illegal (<i>Prostitution Regulation Act 2004</i>)
Brothel work	Legal to run a brothel with appropriate planning permission. Act does not state that it is a crime to work as a sex worker in a brothel without planning permission ^b (<i>Restricted Premises Act 1943</i> , s 7(1))	Brothels must be licensed and working within the licence conditions to operate legally (<i>Sex Work Act 1994</i> , s 22(1)). It is a crime to live partially or wholly off the earnings of sex work unless working for legal premises (ie licensed, or exempt from requiring a licence but registered) (<i>Sex Work Act 1994</i> , s 10)	Brothels must be licensed and in accordance with planning laws (<i>Prostitution Act 1999</i> , s 66). It is unlawful to work as a sex worker in premises other than a licensed brothel or contrary to brothel licence, unless exempt from needing a licence (see private work below) (<i>Criminal Code 1899</i> , s 229C)	Illegal to run a brothel (<i>Criminal Code Compilation Act 1913</i> , Division 190, s 1(a)). Also illegal to live partially or wholly off the earnings that the person knows are the earnings of prostitution (<i>Criminal Code Act Compilation 1913</i> , s 190(3))	It is a crime to manage or keep a brothel, or to receive payment in a brothel for sex work (<i>Summary Offences Act 1953</i> , s 28). Illegal to live partially or wholly off the earnings of the prostitution of another person (<i>Summary Offences Act 1953</i> , s 26)	Illegal to run a brothel. Act does not state that it is illegal to work as a sex worker in a brothel (<i>Sex Industry Offences Act</i> , s 4)	Legal to run a brothel, but must be registered and based in prescribed locations. Act does not state that it is a crime to work as a sex worker in a brothel that is not registered or outside the prescribed locations of Mitchell and Fyshwick (<i>Prostitution Act 1992</i> , s 18(1); <i>Prostitution Act Regulation 1993</i> , s 1(4); see also <i>Prostitution Act</i> , s 12(1))	Illegal to run a brothel. Act does not state that it is a crime to work as a sex worker in a brothel (<i>Prostitution Regulation Act 2004</i> , s 4)
Escort agency work	Not mentioned within the <i>Summary Offences Act 1988</i> or <i>Restricted Premises Act 1943</i>	Escort agencies must also be licensed to operate legally (<i>Sex Work Act 1994</i> , s 22(1))	Clients of a social escort service must be informed that the service does not include prostitution (<i>Prostitution Act 1999</i> , s 96B). In addition, escort services cannot be advertised as including sexual services (<i>Prostitution Act 1999</i> , s 96A)	Not illegal to conduct an escort service but illegal to live off the earnings. See (<i>Criminal Code Act Compilation 1913</i> , s 190(3)) above	See above. Act does not state that it is illegal to work as a sex worker in an escort agency (<i>Summary Offences Act 1953</i> , s 26)	Illegal to run an escort agency. Act does not state that it is a crime to work as a sex worker in an escort agency (<i>Sex Industry Offences Act</i> , s 4)	Legal to run an escort agency, but must be registered. Act does not state that it is a crime to work as a sex worker in an unregistered escort agency (<i>Prostitution Act 1994</i> , s 12(1))	It is an offence to carry on an escort agency business unless they hold an operator's licence (<i>Prostitution Regulation Act 2004</i> , s 6(1)). Act does not state that it is a crime to work as a sex worker in an unlicensed escort agency

Private work/sole operators	Not mentioned within <i>Summary Offences Act 1988</i>	Small business operators (two people working separately or jointly) and solo workers are exempt from requiring a licence to operate legally but still need to register their service. Small business operators also need a planning permit for their premises if they are providing services there (<i>Sex Work Act 1994</i> , ss 23, 24)	Legal for a person to work solely from a premise without a licence	Nothing in the Act specifically about private workers but see (<i>Criminal Code Act Compilation 1913</i> , s 190(3)) above	Nothing in the Act specific to private workers	Up to two sex workers can work together but cannot manage or employ each other (<i>Sex Industry Offences Act 2005</i> , s 3(1))	Legal but private workers still need to register (<i>Prostitution Act 1994</i> , s 12(1))	Individual workers cannot work from the same premises from which they organise their business; however, an individual 'escort' who is working on their own does not need to have a licence or be registered with police (<i>Prostitution Regulation Act 2004</i> , s 6(4))
Regulatory authority	Local councils approve business applications (see <i>Restricted Premises Act 1943</i> , s 17(1) above)	Business Licensing Authority grants licences for brothels and escort services and maintains the register of private workers	Prostitution Licensing Authority grants licences to brothels	WA Police	SA Police	Tasmania Police	The Office of Regulatory Services is responsible for registering brothels, escort agencies and sole operators	Director-General of Licensing (formerly the Northern Territory Licensing Commission) grants licences to escort agencies. All staff of escort agencies must be registered with NT Police and receive a certificate from the Police Commissioner
Principal legislation	<i>Summary Offences Act 1988, Restricted Premises Act 1943</i>	<i>Sex Work Act 1994</i>	<i>Prostitution Act 1999</i> , Criminal Code 1899	<i>Prostitution Act 2000, Criminal Code Act Compilation 1913</i>	<i>Summary Offences Act 1953</i>	<i>Sex Industry Offences Act 2005</i>	<i>Prostitution Act 1992</i>	<i>Prostitution Regulation Act 2004</i>

a: At the time of writing, the Prostitution Bill 2011 (WA), which proposes major amendments to the Prostitution Act 2000, including the legalisation of prostitution under a licensing system, was before the WA Legislative Assembly

b: However, it is illegal to use a premises for the provision of massage, sauna baths, steam baths or facilities for physical exercise, or for the taking of photographs, or as a photographic studio, or for services of a like nature for the purposes of prostitution or soliciting with the exception that the premises are licensed/registered under the Liquor Act 1982 or the Registered Clubs Act 1976 (*Summary Offences Act 1988*, s 16)

Note: This table outlines the content of legislation in each state and territory regarding sex work but does not include sex work provisions within common law

Employment practices

The subcontracting of sex workers appears to be a fairly entrenched business model in the sex industry (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee 2010; Murray 2003; Northern Territory AIDS and Hepatitis Council 2005). In common law, an employment relationship is defined as that of an independent contractor/client or employer/employee, via 'externalities, such as the provision of tools and equipment, how workers are paid and the way parties themselves classify the relationship' (Murray 2003: 338). Financial arrangements are often made by sex industry businesses to reflect those of independent contractor/client arrangements, with 'rent' being charged for rooms in the workplace and sex workers expected to cover overhead costs (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee 2010; Murray 2003; Northern Territory AIDS and Hepatitis Council 2005). Sex workers can also be encouraged to sign contract agreements verifying this relationship (Murray 2003).

As independent contractors, sex workers are exempt from certain entitlements and legal protections provided to employees such as sick and annual leave, WorkCover and superannuation (Murray 2003; Simmons & David 2012). However, it has been argued that the level of control managers have over when sex workers work and the services they provide more closely resembles the work arrangements held in common law to be those of employer and employee (Murray 2003). This includes fines for being late to work, not being allowed to sell sex services independently outside the workplace and control over the nature of the services sex workers provide, the amount they can charge and how long they work (Murray 2003; Northern Territory AIDS and Hepatitis Council 2005). This leaves sex workers without the freedoms associated with being an independent contractor, yet without the benefits of being an employee (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee 2010).

This raises the issue of 'sham contracting'. This is a situation where an employment relationship is disguised as one of client and independent contractor with negative consequences for the employee (ABCC 2011: 12). As independent contractors, sex workers are not covered under the

Fair Work Act 2009 (Cth) unless there are incidences of sham contracting (Simmons & David 2012).

Current knowledge of sex workers in Australia: Demographics, health and safety issues

Much of the existing knowledge of sex workers has relied on input from peer and outreach workers, sexual health workers and sex workers themselves. Convenience or snowball sampling, where participants are recruited in a non-random manner using existing knowledge or social networks, is the main methodology used in the research and surveys referenced in this section. This dearth of population-based studies on sex workers internationally and within Australia is primarily a result of restricted access to sex workers for research and survey purposes due to:

- the criminality and stigma attached to this sector;
- language barriers; and
- the practical and ethical difficulties of engaging with sex workers who work transiently, or inconsistently, within varying legal frameworks.

Male and transgender sex workers, organised contracted workers, opportunistic workers, undocumented migrants and those working outside the formal sex work sector (eg occasional escort/private workers) are particularly absent from large-scale research projects and surveys (Donovan et al. 2010b; Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria 1994). Further, the sex industry contains a variety of jobs that may be part-time and, depending on the sector, not all individuals may identify themselves as sex workers (Harcourt & Donovan 2005).

Gender and age

The majority of sex workers are female (Donovan et al. 2012), although the number of male and transgender sex workers is possibly underestimated (Donovan et al. 2010a). Those who identify as transgender and male sex workers are difficult to

access for research as they are more likely to initiate contact with clients electronically (eg by phone and online) and work as private escorts rather than in a brothel-based environment (Donovan et al. 2010a, 2010b).

Research suggests that the majority of sex workers are aged between 20 and 39 years (Donovan et al. 2010a; Pell et al. 2006; Perkins & Lovejoy 2007). The Law and Sexworker Health (LASH) project, which surveyed brothel workers in Perth (n=175), Sydney (n=201) and Melbourne (sample size unreported), found a similar median age for Sydney and Perth respondents of about 31 years, with licensed Melbourne-based brothel workers having a median age of 27 years (Donovan et al. 2010b). An analysis of the Sydney Sexual Health Centre's (SSHC) database of female sex workers on their first attendance showed an increase in their median age from 25 to 29 years in the period 1992–2009 (Donovan et al. 2012). This increase in age appeared to be driven by an increase in the age of migrant sex workers, who made up a sizeable proportion of the sex worker population in Sydney. The median age of Asian sex workers surveyed at the Sydney Sexual Health Centre on their first visit increased from 26 years in 1993 (n=91) to 33 years in 2003 (n=165; Pell et al. 2006).

Age distribution has also been shown to vary by sector. A Queensland survey of sex workers (N=216) conducted in 2003 found that private workers (n=82) were older than street-based (n=33) and brothel-based workers (n=101), with about three-quarters of private workers over the age of 30 years compared with about half of brothel and street-based workers. Only seven percent of private workers were aged 18–24 years compared with more than one-quarter of street-based and brothel workers (Woodward et al. 2004). Although the results may not be representative, these findings have been replicated in studies from other states and territories. For example, a survey of 95 private workers and private escorts, and 124 brothel-based workers in Sydney, the Australian Capital Territory and the Gold Coast, found that the private escorts sampled were generally older than brothel-based workers (Perkins & Lovejoy 2007). It has been suggested that the older age of private workers can be attributed to the pathways individuals take to this sector, with the majority of private escorts being ex-brothel-based

workers who have moved on to work privately as a sole operator (Perkins & Lovejoy 2007).

Migrant status and cultural background

The total number of sex workers working in Australia has been estimated to be 20,000 in any one year (Quadara 2008); however the proportion of workers born outside Australia remains largely unknown. Data from the SSHC suggested that the proportion of Asian migrant sex workers (ie those born in Asian countries) in Sydney accessing their Chinese and Thai-language clinics increased from 20 percent to more than half from 1992 to 2009 (Donovan et al. 2012). This increase in sex workers accessing Sydney sexual health clinics was attributed to both an increase in migrant sex workers from Asia and a decrease in Australian-born sex workers (Donovan et al. 2012). It is possible that these data are biased towards Asian sex workers due to the Asian-language clinics the SSHC runs; however, the LASH research conducted in Sydney brothels in 2006 found a similar proportion of migrant sex workers from China and Thailand. Australian-born sex workers made up 27 percent (n=55) of the sample, 21 percent (n=42) were born in China, 17 percent (n=35) in Thailand and 15 percent (n=30) in other Asian countries (Donovan et al. 2012).

Coinciding with the increase in the migrant sex worker population in Sydney was an apparent change in sex workers' country of origin. The 1990s saw an increase in the migration of sex workers from Thailand (Brockett & Murray 1994), but in more recent years (the 2000s) there has been a substantial increase in sex workers from China and South Korea (Donovan et al. 2012). SSHC data from 2006 showed that the proportions of Thai and Chinese-born sex workers had nearly reached equivalence (24.4%, n=153 and 22.5%, n=141, respectively, of all sex workers who had visited the SSHC), reflecting the proportions in the LASH survey outlined above (Donovan et al. 2012). Data from the SSHC also showed a sharp increase in the representation of South Korean women from 2005; by 2009 they had increased their representation to close to that of Chinese and Thai women (Donovan et al. 2012). This is supported by a 2005 report by the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural

Affairs (now the Department of Immigration and Border Protection) on non-citizens found working in the sex industry, which showed that South Koreans formed the largest category of migrant sex workers (244 of the 638 cases/people identified; ANAO 2006). This increase could in part be due to the South Korean government enacting stricter penalties on the local sex industry in September 2004 (see Choo, Choi & Sung 2011; Jung & Jang 2013), which may have prompted some sex workers and sex-work businesses to move abroad (Jung & Jang 2013).

The migrant status of sex workers in other parts of Australia varied from that found for Sydney-based sex workers. Nearly half of Perth-based respondents to the LASH project survey were not born in Australia (Donovan et al. 2012), but in contrast with the Sydney sex worker population, only 10 percent (n=17) of all sex workers surveyed were born in China, three percent (n=6) in Thailand and 10 percent (n=17) in other Asian countries. These results were said to reflect those observed for licensed brothel workers in Melbourne (Donovan et al. 2010b). The Queensland survey of sex workers (N=215, excluding non-responses/unknowns) showed a larger proportion of sex workers born in Europe (10%) compared with Asia (7%; Woodward et al. 2004).

At first glance, it appears that migrant sex workers are more common in some states and territories than others, and that the cultural background of this population also varies by jurisdiction. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether these proportions are representative of the true migrant population at the survey sites or the ease (or lack thereof) of access to this population for research.

Education

That the majority of sex workers in Australia are well educated is a consistent trend in the available, albeit limited, research on sex workers' education levels. The survey of sex workers in Queensland (n=157, excluding non-responses/unknowns) showed that 64 percent had tertiary-level qualifications (Woodward et al. 2004). Private and brothel-based workers were significantly more educated than street-based workers, with one-quarter of brothel-based (n=19) and private workers (n=16) achieving a

bachelor degree compared with 12 percent (n=2) of street-based workers. Nearly five percent (n=3) of private workers had achieved a postgraduate degree or certificate compared with one percent (n=1) of brothel-based workers and no street-based workers (Woodward et al. 2004). The LASH project showed that of the Sydney respondents (n=164 excluding non-responses/unknowns), 46 percent had an education level beyond high school, and of the Perth respondents (n=157, excluding non-responses/unknowns), 29 percent had achieved this level.

A questionnaire delivered to Asian female sex workers who attended the SSHC collected similar educational measures of sex workers born in China and Thailand (Pell et al. 2006). It showed a significant decrease, from 59 percent (n=54) to 29 percent (n=48) from 1993 to 2003 for those who had less than 10 years of education, and an increase from 18 percent (n=12) to 37 percent (n=61) for those with more than 12 years of education (Pell et al. 2006). Chinese-born sex workers were less likely to have less than 10 years of schooling compared with Thai-born sex workers (23% cf. 38%; Pell et al. 2006).

Health and safety issues for sex workers

Sexual health and violence are the key focal points of existing research about sex workers.

Health and wellbeing

Brothel-based and private workers generally had low rates of drug use, high rates of condom use and very low rates of sexually transmitted infections or STIs (Harcourt et al. 2001; Seib, Fischer & Najman 2009). Sydney brothel workers had levels of mental health that were comparable with the general population (Donovan et al. 2012).

Perth-based respondents to the LASH survey reported 100 percent condom use and experienced STIs at a rate similar to that recorded for the general population (Donovan et al. 2010b). The prevalence of STIs such as chlamydia, gonorrhoea, trichomoniasis, syphilis and HIV was similarly low among Sydney sex workers who visited the SSHC for the first time during this period (Donovan et al. 2009).

Categorising sex workers by the sector in which they work for research purposes can be problematic due to the extent sex workers may work in a variety of sectors simultaneously. For instance, 6.5 percent (n=13) of Sydney respondents in the LASH survey who were currently working in a brothel also worked as an escort and three percent (n=6) also worked privately (Donovan et al. 2012).

Assault and safety issues

Although limited in number, the research surveys reviewed in this report examine the issue of violence perpetrated by clients in the workplace. Eight percent of respondents to the LASH survey reported having experienced physical assault by clients (Donovan et al. 2012). Other surveys have measured the prevalence of sexual assault by clients within samples of brothel-based and private workers at proportions ranging from three to 13 percent (Perkins & Lovejoy 2007; Woodward et al. 2004). Physical assault by clients was experienced at a similar rate of two to 13 percent (Perkins & Lovejoy 2007; Woodward et al. 2004).

It must be noted that none of these surveys used a representative sample; therefore the proportions may not be generalisable to the entire sex worker population. It is also problematic to compare the findings of these surveys as each one differed in their sampling frameworks (respondents were sampled from different states with different legal frameworks for the sex industry), sampling approaches, sample sizes and categories for the violence reported by respondents.

Legal frameworks

The legal frameworks governing the sex industry play an important role in the health and safety of sex workers. As outlined in the Seventh National HIV Strategy:

[I]t is important to ensure that legislation, police practices and models of regulatory oversight support health promotion so that sex workers can implement safer sex practices and the industry can provide a more supporting environment for HIV prevention and health promotion (Department of Health 2014: 26).

The need for legislation, police and regulatory practices to support rather than impede health promotion extends to broader issues of workplace safety regarding violence, abuse and harassment. There is the risk that sex workers working outside the legal framework face greater barriers to reporting incidents of violence or abuse, or implementing safety strategies. However, as Quadara (2008: 14) explains:

Legal frameworks impact on sex worker safety in several ways. Most obvious is the classification of sex work as a legal or illegal activity. However, even where sex work is legalised, laws still determine where an individual can work, who they can work with, and how accountable brothels and other sex industry operators are in upholding the human and civil rights of sex workers.

The reforms made by the NSW Government to decriminalise the sex industry have been credited by the LASH research team as enhancing the 'surveillance, health promotion, and safety of the NSW sex industry' (Donovan et al. 2012:7).

Health and safety issues for migrants

There were several factors that were significantly associated with the prevalence of STIs among sex workers attending the SSHC between 1992 and 2006. These included being of a younger age, being of Asian origin and using condoms inconsistently at work (Donovan et al. 2009). This result is, in part, due to the lower initial rates of condom use among Asian sex workers during the 1990s. As consistent condom use in the workplace increased among Asian workers from 77 percent in 1995 to 95 percent in 2009 (Donovan et al. 2012), STI rates among Asian sex workers were reduced from nine percent in 1992–94 to one percent in 2004–06 (Donovan et al. 2009). This has been attributed to the collaboration of the peer-based SWOP NSW and sexual health services with the support of the NSW Department of Health, 'aided by a decriminalised legal climate without the unnecessary expense and access barriers created by regulation' (Chen et al. 2010; Wilson et al. 2010 cited by Donovan et al. 2010a: 76).

The level of victimisation from assault at work among migrant sex workers is largely unknown. A small-scale survey of Chinese-born sex workers in

Australia showed that 44 percent of the 43 participants had experienced sexual assault in the workplace (Jeffreys 2009). A qualitative study of 21 South Korean sex workers in Sydney detailed cases where workers were 'often verbally abused and subjected to controlling behaviour by their brothel owners, [managers], and/or madams' (Jung & Jang 2013: 9).

In addition to the issues affecting all sex workers with regard to reporting sexual assault and violent situations that occur while working (ie the stigma associated with sex work, and the illegality of some forms of sex work in some states and territories), there are further barriers for women with diverse cultural and language backgrounds, particularly non-English-speaking backgrounds. For women from CALD backgrounds experiencing violence, barriers to accessing support include:

- personal fear of reprisals, escalating violence or the authorities (ie police and the criminal justice system);
- communication and language barriers;
- stigma associated with disclosing abuse; and
- limited access to information and knowledge of rights.

Other systematic barriers in accessing support include:

- service providers not meeting the language requirements of an individual;
- service providers not ensuring the informed understanding of an individual; and
- racism and discrimination by mainstream service providers and other first points of contact (Allimant & Ostapiej-Piatkowski 2011: 8–9).

These barriers for sex workers, and for CALD women generally, may intersect to prevent migrant sex workers from reporting sexual assault and abuse experienced within the workplace. Migrant sex workers working illegally in the sex industry may also have a legitimate fear of deportation or other repercussions from the authorities, which may act as a further disincentive to report these crimes or access other formal support networks.

Migrant sex workers in Australia

As noted above, all surveys conducted on sex workers in Australia have included those born in

countries other than Australia. However, with the exception of the SSHC surveys, there is little quantitative information specifically on temporary or permanent migrant sex workers in Australia and their experiences. Similarly, little is known about if and how their workplace experiences differ from those of their Australian-born counterparts.

Defining migrants

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) defines a migrant as a:

...person who was born overseas whose usual residence is Australia. A person is regarded as a usual resident if they have been (or are expected to be) residing in Australia for a period of 12 months or more. As such, it generally refers to all people, regardless of nationality, citizenship or legal status who usually live in Australia, with the exception of foreign diplomatic personnel and their families. Persons may have permanent resident status or temporary resident status (plan to stay in Australia for 12 months or more) (ABS 2013: n.p.).

In some instances, the ABS restricts its category of migrant to those who were aged more than 15 years on arrival or who arrived in Australia within a defined period (ABS 2013).

For the purposes of this research project, a broader definition of migrant was used. A migrant was defined as a person who reported being born in a country other than Australia, regardless of whether Australia was their usual residence and regardless of their age on arrival. This allowed for the inclusion of temporary migrants/visitors within the scope of migrant status.

Contract arrangements and debt bondage

The little research that includes sex workers born in another country suggests that migrant sex workers are not likely to be street-based sex workers and that they work predominantly in brothels (Pell et al. 2006; Woodward et al. 2004). Aside from the issues with sex workers acting as subcontractors for commercial sex service employers, as described previously, brokered contracts or agreements involving salary reductions to pay back debt owed between migrant sex workers and their employers

may also increase the risk of coercion or exploitation. Although no recent research has been conducted specifically on the contractual arrangements of migrant sex workers, interviews conducted with sex worker organisations, sex workers, community development workers and sex industry business owners in Australia in the early 1990s revealed that Russian, Thai and Filipino women sex workers had highly organised, brokered agreements with workplaces across the country (Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria 1994). These contract agreements often involved a third party acting as a broker or agent who organised the conditions of the contract directly with the workplace or workplaces (Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria 1994).

More recent evidence shows that contract arrangements are indeed used by some migrant workers, particularly Thai sex workers in Sydney (Pell et al. 2006). The SSHC surveys showed that in 2003, 19 percent of Thai-speaking sex workers had been on a contract at some point and four percent of all Asian sex workers were at that time currently on a contract (Pell et al. 2006). However, it is unknown how many of these contracts were brokered by a third party or independently negotiated directly with the workplace.

In the early 1990s, outreach workers from the SWOP and SSHC described an apparent trend among Thai women of agreeing to verbal contracts that impose extremely large financial debts on them during short stays in Australia (Brockett & Murray 1994). Coupled with a lack of knowledge of Australian laws and poor English-language skills, this debt meant that Thai sex workers were often limited in their capacity to enforce safe-sex practices. Similarly, they were limited in their capacity to negotiate other work conditions while they were paying off their contracted debt (Brockett & Murray 1994). This trend of contracting sex work was not seen at the time to the same extent within migrant workers from other cultural backgrounds. More recent research (Pell et al. 2006) suggested that in 2003 the SSHC observed an increase in safe-sex practices by Asian sex workers, indicating that capacity to negotiate safer sex practices had significantly increased and that a smaller proportion than had been observed in the early 1990s had at some point been on a contract (27.5% in 1993 of

9.1% in 2003). However, the proportion of Thai workers in 2003 who had at some stage been on a contract was still significantly higher than that of Chinese workers (18.8% cf 2.1%).

The type of contract arrangement described by Brockett & Murray (1994) suggests potential debt bondage, which is defined in the *Criminal Code Act 1995* (Cth) as a situation where a person is subject to a debt that must be repaid through the delivery of personal services and the amount of debt is ambiguous and/or manifestly excessive, a reasonable value of the service is not applied to the liquidation of debt, and/or the nature or length of the service is not defined.

It should be noted that employing sex workers on a contract tied to a debt does not necessarily constitute the crime of debt bondage in and of itself; however, due to the lack of empirical information on the types of contract arrangements that are used by sex workers in Australia, it is difficult to determine what proportion of such contract arrangements could be considered a situation of debt bondage. Further, debt contracts that do not fulfil the criteria of debt bondage may still create barriers for sex workers in accessing services or support, with anecdotal evidence indicating that some contracted workers did not obtain access to services until their contracted debt was settled (Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria 1994).

At the time of writing, no criminal prosecutions in Australia involving debt bondage as the primary charge have been finalised, although the majority of the small number of sexual servitude and slavery cases in the sex industry have involved elements of debt bondage (IDC 2014).

Visas and previous work experience

Of the 165 Asian sex workers surveyed in the 2003 SSHC survey, nearly one-quarter (23.6%, n=39) stated that they were currently Australian citizens and the rest were in Australia on some form of visa. More than one-quarter were on a student visa (26%, n=42), 16.4 percent (n=27) were on a work visa and 10.9 percent (n=18) were on a tourist visa at the time of the survey (Pell et al. 2006). Another 4.8 percent (n=8) of respondents stated that their current visa had expired (Pell et al. 2006).

In contrast, only 7.8 percent (n=13) of the Asian sex workers surveyed for the SSHC study had entered (or re-entered) Australia on the basis of being an Australian citizen or resident; 40.6 percent (n=67) entered on a tourist visa. The proportions of those who entered on a student or work visa were not dissimilar to the proportions on these visa types at the time of the survey (25.4%, n=42 and 11.5%, n=19, respectively; Pell et al. 2006). A report by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs on non-citizens working in the sex industry reported that the largest proportion entered Australia on Working Holiday visas (subclass 417; 215 of the 638 cases identified) (DIMIA nd, cited in ANAO 2006). South Korea is one of the nineteen countries (which do not include China or Thailand) whose citizens are eligible for this visa; therefore it is somewhat unsurprising that South Korean migrant sex workers commonly enter Australia under this visa (DIMIA nd, cited in ANAO 2006; Jung & Jang 2013).

The SSHC survey found that the proportion of Asian sex workers who reported previous experience in sex work overseas decreased from almost half in 1993 (48.4%, n=44) to less than one-fifth in 2003 (17.6%, n=29). This decrease coincided with a significant decrease in the proportion of Thai-speaking sex workers in the survey population, with Thai-speaking sex workers significantly more likely than Chinese-speaking sex workers in 2003 to have previous sex work experience overseas (29% cf 7.4%; Pell et al. 2006).

The overall percentage of sex workers who had planned to do sex work after entering Australia also decreased during this period (38.5%, n=32 of 17.6%, n=29; Pell et al. 2006). This decrease is probably partially attributable to the aforementioned decrease in the proportion of Thai-speaking sex workers, who were significantly more likely than Chinese-speaking sex workers to have planned to do sex work in Australia (33.3% cf 6.4%).

Survey methodology

Survey development

The Sex Worker Migration survey used in this study was an expanded and amended version of the Hong Kong sex worker organisation Zi Teng's 2006–07 Chinese sex worker survey that aimed to identify the needs of Chinese sex workers. This survey was administered in six other countries but was conducted in Australia by Scarlet Alliance, the Australian Sex Workers Association. The survey was redeveloped by the AIC in collaboration with Scarlet Alliance and its committee of sex workers from Thai, Chinese and Korean backgrounds (the steering committee). The project was approved by the AIC's Human Research Ethics Committee; research approval was also sought and received from the AIDS Council of New South Wales (ACON).

The steering committee provided essential input into cross-cultural and sex work-specific issues during the development, administration and analysis of the survey. Scarlet Alliance and the steering committee also provided advice on the sensitivity of particular questions, particularly those with the potential to cause discomfort to, and/or discourage respondents from, completing the survey. These questions were marked in the survey as optional.

The survey comprised 51 multiple-choice questions and 11 open-ended questions categorised into four major areas: demographics, migration experience, working conditions and access to services (see Appendix C). The survey was translated into Thai, Korean and Chinese, with at least two of these language groups (Thai and Chinese) significantly represented in migrant sex worker populations according to the literature and advice from sex worker organisations. Translations were undertaken by accredited independent translators, with cross-checking by members of Scarlet Alliance and the steering committee.

All multiple-choice questions had an 'other' option that participants could choose if none of the listed options matched their experience. The number of open-ended questions was kept to a minimum to allow for easier analysis, and referred to matters where responses could not be reliably anticipated (eg the reason(s) for migrants not wanting to return to Australia, their reasons for not being satisfied with their income, and the advice they would give to other migrant sex workers).

A draft survey was piloted with two sex workers in the Australian Capital Territory by AIC researchers and Scarlet Alliance staff before the administration of the survey.

Survey administration and collection

The AIC partnered with Scarlet Alliance, which then entered into arrangements with the Sex Industry Network (SIN), ACON (on behalf of SWOP NSW) and the AIDS Action Council (on behalf of SWOP ACT), to administer the survey using their collective networks and outreach capacities and services. The survey used a snowballing and convenience-sampling method, drawing on the knowledge of the sex worker organisations involved in the research to ensure that the survey was administered to a cross-section of workplace types in each location.

Surveys were collected face-to-face between February and November 2010 in:

- Sydney and Newcastle;
- Melbourne;
- Brisbane, Townsville and Toowoomba;
- Adelaide;
- Canberra; and
- Perth and Kalgoorlie.

As the collection of information on migrant sex workers' workplace experiences, migration experiences and access to services was the overarching aim of this research project, migrant sex workers were targeted specifically for survey collection. This involved focusing on gaining access to workers from the language groups and cultural backgrounds identified in the literature and industry knowledge as constituting the majority of migrant sex workers (ie Thai, Chinese and Korean), and the sectors they work in (off-street premises). However, face-to-face collection took place in a range of workplaces, including brothels, massage parlours, strip clubs, escort agencies, private sex workers' homes and other workplaces, and also at non-work venues such as sexual health clinics and street-based worker drop-in centres. Where possible, workplaces were contacted in advance of data collection and informed that sex workers involved in a research project on migrant sex workers were seeking to collect surveys from workers in their establishment. Collection was also conducted by sex worker organisations as part of their regular outreach activities, using previously established relationships with workplaces. Australian-born sex

workers were included in the survey population as a comparative group.

Additional collection sites included Chinese, Korean and Thai-language sexual health clinics at Melbourne and Sydney Sexual Health Centres, and at a sex worker organisation (Magenta) in Perth. Where relevant, medical staff of these health clinics were briefed on the project and gave potential participants a summary of the project and the option to participate.

All respondents were given a small gift for participating in the survey. See Appendix A for more detail on the survey collection at each site.

To ensure that collection included sex workers who worked in exploitative and/or tightly controlled environments, survey collectors employed the following strategies:

- conducting multiple visits to workplaces at various times and on various days to engage with different members of management;
- working with staff at sexual health clinics to approach sex workers to participate in the study, outside the workplace setting;
- ensuring that sex workers could complete the survey privately without interference or observation by any management or others; and
- targeting survey collection at workplaces where there was anecdotal evidence of bad or exploitative work conditions, and workplaces that had recently experienced police or immigration visits.

All collectors involved in the administration of the survey were currently working or had at one time worked as a sex worker. Multilingual sex workers whose first language was Thai, Chinese or Korean were funded to participate in the survey collection, while sex workers whose first language was English participated as volunteers. Survey collection training took place in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Canberra. All survey collectors were trained in two areas—outreach skills and survey administration.

Administration guidelines were developed that set out the sequenced steps for administering the survey and a comprehensive explanation of each survey question and definitions. The administration guidelines also included alternative administration steps to be followed if the respondent was unable to

read the language in which the survey was written and the collector was required to assist in completing the survey. Aside from the few instances of assisted surveys (n=11), all surveys were completed in private, without assistance or input from the collector. Completed surveys were sealed in envelopes by the participants and remained sealed until they were received by the AIC for data processing. Respondents were encouraged to answer the open-ended questions in their own language. Responses in languages other than English were later translated by independent accredited translators, and cross-checked by Scarlet Alliance's steering committee.

All collectors were required to have the administration guidelines with them at collection and to refer to the question explanations when asked by the respondent about definitions or interpretations of survey questions. In addition to the administration guidelines, collectors were required to have a project information pamphlet ready to supply to all survey respondents. This pamphlet was available in English, Korean, Chinese and Thai and included information on the project and contact information for relevant services (as well as contact information in case they wanted more information on the research).

The survey was also made available online (in English, Thai, Korean and Chinese) and distributed exclusively to Scarlet Alliance members to ensure that only sex workers received it. The online collection ran for the last three months of the collection period, from September 2010 until November 2010. The majority of survey responses (98%, n=582) were collected face-to-face, with two percent (n=10) of the 592 responses collected using the online survey.

The risk of the survey being completed by the same person more than once was managed as follows. For the online survey, the following paragraph was added to the consent and confidentiality information:

This survey has also been collected face-to-face by peer collectors at various sites in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Newcastle, Canberra, Townsville, Perth, Kalgoorlie and Brisbane. If you think you may have already completed the survey then, please do not complete the survey online

again. If you have already completed this online survey, please do not complete the survey online again.

For the face-to-face survey collection, the same survey sites were visited by the same collectors, who indicated they would recognise the respondent if they had already completed the survey. However, it is acknowledged that this method is not infallible and ran the risk of respondents being surveyed more than once. In addition, there was also a risk of cross-state and territory double counting if a respondent had moved interstate during the collection period. For future survey administration, using the same text as used in the online consent and confidentiality information in the face-to-face collection would be considered. To ensure the integrity of survey responses, the collectors were not permitted to participate in the survey themselves or respond to questions about their own experiences and work conditions.

The risk of a non-sex worker completing the survey was mitigated by restricting the survey collection sites to sex industry workplaces or to individuals who had disclosed to medical personnel at sexual health centres that they were sex workers. Other non-workplace sites such as drop-in centres for street-based workers were also considered appropriate.

Fifty surveys were excluded from the analysis for not meeting the exclusion criteria developed to ensure surveys were completed to a substantial level. These criteria included two phases.

Phase 1

All cases that did not meet the following requirements were dropped from the dataset:

- answered at least four demographic questions; and
- answered at least four workplace condition questions.

And if classified as a migrant:

- answered at least two workplace satisfaction questions; and
- answered at least three migration experience questions.

Phase 2

The remaining cases were screened to ensure that questions vital for analysis had been responded to. Cases that did not meet the following requirements were dropped from the dataset:

- answered at least two of the questions concerning age (Q1), gender (Q2) and birth country (Q3);
- answered at least one of the questions pertaining to hours worked per day (Q27), days worked per week (Q28), clients seen per week (Q29) and workplace type (Q31); and
- answered at least one of the questions pertaining to regularity of payment (Q32), proportion of wage received (Q33) and contract conditions (Q35).

The statistical testing employed in the analysis of the survey responses for the purpose of this report is outlined in Appendix C.

Survey limitations

Sampling bias

Migrant and non-migrant respondents were not distributed evenly across the states and territories. Indeed, there were greater proportions of migrants in New South Wales (52%) and South Australia (19%) than in other states and territories (Table 2).

It is important to note that these distributions are not representative of the sex worker population; rather they are likely to be indicative of a sampling bias resulting from the snowball and convenience-sampling method used. For instance, the bias to respondents in New South Wales is largely a result of the main survey collection coordinator, Scarlet Alliance, being based in Sydney. The bias to South Australia for migrant respondents is most likely due to the dedicated survey collection of SIN based in Adelaide and their targeting of migrant workers for survey administration.

Table 2 State and territory collection site by migrant status (%)

State and Territory	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant	Total ^{ab}
NSW	52	40	49
Vic	9	13	10
Qld	5	21	9
WA	10	14	11
SA	19	3	15
NT	0	1	0 ^c
Tas	0	0	0 ^c
ACT	5	8	6
Total (n)	411	151	591

a: Excludes one survey completed by a migrant respondent that had no recorded state or territory

b: Includes respondents with an unclassified migrant status

c: n=1 but rounded to 0 percent

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Survey content

It was determined during the collection phase that several survey questions had been affected by wording or printing errors, which had not or could not have been picked up in piloting and which created problems in interpreting some responses.

For the question on the proportion of wages received from their employer (Q33), it was intended that the respondent would indicate on a line (by drawing a mark) the proportion of wages they received relative to the categories 'none of it', 'half of it' and 'all of it'. However, most respondents circled one of the three categories rather than making a mark on the line. This was rectified by training survey collectors to advise respondents on how to properly respond to the question. As this training occurred during the collection phase, it is possible that a number of surveys collected prior to the training were thus affected.

The question on contracts (Q35) asked respondents if they had ever been on a contract; however, the multiple-choice responses include a comparison of their current workplace conditions with their contract terms. Therefore, it would have been difficult for respondents who were previously but not currently on a contract to answer the question.

Respondents were also asked whether they had experienced at work a range of situations that were positive or negative in nature (eg incidents of abuse or the provision of support and services), and whether these situations involved their boss, receptionist, co-workers, sex worker organisations, police, staff from the then Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC; now Department of Immigration and Border Protection), or other government agencies (Q39). However, this question did not have an option for respondents to indicate that they had not experienced the listed situations. Therefore, it was not possible to distinguish between respondents who did not select any experiences because they were not relevant or because they skipped the question.

The survey question on respondents' help-seeking behaviour (ie from whom would they seek assistance for a range of scenarios—involving criminal, financial, work, health or immigration issues; Q48) was problematic because, similar to Question 39

described above, a list of options was provided including 'I don't know' and 'I wouldn't seek help for this', but not 'none of those listed'. The options that were provided were relevant mainly to scenarios relating to crime and justice rather than health, work conditions and financial issues. Feedback from the steering committee suggested that the formatting of the question and responses into a table might have discouraged or confused respondents. This same formatting issue was raised for Q39. Further, although the wording of the question implied that only one option should be selected for each scenario, unlike all other questions in the survey there was no direct instruction to select one response only. The subsequent high non-response rate for this question is likely an indication that the issues listed above may have prevented or discouraged some respondents from answering this question (see Appendix B).

Missing responses

Twenty-nine of the 60 survey questions had a non-response rate of 10 percent or more of the entire sample (see Appendix A). This was due to incomplete surveys and respondents skipping questions. This limited the extent to which the responses to some questions could be generalised to the entire sample. It also created potential validity issues in comparing migrant and non-migrant responses, particularly where the non-response rate differed between these two groups for certain questions.

Migrant sex workers in New Zealand

A survey tool nearly identical to the one used in this research project was administered among 124 migrant sex workers in New Zealand in 2012. This survey was conducted by the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective and was separate to this project. Given the similarities in the methodology applied in the research projects, findings from the New Zealand survey will be compared with the AIC/Scarlet Alliance study regarding the work and migration situations of both sample groups. A summary of the findings from the New Zealand survey is provided in Appendix D.

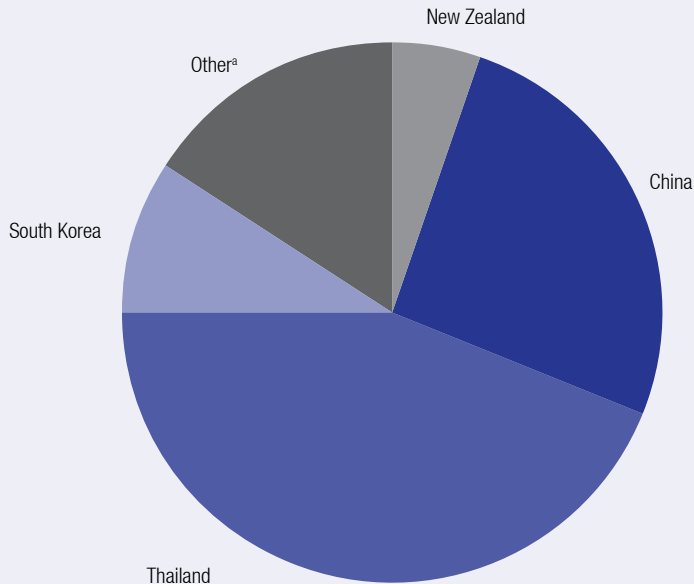


Migrant sex worker demographics

Overall, 70 percent (n=412) of respondents were classified as migrants and 25 percent (n=151) were classified as non-migrants. The rest of the respondents (5%, n=29) were categorised as 'missing' migrant status. Migrant status was coded as missing for cases where the respondent did not answer the survey question on birth country, or if their answer for birth country did not correspond with other key survey questions on migration. For example, a case was dropped if the respondent identified that they were born in a country other than Australia but selected the options 'I have only lived in Australia', 'I have always lived in Australia' or 'I was born in Australia' in subsequent questions.

Of the identified migrant survey population, 44 percent indicated they were born in Thailand, 26 percent in China, nine percent in South Korea and five percent in New Zealand (Figure 1). Thai, Chinese and Korean-speaking migrants were, as described previously, specifically targeted for survey collection. The majority of respondents from Thailand (87%), China (59%) and New Zealand (57%), and all respondents from South Korea, regarded their birth country as their home country (Table 3). Those born in 'other' category countries were more likely to consider Australia as their home country.

Figure 1 Birth country of migrant respondents (%)



N=412

a: 'Other' birth countries included (in alphabetical order) Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, England, Fiji Islands, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Persia (Iran), Philippines, Russia, Scotland, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, United Kingdom, United States of America, Vietnam, Wales and Zimbabwe. In some cases, regions instead of countries were given as responses, such as Europe. Those respondents who selected the 'other' category for birth country but failed to specify which country (n=3) were counted as 'other' birth country

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking [computer file]

Table 3 Migrant respondents' birth country by home country (%)

Home country	Birth country				
	New Zealand	China ^a	Thailand ^b	South Korea ^c	Other
Australia	45	39	11	0	57
New Zealand	55	0	1	0	0
China	0	59	1	0	2
Thailand	0	1	87	0	0
South Korea	0	1	0	100	0
Other	0	0	0	0	42
Total (n)	22	100	178	37	65

a: Excludes 7 migrant respondents born in China who did not respond to the question on home country

b: Excludes 2 migrant respondents born in Thailand who did not respond to the question on home country

c: Excludes one migrant respondent born in South Korea who did not respond to the question on home country

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

It should be noted that the non-migrant category included a small number of cases where respondents indicated that they were born in Australia but also answered questions regarding migration and previous country of residence. In some cases, respondents clarified that they were born in Australia but had since moved and lived overseas for a period before returning; however, there were four cases where the reasons for their responses to the migration questions were unclear. These cases were retained as non-migrants as it was not possible to verify whether the respondents were simply responding to the fact that they had returned to Australia after spending time overseas. The majority of respondents born in Australia did not respond to and/or correctly skipped the questions on migration.

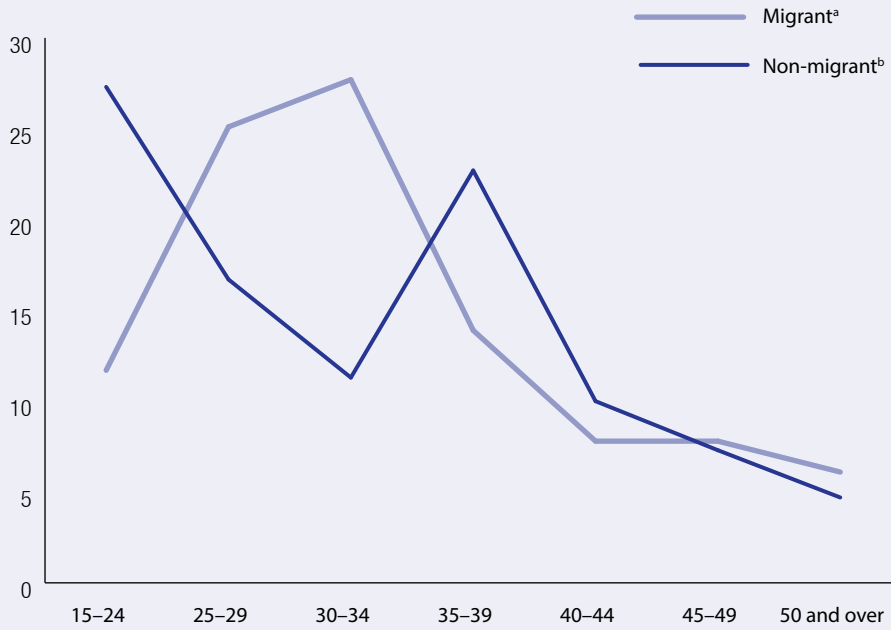
Questions on age, education level, English proficiency, income expenditures and whether respondents have young children aimed to highlight the financial responsibilities of migrant respondents and potential barriers to their occupational mobility. Responses were compared both between and within migrant groups.

Gender and age

Most respondents were female (97% of migrants and 93% of non-migrants), with only 17 male and eight transgender respondents. Ten males were non-migrants, six were migrants and one was of an unclassified migrant status. All eight transgender respondents were migrants. Given the small number of transgender and male respondents, no gender comparisons were undertaken for this report.

Both migrant and non-migrant respondents had the same median age range of 30–34 years, approximating the median age of 31 years in the LASH survey and 29 years from the SSHC data (Donovan et al. 2012). However, the distribution of age ranges for migrants and non-migrants varied significantly (Figure 2). An inverse age distribution between migrants and non-migrants was observed, with non-migrants peaking in the 15–24 and 35–39 age ranges, while migrants peaked in the 25–29 and 30–34 age ranges. Respondents born in South Korea appeared to be younger than respondents born in China and Thailand (Figure 3).

Figure 2 Age group by migrant status (%)



Migrant: n=411

Non-migrant: n=150

$\chi(6)=39.34, p<0.001$

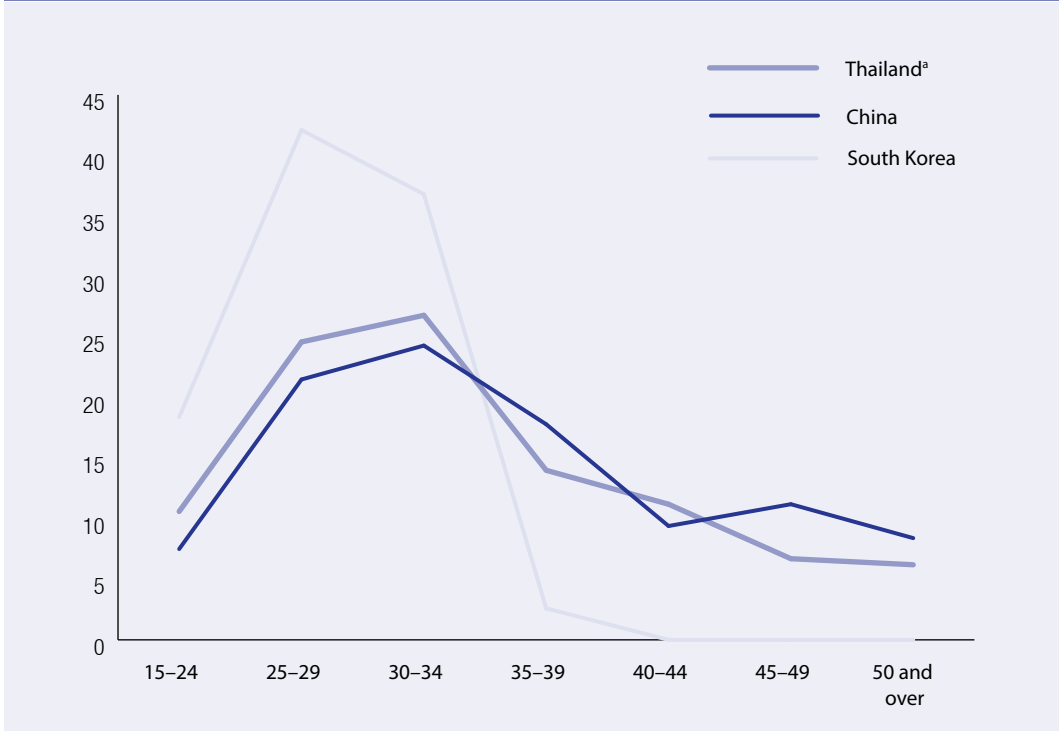
a: Excludes one migrant respondent who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes one non-migrant respondent who did not respond to this question

Note: 7 respondents were aged 15–19 years: 3 were migrants and 4 were non-migrants. This age category was combined with the 20–24 category due to small numbers

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 3 Age group of migrant respondents by birth country (%)



China: n=107

Thailand: n=179

South Korea: n=38

$\chi^2(12)=26.76, p<0.01$, four cells with expected frequency <5

a: Excludes one migrant respondent born in Thailand who did not respond to this question

Note: Excludes migrant respondents born in New Zealand or 'other' countries due to small frequencies

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Relationship status and children

A significant difference in relationship status existed between migrant and non-migrant respondents. The majority of migrant and non-migrant sex workers were single (49% and 56% respectively; Table 4). Nineteen percent of migrant and 13 of non-migrant respondents were separated, widowed or divorced. However, among sex workers who were in a relationship at the time of the survey, migrants were significantly more likely to be married than in a de facto relationship, with the converse true for non-migrants.

More than half (55%) of migrant respondents who answered the question on children indicated they had at least one child; more than one-third (37%) had at least one child under the age of 15 years. These were similar to the proportions seen among non-migrant respondents who answered the question; however, migrant respondents were significantly more likely to have only one child (of any age) and less likely to have three or more children (Table 5). This difference was also seen in the distribution of the number of children aged under 15 years (Table 5).

Table 4 Relationship status by migrant status (%)

Relationship status	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b
Single	49	56
Registered married	20*	6*
De facto	11*	22*
Widowed	2	3
Divorced	12	7
Separated but not divorced	5	3
In a relationship ^c	1	3
Total (n)	397	148

$\chi(6)=28.50, p<0.001$, two cells with expected frequency <5

* adj res outside +/-1.96

a: Excludes 15 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes 2 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question, and one non-migrant respondent who selected 'other category' for this question but did not specify whether they were in a relationship

c: Includes respondents who specified as a written response to the 'other' category that they had a boyfriend, partner or were in a relationship

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 5 Number of children by migrant status (%)

	Dependent (14 years or under)		Total (all ages)	
	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Migrant ^c	Non-migrant ^d
None	63	66	45	49
One	28*	18*	33*	21*
Two	9	12	17	16
Three or more	0 ^e	4*	5*	13*
Total (n)	232	140	286	142
Significance testing ^f	$\chi(3)=10.01, p<0.02$, two cells with expected frequency<5		$\chi(3)=14.58, p<0.01$	

* adj res outside +/-1.96

a: Excludes 180 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes 11 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

c: Excludes 126 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

d: Excludes 9 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

e: n=1, rounded to 0 percent

f: Migrant respondents were significantly less likely to answer both these questions than non-migrants; therefore, the responses may not be representative of the migrant sample and comparisons between migrant status may not be valid

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. The questions on children of any age and dependent age had a high non-response rate (24% and 34% respectively)

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Single mothers

Of the female migrant respondents who answered questions on relationship status and children (n=359), one-quarter were single mothers (ie they were single, widowed, divorced or separated and had at least one dependent child). Migrant and non-migrant female respondents were equally likely to be single mothers (25% cf 24%). There was a disproportionate number of missing responses from migrant respondents to the question on children; therefore the findings presented here may not be representative of the entire migrant sex worker sample and comparisons between migrant status may not be valid.

Language

Just less than two-thirds of migrant respondents who answered the question on English proficiency

said they spoke English very well or well, although this figure includes respondents who were born in New Zealand and other English-speaking countries (Table 6). Nearly one-third disclosed that they did not speak English well; however, only one percent stated that they did not speak English at all. Migrant respondents born in South Korea and China were less likely to state that they speak English ‘very well’ or ‘well’ compared with Thai-born respondents.

The majority of migrant respondents indicated that they spoke English at work (Table 7); however, even these respondents did not necessarily rate their English proficiency highly. In fact, 29 percent of migrant respondents who stated that they spoke English at work also stated that they did not speak English well or at all. The languages spoken at work broadly reflected the cultural backgrounds of migrant respondents, with Thai and Chinese dialects (ie Mandarin and Cantonese) making up the majority of languages other than English spoken at work.

Table 6 How well migrant respondents spoke English, by birth country (%)

	China ^a	Thailand ^b	South Korea ^c	Other	New Zealand	Total ^d
Very well	6	3	3	68	95	19
Well	35	70	24	25	5	46
Not well	57	27	70	8	0	34
Don't speak English	3	0	3	0	0	1
Total (n)	104	179	37	65	22	407

a: Excludes 3 migrant respondents born in China who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes one migrant respondent born in Thailand who did not respond to this question

c: Excludes one migrant respondent born in South Korea who did not respond to this question

d: Excludes 5 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 7 Languages spoken at work by migrant respondents (%)^a

English	89
Thai	29
Mandarin	13
Cantonese	6
Korean	4
Other ^b	4
Total (n)	407

a: Excludes 5 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Other languages spoken at work, where specified, included (in alphabetical order) German, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Lao, Malay, Portuguese, Spanish, Spanish Filipino, Tagalog and Tahitian French

Note: Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on language spoken at work

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Education level

On an aggregate level (combining migrant, non-migrant and unclassified migrant status responses) education levels largely reflected those recorded in the Queensland survey on sex workers and those of Sydney respondents in the LASH survey (Donovan et al. 2012; Woodward et al. 2004). The education levels of migrant respondents to this survey, particularly those born in Thailand and China, also broadly reflect those measured among Asian-born sex workers in the SSHS (Pell et al. 2006).

Overall, migrant respondents were significantly less likely to have tertiary qualifications and more likely to have primary school level or no education compared with non-migrant respondents ($\chi^2(2)=13.77, p<0.01$). There was a corresponding significant difference in the distribution of highest education level attained between migrants and non-migrants (Table 8). Migrants were significantly more likely than non-migrants to have a bachelor degree as their highest qualification, but less likely to have a postgraduate degree, graduate diploma, certificate or Year 10. Migrants were also more likely than non-migrants to have finished Year 12 but also significantly more

likely to have primary school level or no education. Thai-born respondents were particularly likely to have not gone beyond primary school education.

This demonstrates that Australian-born respondents were more likely than migrant respondents to go on to achieve tertiary-level qualifications if they completed Year 12. Similarly, Australian-born respondents who achieved a bachelor degree were more likely to go on to complete postgraduate qualifications. Closer analysis of education level by birth country shows that respondents born in New Zealand were more likely to achieve a tertiary qualification on completion of Year 12 than migrant respondents born in China, Thailand or South Korea, but nearly as likely as these groups to achieve a postgraduate qualification on completion of an undergraduate qualification.

Perhaps not surprisingly, closer analysis of education and self-rated English proficiency in the survey showed that higher-level education was associated with increased English proficiency. The distribution of English proficiency varied significantly between education levels (Figure 4).

Table 8 Education level by migrant status and birth country (%)

	Migrant status		Birth country (migrants) ^a			
	Migrant ^b	Non-migrant ^c	New Zealand	China ^d	Thailand ^e	South Korea
Postgraduate degree	3*	7*	0	1	2	3
Graduate diploma or certificate	5*	11*	9	1	6	3
Bachelor degree	23*	9*	23	15	28	32
Diploma	12	13	18	11	7	18
Certificate	8*	25*	27	3	6	3
High school to Year 12	27*	11*	18	41	24	37
High school to Year 10	12*	21*	5	24	9	5
Primary school to none	10*	3*	0	5	18	0
Total (n)	402	150	22	101	176	38

* adj res outside +/-1.96

$\chi(7)=70.02, p<0.001$

a: Significance testing could not be undertaken on birth country due to low frequencies. Excludes migrant respondents who were born in 'other' countries

b: Excludes 10 migrant respondents who did not answer this question

c: Excludes one non-migrant respondent who did not answer this question

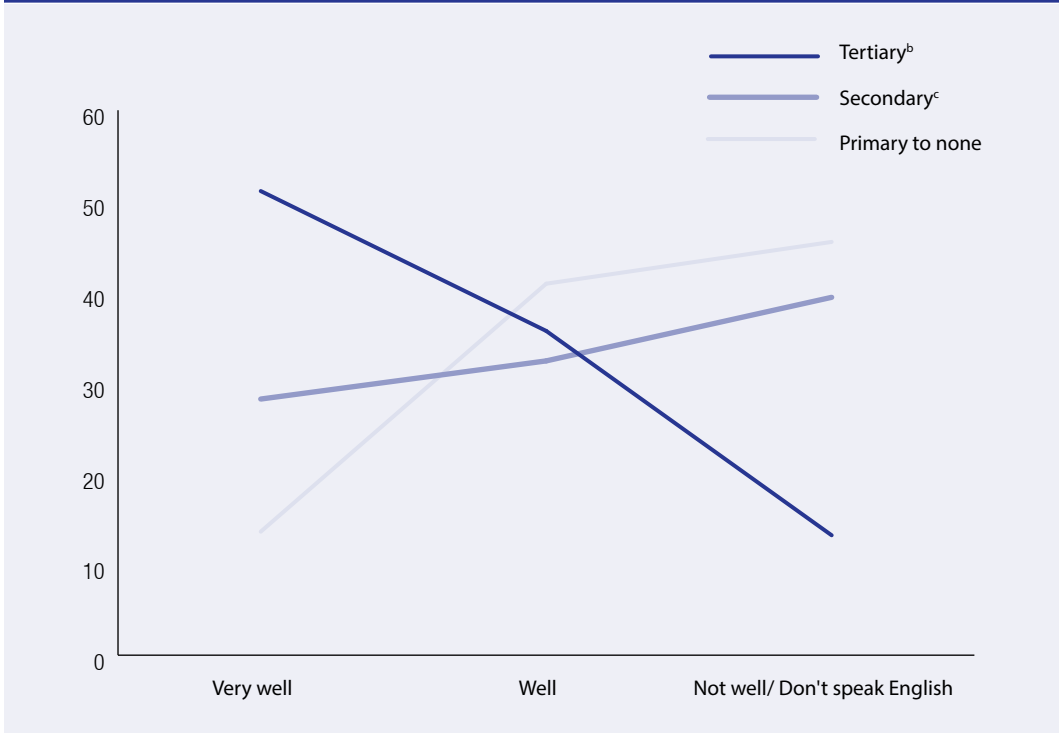
d: Excludes 6 migrant respondents born in China who did not answer this question

e: Excludes 4 migrant respondents born in Thailand who did not answer this question

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 4 How well respondents speak English (self-rated) by education level (%)^a



Tertiary: n=319

Secondary: n=213

Primary level or none: n=44

$\chi(4)=68.34, p<0.001$

a: Includes respondents with unclassified migrant status

b: Excludes 3 respondents with tertiary education level who did not respond to the question on English proficiency

c: Excludes 2 respondents with secondary education level who did not respond to the question on English proficiency

Source: AIC Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Income expenditure trends

Respondents were asked what they spent the majority of their income on. The majority of both migrant and non-migrant respondents identified 'supporting their family' as their major expenditure, with significantly more migrant respondents than non-migrants indicating that they were supporting family overseas (Table 10).

Migrant respondents were significantly less likely to be spending the majority of their income on drugs (Table 10). This may reflect the extremely low rates of injecting and illicit substance use among Asian sex workers as measured in the SSHC survey (Pell et al. 2006).

Table 9 How respondents spend the majority of their income by migrant status (%)

	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Significance testing ^c
Support myself and my family in Australia	43	76	Yates' adj $\chi^2=35.4^{**}$
Save [saving money]	34	41	ns
Education fees	30	20	ns
Support family in home country or country other than Australia	36	3	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=43.7^{**}$
Pay debts in Australia	7	32	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=50.0^{**}$
Pay debts in home country	14	1	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=13.6^*$
Gamble	8	5	ns
Buy drugs	0 ^d	16	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=55.4^{**}$
Other	6	11	ns

* $p < 0.001$

** $p < 0.0001$

ns: not significant

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant respondents who answered the question (n=405), excluding 7 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of non-migrant respondents who answered the question (n=109), excluding 42 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

c: Migrant status comparisons should be interpreted with caution as non-migrants were significantly less likely than migrants to answer the question on income expenditure

d: n=1, rounded to 0 percent

Note: Respondents could select multiple responses for the question on income expenditure

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Non-migrants were significantly more likely to be spending the majority of their income on debts (either in Australia, overseas or both) compared with migrant respondents (33%, n=36 of 20%, n=79; Yates adj $\chi^2(1)=8.28$, $p<0.01$). Respondents who indicated that they spent the majority of their income on debt in Australia or in their home country, or both (n=120, including 5 respondents with an unclassified migrant status), were also asked whether this debt was incurred by travelling to Australia or securing their current job. Thirty percent (n=31) of the 104 respondents who answered this question indicated that their debt was incurred by travelling to Australia or securing their current job. All but one of these respondents were migrants. Thus, seven percent of the entire migrant survey sample indicated that they spent the majority of their income on debt incurred by travelling to Australia or securing their current job.

The New Zealand survey asked migrant respondents the same question on income expenditure. The New Zealand responses reflected those of this survey, with supporting themselves and their family in New Zealand (43%) and saving money (28%) emerging as the major expenditures. Key differences between this survey and the New Zealand survey included less New Zealand migrant sex workers spending the majority of their income on supporting family members in another country (28% of 36%) (see Table 9), paying debts in another country (7% of 14%), education fees (19% of 30%) and gambling (2% of 8%).

The New Zealand survey (see Appendix D) also asked respondents why they stayed in the industry, with a range of multiple-choice options provided that related to income expenditures and workplace

conditions. These responses were compared with the responses of non-migrant sex workers in New Zealand from a previous study (Roguski 2013). Reflecting the areas of major income expenditure, payment of household expenses (76% migrants, 82% non-migrants) and supporting children/family (49% migrants, 40% non-migrants) emerged as the common reasons for staying in the industry (Roguski 2013). Supporting alcohol or other drug use was less of a reason for working in the industry for migrant respondents (4%) than for non-migrants (17%; Roguski 2013), reflecting the differences found between income expenditures of migrants and non-migrants in this survey (Table 9).

Further differences between migrant and non-migrant respondents in the New Zealand studies include significantly less migrant respondents staying in the industry to support a gambling habit (1% of 39%; Roguski 2013). This proportion of non-migrant respondents who stayed in the industry to support their gambling habit was substantially higher than the non-migrant respondents in this AIC survey who stated that gambling was a major income expenditure (5%; see Table 9). However, highlighting the conceptual differences between the question on reasons for staying in the industry and the question on major income expenditures, migrant respondents in the New Zealand study were more likely to state that paying for education was a reason for staying in the industry (40%) than that it was a major income expenditure (19%). Similarly, they were more likely to state that saving was a reason for staying in the industry (59%) than that saving was a major income expenditure (28%; Roguski 2013).

Migration experiences

This section explores the migration experiences of migrant respondents, particularly the geographic and economic backgrounds of migrants, the push and pull factors underlying their migration, the costs and burdens of migration and the migration mechanisms they used.

Previous country and occupation

For the majority of migrant respondents, the last country of residence was their country of birth,

suggesting that most had immigrated directly to Australia. The exceptions were migrant respondents previously residing in New Zealand; nearly one-third of these respondents were born elsewhere, mostly in Thailand (Table 10).

More than half of respondents identified 'student' (29%) or 'worker' (24%) as their main occupation before coming to Australia (Figure 5). These two categories were also frequently selected by migrant respondents in the New Zealand survey (23%, n=28; 18% n=22, respectively; Roguski 2013). Only six percent of respondents in this Australian survey identified sex work as their main occupation.

Table 10 Birth country of migrant respondents by previous country of residence (%)^a

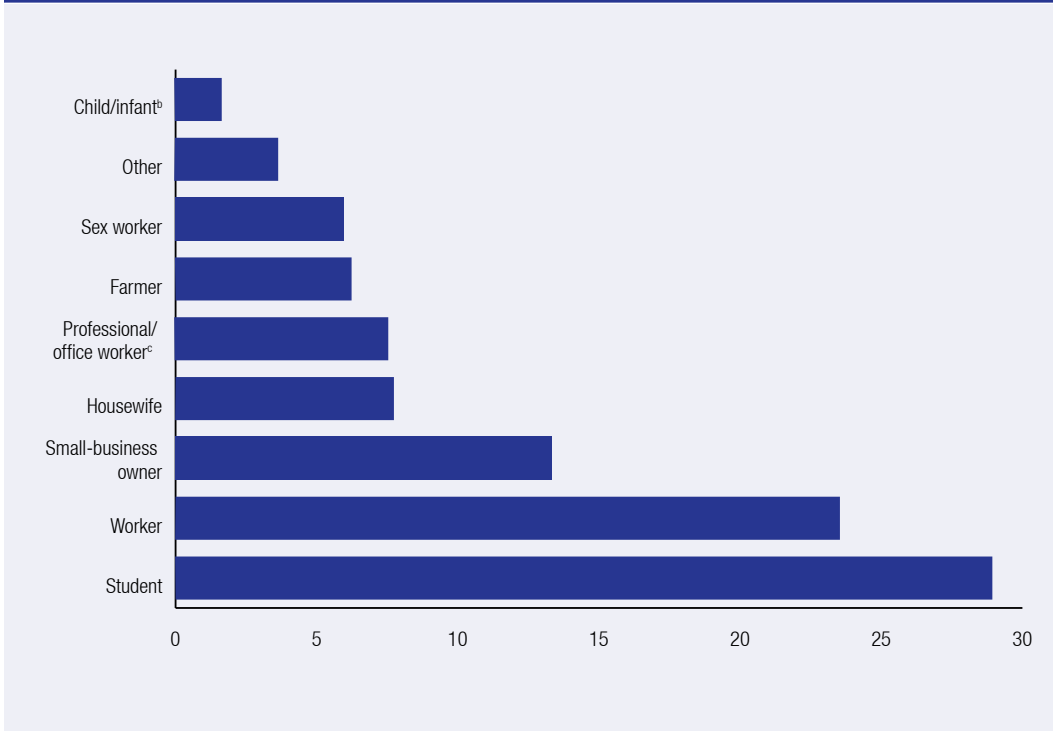
Birth country	Previous country of residence				
	New Zealand	China	Thailand	South Korea	Other
New Zealand	69	0	0	0	0
China	6	100	1	2	6
Thailand	19	0	98	13	3
South Korea	0	0	0	82	1
Other	6	0	1	2	90
Total (n)	32	95	165	45	67

a: Excludes 8 migrant respondents who did not answer the question on previous country of residence

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 5 Occupation of migrant respondents before travelling to Australia (%)^a



N=392

a: Excludes 20 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Child/infant category collated from responses in the 'other-specify' category

c: Professional/office worker category collated from the specification of 'other' in the survey question and composed of office clerks or an occupation that requires qualifications

Note: Respondents could select more than one response

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Push and pull factors for migration

As defined in the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Glossary of Migration (IOM 2004: 49):

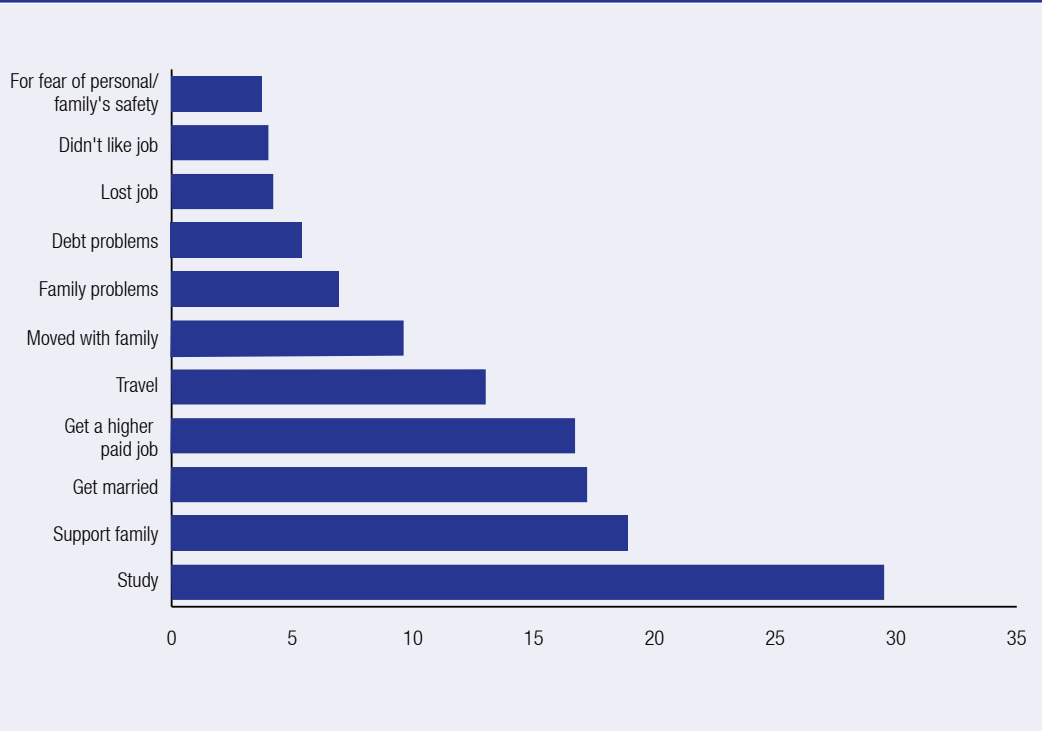
Migration is often analysed in terms of the 'push-pull model', which looks at the push factors, which drive people to leave their country and the pull factors, which attract them to a new country.

A major push factor for migrant respondents to leave their home country was education (30%; Figure 6), which was also a commonly selected reason among migrant sex workers in New Zealand for leaving their

home country (26%, n=32; Roguski 2013). Financial incentives also emerged as an important push factor, either to support family (19%) or to get a higher paid job (17%); six percent of respondents indicated debt problems as a reason for leaving (Figure 6).

Seventeen percent of respondents left their home country to get married (Figure 6). Proportionally fewer migrant respondents to the New Zealand study indicated that they left their home country to be married (7%, n=9), while more indicated that they wanted to travel (20%, n=25; Roguski 2013).

Figure 6 Migrant respondents' reasons for leaving home country (%)^a



N=408

a: Excludes 4 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question. Excludes responses to the 'other' option to the question due to survey print error (167 migrant respondents were missing this option on their survey)

Note: Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on reasons for leaving home country

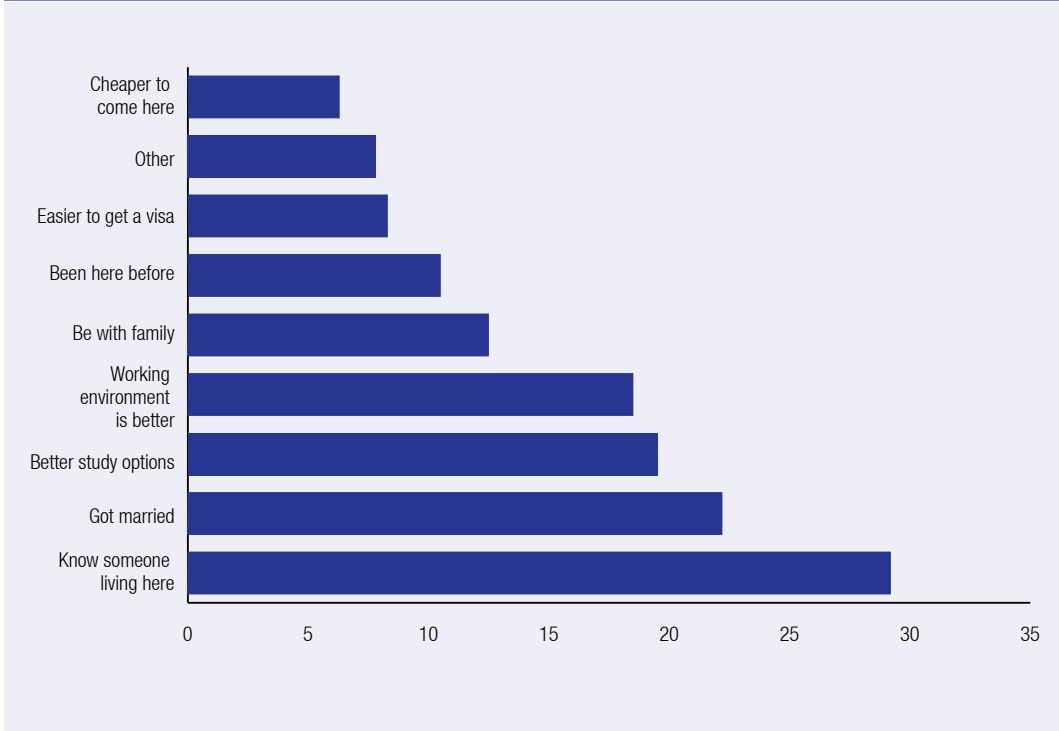
Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

The most common reason respondents came to Australia rather than another country was because they knew someone living here (29%). Other frequently reported reasons for migrating to Australia were to be married (22%), to have better study options available to them (20%) and/or because the work environment was better (19%; Figure 7).

The most frequent 'other' reason for moving to Australia included the benefits of the Australian climate and lifestyle (n=6). Others stated that they moved here specifically to travel (n=2), with their family when they were a child (n=3), because sex work was legal here (n=3), to make money (n=4) and/or to be with their partner (n=2). One respondent stated that she was forced here against her will; another stated that she was a refugee.

Push and pull factors for migration, although closely related, are conceptually different. People's reasons for leaving their home country may vary from the reasons for which they select a certain country to migrate to. Eighty-nine percent (n=63) of migrant respondents who indicated that they left their home country to be married also selected 'became married' as the reason they chose to migrate to Australia. For those who stated that they left their home country to study, only 50 percent (n=61) identified the better study options available in Australia as their reason for choosing Australia as a migration destination.

Figure 7 Migrant respondents' reasons for travelling to Australia (%)^a



N=402

a: Excludes 10 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on reasons for travelling to Australia

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Entering Australia—migration mechanisms

As a proxy measure for the types of visas migrant respondents had used to enter Australia, respondents were asked what 'actions' they had undertaken to enter Australia. It was considered too sensitive an issue to ask respondents directly what visa they were on when they migrated. Most commonly, migrant respondents had enrolled in an education course in order to enter Australia (43%, n=160; see Figure 8). Sixty percent (n=96) of migrant respondents who enrolled in an education course also selected 'to study' as one of the reasons they had left their home country. One-quarter of migrant respondents (n=94) entered Australia to be married, with 67 percent (n=63) of these respondents indicating that they wanted to leave their home

country in order to be married. Seventeen percent (n=63) came into the country as a tourist and 38 percent (n= 24) of these migrant respondents indicated that they wanted to leave their home country in order to travel.

Migrant respondents also identified other methods used to enter Australia such as having New Zealand citizenship (n=4), receiving a 'work holiday' or 'working holiday' visa (n=5), accompanying family into Australia and/or having Australian descendants (n=12). There were two migrant respondents who stated that they were refugees in response to this question. Of these two, one was the migrant respondent who indicated that the reason they migrated to Australia was because they were a refugee (as reported previously in this section); the other indicated that they migrated to Australia because they knew someone living here. One of

these respondents selected 'moved with my family' in response to the question on why they left their home country. The other respondent, who claimed she was a refugee, stated that she left her home country 'for fear of my own/family's safety'.

In response to this question, a few migrant respondents identified some reluctance in migrating to Australia, with one respondent stating, 'At the beginning I didn't want to come but I had to after I got married.'

In contrast to the New Zealand survey responses, more migrant respondents in the AIC/Scarlet Alliance survey were enrolled in an education course (43%, n=160 cf. 27%, n=34), got married (25% cf 15%) and fewer entered the country as a tourist (17% cf 44%; Figure 8) (Roguski 2013).

There were significant differences in workers' previous country of residence between those who did and did not enter Australia by enrolment in an education course ($\chi^2(4)=24.95$, $p<0.001$), through marriage ($\chi^2(4)=20.25$, $p<0.001$) or travelling to Australia as a tourist ($\chi^2(4)=19.71$, $p<0.01$).

- Respondents previously residing in Thailand were more likely to enrol in an education course; those previously residing in New Zealand were less likely to enrol in an education course.
- Respondents previously residing in Thailand were more likely to get married; those previously residing in South Korea were less likely to get married.
- Respondents previously residing in South Korea and New Zealand were more likely to travel as a tourist; those previously residing in Thailand were less likely to travel as a tourist.

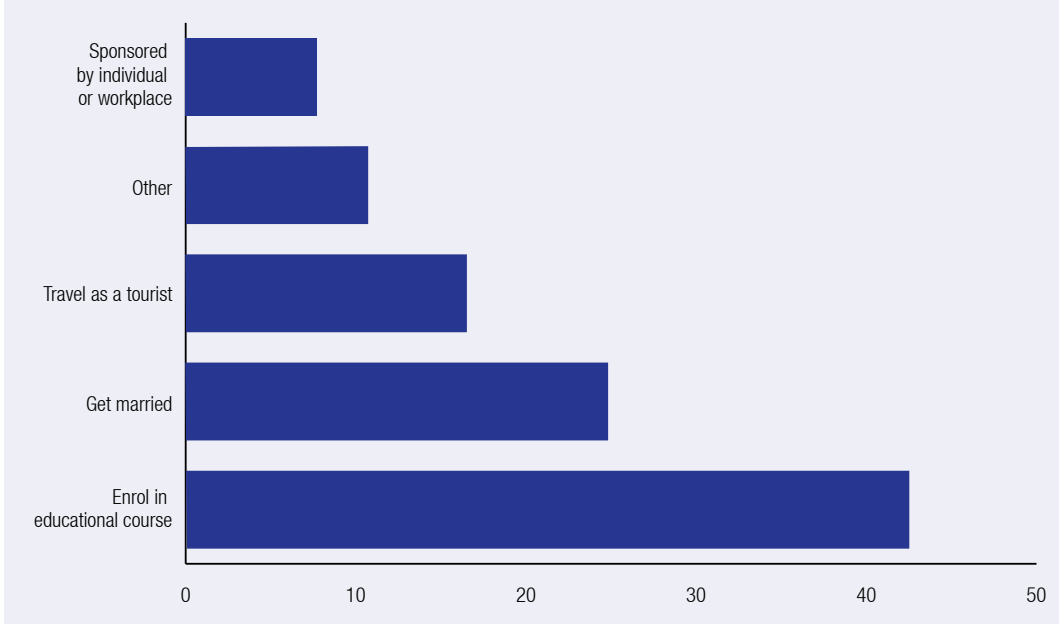
As stated previously, the survey did not ask respondents about their current visa status; however, the actions undertaken by the respondent to enter Australia may denote the type of visa they were issued at the time of the survey. However, as it is not known how long each respondent has been in Australia, or whether they had visited Australia before, this is not a straightforward assumption. For

example, those who enrolled in an education course may no longer be studying and may subsequently be in Australia on a different visa or have gained citizenship or permanent residency.

The only means available to broadly assess whether the respondents who enrolled in an education course to enter Australia were still studying, and therefore were still on a student visa, was to compare the ages of respondents with those of all international students in Australia. Comparisons with data from Australian Education International (AEI) show that the survey respondents who enrolled in an education course to enter Australia were older than international students generally: less than 10 percent of international students were aged 30–34 years (AEI 2010 data, cited in ABS 2011) compared with 34 percent of survey respondents. However, AEI data also showed that close to one-quarter of Thai international students were aged 30–34 years (AEI 2012 2013) and therefore the older age of survey respondents may be a result of the over-representation of those previously residing in Thailand among those who enrolled in an education course to enter Australia. Overall, the comparison was largely inconclusive regarding whether the migrant respondents were students at the time of surveying.

Of the respondents who entered Australia by getting married (and this was the only action they selected for the question on actions undertaken to enter Australia), just more than one-third indicated that they were currently registered as married (35%; Figure 10); nearly one-quarter were divorced (24%) and almost 15 percent were separated but not divorced (14%; Figure 10). Therefore the majority of migrant respondents who reported entering Australia to marry were no longer married at the time of the survey. However, because well more than half of migrant respondents who entered Australia to get married also indicated that getting married was one of the reasons that they left their home country (as described previously), these results may illustrate the rate of marriage breakdown rather than the proportion of sham marriages conducted in order to migrate.

Figure 8 Migrant respondents' actions undertaken to enter Australia (%)^a



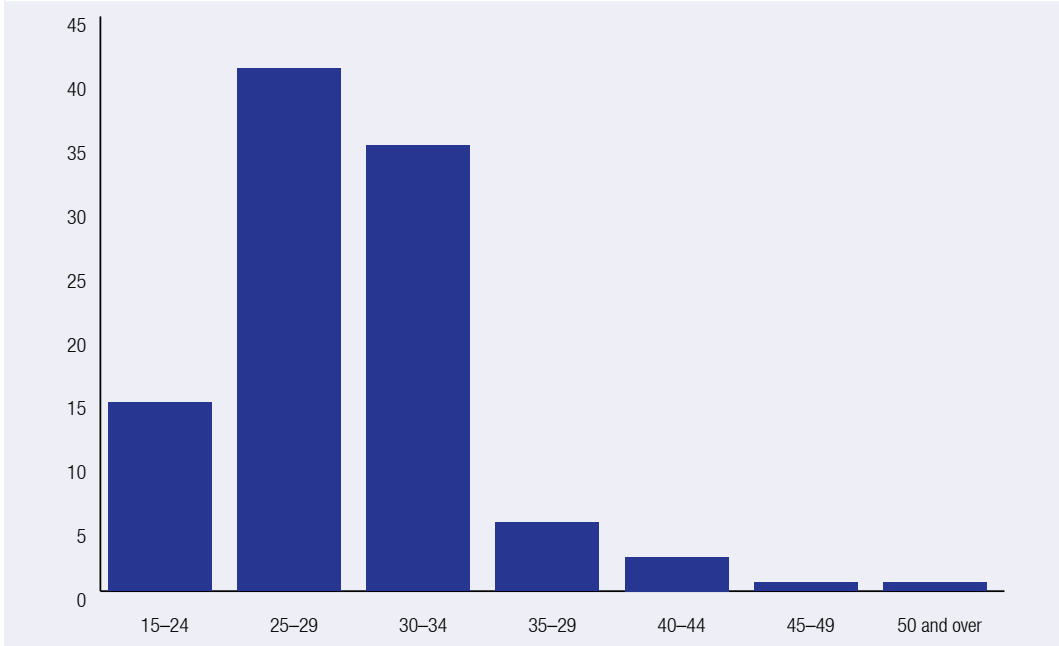
N=374

a: Excludes 38 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on actions undertaken to enter Australia

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 9 Age group of migrant respondents who enrolled in an education course to enter Australia (%)^a

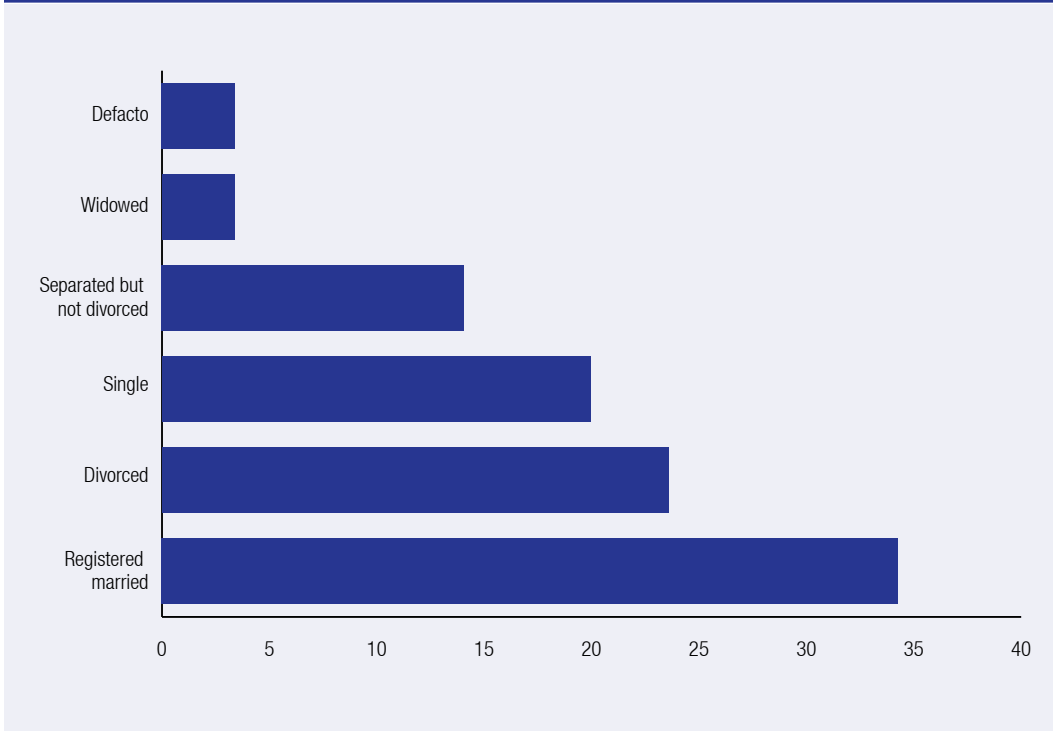


N=149

a: Migrant respondents who selected more than one action to enter Australia were excluded

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 10 Relationship status of migrant respondents who got married to enter Australia (%)^a



N=84

a: Migrant respondents who selected more than one action to enter Australia were excluded. Also excluded were 3 migrant respondents who selected 'got married' as their only action to enter Australia but did not answer the question on relationship status

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Assistance in securing a visa

Respondents were also asked about who helped them to secure a visa (eg who organised the relevant paperwork) and with whom they travelled to come to Australia. About one-quarter of all migrant respondents received the assistance of a broker/agent, one-quarter arranged their visa on their own and more than one-quarter were assisted by their fiancé/husband/boyfriend (Figure 11). Brokers and migration agents have been identified as playing a role in cases involving the deception and exploitation of migrant workers (David 2008); therefore, the predominance of self-arranged migration is a positive trend that may reduce such risks.

Where respondents received the assistance of more than one person (n=17), all but two used the

services of a broker/agent together with another relative, partner or acquaintance. More than half of respondents signified that the people who helped them secure a visa were based in Australia (n=150, 58%; excluding 81 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question).

The previous country of residence significantly differed for migrant respondents who had or had not received assistance in terms of securing a visa from their fiancé/husband/boyfriend ($\chi^2(4)=25.21$, $p<0.001$), a broker/agent ($\chi^2(4)=29.43$, $p<0.001$) or a relative ($\chi^2(4)=20.91$, $p<0.001$, one cell with expected frequency <5) or who arranged their visa on their own ($\chi^2(4)=65.68$, $p<0.001$).

- Migrant respondents previously residing in Thailand were more likely to have a fiancé/boyfriend/husband arrange their visa; respondents previously

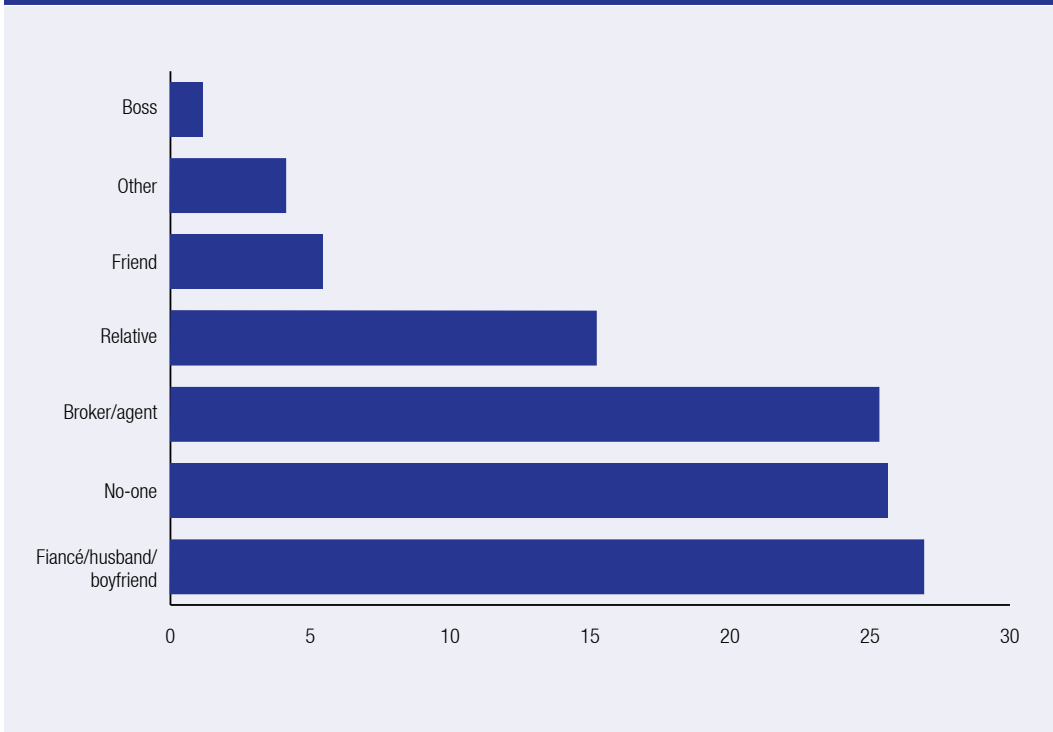
residing in South Korea were less likely to have a fiancé/boyfriend/partner arrange their visa.

- Migrant respondents previously residing in China were more likely to have a broker/agent arrange their visa; respondents previously residing in New Zealand (who were not necessarily New Zealand citizens and therefore required a visa to enter Australia) and 'other' countries were less likely to have a broker/agent arrange their visa.
- Migrant respondents previously residing in Thailand and 'other' countries were more likely to have a relative arrange their visa; respondents previously residing in China and South Korea were less likely to have a relative arrange their visa.

- Migrant respondents previously residing in South Korea, New Zealand and 'other' countries were more likely to arrange their visa on their own; respondents previously residing in Thailand were less likely to arrange their visa on their own.

Three migrant respondents stated they travelled with their boss or employer but the majority (63%) travelled alone (Figure 12), as did most of the migrant respondents to the New Zealand survey (62%, n=77; Roguski 2013).

Figure 11 People who helped migrant respondents secure a visa (%)



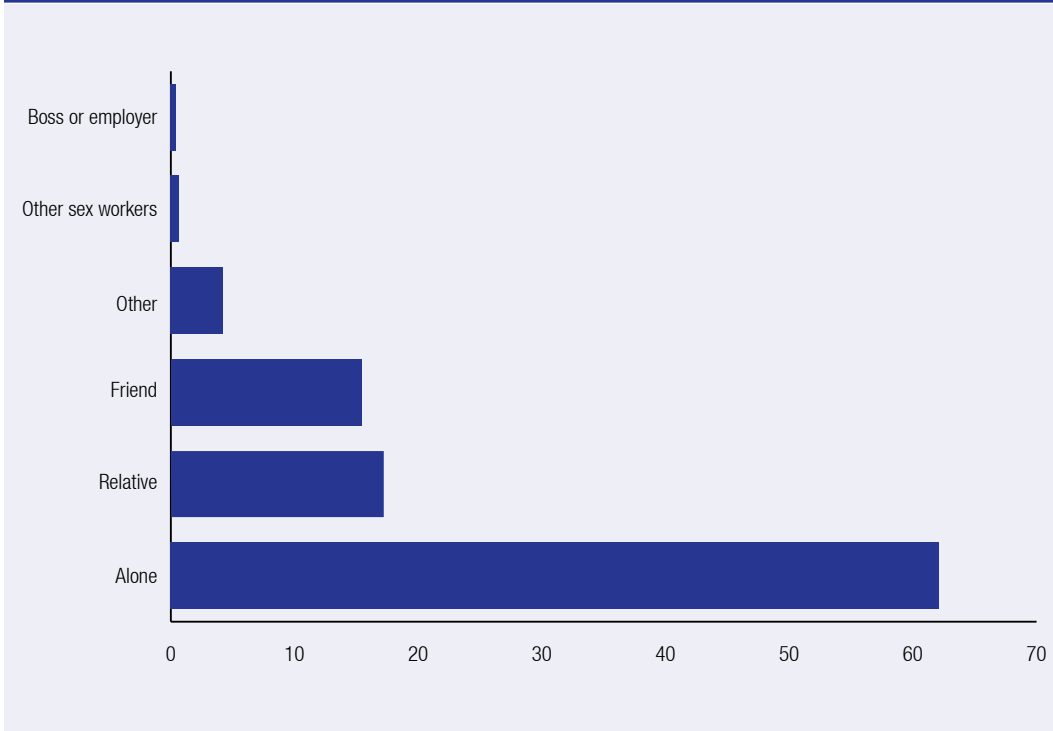
N=376

a: Excludes 36 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: The majority of those who selected 'other person' as their helper simply used this space to clarify why they did not need to get a visa—for instance, being a citizen of New Zealand or being an Australian citizen by descent. Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on people who helped migrant respondents secure a visa

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 12 People who accompanied migrant respondents on their journey to Australia (%)^a



N=392

a: Excludes 20 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on people who accompanied them on their journey to Australia

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Travel costs

Respondents were asked how much it cost them to travel, enter and start working in Australia.

Respondents were able to select the amount paid from a range of currencies (eg Thai baht, South Korean won, New Zealand dollar). Currencies were converted to Australian dollars using exchange rates current at the midpoint of survey collection (30 June 2010). The date respondents migrated to Australia was unknown; therefore, the amount in Australian dollars may not reflect the value at the time respondents migrated.

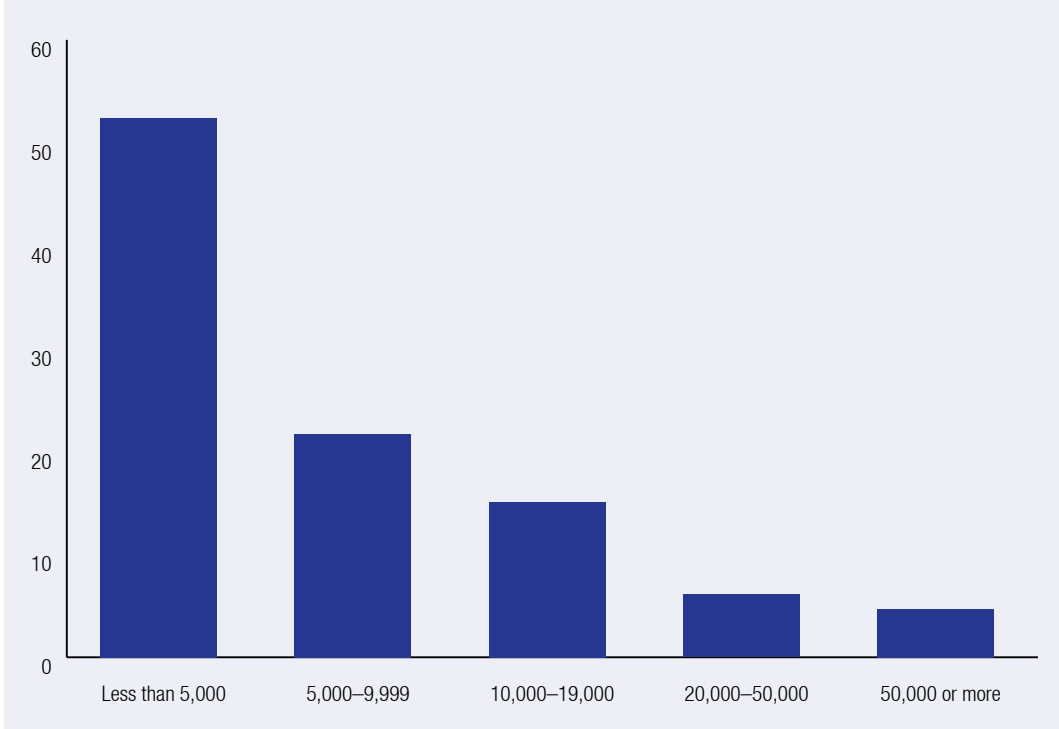
More than half of migrant respondents declined to answer the question on how much it cost to travel, enter and start working in Australia. Some respondents clarified, stating that they were unsure because their parents paid for the trip. Of those who answered the question (n=194), about three-quarters had spent less than \$10,000; half indicated

that they spent less than \$5,000 and close to one-quarter spent \$5,000–\$9,999 (Figure 13). The small number who spent \$50,000 or more reported spending quite large sums, with two respondents spending between \$100,000 and \$150,000, with the largest reported expenditure that of one respondent who spent \$425,000.

There was a significant difference in the distribution of migration costs between migrant respondents who selected a broker/agent as someone who arranged their visa and those who did not (Table 11); those who used a broker/agent to arrange their visa were more likely to have costs more than \$10,000 and less likely to have costs of less than \$5,000.

There was no significant difference in the cost distribution of migrant respondents who stated they spent the majority of their income on debt in Australia and/or in their home country.

Figure 13 Migration costs for migration respondents (%)^a



N=212

a: Excludes 200 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: The question on migration costs had a high non-response rate (49%); therefore, responses may not be representative of the migrant sample. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 11 Migration costs for migrant respondents by people who arranged visa (%)^a

A\$	Relative		Fiancé/husband/boyfriend		Broker/agent ^b		No-one ^c	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Less than 5,000	44	53	58	50	19*	65*	67*	46*
5,000 to 9,999	41	20	23	22	29	20	17	24
10,000 to 19,999	11	16	12	17	31*	10*	10	18
20,000 to 49,999	4	6	4	7	12*	3*	3	7
50,000 or more	0	5	4	5	10*	2*	2	5
Total (n)	27	178	52	153	59	146	58	147

* adj res outside +/-1.96

a: Excludes 36 migrant respondents who did not respond to the question on people who arranged their visa and 171 migrant respondents who answered the question on people who arranged their visa but did not respond to the question on migration costs

b: $\chi(4)=42.21, p<0.001$, two cells with expected frequency <5

c: $\chi(4)=8.29, p=0.081$, two cells with expected frequency <5

Note: The question on migration costs had a high non-response rate (49%); therefore, responses may not be representative of the migrant sample. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. Respondents could select multiple responses for the question on people who arranged their visa

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Migration satisfaction

More than two-thirds of migrant respondents indicated they intended to stay in Australia for more than two years (Figure 14). For those who intended to stay for two years or less, 38 percent did not want to come back to Australia to work (n=46, excluding four migrant respondents who did not respond to the question), while just more than one-quarter did wish to return (26%).

Many of the migrant respondents who replied that they did not want to come back to Australia did not give a reason for this decision. Of those who did, some indicated they had experienced bad situations working in the sex industry:

- 'I really hate it' [*translated from Korean*]; and
- 'because the job is [dangerous] and hard'.

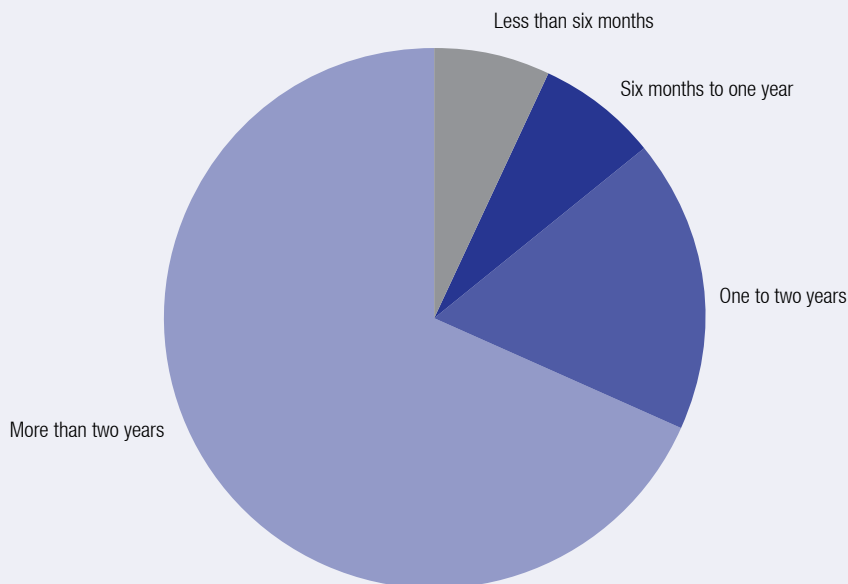
Other comments related to being lonely and wanting to be reunited with family and friends in their home country:

- 'no friends' [*translated from Chinese*];
- 'in here I stay alone'; and
- 'wanting to be with family' [*translated from Thai*].

Overall, seven migrant respondents expressed a dislike of the work or declared feelings of loneliness and missing their family as reasons they would not come back to Australia to work.

There were also responses that demonstrated a need to move on with their lives; to do something different, such as study or travel or to transition to what one respondent termed a 'legitimate' job.

Figure 14 Migrant respondents' intended length of stay in Australia (%)^a



N=397

a: Excludes 15 migrant respondents who did not answer the question on intended length of stay

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Migrant work conditions

In this section, the work conditions reported by migrant sex workers are examined, including where they were working, their workload, condom use, incidents of restricted workplace rights (such as being forced to take clients), experiences of abuse within the workplace and the provision of support, payment conditions and other workplace arrangements. Differences in work conditions between migrant and non-migrant respondents and where these coincided with differences in work satisfaction are also explored.

Workplace type

Survey respondents were asked to indicate the types of workplaces in which they were currently working using a multiple-choice list of workplaces developed by Scarlet Alliance (2011). This included:

- a brothel—fixed-site, managed business with multiple workers providing full service (sex);
- a BDSM house—fixed-site, managed business with multiple workers providing bondage, discipline and/or sadomasochistic services;
- a massage parlour—fixed-site, managed business with multiple workers providing erotic and/or sensual and/or nude massage;
- an escort agency—managed business with multiple workers providing sexual services at a location arranged by the client;

- a street-based worker—person who solicits clients in a public space for sexual services; and
- a private worker (escort and/or in-call)—person who works independently of any third party or business, in a private setting determined by either themselves or their client.

Respondents who selected at least one of the following options—brothel (full service), BDSM house, massage parlour or escort (agency)—were categorised as a non-private worker. These workplace types have employers, whereas the other workplace options reflected arrangements where the respondent was self-employed. Those who did not select at least one of these options were categorised as private workers. Although in some cases street-based workers may be working to a third party, it has been suggested that this scenario may not be common in Australia (Donovan et al 2012), and due to the inability to distinguish between those who work alone and those who work to another person, they were categorised as private workers.

The majority of both migrant and non-migrant respondents worked non-privately (Table 13). This proportion reflects that measured by the New Zealand survey of migrant sex workers, with 70 percent (n=87) indicating that they had a boss (Roguski 2013). When examined by workplace type, migrants were significantly more likely than non-migrants to be working in a massage parlour and less likely to be working in a brothel (Table 12).

Table 12 Workplace type and status by migrant status (%)

	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Significance testing
Worker status^c			
Private	21	14	ns
Non-private	79	86	
Total (n)	402	148	
Workplace type			
Brothel (full service)	56	77	Yates adj $\chi(1)=18.54^{**}$
BDSM house	1	2	frequencies too low
Massage parlour	24	10	Yates adj $\chi(1)=11.85^*$
Escort (agency)	3	6	ns
Street-based	1	5	frequencies too low
Private (escort)	9	14	ns
Private (in-call)	18	14	ns

* p<0.001

**p<0.0001

ns: not significant

a: Excludes 10 migrant respondents who did not respond to the question on workplace type

b: Excludes 3 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to the question on workplace type

c: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Note: Respondents who selected 'other' workplaces were excluded due to low numbers. Only one non-migrant and two migrant respondents selected 'other' workplaces to the exclusion of the workplaces provided as a multiple response choice option. Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on workplace type

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Workload

There was no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant respondents in the amount of days and hours worked during the week. The largest proportion of migrant and non-migrant respondents worked six to 10 hours per day, three to four days per week (Table 13). The number of hours worked were similar to those reported by New Zealand migrant sex workers (with the largest group working 6–10 hours a day) although more days were worked (44% working 5–6 days a week; Roguski 2013).

There was a small group (n=19) of migrant and non-migrant respondents who worked extreme

hours. An extreme workload was categorised as when a respondent:

- worked more than 10 hours a day, more than five days a week and saw 50 or more clients a week; or
- was on-call 24 hours, worked more than five days a week and did not select a private workplace.

There was no significant difference in the respondents' level of satisfaction with the number of clients they were seeing (see Figure 15).

Table 13 Workload by migrant status (%)

	Migrant	Non-migrant
Hours worked per day^a		
1–6	29	24
6–10	38	45
10 and over	31	29
On-call 24 hours	3	3
Total (n)	403	148
Significance testing		ns
Days worked per week^b		
1–2	19	24
3–4	42	45
5–6	27	24
7	12	7
Total (n)	403	148
Significance testing		ns
Clients seen per week^c		
9 or less	32	33
10–19	29	40
20–29	24	16
30–39	8	8
40 or more ^d	7	4
Total (n)	390	143
Significance testing		ns

ns: not significant

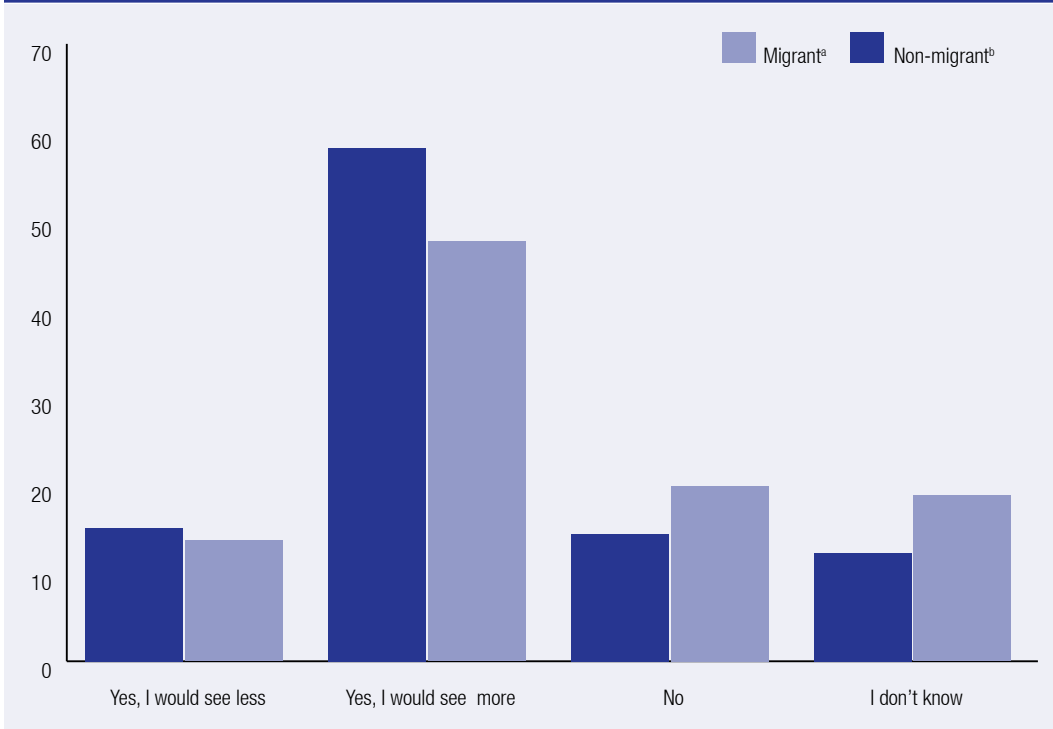
a: Excludes 9 migrant respondents and 3 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes 9 migrant respondents and 3 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

c: Excludes 22 migrant respondents and 8 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

d: Combines the categories 40–49 and 50 or more for the purpose of analysis due to small numbers. Five migrant respondents who selected 40–49 were missing the category 50 or more due to a survey print error

Figure 15 Are workers dissatisfied with the number of clients seen, by migrant status (%)



Migrants: n=393

Non-migrants: n=146

a: Excludes 19 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes five non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Charges, payment and contract conditions

Survey questions regarding payment conditions, workplace charges and the freedom to refuse clients are relevant only to those working in at least one non-private workplace. Therefore analyses of these questions are restricted to the responses of non-private workers.

Sex workers can be charged by their employer for items or services used in the workplace. Most non-private sex workers incurred some form of charge from their employer; only 12 percent (n=45) of non-private respondents who answered the question specifically stated that their workplace did not charge them for anything. For those who did have workplace charges, half indicated they commonly incurred just one workplace charge (51%,

n=166), with 30 percent indicating they received more than two workplace charges (n=96).

Although there was no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant respondents as to the number of charges imposed, the nature of the charges did differ by migrant status (Table 14). Migrant respondents were significantly more likely to be charged for food and clothes and significantly less likely to be charged a shift fee. An estimate of shift fees from a 2001 study of the Victorian sex industry calculated a fee of \$5–10 a shift or \$45–50 a week (Murray 2003).

The workplace charge most likely to be incurred for both migrant and non-migrant sex workers was for condoms. Fifty-four percent of migrants and 53 percent of non-migrants were charged for condoms by their workplace.

Table 14 Workplace charges for non-private workers by migrant status (%)

	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Significance testing
Rent/board	28	24	ns
Shift fee	19	46	Yates adj $\chi(1)=21.19^{**}$
Cleaning fee	10	7	ns
Work clothing	23	7	Yates adj $\chi(1)=10.14^*$
Food	47	21	Yates adj $\chi(1)=16.82^{**}$
Condoms	54	53	ns
Transport (eg the use of a car)	27	22	ns
Other	9	13	ns

* $p < 0.01$

** $p < 0.0001$

ns: not significant

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant respondents who responded to the question on workplace charges ($n=222$), excluding 63 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question and 33 migrant respondents who indicated they are not charged for anything by their workplace

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of non-migrant respondents who responded to the question on workplace charges ($n=87$), excluding 28 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question and 12 non-migrant respondents who indicated that they were not charged for anything by their workplace

Note: There was a high non-response rate to this question (23%), and hence results need to be treated with caution. The non-response rate of migrant and non-migrant respondents working in at least one non-private workplace was not significantly different. Respondents could select multiple responses for the question on workplace charges

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

The majority of migrant and non-migrant workers who were working in a non-private workplace indicated that they were paid regularly:

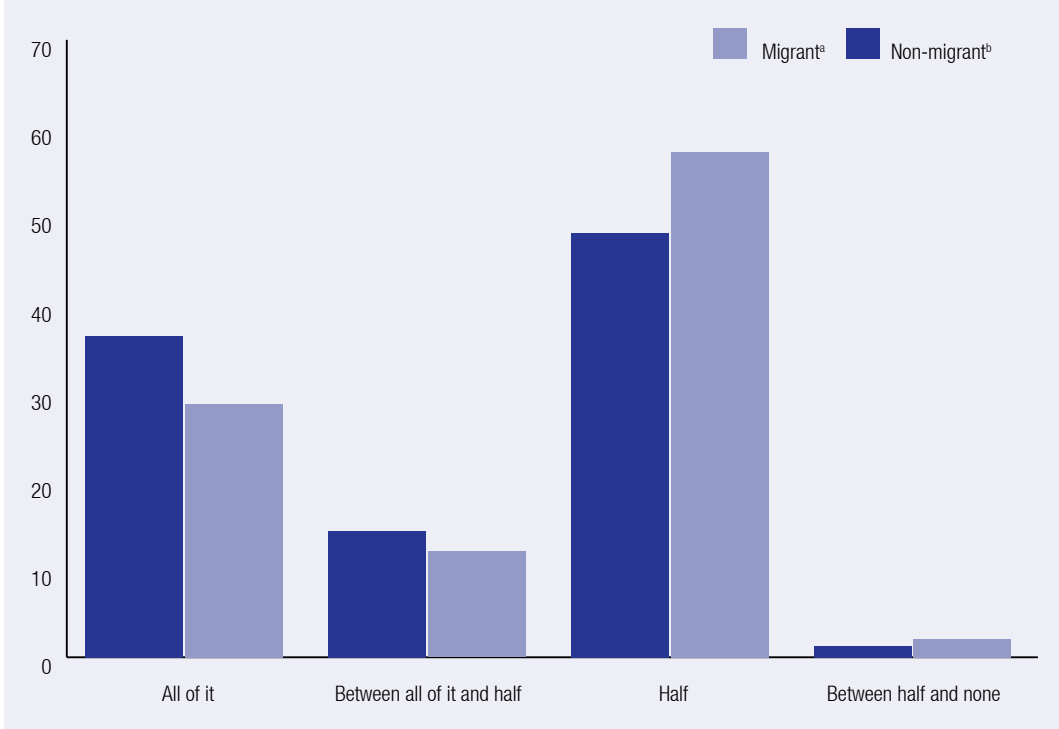
- 90 percent ($n=282$) of migrant respondents (excluding five respondents who did not respond to the question); and
- 96 percent ($n=119$) of non-migrant respondents (excluding 3 respondents who did not respond).

Those who were not paid regularly were asked when they were paid and the reasons for this arrangement. For the respondents who replied ($n=18$), explanations included that they were paid per client/job, the number of clients at the time of the survey had been low or they worked irregularly by choice. Charging per client/job is indicative of subcontracting arrangements commonly observed within the sex industry (Murray 2003).

There was no significant difference in the proportion of wages migrant and non-migrant respondents received directly from their earned income, with only

two percent of migrants and one percent of non-migrants indicating that they received less than half (see Figure 16). Migrants were significantly more satisfied with their income than non-migrants (Table 15); however, migrants were also significantly more likely to be unsure of whether they were satisfied. The majority of migrant respondents (85%) stated that their current income was much better or a little better than what they would receive in their home country (Table 16). Just four percent ($n=13$) indicated that their income was much worse than what they received in their home country. Of these 13 respondents, eight migrants listed their home country as South Korea (7 were born there, 1 was born in China), two were from Thailand (1 born there, the other born in China), one from Australia (but born in China), and one stated that their birth and home country was Ireland. The remaining migrant respondent did not respond to the question on home country, but listed their birth country as South Korea.

Figure 16 Proportion of wage received by non-private workers by migrant status (%)



a: Excludes 126 migrant respondents who worked in at least one non-private workplace and did not answer this question

b: Excludes 50 non-migrant respondents who worked in at least one non-private workplace and did not answer this question

Note: This question had a high non-response rate (36%) and there are limitations to this question, as noted in the methodology section of this report. Therefore caution must be taken in interpreting these results. The difference in non-response rates did not significantly vary between migrant and non-migrant respondents. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 15 Income satisfaction (%)

Are you satisfied with your income in Australia?	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b
Yes	76*	64*
No	12*	32*
Don't know	13*	4*
Total (n)	401	69

$\chi(2)=21.0, p<0.001$

* adj res outside +/-1.96

a: Excludes 11 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes 82 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: The question on income satisfaction had a high non-response rate (16%) and non-migrants were significantly less likely to answer the question than migrant respondents. Therefore migrant status comparisons may not be valid

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 16 Migrant respondents' comparison of current income with income in home country^a

Much worse	4
A little worse	3
About the same	8
A little better	30
Much better	55
Total (n)	366

a: Excludes 46 migrant respondents who did not answer this question

Note: The question on comparison of current income with income in a home country had a slightly high non-response rate (11%); therefore, results may not be representative of the migrant sample

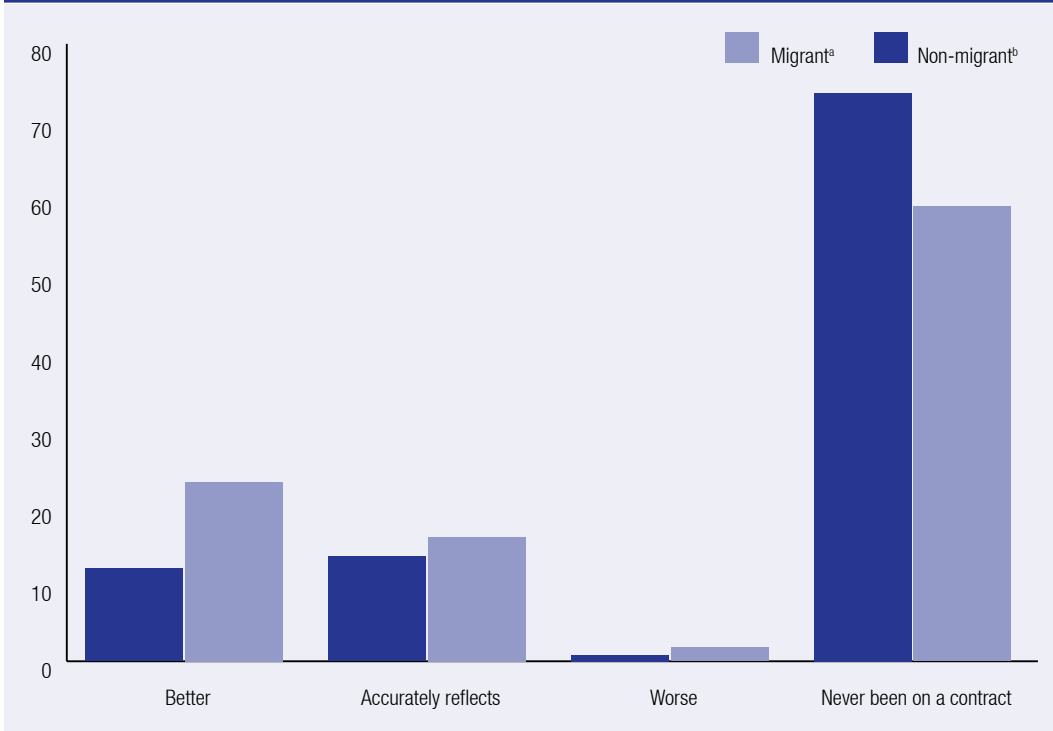
Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Respondents were also asked how their working conditions compared with their contract terms. A contract within sex work generally:

...refers to verbal and/or written agreements that may or may not conform to Australian Contract Law. For this research and generally within sex worker understandings of a contract, this refers to a promise or set of promises between two or more parties. These may or may not be legally binding often due to the transnational nature of the contract and the laws around sex work in the state and territory the sex worker is working in. (Scarlet Alliance 2011: np)

Migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to have never been on a contract and more likely to state that their current work conditions were better than their contract terms (Figure 17). A small number (n=6) stated that their working conditions were worse than the terms of their contract. The number of migrant respondents who indicated that they were currently on a contract was higher than that measured among Asian language-speaking sex workers in the SSHC survey. However, the limitations surrounding this question (see methodology section) may have conflated those who were currently on a contract with those who had ever been on one.

Figure 17 Working conditions compared with contract terms by migrant status (%)



$\chi(3)=9.35, p<0.05,$

Migrant: n=280

Non-migrant: n=125

a: Excludes 132 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes 26 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: There was a large non-response rate to this question (28%), and migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to answer the question on contract conditions in Australia; therefore, migrant status comparisons may not be valid

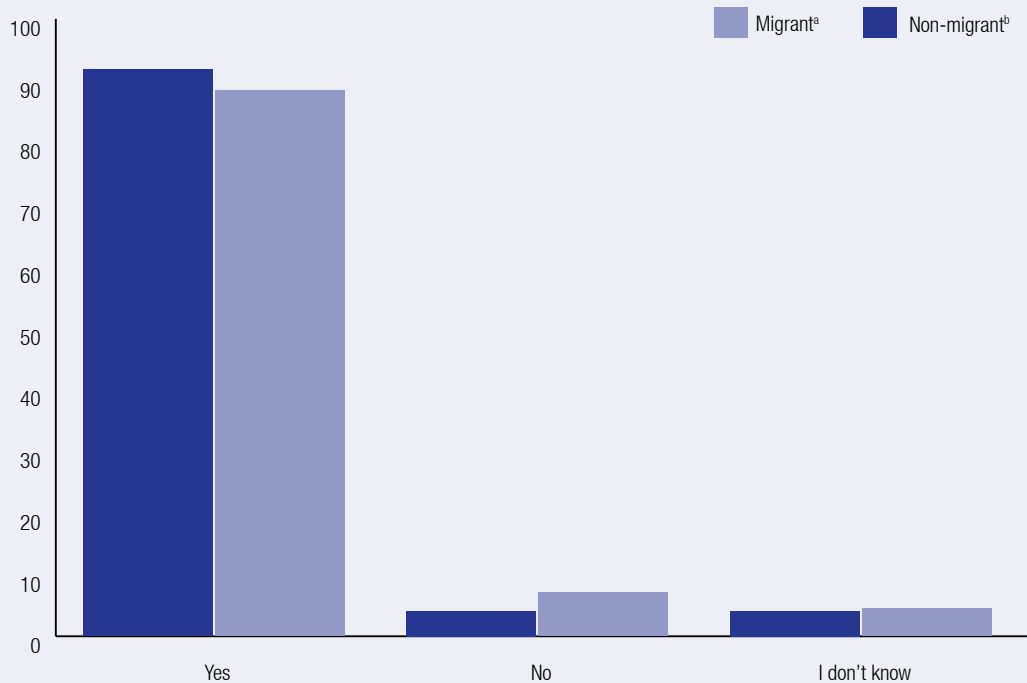
Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Workplace rights

Survey questions on workplace rights were limited to whether respondents were allowed to refuse clients, their knowledge of rights around the issuance of fines by their employer, and restraints on their ability to leave their place of work. There was no observable difference between migrant and non-migrant respondents regarding whether their workplace allowed them to refuse clients. A small number (see Figure 18) who worked in at least one

non-private workplace indicated that they were not allowed to refuse clients. Three respondents who did not select a non-private workplace stated that they were not allowed to refuse clients. One was a street-based worker (non-migrant), another private (in-call, migrant) and the last worked in an unidentified 'other' workplace (non-migrant). The New Zealand survey indicated that five percent (n=6) of migrant respondents were not allowed to refuse clients by their workplace (Roguski 2013).

Figure 18 Refusal of clients (non-private workers) (%)



Migrant: n=309

Non-migrant: n=122

a: Excludes 9 migrant respondents who worked in at least one non-private workplace and did not answer this question

b: Excludes 5 non-migrant respondents who worked in at least one non-private workplace and did not answer this question

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Overall, both migrant and non-migrant respondents displayed knowledge of their rights regarding fines and freedom to leave their workplace. There was no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant responses to these two scenarios (Table 17). The small proportion of migrant respondents who

believed it was legal for bosses to fine them for taking a day off or to try to stop them from leaving their job if they wanted to was reflected in the New Zealand survey responses (ie less than 10 percent of migrant respondents answered in the affirmative for each scenario; Roguski 2013).

Table 17 Knowledge of workplace rights by migrant status (%)

	Migrant	Non-migrant
Is it legal for your boss to fine you if you take a day off work? (Part 1)		
Yes	6	9
No	88	85
Sometimes	6	6
Total (n) ^a	362	141
Is it legal for your boss or anyone else to stop you from leaving your job if you want to? (Part 2)		
Yes	8	10
No	89	89
Sometimes	3	1
Total (n) ^b	360	142

a: Excludes 50 migrant respondents who did not respond to Part 1 of the question on workplace rights, including 7 due to survey print error, and 10 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to Part 1 of the question on workplace rights

b: Excludes 52 migrant respondents who did not respond to Part 2 of the question on workplace rights, including 7 due to survey print error; excludes 9 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to Part 2 of the question on workplace rights

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. The question on workplace rights had a slightly high non-response rate (11%). Migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to answer Part 1 and Part 2 of the question on workplace rights; therefore, migrant status comparisons may not be valid

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Access to passport

Although not theoretically a workplace right, the survey asked respondents whether they had easy access to their passport, as the confiscation of passports by employers is considered an indicator of exploitation related to human trafficking and slavery-like practices (see ILO 2009). Of all migrant responses (n=400, 12 missing responses), eight percent (n=32) did not have easy access to their passport. The proportion of migrant respondents who indicated they did not have easy access to their passport was similar to the proportion of those who did not keep their own passport as measured in the Sydney Sexual Health Survey among Asian language-speaking workers (7%).

The same question was asked of migrant respondents in the New Zealand survey, with four percent (n=5) indicating that they did not have easy access to their passport (Roguski 2013). Details of why they did not have access to their passport, however, were not collected and hence it is not possible to identify the circumstances around this lack of access. Situations where a respondent's passport has been forcibly confiscated may be

conflated with consensual arrangements to keep it in a safe or safety deposit box.

Experience of abuse and provision of support in the workplace

Respondents were asked whether they had experienced a range of positive and negative situations or actions at work, and whether these situations involved their boss, receptionist, co-workers, sex worker organisations or government agencies (police, DIAC or other agencies). Clients were excluded from these questions as the focus was on the internal working environment.

Where negative workplace situations were experienced by respondents, their boss, receptionist or co-workers were most frequently identified as the primary perpetrators. These results demonstrate that the perpetrators of the abuse and violence sex workers experience while working are not restricted

to clients. A sizeable proportion of both migrant and non-migrant respondents experienced verbal abuse and/or threats. It is encouraging, however, to observe that a large proportion of both migrant and non-migrant respondents experienced all of the positive situations and actions listed. Migrant respondents were significantly less likely than non-migrants to report having experienced verbal abuse, verbal threats of violence and threats to hurt family (Table 18). When considering positive workplace experiences, migrant respondents were also significantly less likely than non-migrants to identify that they received support, information, free condoms

and access to sexual health services or worked in a safe workplace environment (Table 18).

It should be noted that this analysis was affected by a high degree of missing responses, with migrant respondents significantly less likely than non-migrants to answer this question. There are many reasons why this may be the case. It may demonstrate that migrant respondents were significantly less likely to experience any of the situations/actions listed, both positive and negative. It may also reflect a reluctance to disclose workplace experiences, particularly those involving abuse or violence.

Table 18 Positive and negative workplace experiences by migrant status (%)

	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Significance testing
Positive workplace experiences			
Visit from a sex worker organisation	52	54	ns
Support	54	78	Yates $\chi(1)=18.99^{****}$
Safe workplace environment	41	80	Yates adj $\chi(1)=49.14^{****}$
Information	43	69	Yates adj $\chi(1)=22.66^{****}$
Free access to condoms	56	70	Yates adj $\chi(1)=6.10^*$
Access to sexual health services	50	72	Yates adj $\chi(1)=15.21^{***}$
Negative workplace experiences			
Verbal abuse	31	47	Yates adj $\chi(1)=9.19^{**}$
Verbal threats of violence	11	21	Yates adj $\chi(1)=7.20^{**}$
Physical violence	6	9	ns
Threats to hurt family	3	9	Yates adj $\chi(1)=5.57^*$
Sexual assault	3	7	ns
Threats of deportation	5	2	ns

* p<0.02

** p<0.01

*** p<0.001

**** p<0.0001

ns: not significant

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to the question on workplace experiences (n=271), excluding 141 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of non-migrant responses to the question on workplace experiences (n=121), excluding 30 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: The question on workplace experiences had a high non-response rate (31%); therefore, results should be interpreted with caution. Migrant respondents were significantly less likely to answer this question than non-migrants; therefore, migrant status comparisons may not be valid. Respondents could select multiple responses to the question on workplace experiences

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Condom use

The use of condoms in a workplace setting is used as an indicator of a sex worker's capacity to negotiate work conditions, both with the client and with their employer. Sex workers with a controlling employer may 'hesitate to...negotiate safer sex out of a fear of further violence or loss of economic support' (Watts, Zimmerman & Roche 2006: 221).

The majority of both migrant and non-migrant respondents indicated that they always used condoms at work (95% and 97% respectively; Table 19), supporting the results of previous research on condom use by sex workers (Donovan et al. 2010b; Harcourt et al. 2001; Seib, Fischer & Najman 2009). The survey question specifically asked 'Are there reasons why you wouldn't use condoms while working?' As respondents could select more than one response for this question, some respondents selected 'none—always use condoms' in addition to reasons why they would not. The hypothetical framing of the question may have contributed to this type of response. Respondents may have been trying to indicate that they have always used condoms at work, but that there may be hypothetical situations in which they might not use them.

The responses selected by those who did not indicate they always used condoms at work may be based on personal experiences rather than hypothetical situations. The five percent of migrants (n=17) who answered the question and did not select the option 'I always use condoms' selected the following reasons for why they would not use condoms at work or for a particular client/job (as identified by options selected or specified in the 'other' option):

- they only do massage, not sex (n=2);
- the customer will not be happy (n=2);
- condoms are not necessary (n=2);
- they can charge more money without condoms (n=6); and
- the boss says not to use condoms (n=7).

The three percent (n=5) of non-migrant respondents who did not indicate that they always use condoms at work provided the following reasons:

- condoms are not necessary ('only do massage') (n=1);
- they only use condoms for full service (n=1); and
- they can charge more money without condoms (n=3).

Table 19 Reasons why respondents would not use condoms at work (column %)

Are there reasons why you wouldn't use condoms while working?		
	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b
None—always use condoms	95	97
Condoms not necessary	1	1
Customer will not be happy	1	1
Can charge more without	2	5
Don't know what a condom is	0	0
Boss says not to use one	3	1
Other	2	5

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to the question on condom use (n=366), excluding 46 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question, including 7 due to survey print error

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of non-migrant responses to the question on condom use (n=148), excluding 3 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

Note: Migrant respondents were significantly less likely to answer the question on condom use than non-migrants; therefore, migrant status comparisons may not be valid. Respondents could select multiple responses for the question on condom use

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Migrant access to services

Given the importance of migrants being able to access services and support while in Australia, the survey also contained questions on the type of services respondents used, the barriers they experienced in accessing services—and in accessing information more broadly—that they had experienced, and their propensity to contact police in circumstances of violence or other criminal events. The questions and response options reflected the range of organisations in Australia that provide sex workers with sexual health, outreach, information, referral and other supportive services.

Knowledge of service providers

Respondents were asked in the survey whether they had heard of, and whether they would use, the following organisations and services:

- Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP) NSW;
- SWOP ACT;
- SWOP NT;
- Respect Inc. Queensland;
- Sex Industry Network (SIN) South Australia;
- Magenta Western Australia;
- Resourcing Health and Education in the Sex Industry (Rhed) Victoria;

- Victorian Sex Industry Network (VIXEN);
- Sex Worker Union; and
- Scarlet Alliance, Australian Sex Workers Association.

Respondents were also given the opportunity to specify other organisations and services they had heard of or would use. Those mentioned by respondents as organisations they had heard of included (in alphabetical order): Eros Association, Hunter New England Health, Project Respect Australia, Sydney Hospital, Touching Base, United Sex Workers Inc. (North Queensland) and Crimson Coalition. Five respondents used the open response for 'other' organisations to indicate that they had not heard of any of the listed organisations. Those mentioned by respondents as organisations they would go to included (in alphabetical order): Eros Association, Hunter New England Health, Sydney Hospital, Touching Base, United Sex Workers Inc. (North Queensland) and Crimson Coalition. One respondent stated that they had heard of and would use 'State/territory peer-based drug user [organisations]; state/territory AIDS councils; local sexual health clinics (specifically for sex workers)'. Another sex worker stated that they had heard of and would go to:

Other informal peer groups of sex workers who meet, not associated with any [organisation] just in solidarity[,] debriefing and learning from each other about our specific issues[.]

Half of the migrant respondents (n=204) stated they had heard of at least one of the organisations listed or specified other service providers. This was significantly different to the proportion of non-migrant respondents, who knew of at least one of these organisations (83%, n=125; $z=7.07$, $p<0.0001$). The most frequently selected organisation or service migrant respondents had heard of was SWOP NSW (24%, n=99); for non-migrants this was Scarlet Alliance (60%, n=90), followed closely by SWOP NSW (51%, n=77).

Similarly, migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to indicate that they would use any of the organisations listed or specify others (34%, n=139 cf. 66%, n=100; $z=6.89$, $p<0.0001$). The most frequently selected organisation or service migrant respondents would go to was SIN (SA) (15%, n=60), followed closely by SWOP NSW (14%, n=57). The most frequently selected organisations or services non-migrant respondents would go to were Scarlet Alliance (40%, n=60), followed closely by SWOP NSW (35%, n=53).

Barriers for migrant respondents to accessing services

When asked whether they had experienced any difficulties accessing these organisations and services, migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to state that they did not have difficulties (25% cf 45%) (see Table 20). The major barriers experienced by migrant sex workers in accessing sex worker organisations and services appeared to be a lack of knowledge of existing services in their local area (cited by 52% of migrant respondents who answered the relevant question), followed by language difficulties (12%) and fear of accessing these services (11%). Migrants were significantly more likely than non-migrants to cite that they did not know which support services could help and could not find one that spoke their

language. Non-migrants were significantly more likely to identify a desire to deal with difficulties themselves.

The language barriers for migrant sex workers extended from accessing sex worker organisations to more general services and information. Although a large proportion of migrant respondents chose not to answer this question (19%, n=77, one due to a survey print error), of those who did (n=335), nearly one-third (32%) stated that they did not find it easy to access information and/or services in the language they mainly speak at home. Respondents' access to information and services in the language spoken at home significantly varied between migrant respondents (Figure 19). Migrant respondents born in South Korea were significantly more likely to indicate they had difficulties accessing information in the language they speak at home and were more likely to state that they 'didn't know' (Figure 19).

The survey question on interpreter service ratings gains importance in consideration of these language barriers. Although, again, a large proportion of migrant respondents did not respond to this question (19%, n=77, one due to survey print error); of those who did (n=335), 30 percent had never used an interpreter service before. Forty-five percent had used one and rated it very good/good, 22 percent had used one and rated it satisfactory and only four percent stated that the interpreter service they had used was bad/very bad.

Taking into account a lack of knowledge among half of all migrant respondents (and 17% of non-migrants) about the services available to sex workers, it is relevant to investigate possible mediums that might be used, or improved, to disseminate this information. Respondents were asked where they obtained 'general information'. It was up to survey respondents to interpret what 'general information' would encompass. Migrant respondents tended to use friends as a source of general information (Table 21), with less reliance on printed and other forms of media.

Table 20 Reasons for difficulty in accessing listed services and organisations by migrant status (%)

Reasons for difficult access	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Significance testing
Didn't know which support services could help	52	22	Yates adj $\chi(1)=28.97^{**}$
Couldn't afford them	3	1	frequencies too low
Couldn't find one that spoke language	12	1 ^c	Yates adj $\chi(1)=11.66^{**}$
Opening hours didn't suit	8	12	ns
Was afraid	11	4	ns
Wanted to deal with difficulties myself	7	14	Yates adj $\chi(1)=4.38^*$
Have not had any difficulties accessing services	25*	45	Yates adj $\chi(1)=14.74^{***}$

* $p=0.05$

** $p<0.001$

*** $p<0.0001$

ns: not significant

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to the question on difficulties accessing services (n=292), excluding 120 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question, including one due to survey print error

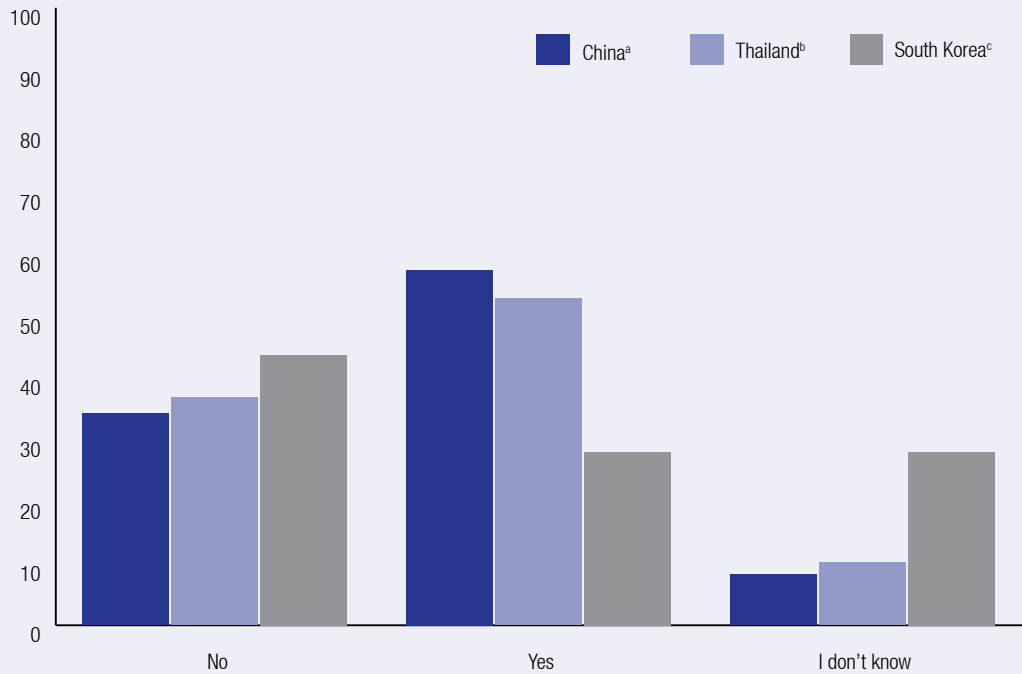
b: Percentages calculated from the total number of non-migrant responses to the question on difficulties accessing services (n=118), excluding 33 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question

c: This respondent, although Australian-born, indicated that they spoke Thai at work and had previously resided in Thailand, which may explain their response

Note: The question on difficulties accessing services had a high non-response rate (27%); therefore results should be interpreted with caution. Migrant respondents were significantly less likely to answer this question than non-migrant respondents; therefore, migrant status comparisons may not be valid. Respondents could select multiple responses for the question on difficulties accessing services

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Figure 19 Do migrant respondents born in China, Thailand and South Korea have access to information and services in the language they speak at home? (%)



$\chi(4)=12.87, p<0.05$, one cell with frequency<5

China: n=73

Thailand: n=157

South Korea: n=32

a: Excludes 34 migrant respondents born in China who did not respond to this question

b: Excludes 23 migrant respondents born in Thailand who did not respond to this question, including one due to survey print error

c: Excludes 6 migrant respondents born in South Korea who did not respond to this question

Note: The question on access to information and services had an overall high non-response rate among migrant respondents (19%); therefore, the responses may not be representative of the migrant sample. Migrant respondents born in Thailand were significantly less likely to answer the question and migrant respondents born in China were more likely to respond to this question; therefore, comparisons between birth countries may not be valid

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 21 Reported sources of general information by migrant status (%)

	Migrant ^a	Non-migrant ^b	Statistical testing
Local newsletter	33	28	ns
Friends	64	63	ns
Newspaper	40	48	ns
Sex worker organisation	39	58	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=12.02^{**}$
Internet	41	66	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=21.56^{***}$
Television	25	39	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=7.58^*$
Radio	7	33	Yates' adj $\chi(1)=48.06^{***}$

* p<0.01

** p<0.001

*** p<0.0001

ns: not significant

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses (n=347), excluding 65 migrant respondents who did not respond to this question, including one due to survey print error

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of non-migrant responses (n=126), excluding 25 non-migrants who did not respond to the question, 8 due to survey print error

Note: The question on sources of general information had a high non-response rate (14%); therefore, responses may not be representative of the sample, although the number of missing responses did not significantly differ between migrant and non-migrant respondents. Respondents could select multiple responses for the question on sources of general information

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Contact with authorities

The majority of both migrant and non-migrant respondents had never been arrested by police for sex work in Australia (Table 22); however, non-migrants (12%) were significantly more likely than migrants (5%) to have ever been arrested. Half of the migrant respondents (51%) reported having had staff

from DIAC visit their workplace at some point. Not surprisingly, migrant respondents were significantly more likely than non-migrants to have been in contact with DIAC at their workplace, reflecting the fact that DIAC would be targeting compliance raids at workplaces where it was known that migrant sex workers were working.

Table 22 Contact with authorities at work (%)		
	Migrant	Non-migrant
Ever been arrested for sex work in Australia?		
Yes	5	12
No	95	88
Total (n) ^a	382	147
Significance testing	Yates adj $\chi(1)=7.55, p<0.01$	
Ever had DIAC visit your workplace?		
Yes	51	12
No	49	88
Total (n) ^b	372	138
Significance testing	Yates adj $\chi(1)=60.34, p<0.0001$	

a: Excludes 30 migrant respondents and 4 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question, including 7 due to survey print error (all migrant respondents)

b: Excludes 40 migrant respondents and 13 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this question, including 7 due to survey print error (all migrant respondents)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. Migrant respondents were significantly less likely than non-migrants to answer the question on whether they had been arrested by police for sex work in Australia; therefore, migrant status comparisons may not be valid

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Main contact to report criminal situations

Respondents were asked to select their main contact for various situations from a list. As the types of situations respondents were presented with were more relevant to crime-related situations and experiences of violence, it was decided that analysis would be restricted to the following scenarios (see methodology section): experience of violence, domestic violence or sexual assault; victim of crime in general; or involvement in a criminal incident (see Table 24). The scenarios did not specify whether the respondent would be involved as victim or as offender. For all situations presented, the majority of

respondents indicated that their main contact would be the police (Table 23). The second most common point of contact across a number of the scenarios was a sex worker organisation, followed by friends and lawyers (see Table 23).

Migrants were significantly less likely to select the police as their main point of contact for situations of sexual assault but equally as likely as non-migrants to report their involvement with other criminal incidents to law enforcement (Table 24). This finding replicates those of the literature around the barriers specific to CALD women to reporting and accessing support services for sexually violent crimes (Allimant & Ostapiej-Piatkowski 2011).

Table 23 Scenarios by main place of contact (%)^a

Main place of contact	Scenario				
	Violence ^b	Domestic violence ^c	Victim of crime ^d	Involvement with a criminal incident ^e	Sexual assault ^f
Police	73	69	81	65	67
Embassy	4	3	4	4	3
Sex worker organisation	38	16	19	13	45
DIAC	0 ^g	1	1	0 ^g	1
Red Cross	1	2	1	1	2
Refugee organisation	1	2	0 ^g	0 ^g	0 ^g
Centrelink	0 ^g	2	1	1	1
Legal centre/lawyer	10	20	16	22	12
Friends	22	27	16	13	20
Don't know	2	6	2	7	2
Wouldn't seek help for this	2	1	1	4	2

a: These responses include respondents who had an unclassified migrant status

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of responses to this scenario (n=356), excluding 236 respondents who did not respond to this scenario, including one due to survey print error

c: Percentages calculated from the total number of responses to this scenario (n=338), excluding 254 respondents who did not respond to this scenario, including one due to survey print error

d: Percentages calculated from the total number of responses to this scenario (n=339), excluding 253 respondents who did not respond to this scenario, including one due to survey print error

e: Percentages calculated from the total number of responses to this scenario (n=320), excluding 272 respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error

f: Percentages calculated from the total number of responses to this scenario (n=343), excluding 249 respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error

g: n=1, rounded to 0 percent

Note: There was a very large non-response rate for the question on main place of contact for criminal scenarios (40–46% for each scenario); therefore, the responses cannot be generalised to the entire sample. Respondents could select multiple responses for each criminal scenario for the question on main place of contact

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]

Table 24 Respondents who selected police as their main contact for various criminal situations by migrant status (%)

	Migrant	Non-migrant	Significance testing
Violence ^a	74	70	ns
Domestic violence ^b	65	75	ns
Victim of crime ^c	79	83	ns
Involvement with a criminal incident ^d	67	62	ns
Sexual assault ^e	61	74	Yates adj $\chi^2(1)=5.45^*$

* p=0.02

ns: not significant

a: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to this scenario (n=211), excluding 201 migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error; and from the total number of non-migrant responses to this scenario (n=127), excluding 24 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario

b: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to this scenario (n=200), excluding 212 migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error; and from the total number of non-migrant responses to this scenario (n=120), excluding 31 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario

c: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to this scenario (n=195), excluding 217 migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error; and from the total number of non-migrant responses to this scenario (n=126), excluding 25 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario

d: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to this scenario (n=181), excluding 231 migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error; and from the total number of non-migrant responses to this scenario (n=124), excluding 27 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario

e: Percentages calculated from the total number of migrant responses to this scenario (n=199), excluding 213 migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario, one due to survey print error; and from the total number of non-migrant responses (n=127), excluding 24 non-migrant respondents who did not respond to this scenario

Note: There was a very large non-response rate for the question on main place of contact for criminal scenarios (40–46% for each scenario); further, migrant respondents were significantly less likely than non-migrants to answer the question, so the migrant status comparisons may not be valid

Source: AIC, Sex Worker Migration and Vulnerabilities to Trafficking 2010 [computer file]



Discussion

The findings from this survey make an important contribution to migration research regarding this subgroup (migrant sex workers), as well as highlighting several implications for service provision to migrant sex workers in Australia. This is discussed in detail below in addition to the limitations of this research and a concluding statement on lessons learned.

Migration experiences of sex workers

Sex workers have long been neglected in migration research (see Agustin 2006); therefore, little is known about the motivations of, and the costs and barriers faced by, people migrating to Australia, either specifically to do sex work or who engage in sex work after migrating. This research is one of the first studies to analyse the push and pull factors for sex workers migrating to Australia and the mechanisms they use, such as transit countries, intermediaries/migration brokers or agents, migration facilitators, and the associated financial costs of migration.

The results suggest that the majority of migrant respondents migrated directly to Australia from their birth country. There appeared to be a small number who migrated with their family when they were children, but the majority migrated as adults or

young people. Education and financial incentives emerged as the major factors in migration. The largest group of migrant respondents indicated they had enrolled in an education course in order to enter Australia. However, there was also a substantial proportion who migrated as a result of getting married or in order to be married.

Migration facilitators were mainly romantic partners (27%) or brokers/agents (25%); however, migrant respondents were equally likely to have arranged their visas themselves (26%). Perhaps unsurprisingly, using a broker had higher associated costs than organising migration oneself or having a known person (ie relative, friend and/or partner) arrange it.

It is possible that migrant sex workers in New Zealand have a slightly different profile to those in Australia, with different push and pull factors at play among the two samples. Migrant sex workers surveyed in New Zealand were more likely to visit and work in New Zealand as part of their overall travel plans (Roguski 2013). A larger proportion of the Australian sample indicated that they migrated as a result of marriage or in order to get married. The largest proportion of both groups migrated to study; therefore, current and past international students appear to make up a substantial proportion of migrant sex workers in both Australia and New Zealand (see Roguski 2013). Possibly reflecting

these different profiles, substantial differences were observed within income expenditure trends, with a greater proportion of migrant sex workers surveyed in Australia than those surveyed in New Zealand spending the majority of their income on overseas financial obligations (eg supporting family and paying debts). Despite the substantial proportion of both groups travelling to study, a greater proportion of migrant sex workers in Australia than in New Zealand cited education fees as a major income expense (Roguski 2013). Whether these differences are actual or related to different sample biases is difficult to ascertain.

Implications for service provision to migrant sex workers

Social and structural barriers

It was clear from the survey responses that some groups of migrant sex workers experienced difficulties in accessing services, particularly those with low self-rated English proficiency, which is perhaps not surprising. The barriers to services and information for migrant respondents include not only language barriers, but also a lack of knowledge about what services are available and fearfulness regarding their use.

The barriers for migrant sex workers to accessing mainstream and sex work specific services demonstrate a broader issue of marginalisation. Theories of intersectionality may explain this marginalisation of sex workers in the workplace context and the wider community. Intersectionality is a theoretical approach that:

...provide[s] a tool for analyzing the ways in which gender, race, class, and all other forms of identity and distinction, in different contexts, produce situations in which men and women become vulnerable to abuse and discrimination. (George 2001: 175, quoted in Manuel 2006)

For a migrant sex worker, the identity markers of race, language background, gender and being a sex

worker combine to create structural barriers (eg migration and language) and socially constructed barriers (eg stigma and criminalisation of sex work, discrimination against migrants, gender discrimination) to accessing a range of resources. Although it was not possible to quantify from the survey responses how these identity markers affected work conditions, workplace satisfaction and overall migration experiences, the links between English proficiency, access to information and education illustrate potential intersections within the sex worker population.

Increasing access

The survey responses highlight a need to improve the dissemination of information about available mainstream and/or sex work-specific services to migrant sex workers. The responses to questions on sources of general information are a valuable tool in highlighting the best mediums through which to propagate messages. Friends and the internet were the most common sources for general information as indicated by respondents. Friends may include peers and other sex workers; therefore, internet-based platforms would be an appropriate way to advertise services and information. Sex worker outreach services also play an important role in distributing information to sex workers.

As previously mentioned, language barriers emerged from the survey as a major issue for migrant sex workers, particularly those from South Korea. Having outreach workers who speak languages other than English would enhance communication with migrant sex workers. Having information in print, online and in other media available in other languages would also improve the effectiveness of communications to migrant sex workers—not just about available services, but also about their rights and workplace responsibilities.

Due to the stigma surrounding sex work and the potential barriers working in the industry can create when seeking work in other industries, it is important that sex workers receive support tailored to the needs of the individual. This would ensure that sex workers have the same work opportunities and occupational mobility as others.

Targeting needs

The literature and survey responses highlight the heterogeneity of the sex worker population.

Responses supporting this group therefore need to be appropriately targeted to the different needs this population displays. The following discussion attempts to illustrate demographic trends and subgroups of sex workers that emerge from the literature and survey responses, and reflects a distinction in needs for support both within and outside the workplace.

Demographic profiles

Demographic profiles can provide context around financial and social constraints and highlight areas where support and services are required. The survey responses enable a better understanding of the following characteristics of sex workers which should be taken into consideration by services and support networks:

- a substantial proportion of sex workers (nearly half of non-migrant respondents) had children, many of whom were dependent children. A considerable proportion of respondents were single mothers;
- many of the respondents were in a relationship; many migrant respondents were married;
- the majority of both migrant and non-migrant sex workers were highly educated, with many of both groups having tertiary qualifications. A small group of respondents, mainly migrants, had little to no education;
- the majority of migrant respondents were over 30 years of age; and
- the majority of migrant respondents born in China and South Korea self-reported low or no English proficiency, with the majority of migrant respondents born in Thailand self-reporting high English proficiency.

Although the survey responses cannot be generalised to the entire migrant sex worker population (because it was a purposive non-randomised sample), the survey results still make an important contribution to understanding the complexities of migrant sex workers' backgrounds. As stated previously, this survey collected a large response from a segment of Australia's migrant population (sex workers) who have historically been

difficult to access for research purposes. Therefore, this profile, although not representative, exists as one of the more comprehensive descriptions to date of migrant sex workers in Australia.

The survey findings and the literature also elucidated three potential pathways for migrants to sex work in Australia. These three categories denote potential separate support needs and backgrounds of migrant sex workers. It should not be assumed, however, that these groups make up the totality of the migrant sex worker population in Australia, nor are they analogous to individual sex workers' experiences.

Migrating for sex work

Some sex workers migrate with the intent of entering the sex industry in Australia; within this group were those who were under contracted debt arrangements with their workplaces, as brokered by a third party. The number of those who migrated to Australia with the intent of working in the sex industry who were working under brokered agreements, and the number of those who arranged their work themselves, is difficult to estimate.

Unfortunately, that there is a group of migrants who travelled to Australia specifically to work in the sex industry can only be verified by the literature. The survey questions did not provide the information needed to distinguish this group from other respondents. The Australian government has either confirmed, or suspects, that Student and Working Holiday visas are used by migrants intending to work in the sex industry (Bowen 2011; DIMIA n.d., cited in ANAO 2006); therefore, it is possible that this group may be interested in staying in Australia only temporarily. There was a definite, if small, group of respondents to the survey who intended only a short-term stay in Australia.

International students

Given the substantial proportion of migrant respondents to this survey who spent the majority of their income on education debt, and who migrated with the intent to study, it is fair to assume that a substantial proportion of those who enrolled in an educational course to migrate to Australia were genuine in their objective to study rather than work in the sex industry. International study, therefore, may create a second pathway to sex work for migrants to Australia. It was not possible to

determine the extent to which respondents undertook sex work while studying or after graduating.

One Melbourne-based study suggested that the financial burdens of undertaking tertiary education often make sex work a financially viable choice (Lantz 2005). This research also suggested that tertiary students often continue working in the sex industry after graduation, primarily as it produces a larger income than other occupations made available to them. Research suggests that the financial burdens on international students in Australia are particularly high, with many dependent on family or part-time work for income (Forbes-Mewett et al. 2007). International students may be unprepared financially to study in Australia, with some recruiters providing inadequate information to students about the true nature of living expenses (Forbes-Mewett et al. 2007). Further, international students who lack English-language skills and knowledge of Australian cultural practices often have a narrower range of occupational options; therefore, they are often paid below the minimum wage (Arnott 2013; Nyland et al. 2009). This highlights a possible incentive for international students to perceive sex work as a viable source of income.

Divorced migrant women

Finally, there is a group of migrant sex workers who entered Australia to get married but have since separated or divorced. Financial constraints on divorced migrant women may be high, particularly if they have low English proficiency, which may limit their employment options. Of the migrant survey respondents who stated that they were divorced, or separated but not divorced, 41 percent (n=27) said they did not speak English well, and five percent (n=3) stated that they did not speak English. The flexible hours of work possible in the sex industry may be an added incentive for divorced women, particularly if they have children. The New Zealand survey found a substantial proportion stayed in the industry for this reason (Roguski 2013), although a larger proportion of New Zealand-born sex workers (83%) than migrants (42%) selected this. Marriage breakdown may play an important role in the pathways to sex work taken by some migrant respondents.

Workplace types and conditions

In terms of work conditions, migrant and non-migrant respondents appeared to have similar workloads and hours. However, there were key differences in the types of workplaces at which migrant and non-migrant respondents worked, and potentially different payment and charge structures. Migrant respondents were more likely to work at massage parlours and less likely to work at brothels or as an escort. These are important considerations for researchers and outreach workers when determining how and where to contact migrant sex workers.

Migrant respondents also appear to be more likely than non-migrant respondents to have a contract arrangement with their workplace(s), are more likely to be charged for items such as food and work clothes, and are less likely to be charged shift fees by their workplace. The majority of migrant respondents were satisfied with their conditions in Australia and many intend to stay long term. However, responses from a small group of survey participants (n=7) suggested unhappiness with their current and/or past experience working as a sex worker in Australia. Loneliness and isolation were some of the explanations given for their discontent.

Experiences of workplace abuse

Migrant respondents were significantly less likely than non-migrants to respond to the question on positive and negative workplace experiences, which may illustrate a reluctance to disclose workplace experiences, particularly those involving violence or abuse. This high non-response rate may in large part also be attributed to issues with the format and wording of this question. Feedback from survey collectors and the steering committee suggested that migrant respondents in particular expressed difficulty with the table formatting of the question. However, this does not completely explain the significant difference between the non-response rates of migrants and non-migrants.

Regardless, the results did show that the experience of verbal abuse from people other than clients is an issue for sex workers at work, although this was reported to be more prevalent among non-migrant sex workers. While the responses to the questions

on workplace experiences were overwhelmingly positive for the majority of workers, 36 percent of those who answered the question reported that they had experienced verbal abuse at work. The results also support the literature, in that condom use was reported to be high among both migrant and non-migrant respondents. Further, the majority of respondents had a good level of workplace knowledge and reported that they could refuse clients.

Overall, sex workers were significantly more likely to experience positive workplace experiences; however, there was a small group of respondents (both migrant and non-migrant) who reported their workplaces would not allow them to refuse clients, and who believed that it was legal for their workplace to fine them for taking a day off work or prevent them from leaving their workplace when they wanted to. This highlights the need for sex workers to be afforded access to labour protections, legal advice, occupational health and safety standards, and peer support. In addition, it reinforces the need for multilingual peer support and translated resources to be readily available to sex workers.

Research challenges and limitations

Accessing the sex worker population, particularly migrant sex workers, is particularly challenging for researchers. It is possible that those working transiently or on a part-time basis, and those working in a tightly controlled and perhaps exploitative situation, were under-represented in the final survey sample.

Although the sex worker organisations involved with the survey collection attempted to administer surveys to a wide cross-section of the sex industry, the sample was still predominantly composed of brothel workers. However, given that the target sample was migrant sex workers, and that research suggests these work predominantly in the brothel sector, this was not seen as a major methodological limitation. Due to targeted recruitment of survey collectors with Thai, Chinese and Korean-language backgrounds, access to migrant sex workers with these language backgrounds was gained successfully. Overall, survey collection was

strengthened where cultural and linguistically diverse (CALD) peer educators were employed within the local sex worker project.

The sample was also predominantly drawn from New South Wales, which prevented this project examining jurisdictional differences. There was a particular lack of respondents from Tasmania and the Northern Territory, as face-to-face survey collection was not administered in these jurisdictions. Anecdotal evidence, albeit from two decades ago, suggests that the sex worker population of the Northern Territory might be different to that of some of the larger jurisdictions, as a large proportion of the sex worker population is non-English speaking and the sex worker population fluctuates in size according to the tourist and work seasons (Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria 1994). Although this evidence is dated, it would have been interesting to explore whether this demography still held true and how this affected work conditions and access to services.

The study would also have benefited from the inclusion of additional questions on the length of time migrant respondents had been living in Australia and details of any existing contract and payment arrangements. Differences between temporary visitors and permanent migrants would have been noteworthy and an important contribution to research on migrant sex workers. Supplementary qualitative research (ie interviews and focus groups) on workplace agreements (contract and debt arrangements), migration experiences (the use of migration intermediaries, visas used and legality of entry and work), previous experience in the sex industry and the nature and role of financial pressures on work conditions in the sex industry would also have contributed greatly to the interpretation of the survey results. Informal focus groups were conducted by the Scarlet Alliance Migration Project with sex workers to discuss the issues raised in the survey responses, based on their own experiences. This process resulted in valuable information and highlighted the benefits of conducting focus groups and interviews more formally within a defined methodology.

The high rate of missing responses also limited some of the analysis that could be undertaken and the extent to which responses to some of the

questions could be generalised to the entire sample. This is in part a reflection of the environment in which the survey was applied. The majority of surveys were administered while respondents were at work or waiting for a medical appointment, which meant that some of the surveys were not completed. The high non-response rate to some of the more personal questions (such as the number of children respondents had and some specific workplace experiences) may also have been due to the unwillingness of respondents to disclose private information.

Conclusions and lessons learned

One of the major lessons learned from this research is the value of participatory research as a means of engaging hard-to-reach sections of the community. The utilisation of existing sex worker networks, and the role this research played in strengthening and extending these networks to workplaces and people the sex worker agencies had not previously interacted with, demonstrate the benefits this type of research can provide. Sex workers were involved in critical aspects of the research, including providing essential input into the survey development, managing the survey data collection, and analysing and reporting the results. The sample size and diversity of workplaces represented was much greater than in previous surveys, which can be attributed to the contributions of participating organisations and their sensitive engagement with workers. The high number of surveys collected where bilingual CALD peer educators were employed in the local sex worker organisation

indicated the value of CALD peer educators engaging with and removing barriers to access for migrant sex workers.

This study has also highlighted further areas of research. The nature and extent of contracted arrangements and the role of migrant sex workers debt requires more empirical assessment, particularly how this differs by cultural background and, more importantly, how it is linked to migration barriers and access to safe migration pathways for sex workers to Australia. The different pathways migrants take to sex work are also an area of interest, including further investigation into the different support needs of migrants temporarily migrating to Australia specifically to do sex work, international students and divorced migrant women. The impact of legislation and stigma on sex workers' experiences, including their experiences of violence, social isolation and discrimination, is a gap that still exists in the literature on sex work, but was beyond the scope of this project.

Overall, this research contributes substantially to evidence of the reality of migrant sex workers' work and migration experiences. The results of the survey can assist in dispelling inaccurate stereotypes about migrant sex workers' demographic and work conditions and contribute to highlighting areas of need, support and service provision. Further, this research specifically highlights the need to address the impacts of language barriers, isolation, stigma and discrimination on migrant sex workers accessing support and services.

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Appendix A

Survey collection sites

New South Wales

In Sydney, Scarlet Alliance staff collectors (two Thai-speaking and one Korean-speaking) and steering committee members (four Thai speaking) spent three weeks collecting responses, targeting predominantly Thai brothels. This was supplemented by six collection sessions at the language clinics of the Sydney Sexual Health Centre (Korean and Thai speaking). A further six weeks of Chinese-targeted collection (by four Chinese-speaking steering committee members) and one week of Korean-targeted collection in Sydney followed. English-speaking Scarlet Alliance staff and trained collectors also collected surveys in Kings Cross, East Sydney and Surry Hills. English-speaking collectors from SWOP NSW administered surveys during their outreach sessions across Greater Sydney and Newcastle. The Newcastle collection was done in partnership with Thai-speaking Scarlet Alliance staff collectors.

Victoria

In Melbourne, key members of the steering committee who had a detailed understanding of the Melbourne sex worker landscape advised on which

locations to focus to obtain survey participants. They were requested to provide information on locations to target, particularly in relation to unlicensed premises, Chinese, Korean and Thai brothels and locations where bad work conditions had been anecdotally reported, and/or which had been investigated by the police or immigration. Both licensed and unlicensed premises were targeted, as were Chinese and Thai parlours. This collection was conducted over two days by the Thai-speaking team of two, who targeted the Thai parlours, and a further five days by the Chinese-speaking team of two, who targeted the Chinese parlours. A Korean-speaking collector spent two days collecting surveys at the Melbourne Sexual Health Clinic. A further two days of collection occurred in Melbourne, which included collection at the Melbourne Sexual Health Centre during its multicultural clinic, outreach to target brothel locations and an evening at a street drop-in service.

Queensland

Survey collection in Townsville was conducted with a trained peer collector (Japanese-speaking) based in north Queensland and accompanied by a Scarlet Alliance staff collector (Korean-speaking). Two days of collection were undertaken in Toowoomba by the Korean-speaking Scarlet Alliance staff collector. The

Brisbane collection was conducted over four days by Scarlet Alliance staff collectors (Korean and English-speaking) and a trained collector from Respect Inc. (Chinese-speaking).

South Australia

In Adelaide, Scarlet Alliance staff (Korean-speaking), in partnership with a Chinese-speaking multicultural project officer from the Sex Industry Network (SIN), conducted outreach targeting private sex workers in Adelaide suburbs for the purposes of collection. This project officer and trained SIN staff continued with collection during their regular outreach sessions.

Australian Capital Territory

A trained outreach worker (English-speaking) from SWOP ACT collected surveys during regular outreach visits in the region. Scarlet Alliance staff collectors (English, Korean and Thai-speaking) accompanied outreach sessions on two occasions specifically targeting Asian brothels.

Western Australia

Collection in Perth and Kalgoorlie was conducted by Scarlet Alliance staff collectors (English and Korean-speaking) over five days in total. This included a day at the Magenta sexual health clinic for sex workers.

During the five days, two days of collection were conducted in Perth by the Scarlet Alliance staff collectors (English and Korean-speaking). They were joined for a further day in Perth by Scarlet Alliance staff (English, Korean and Thai-speaking) and a trained Respect Inc. collector (Chinese-speaking). The Scarlet Alliance staff collector (English-speaking) and Respect Inc. collector did another two days in Perth while the Scarlet Alliance staff collectors (Korean and Thai-speaking) conducted surveys for two days in Kalgoorlie.

Appendix B

Missing responses

Table A Survey questions and missing responses

Question number	Wording	Question Type	Number of missing responses	Percentage	Total sample
1	How old are you?	Multiple choice	2	0.3	592
2	What gender are you?	Multiple choice	0	0.0	592
3	What country were you born in?	Multiple choice	3	0.5	592
3a	What region in this country were you born in?	Open ended	294 ^a	49.7	592
4	What country would you identify as your home country?	Multiple choice	17	2.9	592
5	What languages do you speak at work?	Multiple choice	7	1.2	592
6	How well do you speak English?	Multiple choice	8	1.4	592
7	What is your present relationship status?	Multiple choice	17	2.9	592
8	How many children do you have?	Open ended	142 ^a	24.0	592
8a	Of these children, how many are under 14 years?	Open ended	204 ^a	34.5	592
9	What is the highest level qualification you have completed?	Multiple choice	11	1.9	592
10	What country were you living in before you arrived in Australia?	Multiple choice	97 ^b	16.4	592
10a	What region in this country were you living in?	Open ended	397 ^a	67.1	592

Table A Survey questions and missing responses cont.

Question number	Wording	Question Type	Number of missing responses	Percentage	Total sample
11	What was your main occupation before coming to Australia?	Multiple choice	10	2.4	412
12	What are the main reasons you left your home country?	Multiple choice	4	1.0	412
13	Have you ever done sex work in a country other than Australia?	Multiple choice	24	5.8	412
13a	If you answered Yes, list this country/these countries in the space below.	Open ended	34	8.3	412
14	Is this the first time you have done sex work in Australia?	Multiple choice	52	8.8	592
15	Did you do any of the following to help you enter Australia?	Multiple choice	139 ^b	23.5 ^a	592
16	How do you spend the majority of your income?	Multiple choice	50	8.5	592
16a	If you ticked Pay debts in Australia or Pay debts in home country, was this debt incurred by travelling to Australia or securing your current job?	Multiple choice	67 ^a	11.3	592
17	Who helped you secure your visa?	Multiple choice	138 ^b	23.3 ^a	592
18	Were the people who helped you secure your visa based in Australia?	Multiple choice	81 ^a	19.7	412
18a	If you answered No or that There were people based in Australia and another country in question 18, please list the country/countries where they were based in the space below.	Open ended	154 ^a	37.4	412
19	Were you accompanied by any of the following people when you travelled to Australia?	Multiple choice	20	4.9	412
20	What is your intended length of stay?	Multiple choice	15	3.6	412
21	Do you think you will want to come back to Australia to work again?	Multiple choice	37	9.0	412
21a	If you answered No, please list your reasons in the space below.	Open ended	78 ^a	18.9	412
22	Did you come to Australia instead of a country in the following regions?	Multiple choice	78 ^a	18.9	412
23	Why did you decide to come to Australia?	Multiple choice	10	2.4	412

Table A Survey questions and missing responses cont.

Question number	Wording	Question Type	Number of missing responses	Percentage	Total sample
24	How much did it cost for you to travel (including air fares), enter and start working in Australia?	Open ended	200 ^a	48.5	412
25	Is your current income in Australia better than in your home country?	Multiple choice	46 ^a	11.2	412
26	Are you satisfied with your income in Australia?	Multiple choice	95 ^a	16.1	592
26a	If you answered No, please list your reasons for this in the space below.	Open ended	122 ^a	20.6	592
27	On average, how many hours do you work most days?	Multiple choice	13	2.2	592
28	On average, how many days do you work most weeks?	Multiple choice	14	2.4	592
29	How many clients do you see in a week?	Multiple choice	31	5.2	592
30	If you had a choice, would you change the number of clients you see?	Multiple choice	24	4.1	592
31	What type of workplace/s are you currently working in?	Multiple choice	15	2.5	592
32	Do you get paid regularly?	Multiple choice	14	2.4	592
32a	If you answered No, please explain when you get paid and the reasons for this arrangement.	Multiple choice	49	8.3	592
33	What proportion of your wage do you personally receive?	Multiple choice	215 ^a	36.3	592
34	How do your current working conditions (ie treatment by co-workers and clients, wages, living arrangements, hours and amount of work etc) compare to what you expected them to be?	Multiple choice	212 ^a	35.8	592
35	If you have ever been on a contract for sex work in Australia, did your actual working conditions reflect the terms of this contract?	Multiple choice	165 ^a	27.9	592
36	Do you have easy access to your passport?	Multiple choice	12	2.9	412
37	Does your workplace allow you to refuse clients?	Multiple choice	28	4.7	592

Table A Survey questions and missing responses cont.

Question number	Wording	Question Type	Number of missing responses	Percentage	Total sample
38	Out of your own money, which of the following does your workplace charge you for?	Multiple choice	133 ^a	22.5	592
39	Have you experienced any of the following in the workplace?	Multiple choice	183 ^a	30.9	592
40	What advice would you give to someone considering coming to Australia for sex work?	Open ended	423 ^a	71.5	592
41	What are the racial backgrounds of the clients that you see?	Multiple choice	50	8.4	592
42	Are there reasons why you wouldn't use condoms while working?	Multiple choice	52	8.8	592
43	Have you ever been arrested by the police for sex work in Australia?	Multiple choice	36	6.1	592
44	Have you ever had the Department of Immigration and Citizenship come to your workplace?	Multiple choice	57	9.6	592
45	Please read the following statements. Please circle one response only. Yes if you agree with them, No if you disagree or Sometimes if you conditionally agree with the statements. [NB: Statements asked whether it was legal to be fined if you take a day off work and whether it was legal for your boss or anyone else to stop you from leaving your job if you want to.]	Multiple choice	63 ^a	10.6	592
46	Please indicate whether you have heard of and would use any of the following services. [NB: Services included sex worker organisations and services.]	Multiple choice	215 ^a	36.3	592
47	What are the reasons for any difficulty you've had in accessing any of the services listed above?	Open ended	158 ^a	26.7	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; working conditions.	Multiple choice	228 ^a	38.5	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; violence.	Multiple choice	236 ^a	39.9	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; domestic violence.	Multiple choice	254 ^a	42.9	592

Table A Survey questions and missing responses cont.

Question number	Wording	Question Type	Number of missing responses	Percentage	Total sample
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; victim of crime.	Multiple choice	253 ^a	42.7	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; involvement with a criminal incident.	Multiple choice	272 ^a	45.9	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; visa issues.	Multiple choice	288 ^a	48.6	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; financial problems.	Multiple choice	251 ^a	42.4	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; sexual assault.	Multiple choice	249 ^a	42.1	592
48	Please circle the main place you would contact for the issues listed in the following table; health issues.	Multiple choice	274 ^a	46.3	592
49	What do you think of interpreter services in Australia?	Multiple choice	116 ^a	19.6	592
50	Do you find it easy to access information and/or services in the language you mainly use at home?	Multiple choice	124 ^a	20.9	592
51	Where do you get your general information from in Australia?	Multiple choice	94 ^a	15.5	592

a: Question had a 'high' non-response rate (10% or more)

b: Question had a high non-response rate out of all respondents, but not for migrant respondents. This is relevant only to questions that were directed at migrant respondents, but had an option for non-migrants to select from (therefore relevant to both groups). See Notes below

Notes: For question 10, the missing responses for migrant respondents equalled n=8 (1.9%). For question 15, the missing responses for migrant respondents equalled n=38 (9.2%). For question 17, the missing responses for migrant respondents equalled n=36 (8.7%). For question 34, the missing responses for migrant respondents equalled n=139 (33.7%). For question 49, the missing responses for migrant respondents equalled n=77 (18.7%). For question 50, the missing responses for migrant respondents equalled n=77 (18.7%). Due to survey print errors, seven respondents received a survey without questions 40–45 (inclusive); these respondents were recorded as 'missing' responses to these questions. Due to a survey print error, one respondent received a survey without questions 46–51 (inclusive); this respondent was recorded as 'missing' responses to these questions. Due to survey print error, ten respondents received a survey without the first two multiple choice responses to question 51; these respondents were recorded as 'missing' responses to this question



Appendix C

Data analysis

All data collected from the surveys were categorical in nature; therefore, chi-square was the most appropriate test for significance. Chi-square analysis can be used to measure the independence of two categorical variables—that is, whether or not a variable influences the frequency of another variable. In this way, the frequency distribution of two categories of one variable to the categories of another can be compared for significant differences.

Each observed frequency is compared with an 'expected' frequency. This expected frequency is the frequency that should be observed if the variables were unrelated to each other. The difference

between observed and expected is assessed for significance, which determines whether the difference is related to chance or the nature of the variable. This difference is called the adjusted residual; when it is <-1.96 or >1.96 , the expected frequency is considered significantly different from the observed.

For 2x2 comparisons, the Yates-adjusted chi-square measure was the most appropriate to account for the small cell numbers. It is a more conservative measure of chi-square.

All analyses and data cleaning were conducted using the statistical computer software STATA.

Appendix D

Migrant sex workers in New Zealand

A survey of 124 New Zealand-based migrant sex workers was conducted in 2012 using a similar methodology and nearly identical survey tool to that used in this research project (Roguski 2013). The survey was developed and administered by the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective (Roguski 2013). The majority (80%) of migrant sex workers surveyed were born in Asia (Roguski 2013) and knew they were going to New Zealand when they left their home country. Of those who did not expect to be going to New Zealand, this appeared to be due to the respondents' not being certain of their self-organised travel arrangements at the time they left their home country (Roguski 2013). While substantial sums were expended by some respondents in travelling to New Zealand, the highest costs were attributed to fees for tertiary-level study (Roguski 2013). There was no indication evident from the survey responses of employers imposing indebtedness on migrant workers.

The majority of respondents reported working for commercial workplaces (ie brothels, escort agencies

or massage parlours). The majority reported they were not on a contract but were being paid regularly (Roguski 2013). There was a high level of income satisfaction, and those who were not satisfied cited high living expenses in New Zealand as the reason for the dissatisfaction (Roguski 2013). Migrant respondents reported working long hours—most commonly up to six to 10 hours a day, five or six days a week, seeing 10 to 19 clients a week (Roguski 2013). However, one-third of respondents still wanted to see more clients (Roguski 2013).

There was some indication of restricted freedoms and a lack of knowledge of workplace rights, although this was evident only among a minority of respondents (Roguski 2013). Five percent were working in a workplace that did not allow the refusal of clients; just less than 10 percent indicated that they thought it was legal for their workplace to fine them, and five percent did not have easy access to their passport (Roguski 2013). Migrant respondents also demonstrated difficulties with accessing the services provided by the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective—mainly because of a lack of knowledge about these services. Only 40 percent stated that they had no difficulty in accessing these services (Roguski 2013).

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