

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Gender, Migration and Trafficking – An Introduction

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*What crime have I committed that you left the country and did not tell me your feelings before leaving? As I sit on my terrace I keep remembering your face in my heart. But you did not even send me a letter. I don't know in what country and on which road my beloved is now living. The barber says that there is no hope my beloved will ever return.*²

*“My family waits for me everyday in Bangladesh to return home, and death waits for me below...” (male migrant construction worker on the twin towers in Kuala Lumpur, world's second highest structures)*³

*“Saudi Arabia: fair appeal for domestic worker on death row. Sri Lankan Under 18 at time of Alleged Killing”*⁴

How this began

More than ten years ago I guest edited a special issue of *Labour, Capital and Society/Travail capital et société on Women and Work in South Asia*. The issue included several contributions that dealt with gender, migration and trafficking. Since then, these aspects of labour have come under greater scrutiny, and some of the situations described in the earlier issue have become more urgent and even more problematic. At one level, there seems to be greater popular awareness and many more international conferences and protocols on gender, migration and trafficking. However, there is still a great deal to be done in uncovering the widespread nature of the phenomenon, as well as a need for more in-depth and incisive research that can take us further in our understanding and action. Research on commodity and capital flows between North and South are more abundant, but “labour flows have not received the attention they merit” (Bhattacharya, 2006: 194). Hence, we decided to publish another special issue, this time focussed more specifically on *Gender, Migration and Trafficking*, and not limited to South Asia.

Migrants

When we talk of migrant workers today, we usually are referring to workers who face difficult conditions. Many workers migrate legally and establish themselves in their new lives fairly comfortably. But the realities of global capitalism and the increasing flexibility of the workplace mean that many workers are temporary, on contract and arrive illegally or semi-legally. They might be professionals in their place of origin but do blue collar and service sector work in their destination country. So when we use the term 'migrant worker' we are usually talking about this group of workers - somewhat vulnerable, not very secure, whose status in her/his country of destination might be tenuous, or has little hope of returning to the home country, due to political or personal reasons.

Concerns with conventions and protocols dominate much of the writing on migration while media headlines are filled with stories of containers arriving with dead or near-dead people smuggled in; illegal workers attempting to cross borders; unscrupulous traffickers exploiting economic deprivation; sexual slavery following hard on the heels of economic distress. More in-depth research and writing is needed to provide the resources for those working on the frontlines and to better understand the effects of transnational capital movement.

The history of voluntary and non-voluntary migration is well known, contributing to the shape of the modern world. At least fifteen million enslaved Africans were brought to the Americas and Caribbean. Following the abolition of slavery in 1830 and to meet the continuing demand for labour, for the next hundred years, it is estimated that close to two million Indians, Chinese, Javanese and Pacific Islanders were transported from their homes as indentured workers. As significant as the numbers who moved from their homeland to new territories is the history of violence that accompanied it, and the blurred distinctions between the voluntary and non-voluntary nature of human movement. Today, many workers are moving in non-legal or semi-legal ways. We know the causes and we know the means are mostly hidden and secretive, especially in the case of illegal trafficking of girls and women. Reliable statistics, however, are hard to come by as agency figures vary widely. At the outer limit, 4 million women and children are trafficked of which 1.75 million are children⁵. The statistics produced by organizations and agencies like UNI-

CEF, IOM, FBI, UNDCP, UNIFEM, USAID, US government, UN, SE Asian Women's Conference, Terre des Hommes are all different. Total migration in 2005 is estimated to be 191 million people globally. (UN Economic and Social Affairs, 2005).

While in no way wishing to diminish the serious irregularities, abuse and exploitation involved in trafficking, the problem with numbers is a serious one. As Kapur states, "there is a tendency to accept unverified statistics and data, without further interrogation" (2005: 29). Kapur also writes how the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Asia Pacific and Human Rights Watch, give numbers of women trafficked in several countries – hundreds of thousands, one million and two million -- without providing the research or the sources for the numbers (Kapur, 2005: 38). Trafficking discourse is also highly politicized. The Bush campaign against trafficking puts countries on a tier system, and depending where they are placed, the US government might impose sanctions against them to punish them for not complying with US standards. Countries who oppose US imperialism, have majority Muslim populations, or are labelled 'rogue states' do not fare well. In 2003, the US backed out of international plans to crack down on trafficking to avoid imposing sanctions on Israel, Russia, South Korea and Greece, while announcing its intentions to impose sanctions on Burma, Cuba and North Korea (Kempadoo, 2005: xxi).

'Gender' has come to be used synonymously with 'women'. While it is true that gender-based analysis has ensured that women are more visible, it can also facilitate an understanding of how the gender division of labour might be replicated nationally and internationally, and go beyond the boundaries of the domestic/home space. Gender-based analysis can also elucidate areas where gender is manipulated to meet changing labour requirements or to perpetuate extreme forms of exploitation. On the other hand, gender-based analysis can also generate a clearer sense of how gender is being reformulated and gender identities are being made to change as a consequence of the pursuit of profits by corporations, but also in peoples' struggles for survival.

Issues at hand

There is a dearth of scholarship that brings together the three issues of gender, migration and trafficking. As mentioned above, 'gender' is usually interpreted as 'women', and

'trafficking' is chronically linked to the 'sex trade'. The conflating of these minimize the complexity of the issues involved. Forgotten in all this is the 'migration' component, which complicates the picture, as it suggests voluntarism or agency of sorts. Analyzing migration situates national and transnational movements of men, women and children within the larger picture of the changing nature of capital, interventionist imperialism and development strategies that do not engage with new realities. Treating them together also highlights the precariousness of the migration process. All migrants encounter hurdles and challenges, yet some are better placed economically in the sending country and are able to maintain comparable levels of comfort compared to those who risk all in the migration process in order to better their lives and those of their families. Some are stripped of their security, disempowered under the control of traffickers and discriminated against by immigration policies that keep them on temporary work permits, without many rights and vulnerable in many other ways. In the neoliberal world of transnational capitalism and imperialism, migration can undermine and compromise class position and identity; it becomes fluid and volatile.

In the area of gender, migration and trafficking, we can also see how former binaries of 'developed' - 'less-developed' or 'first world' - 'third world' are falling apart and the distinctions are blurring. The demise of the bipolar world, the reversing to capitalism, often raw capitalism in the former Soviet bloc, has changed this. The pressures on the nation as the competition for resources increases, changing climate patterns, civil wars and unrest all contribute to massive movements of population, more than ever before in the history of the world⁶. What we are seeing today, as people search for ways of earning a living in response to the changing nature of production are many of the same processes used during many periods of history – migration, non-voluntary relocation as a consequence of enslavement or semi-autonomous indenture. "In various phases...labour power originating in the South has played a major role in increasing the surplus the North acquires" (Bhattacharya, 2006: 196). Today there is continuous movement of people, set in motion by economic constraints, neoliberal economic policies and structural adjustments, war and political instability. The paradox is that while migrants are often crucial to the maintenance of economies to which they migrate, there is little or no legal or political recognition of this, especially

in transnational migration.

Capital moves in increasingly unfettered ways while the state imposes more constraints on the movement of people. It is the exploitation of vulnerabilities of the illegal, semi-legal or temporary status of the migrants that contributes to the economic well-being of the states to which they move. 'Migrant' itself connotes transience. It is different from 'immigrant'. A migrant comes, works and goes, with little cost to the state. An immigrant comes to stay. States see migrants as cheap labour and maintain legal constraints so they cannot acquire the rights of settled immigrants, keeping them a captive labour force, as such bearing comparison with earlier forms of non-voluntary or captive labour such as slavery and indenture.

Thus, what is needed is to look at migration in the context of today's global reality. Older paradigms of even a decade ago cannot always explain or suggest ways to understand a contemporary phenomenon. The location of labour as part of larger socio-economic systems must be re-evaluated. The binaries of yesteryear need to be re-worked. The questions about development in these changing contexts need to be re-evaluated. There is a constant tension between older ways of looking at labour, migration, subsistence and capitalist farming and new developments with the opportunities and dangers that lurk therein. We need to gather all the information, develop new methodologies and frames within which to understand what is happening in order to promote equality and social justice. This will also minimize purely reactive responses and greater comprehension with nuance.

Definitions

Definitions also need to be clarified. 'Trafficking' is often assumed to be trafficking for purposes of sex work. This is not always the case as Tanja Bastia points out in this issue. The conflating of trafficking with prostitution is restrictive and the wider issues of labour migration and exploitation do not get sufficient attention in scholarship or in international and domestic law. The United Nations' *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons* (Trafficking Protocol) defines trafficking as the "...recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons..." by improper means, such as force, abduction, fraud or coercion, for an improper purpose, like forced or coerced

labour, servitude, slavery or sexual exploitation.”⁷

The problematic aspect of conflating trafficking with migration has been elaborated by many activists and scholars. Kapur sees the increase in criminal laws and policing of borders, the discourse on security and the war on terror around the world, as contributing to the criminalization of the movement of people, a demonizing of the ‘other’ and victimizing of the victim. In the realm of gender it infantilizes women, and reinforces patriarchal gender bias with the assumption that women and girls are in need of protection. Focusing on trafficking for prostitution neglects other areas of abuse, and the sole focus on trafficking leaves migrant women with little protection. Furthermore, the Trafficking Protocol supplements the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. It is framed within the parameters of criminal activity and the possibility that migratory movements become caught up in the dragnet is very real. It also means that people who are being trafficked become criminalized, and instead of receiving assistance and support, are detained, incarcerated and deported. Kapur points out the contradictions between states’ identities and their struggle to retain them, drawing on examples like Britain, France and India where the ‘other’ – foreigners, Muslims -- are perceived as threats. Instead, she advocates a human rights approach. “As long as these issues are not viewed through the complex lens of globalization, market demand, and the (in) security of the nation-state, the rights and legitimacy of these people will remain unaddressed or compromised, and contribute to the growing instability of both the host country and this itinerant population” (Kapur, 2005: 25-37).

While there are migrants who work as sex workers, others do not, and a number supplement earnings with sex work. Again the statistics are murky, but many contend that the numbers are inflated; debates rage around issues of voluntarism, agency, choice and coercion, and feminists are often polarized. Abolitionists⁸ see any sex work as exploitation. Others see the regularization of sex work as providing greater safety for sex workers, as legalization diminishes threats of violence, moves sex work outside the realm of the criminal world and into the open, and decreases exploitation by state and non-state players⁹. Those who advocate regularization dislike the label ‘pro-prostitution’. “This language is akin to the use of the term ‘pro-abortion’ by activists who seek to ban abortion. It is also similar to earlier fac-

tional infighting within the feminist movement” (Ditmore, 2005: 112). The latter position also permits a nuanced appreciation that at times there might be a fine line between coercion and choice in situations where there are few options. If there were economic opportunities, would sex work still be an appealing option? This can be best appreciated when one compares generalized realities between the industrialized western world and other parts of the world. While it might be assumed that these positions reflect a North-South divide or a privilege vs. exploited difference, supporters of both positions are to be found in the North and South and across class lines.

These differences have an impact on the development of strategies, programs and suggested responses. As Lillian Robinson states in her article in this issue, “It seems to me that it is incumbent upon feminists to try to understand the entire situation of migrant sex workers in its full economic and cultural complexity, giving respect and credence to the narratives of such women within this context”. And Tanja Bastia writes in her article, progress “has been hampered by the largely unresolved debate between abolitionists who see all sex work as being a form of women’s sexual exploitation and those who recognize that some women (and men) might choose to work in the sex sector”. I would add here that ‘choice’ needs to be explained and contextualized as Robinson points out.

Objectives

Gender, migration and trafficking needs to be seen in an integrated way, in order to recognize changes and developments, as well as point to directions for further study and action. This of course does not imply that all migration is gendered, nor that gendered migration only happens through processes of trafficking, even though this might be a very specific, but growing aspect of international labour migration. It is an area where much work is needed and where academia and activism must be integrated. This work will possibly result in new ways of defining labour, in a world that is changing rapidly and where people are forced to constantly innovate survival strategies. The article by Hanley, Oxman-Martinez, Lacroix and Gal demonstrates the bridging between activist intervention and scholarship, and the fruitful results of such engagement, where both are benefited and served. My own engagement with the issue has emerged from my activism

and involvement as an immigrant woman, involved in organizations and struggles for rights and dignity¹⁰. I have learned much from my engagement and from those I work with and I need to learn much more.

This is a world in which in many situations the person is regarded as *homo sacer*. The contemporary application of this ancient Roman legal construct by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, is relevant here. Agamben sees the *homo sacer* as an individual who exists in the law as an exile; yet the law that mandates the individual's exclusion is also the law that gives that individual an identity. People who within the definitions of national legal systems are seen as illegal migrants, trafficked individuals, are also, by being so named, given an identity. Taking this further, Agamben sees the individual as having a political as well as a biological life. In the case of non-legal migrants, trafficked persons, and in many cases legal migrants as well, the *homo sacer* has a bare life, i.e. a biological life without political significance. In liberal discourse human rights are tied to civil rights. If one has no civil rights, it becomes easy to deny human rights and humanity. In a world of global capitalism the human is reduced to producer or consumer and labour is a commodity.

Migration

At no time in world history have there been as many people on the move. South-to-South migrants are as numerous as South-North migrants and nearly half of all migrants were women (UN:IMD, n.d.) Many of them are in search of better lives, better means of livelihood or simply in search of a means of survival. Some move because of wars or famines. Money sent home by migrants increased from US\$102 billion in 1995 to US\$232 billion in 2005 (UN:IMD, n.d.). Traditional studies of migration tended to look at the process from the perspective of microeconomic equilibrium theories or from a structural historical process. There has been the tendency to try and apply whatever theories could best explain and make meaning of the phenomenon of migration. However, in today's globalizing world, theories that help us understand migration must be updated to take into account the changing nature of the international division of labour, modes of production and labour mobility.

Internal migration occurs with little official interference in most countries, though governmental policies to try and keep

people in their native places using localized responses – structural, institutional, production – might be instituted. In terms of traditional approaches to development, this is often deemed necessary. However, rural to urban migration continues around the world, and is most prevalent in the Third World. Zhang's article in this issue explores the networks linking rural to urban China that facilitate the transition for women newcomers to the city, demonstrating an internal phenomenon that mirrors international patterns. It is difficult to find statistics for intra-state rural to urban migration, but looking at urban growth figures gives us some indication of this. The projected world urban growth rate for 2005-2010 is 2.0% per year. For more developed regions it is 0.5% per year and for less developed regions 2.5% per year and for the least developed 4.0% per year (United Nations Population Division, 2006). There might be localized problems that may take on ethnic, religious or class overtones. However this is nothing compared to transnational and transcontinental migration.

Traditional approaches to explaining migration in the latter part of the twentieth century looked at it as supply and demand processes, or as rational choice. Today, we see this is still the case. However, the sheer numbers of migrants and the numerous non-legal migration methods suggest that previous ways of looking at the causes, the consequences and eventually the ameliorative mechanisms – to assist the process, enforce human rights criterion, deal with non-legal migrants – need to be overhauled. These current criterion are also highly charged ideologically. And the responses vary, from the fortress mentality¹¹ on the one hand to open border demands on the other¹². At the ideological level, these responses reflect more than a reaction to migration and the crackdowns against it. They also reflect attitudes to development, political systems, worldviews and the kind of society in which one wants to live.

Gender and Migration

The existing literature and documentation on gendered aspects of migration reflect a gendered occupational divide. The accepted wisdom is that migrant workers within nation states, for the most part, have tended to be mostly male – agricultural workers, factory workers, seasonal workers. There are women migrant workers who work in these sectors, but are more highly represented in areas of work gendered female – domestic work, nurs-

ing, aspects of food processing. When the work entails sexual services, within nation states or transnationally, the workers are predominantly female. As a consequence, men and women who work in non-traditional gendered areas are not as frequently written about. There should be a more inclusive way of approaching the research and writing on gender. This issue provides a better picture of the concerns surrounding migration and work.

There also needs to be greater exploration of how traditionally gendered roles and work contribute to our understanding of migration and trafficking. Women's work, traditionally relegated to the private sphere, as with domestic service, even when it occurs as labour in a migration or trafficked context remains invisible. Language barriers and lack of opportunity often means the family home in which migrant women work is all they ever know of their country of migration. Hence, recording their presence in statistics, allowing them to gain access to the world outside their work environment, and getting access to information and resources will reduce their invisibility. (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002)

Many labour migrants travel alone. They leave behind family members – parents, siblings, partners and children. On occasion they travel as couples or families. This complicates questions of gender identity and roles. In the heyday of the movement of Indian workers in the indentured system for colonial plantations, the vast majority of migrants were men. However, a certain quota of women were required to be on every voyage, otherwise the ships were not permitted to sail, out of fear of miscegenation or moral danger (read homosexual acts) (Ray, 1996: 129). Some women were most likely duped into boarding the ship. It is believed, though, that migrant work was regarded as a good opportunity for women such as young widows for whom life would have been harsh in their in-law's homes. Women migrated, either with their family or alone, to various points in India and overseas, working as domestic or in the fields. Some were forced into sex work as a result of economic distress due to inadequate provisions for working women with babies and small children.

Gender stereotyping is often used to justify cheap migrant labour as in the case of the shrimp processing industry of Gujarat, India. "As housewives, women are used to cleaning shrimp at home; now, in the factory, they are merely continuing that

role” (D’Mello, 1996: 89). This argument is used in many sectors – the semiconductor assembly plants, and in garments where the work is fast-paced and paid on a piece-rate basis. These industries have a high turnover as employers search for younger women they think are more docile and controllable. Ultimately women are paid less. It is not that men cannot do this work, but that it is more profitable to have women do it, and there is a strong cultural justification for it.

The demand for women workers, especially in the domestic sphere, is a reflection of the employment of larger numbers of women in work outside the home in industrialized, western countries, and also in emerging economies in parts of Asia. Of course there are also large numbers of women migrant workers in the oil-rich and other affluent areas of the Middle East, but that is due to the simple reality that if one can afford domestic help one will have it, and migrant workers, particularly from the Philippines and Sri Lanka, are affordable. The aging populations in industrialized countries are also increasing the demand for domestic labour, largely from among migrant women. These jobs are gendered female – nurturing, caring, domestic reproduction roles.

Men who migrate to work tend to be engaged in work that is gendered male - construction, farm work, hard labour. In the Philippines, it has become common in many rural areas to have a mass exodus of women migrant workers, leaving behind children in the care of female relatives and husbands. The reverse, men becoming homemakers, however does not seem to occur (Boti and Smith, 1999). Gender constructions of masculinity make it harder for men to take on what are seen as female roles. So even though a migrant woman might be the breadwinner, she is still the wife and subordinate. Men migrant workers also leave families behind. In some cases husbands and wives migrate, sometimes together but often separately, and send remittances back. There are migrant workers who are girls and boys. Girls often misrepresent their age so they can be employed as adults. Boys and girls can be migrant workers intra-nationally in domestic service or in the food and service industry. Some might engage in sex work, full-time or part-time, especially in the booming tourist industries in particular countries. Boys, in some cases, are sent to the Middle East as jockeys in camel races.

Within trafficking networks the illegality of migration

raises costs, increasing the level of women's exploitation within it, at times resulting in sexual abuse and forced sex work. Many of the solutions and responses to this tend to be narrowly-based. For example, with trafficking for sexual service purposes, the responses tend to be legal or moralistic. Recently the Canadian Minister of Immigration Diane Finley stated that Canada would crack down on women who enter the country on work permits as exotic dancers in order to bring to a close a system that exploits women. This is a classic example of the well-intentioned but blind response to a problem. Changing Canada's immigration laws, or ensuring health and safety standards, as a possible solution does not enter the picture¹³.

Gender, migration and trafficking

There is little written on gender, migration and trafficking. Since the types of movements we are writing about usually falls within the purview of 'non-legal' or 'legal' in a shadowy way, getting detailed information and statistics are difficult, resembling the drug trade or the underground economy. Conflating these three aspects together is a challenge, but also requires we focus on the critical issues of our time. After September 11, 2001, immigration and refugee policies in the industrialized western world narrowed with the concepts of 'safe third country', 'secure borders', 'safe haven', 'fortress North America', and others, yet it did not stop the flow of people seeking to improve their lives and those of their families by migrating. Instead people were willing to take greater risks, often putting their lives on the line.

Perhaps the most documented and familiar aspect of gender, migration and trafficking is prostitution and sex work. Despite the problems of accurately establishing the numbers of people involved in non-legal forms of migration, it is generally believed that those involved in some way with prostitution form a minority. However, the sensational aspect of prostitution, overlaid with moral attitudes ensures that it receives a lot of attention. Discussions over prostitution and trafficking are the most contentious with debates over issues of choice and coercion among which is an argument that prostitution might very well be a choice for some.

The example of the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (DMSC), an organization of sex workers in the Sonagacchi

area of Kolkata, India, (Sleightholme and Sinha, 1996; Shah, 2005; Ditmore, 2005) demonstrates that when sex workers are agents on their own behalf, much is possible. DMSC has a strong anti-trafficking position. It combats the introduction of minors into the sex trade and ensures that its members' children get an education. In a situation where it is common for daughters and sons to work in the sex trade as providers of sexual services or ancillary work, DMSC sees education as a way to create options. DMSC's notable successes have been the low rates of HIV and AIDS among sex workers in Sonagacchi. The political organization of DMSC has seen a reduction of police harassment and the DMSC is now a local political force to be reckoned with. The sex workers in Sonagacchi demonstrate agency in their choice because prostitution generates more money than they had earned in both the formal and informal sectors.

In terms of intra-national sex work, the transitions are well-documented. Often there is sufficient information that has filtered back through networks, so there is an awareness, conscious or otherwise that the work involved is prostitution, or a trafficker or contact person might indicate that the work would be in a restaurant, or other activity. Also with longer-established traditions of intra-national migration for prostitution, transnational migration might be the next step. Rational choice in terms of weighing prospects based on skills, education and language ability seem to indicate that sex work is seen by some as better than other exploitative labour in sweatshops or in domestic servitude. Of course, if there were a level playing field, sex work would quite likely not rank high on the list.

Examining the issue of prostitution allows us to see the most blatant gendered aspects of migration and trafficking. Women within patriarchy are viewed as reproducers or sexual objects. There are many instances of male prostitution and migration by boys and men to work as prostitutes, often internationally to areas frequented by tourists, yet the vast majority of sex workers who migrate consciously or are trafficked are girls and women.

Conclusion

Bringing gender perspectives in facilitates a nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of migration in a contemporary globalized context. In plain terms, it facilitates an understanding

of the way in which the gender division of labour and patriarchal forms of socialization and determination intersect. This does not obscure the fact that the majority of persons trafficked for sexual exploitation are girls and women. But it does enable us to see the many cases in which there is knowledge of what migration or trafficking can lead to. Despite this, research reveals the importance of recognizing agency and choice among women migrants. Traditionally, in development studies, a liberal feminist analysis has not always been effective, as women usually act in the interests of their children, families and communities first. A narrowly-defined sense of feminism as the assertion of individualism does not hold water.

Collective and political action can make a difference. The Montreal campaign in support of Melca Salvador¹⁴, a live-in care worker, and her fight against deportation, successfully mobilized public opinion and political intervention. The DMSC in Kolkata has shown that sex workers in India can be agents of change on their own behalf. However, these specific examples need to be amplified so they can become transformative and change attitudes and legislation. They can contribute to breaking down borders that perpetuate exploitation of the labour of both men and women who have few options.

Endnotes

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² Bhojpuri song, c. 1873 and 1916, when people from the Bhojpur region of western Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh in India were recruited to work, mainly on sugar plantations in Suriname, Mauritius and the Caribbean (Singh, 2007).

³ Cited in Fernandez and Fernandez.

⁴ Title of Human Rights Watch update dated 30 July 2007 concerning the case of Rizana Nafeek, a young Sri Lankan woman who was sentenced to death at age 18 after being charged with killing a baby in her care. At the time of the death she was 17, was not provided any legal assistance or translators during her trial and sentencing. She had only been in Saudi Arabia for two weeks as a domestic worker. Her date of birth on her passport was changed to make her six years older, so the labour recruiter could ensure she qualified to work abroad. The speedy intervention of the Asian Human Rights Commission

based in Hong Kong in mobilizing support around the world and retaining a local legal firm, succeeded in getting a stay of execution. The Sri Lankan government has shifted blame onto labour recruiters and the village officer. There are about 8 million migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, 400,000 of them Sri Lankan. In 2007, 103 executions were carried out in Saudi Arabia, including a number of foreign workers. Four Sri Lankans were executed in February (Peiris, 2007). Filipino organizations have brought to light many cases involving Filipino migrant workers who face similar situations in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. One of the most well-known cases is Flor Contemplacion, who was hanged in Singapore in 1995, accused of killing another nanny and the 4 year old child in that nanny's care. Despite an international campaign to get a stay of execution because witnesses said she had been framed, she was killed.

⁵ UNESCO Trafficking Project. "Data Comparison Sheet # 1 Worldwide Trafficking

Estimates by Organizations." Different statistics are provided by UNDCP (United Nations International Drug Control Program), UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women), FBI (United States, Federal Bureau of Investigation), SE Asian Women's Conference, Protection Project, UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), IOM (International Organization for Migration), Terre des Hommes, USAID (United States Agency for International Development), US Government, UN.

⁶ Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes) at mid-year 2005 was 190,633,564. (UN Economic and Social Affairs, 2005).

⁷ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (Summary)" Part I, Article 3. It further stipulates that "[c]ountries that ratify the Protocol are obliged to enact domestic laws making these activities criminal offences, if such laws are not already in place".

⁸ The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) (<http://www.catwinternational.org/index.php>) is abolitionist.

⁹ Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) (<http://www.gaatw.net/>) is against all trafficking but especially of women and children. They apply a human rights approach to

trafficking.

- ¹⁰ I am a founding member of the South Asian Women's Community Centre (SAWCC), a Montreal-based service, support and advocacy organization for South Asian women and their families. SAWCC has worked in close alliance with PINAY, the Montreal Filipino women's organization and the Immigrant Workers' Centre, coalitions like the 8th March Committee of Women of Diverse Origins, and groups like No-one Is Illegal and Solidarity Across Borders.
- ¹¹ The rise of vigilante groups in the border areas of the United States is this type of phenomenon. This is mirrored in official governmental legislative responses around detention and deportation. The recent election of Nicholas Sarkozy in France is partly a reflection of this reactive response of citizens to perceptions of the loss of jobs, or culture, or familiar ways of life.
- ¹² Organizations like No-One is Illegal and Solidarity Across Borders in Canada, parts of Europe, the United States and Australia, reflect this position.
- ¹³ In Canada in 2004, 423 visas were issued for foreign exotic dancers (Ctv.ca, 16 May 2007).
- ¹⁴ Melca Salvador's experience with Canadian immigration law is told in the 2002 movie *The Melca Salvador Story* (a film by Malcolm Guy et al. and distributed by Productions Multi-Monde) which depicts how Salvador, unable to complete the stringent requirements of Canada's Live-In Caregiver Program is issued a deportation notice and successfully challenges it.

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