

TRAFFICKING IN THAILAND: AN ANALYSIS OF NON-GOVERNMENT
ORGANIZATIONS' ROLE

by

Timesha A. Smith, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
with a Major in International Studies
December 2019

Committee Members:

Robert Gorman, Co-Chair

Ken Grasso, Co-Chair

Sandhya Rao

Audwin Anderson

COPYRIGHT

by

Timesha A. Smith

2019

FAIR USE AND AUTHOR'S PERMISSION STATEMENT

Fair Use

This work is protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States (Public Law 94-553, section 107). Consistent with fair use as defined in the Copyright Laws, brief quotations from this material are allowed with proper acknowledgment. Use of this material for financial gain without the author's express written permission is not allowed.

Duplication Permission

As the copyright holder of this work I, Timesha A. Smith, authorize duplication of this work, in whole or in part, for educational or scholarly purposes only.

DEDICATION

“Education is a human right with immense power to transform. On its foundation rest the cornerstones of freedom, democracy, and sustainable human development.” - Kofi Annan

I would like to dedicate this work to the local NGOs in Thailand and their continuous fight to end sex trafficking. I am inspired by their efforts and genuinely believe that through sharing their stories and expertise Thailand's future is bright.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am forever grateful for everyone that has been a part of this process. First, I would like to express my gratitude to my mother for always encouraging me when I wanted to give up, for making coffee at night, and for driving me to San Marcos without hesitation. I love you. To my dearest friend Abbi, thank you for listening to my jumbled thoughts, for spending hours on Google Docs with me, and for decoding messages I stared at for hours. I cannot wait to return the favor during your thesis journey. To Dr. Anderson and Dr. Rao, thank you for agreeing to be on my committee and being great professors. A special thank you to Dr. Gorman for answering every question, replying to every email, but more importantly thank you for telling me that you would still be a member of my committee despite your retirement. That day I was contemplating switching degree plans, despite the work I had already completed and after meeting with you I was more determined to write a thesis that we could be proud of. Thank you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
ABSTRACT	xii
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. TRAFFICKING IN THAILAND	3
Defining Human trafficking, Prostitution, and Smuggling.....	6
History of trafficking in Thailand	7
Thailand in the 20th century	8
Vietnam War to the 1980s	10
1990s Outcry and Reforms	13
Why is human trafficking thriving in Thailand?	16
Economic Factors	18
Socio-Cultural Factors	19
Political Factors	21
Understanding the Role of NGOs	23
III. METHODOLOGY	28
IV. FINDINGS	31
Non-government organizations.....	31
Who works for local Thai organizations?	33
Where are NGOs located?	35
Who are NGOs helping?.....	39

Services, Strategies, and Social Media	45
Non-government organizations and Collaborations	59
Intergovernmental and Government Organizations	69
V. CONCLUSIONS.....	72
APPENDIX SECTION.....	76
REFERENCES	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
Table 1. Location of an NGO Beneficial to Anti-trafficking.....	38
Table 2. Who Funds NGOs.....	48
Table 3. NGOs Social Media Preference	56

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 1. Thailand Tier Ranking by the year	4
Figure 2. Tier Rankings of East Asia and the Pacific	18
Figure 3. Types of Trafficking throughout Thailand	36

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations	Description
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATIP	Anti- Trafficking in Persons Act
CRC	Committee on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
GO	Government Organization
HT	Human Trafficking
IGO	International Government Organization
INGO	International Non-Government Organization
IO	International Organizations
IRB	Institutional Review Board
MSDHS	Ministry of Social Development and Human Security
NGO	Non-Government Organization
PM	Prime Minister
RTP	Royal Thai Police

TATIP	Anti-Trafficking in Persons Task Force
TIP	Trafficking in Persons Report
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNTIP	Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children

ABSTRACT

Many studies have been conducted to understand the role and duties of international organizations, in connection with human trafficking, less attention has been given to local organizations engaging in the same cause. This thesis analyzes the activities of local anti-human trafficking organizations in Thailand. It shows that these smaller organizations have the capability to be even more effective than international organizations in fighting human trafficking through local knowledge and subsidiarity activities. This thesis links Thailand's trafficking problem to its economic, socio-cultural, and political variables.

I. INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is modern slavery. As humans continue to evolve and civilize, more people are beginning to realize the harm exploitation has caused. Places where exploitation of persons have been recorded and where world powers have established a strong presence continue to suffer from human trafficking across its borders. While countries with hegemonic status have taken it upon themselves to become justice warriors in the fight against trafficking, many countries with lesser global power have become dependent on the aid from major powers to solve the crisis. But within these dependent countries, organizations have taken on the task of reducing trafficking. I have chosen to focus on non-government anti-human trafficking organizations in Thailand. Furthermore, human trafficking has been personally important to me since 2012 when I was introduced to the End It Movement, a movement known for determining 27,000,000 people are still subject to trafficking around the world. This led to me establishing a now-defunct Twitter page focusing on the ramifications of trafficking and cyber-bullying. In addition, over the years, it has come to my attention that although trafficking is an international problem, people in the United States are not aware of the ramifications trafficking has on a country. I chose to study one country, Thailand, and one sector of human trafficking, sex trafficking, with the hope that this case study will furnish clues for future research into local organizations focusing on other countries and sectors.¹ In this thesis, I hope to study the dangers of sex trafficking and identify what anti-sex trafficking non-government organizations (NGOs), with an emphasis on local NGOs, are doing to fight trafficking in Thailand. I would also like to show that Thailand's government should rely more on local

¹ Sex trafficking from this point on may be referred to as trafficking and/or human trafficking.

NGOs. Furthermore, this thesis will link Thailand's trafficking conditions to its economic, socio-cultural, and political past rather linking it to Western influences.

International agencies in Thailand have become the main partners of governments in solving human trafficking. Much attention is given to them, often to the exclusion of local organizations. This violates the principle of subsidiarity and ignores the opportunity for solidarity with agencies more familiar with local conditions. The principle of subsidiarity says that the grassroots level of a community is the best option to handle situations within a community. When dealing with human trafficking, respecting subsidiarity is prudent because local organizations have better insight into the issues plaguing their communities and may be better equipped to handle them. When local organizations attempt to reduce trafficking, they do so in ways that will help community members from being in circumstances that lead to being trafficked. The goal of solidarity is to encourage each anti-trafficking organization to share appropriate responsibility in erasing trafficking from Thailand. While the goal of this thesis is to explore the role of local organizations by examining the results of their work, it will also demonstrate that local anti-human trafficking organizations in Thailand deserve more credit for the reduction of trafficking and that they more than any international organization, are essential to promoting human trafficking in Thailand. While Thailand's government implements laws to protect citizens, local organizations are key to solving the country's human trafficking problem, in cooperation with governments and international agencies. Whether through mutual projects, sharing information, monitoring, and posting about the work of other organizations on their media accounts, Thailand's local non-government organizations are an important part of stopping human trafficking in Thailand.

II. TRAFFICKING IN THAILAND

Before the work of anti-human trafficking non-government organizations (NGOs) can be understood there must first be a thorough examination of the origins of sexual exploitation in Thailand. This chapter will cover Thailand's history from the 14th to the 21st century in order to give a proper background on Thailand's entanglement with the sex trade. The origins of sex trafficking in Thailand begins in the Ayutthaya period and extends into the 21st century. It will also provide coverage for human trafficking-related laws initiated in Thailand. This chapter will begin by defining human trafficking and by tracking Thailand's human trafficking ranking throughout the years. The chapter will then address why human trafficking has been successful in Thailand. Lastly, it will examine how non-government organizations are formed in Thailand and their intended purpose.

Historically there has always been a link between political policies and the social structures implemented by society. Through practiced policies, cultural identifiers began to be established; these new identities became ingrained in civilizations. Therefore, the people became accustomed to accepting unequal treatment without little to no opposition. This is the case in Thailand, where since the 1300s women have been sexually exploited. Continuous abuse of women led to an international nightmare as the country became a popular tourist destination for trafficking.

As a consequence, for its trafficker's paradise reputation, Thailand continued to be rated poorly by the United States' annual Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP). The TIP determines a country's standing by examining a state's ability to initiate laws prohibiting human trafficking and the success of enforcement. Countries are ranked from

tier 1 to 3, with three being the worst. Because the rankings are generally taken seriously by evaluated states, the Thai Prime Minister (PM) vowed to encourage Thailand to move further away from its trafficking past. The kingdom was consistently ranked low by the U.S. State Department until 2018. After being ranked Tier 3 two years in a row, the Thai government launched several programs and began partnering with intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), international non-government organizations (INGOs), and local non-government organizations. These collaborations were done on a case-by-case basis. Nonetheless, the collaborative efforts of the organizations led to Thailand returning to its Tier 2 Watch List ranking in 2016.

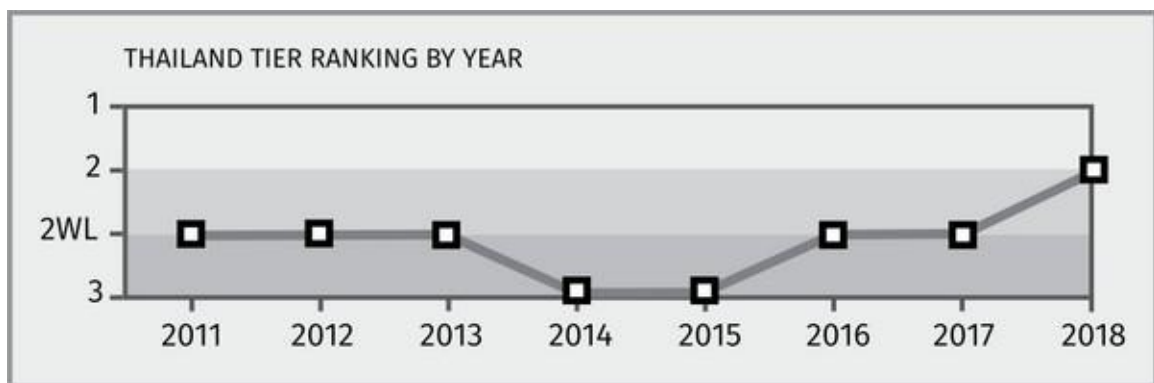


Figure 1. Thailand Tier Ranking by the year. Graph from “Thailand” *Trafficking in Persons Report*. U.S. Department of State, June 2018: 414.

Since the early 2000s, there has been a steady growth of national and international organizations appearing throughout Thailand. At the same time, the number of non-government organizations and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) began fluctuating according to researchers.² Estimates of the number of NGOs working in Thailand range from 34 to nearly 20,000—a very wide discrepancy.³ The inconsistency of the number of

² Non-government organizations and Civil Society Organizations will be known as NGOs for here on. See the next footnote about the number of NGOs in Thailand.

³ Stephanie A. Limoncelli, “What in the World Are Anti-Trafficking NGOs Doing? Findings from a Global Study” *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2, no. 4 (2016): 322; Juree Vichit-Vadkan, “Central Role in Development for Thai NGOs?” Global Policy Forum,

anti-trafficking NGOs came from most local organizations not remaining open for a long time and international and local NGOs being grouped together. The roles and progress of government organizations (GOs) and IGOs have been documented. To an extent, the same can be said for international non-government organizations in Thailand as their organizations have not only global impact, but their websites documenting their progress are easily assessable and well-known. This is the complete opposite of local NGOs in Thailand. It has been difficult for empirical research to keep up with the roles NGOs play in Thailand's reduction of human trafficking rates.⁴ The large international presence in Thailand has led to a perception that international agencies, including INGOs, can be credited for Thailand's improved sex trafficking situation, yet the involvement of local NGOs were often ignored. The TIP does not consider non-government organizations when determining if a state has made substantial anti-trafficking progress. Yet, the improvement from 2015 to 2016 can largely be credited to the mutual efforts of all organizations from local, international and government organizations. Because there is limited information regarding NGOs in Thailand this study aims to promote and inform of their efforts, progress, duties, and contributions.⁵ Because the work of international organizations, including INGOs, is easily accessed but that of local NGOs in Thailand is sparse, this research will follow the contributions made by local NGOs in Thailand. In addition, because human trafficking is not limited to one sector and "79% of all global

accessed November 14, 2018,

<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/177-un/31618.html>

⁴ Ibid., 317.

⁵ Ibid.

trafficking is for sexual exploitation,” this research focuses on the contributions made by NGOs to stopping sex trafficking.⁶

Defining Human trafficking, Prostitution, and Smuggling

Human trafficking (HT) is often confused with prostitution, making it difficult to determine who classifies as a victim and who does not. Because many of the people trafficked were coming from other countries the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defined HT prior to 1994 as “the facilitation for money of largely voluntary illegal migration.”⁷ Currently, this definition is now largely associated with human smuggling but proves trafficking is complex and a lack of mutual understanding leaves many vulnerable. Smuggled people are mostly searching for economic relief and while trafficking victims are too in search of economic opportunity, the difference being whether entrance into another country is voluntary and involuntary. Prostitution is defined as conducting a sexual act for payment but in the trafficking context, the voluntary nature of consent is unclear.

Human trafficking is defined as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons by improper means (such as force, abduction, fraud, or coercion) for an improper purpose including forced labor or sexual exploitation.⁸ Exploitation occurs when societies have “poverty, uneven development, official corruption, gender discrimination, harmful traditional and cultural practices, civil unrest,

⁶ ECPAT. 2012. *Stop Sex Trafficking of Children & Young People*. Bangkok: ECPAT International

⁷ Frank Laczko, “Data and Research on Human Trafficking.” *International Migration* 4, no. 1-2 (2005): 5-16.

⁸ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. 2004. *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the protocols thereto*. New York: United Nations 42

natural disasters and lack of political will to end it.”⁹ Trafficking consists of three parts: transportation, deception, and coercion.¹⁰

By having a recognized and accepted definition of HT, countries should be able to recognize and protect victims. In Thailand, which signed the *Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* in 2000, many foreign victims and minority victims were detained with charges of prostitution and illegal immigration. The United Nations (UN) definition helps victims overcome the fear of being misidentified as illegal or as a prostitute. This fear has led many victims to not report crimes against them for fear of being deported.¹¹ The Kingdom of Thailand ratified the convention on October 17, 2013.

History of trafficking in Thailand

In Thailand, women have been forced into the selling of self, a lifestyle they may not have chosen for themselves if not for their societal position. While Thailand’s problem with sex is widely known, the sociocultural background of trafficking and prostitution needs to be comprehended to understand how and why human trafficking has become a staple in Thai culture. It is common practice to blame Thailand’s history with sexual exploitation on Western influences. However, Thailand had a long history of sexualizing women before Western interference making it easy for the possibility of human trafficking to occur.

⁹ ECPAT, 2.

¹⁰ Zrinka Gugić, “Human Trafficking Under the Veil of Sex Tourism in Thailand- Reaction of the EU” *Pravni vjesnik* 30, no. 2 (2014): 364.

¹¹ Duean Wongsu, “TRAFCORD and Its Participation in the Promotion of Human Rights to Counter Human Trafficking in Thailand” *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 31, no. 3 (2014): 502-503.

Sexual exploitation has always existed in Thai culture. During the Ayutthaya period, women were given as prizes for men. Describing early forms of sexual exploitation in Thailand, James Seabrook (2001), noted high-status men traded women between them. The men would have as many as three wives (concubines), each being a representative of the status and wealth accumulated by the man. The wives were distinguished by their titles: the principal, secondary and the slave.¹² The slave wife could be exchanged and punished at the discretion of the owner/husband. The calling for the ending of polygamy in Siam, led to tension within Thailand as elite men argued that the practice was a tradition that protected lower-ranked wives against the hardships of poverty.¹³

Women of the Ayutthaya period were not educated nor were they protected by the legal system. Therefore, being chosen as a wife would have been seen as a blessing. During this period, high levels of migrations occurred as many Chinese sex workers began infiltrating Thai borders. The Ayutthaya era created the systematic oppression of women in Thailand that showed culture is undeniably linked to sex oppression.

Thailand in the 20th century

During the 20th century, social policies in Thailand were closely watched by the Western world. Years before the dissolution of polygamy, in 1905, King Rama V abolished slavery and began strengthening Thailand's relationship with the West. In doing so, Thailand adopted many Western policies and social values. Yet, while Rama V

¹² Christa Foster Crawford, "Cultural, Economic and Legal Factors Underlying Trafficking in Thailand and Their Impact on Women and Girls from Burma." *Cardozo Journal of Law & Gender* 12, no. 821 (2006): 826.

¹³ Leslie Ann Jeffrey, *Sex and Borders, Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 8.

formally dissolved slavery, Thai citizens realized the abolition of slavery did not necessarily mean complete freedom. Former slaves, without the means to care for themselves, began turning to prostitution to care for their families. “To become 'free' with no land or means of subsistence naturally led to women being absorbed by brothels.”¹⁴ In the 1930s, polygamy was deemed illegal thus ridding men of their second and third wives. To outsiders, Thailand’s practice of polygamy “evidenced the lack of sexual control among the Siamese...lack of moral character.”¹⁵ The dissolution of multiple wives led to the growth of prostitution. While monogamy was adopted, infidelity, by men, became widely acceptable. Men needed to embrace their sexual desires that could not be contained to one woman, “marital infidelity on [the] husband’s side is acceptable and even praised.”¹⁶ During this time, brothels began appearing throughout the country. The quickness in which brothels grew in Thailand would lead to the country’s capital, Bangkok, earning the moniker “Asia’s Brothel.”¹⁷ Despite the negative nickname and scrutiny, Thailand’s economy flourished as sex became the main attraction for tourists. For locals, the economic boom was promising but unsettling.

In traditional Thai culture, it is the responsibility of children to take care of their aging parents. In the Southeast Asian country, this responsibility fell onto younger women. There is “a strict sense of obligation to parent’s constituent to Thai culture, *bhun kun*, inculcates the youngest daughter with a duty to provide material support to aging

¹⁴ Jeremy Seabrook, *Travels in the Skintrade: Tourism and the Sex Industry* (Sterling: Pluto, 2001): 81.

¹⁵ Jeffrey, 7.

¹⁶ Nataliya Opanovych, "Human trafficking for sex exploitation in Thailand." *Securitologia* 1 (2016): 108.

¹⁷ Christina Arnold and Andrea M. Bertone, “Addressing the Sex Trade in Thailand: Some Lessons from NGOs Part 1” *Gender Issues* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 30.

parents.”¹⁸ However, young girls had a harder time finding jobs because of gender discrimination and lack of opportunities. This led to women turning to prostitution and other exploitative avenues to support their families.

Vietnam War to the 1980s

During the 1960s, Thailand, along with other Southeast Asian countries experienced an economic decline and sociopolitical division. As a result, Thailand began furthering its communication and relationship with the United States by signing the Manila Pact of 1954.¹⁹ In return, the United States offered military assistance and protection to Thailand. In the post-World War II period, Thailand embraced western practices and loosened its connections to communist China. Thailand also began entering various United Nations agencies. After the UN began monitoring human trafficking, it attempted to coerce Thailand to ban brothels. However, by the time of the Vietnam War, Thailand was one of the biggest international prostitution hubs. It was at this time trafficking became a global concern.

Attempting to appease its new allies and address the political climate in Southeast Asia, Thailand led the charge in the development of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN, in 1967. ASEAN was a multi-purpose regional agency intending to promote socio-cultural, political, and economic cooperation, to keep the peace in the region, and also find a regional intergovernmental way of solving human trafficking. However, through ASEAN, traffickers have been able to “pull workers from neighboring

¹⁸ Kara Siddharth, *Sex trafficking: Inside the business of modern slavery* (Columbia University Press, 2009), 15.

¹⁹ This treaty would ensure Southeast Asia would protect the region from communism.

countries and offer them at least some employment, while their poor countries push them out in search of living resources.”²⁰

In 1967, while developing ASEAN, Thailand “signed a treaty to allow U.S. soldiers stationed in Vietnam to come on Rest and Recreation.”²¹ As U.S. military personnel began arriving in Thailand, women from the countryside and Thailand’s poorest provinces came to the cities. U.S. ships docked in Pattaya, which is today considered the “capital of Thailand’s sex tourism industry.”²² The soldiers visited R&R spots like Patpong in Bangkok for the sexual services of Thai women. As American soldiers docked in Thailand there was a “sharp increase in sex trafficking.”²³ This, in turn, led to various sexualizing entertainment shows appearing in Bangkok in 1967.²⁴ Many of these entertainment shows were located around military bases. Toward the end of the 1960s, more than 4,000 U.S. military personnel were stationed in Thailand.²⁵ “Women were being directly or indirectly oppress [ed]” as they performed “special services” for the U.S. military.²⁶ During their stay, many U.S. servicemen (as well as tourists) hired Thai women as temporary wives. The “wives” job was to essentially take care of their “husbands” needs. The relationship between U.S. soldiers and their temporary wives eerily resembles hierarchal Thailand’s secondary wife status. Through

²⁰ Opanovych, 107-109.

²¹ Arnold and Bertone, 30-31.

²² Lift International, “History of Sex Trafficking in Thailand,” Lift International, accessed December 5, 2018, <https://www.liftinternational.org/updates/2018/8/9/history-of-sex-trafficking-in-thailand>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Lin Lean Lim, *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia* (International Labour Office, 1998), 140.

²⁵ Ibid., 141.

²⁶ Rho-Ng, Elizabeth “The Conscription of Asian Sex Slaves: Causes and Effects of U.S. Military Sex Colonialism in Thailand and the Call to Expand U.S. Asylum Law” *Asian American Law Journal* 7 no. 4 (2000): 105

contact with American soldiers, sex tourism became and remained popular in Thailand long after the war. The frequent visit to parlors caused an economic boom in Thailand, leading to more sex businesses being created near military bases. Parlors became hotspots for returning soldiers and “businessmen” that divided their work and vacation time with “sex tours.”²⁷ The popularity of sex workers in Thailand prompted the government to push for foreign visitors to help improve the Thai economy.

Government encouragement of the prostitution and tourism industries ... fueled the demand for tourism-prostitution services. Then, in the 1980s, the dynamic changed from voluntary economic migration to cities to women and girls being duped and trafficked into prostitution in places far from home, both in Thailand and abroad.²⁸

Thailand’s sex trade shifted in the eighties. What was once portrayed as a voluntary profession came to be seen as an underground trafficking business. Toward the end of the 1980s, 15 percent of Thailand’s revenue was made up of sex tourism.²⁹ Of its 10 million annual tourists, it is estimated that 4,200,000 were men coming to Thailand for the sex industry.³⁰ Women from the poorest region (the northeast) in Thailand were being deceived into becoming modern-day slaves as the sex industry expanded. Despite participation in the industry, “Europeans universally regarded Southeast Asian women as sexually “loose,” and the accounts of travelers and traders are full of bawdy stories of Southeast Asian women’s sexual behavior.”³¹ Their theory was dispelled when an HIV/AIDS epidemic infected several foreigners and locals. The epidemic led to Thailand’s trafficking problem once again coming to the forefront of international

²⁷ Arnold and Bertone, 31.

²⁸ Christa Foster Crawford, 826.

²⁹ Jeffrey, 78.

³⁰ Gugić, 361.

³¹ Jeffrey, 8.

attention. HT remained a global concern as Thailand's trafficking industry began affecting not only its local region but abroad traffickers began profiting from Thai women.³² Stolen girls were sold to brothels in Germany for roughly \$1,000.³³ European countries began advertising trips to Thailand as "Thai sex-marriage tours" in magazines. During the trip, lasting three weeks, a Thai woman would wed a European man and be taken to his country.³⁴ The advertising resulted in Thailand's tourism increasing from two million in 1981 to four million in 1988, most of whom were men.³⁵

1990s Outcry and Reforms

Discontent with inadequate legislation and an increasing number of Thai women being sold led to an outcry by citizens for removing ineffective legislation. The main law many wanted changed was the 1960s version of the Prevention and Suppression Act. The act outlawed prostitution but made no mention of trafficking. The 1960s Prevention and Suppression Act was highly controversial; to the displeasure of local and global watchers businesses involving sex were unharmed. These companies were protected by "local officials with commercial interest."³⁶ During the late eighties and 1990s, concerns for the 1960s law and human trafficking began spiking because of the growing number of people speaking out.³⁷ Local organizations such as the Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women began questioning Thailand's trafficking and prostitution laws. Furthermore, the civil society organization highlighted the inequality of the punishments

³² Ibid., 826.

³³ Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1979), 91.

³⁴ Ibid., 92.

³⁵ Andrea Parrot and Nina Cummings, *Sexual Enslavement of Girls and Women Worldwide* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2008), 74.

³⁶ ChartsBins, "The Legal Status of Prostitution by Country" ChartsBins., accessed February 10, 2018, <http://chartsbin.com/view/snb>

³⁷ The public outcry is what led to the change of the HT definition by the IOM in 1994.

received by women compared to traffickers and pimps. The organization also examined the unequal penalizing of women to male solicitors, “trafficking of women and profiteering from this trade, coupled with lax enforcement of laws on prostitution, are due to the activities of certain men.”³⁸ As more frustrations were being aired out by local organizations, the international media published stories like Richard Rhodes’ “Why is Thailand the Whorehouse of the World?” Between the two, the Thai government was essentially forced to address the concerns.³⁹

In 1996, Thailand created a formal law directly targeting “nuisance to the public.” The Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act, B.E. 2539 replaced the 1960s version (Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act B.E. 2503). The new policy would be the first step in Thailand’s long process of eradicating the solicitation of sex. It addressed not only prostitution but sex trafficking. Section 9 of the act deemed it is illegal for anyone who “procures, seduces or takes away any person...” If a worker is threatened into the sex industry their pimps are to be penalized harsher. The target was to limit the trafficking occurring throughout Thailand and reduce illegal immigration. Fines were issued to customers of sex workers that are under 15 years and customers of workers who are between 15 and 18 years old. Quickly following was the Penal Code Amendment B.E. 2540, which targeted traffickers attempting to lure women and children into the sex industry. The law was an attempt to entice more women to speak out against potential traffickers. The Penal Code addressed foreigners injuring Thai nationals by allowing them to be punished in Thailand. By addressing the 1990s concerns, Thailand was placed in the Tier 2 ranking of the first TIP Report in 2001. The Kingdom of

³⁸ Jeffrey, 91.

³⁹ Ibid., 99.

Thailand continued its anti-HT agenda by passing the Anti- Trafficking in Persons Act B.E. 2551 in 2008.⁴⁰ The ATIP covered various types of trafficking described in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (UNTIP) and added men to the protected list.

Under Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha, who took office in 2014, Thailand, affirmed a “zero tolerance” for trafficking. Under his efforts to fight HT, the Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act was routinely amended. Collectively, the Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act and its amendments have been titled the “Anti-Trafficking Act.” The 2015 and 2017 versions identified activities connected to HT, criminalized these acts, and issued harsher penalties for those involved in trafficking; the highest being imprisonment for 8 to 20 years with a fine of 25,000 USD to 62,000 USD. Expanding on the provisions set by the 2017 amendment, the Anti-Trafficking Act expanded the characteristics of victims to include the disabled and the mentally impaired. Furthermore, the revised law offered more assistance to Thai resident victims and Thai nationals abroad. Thailand, along with other ASEAN states, took an intergovernmental approach to advance its stance on HT by signing the Declaration Against Trafficking in Person Particularly Women and Children in 2015. To further advance its anti-trafficking efforts Thailand’s legislative branch, the National Assembly of Thailand, unanimously voted on May 14, 2015, to criminalize those in possession of child pornography with intent to distribute it a crime under the Criminal Code of Thailand. Before, possession of child pornography without intent to distribute was not criminalized. The result of

⁴⁰ The 2008 ATIP Act was an update of the Measures in Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Women and Children Act B.E. 2540. The 1997 act saw migrant victims detained and deported without justice.

adopting laws to protect victims of HT led to a trafficking crackdown in 2017, where 62 out of 102 people were indicted, including government officials, for crimes directly and indirectly related to HT.⁴¹ Despite the remaining forties acquittal, Thailand was able to send a powerful message to the public. Regardless of status, human traffickers have been punished.

In 2018, the RTP initiated the Thailand Anti-Trafficking in Persons Task Force (TATIP). This government organization led to a collaboration between law enforcement, social workers and NGOs to focus primarily on HT while creating new agencies like the Thai Internet Crimes Against Children Task Force. The TATIP was divided into units focusing on analysis of potential victims, collections of evidence, rescuing, interrogations of the accused, and digital evidence examination.⁴² The collaborative project demonstrates the benefits of cooperation between the government and NGOs. The TATIP aided in a rise of victims sharing their experiences and openly speaking with properly trained officers. Cases that were taken to court were prosecuted within a six months range. So, with new training, amendments of laws to protect victims, and at least some NGO involvement why is trafficking still high?

Why is human trafficking thriving in Thailand?

Human trafficking is a human security threat yet, the trade has become a dark market industry that has continued to evade laws calling for its disbandment. There are several reasons why human trafficking has yet to be stopped in Thailand despite

⁴¹ Human Rights Watch. "Thailand: Trafficking Convictions Important Step Forward Expand Prosecutions, Provide Protections for Rohingya Migrants," Human Rights Watch, accessed April, 26, 2019, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/thailand0914_ForUpload_0.pdf

⁴² U.S. Department of State. "Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons." Report., accessed January 25, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2001/3928.htm>

numerous attempts to reduce it. Many blame the issue on past diplomatic ties to the United States, where many American soldiers paid for sex with Thai women. However, this ignores Thailand's history and culture as contributors to its growing sex industry. The HT issue in Thailand is due to a lack of education, opportunity, and protection. Complacency and lack of foresight allowed the sex industry in Thailand to continuously revive itself by capitalizing on protocols made by the Thai government and IGOs. Organizations like ASEAN brought prolific changes throughout Southeast Asia. However, traffickers were able to entice victims by using ASEAN's "economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the region," principle.⁴³ Victims eagerness for a chance at a better life made them susceptible to deceptive schemes. Through the connection brought by ASEAN, Thailand is in close association with Southeast Asian states that also have high trafficking rates. Its neighbors are ranked between Tier 2 and 3 on the TIP. Their ranking undoubtedly reflects and impedes any progress that may be made in Thailand as Thai borders are routinely used to transport victims.

⁴³ "Aims and Purposes." Overview, ASEAN, accessed November 25, 2018, <https://asean.org/asean/about-asean/overview/>

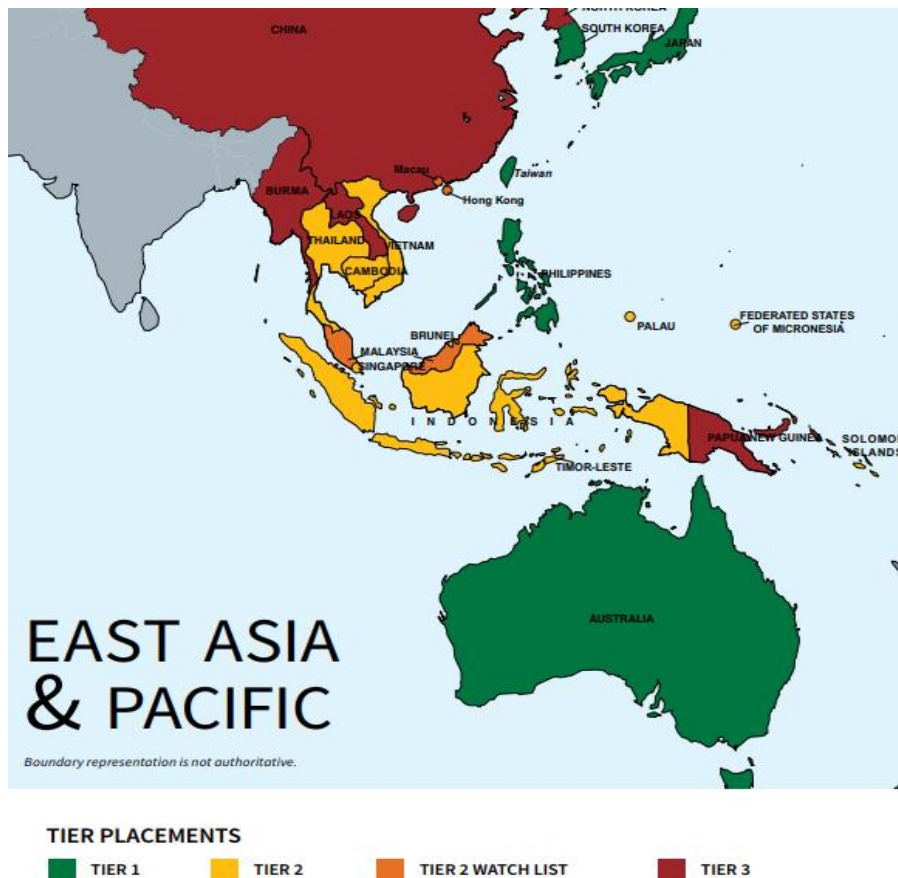


Figure 2. Tier Rankings of East Asia and the Pacific. Graph from “Thailand” *Trafficking in Persons Report*. U.S. Department of State, June 2018: 56

Economic Factors

Human trafficking found its footing in preying on the economic disparity between the wealthy and the poor. When economic problems occur in Thailand, trafficking rates increase as well. As the case of the financial crisis of 1997, when Thailand’s currency, the Baht, was floated, women and children were vulnerable to traffickers. Asian culture emphasizes the importance of children, especially women, to care for their elder parents. In families where money is a concern, parents look toward their daughter to help. Many parents are deceived into giving their child to a pimp on the promise of a job opportunity for their daughter. The job description may or may not detail the involvement of sex. Because an economy shapes a country, it is not surprising that Thailand has had difficulty

severing ties to HT completely. Thailand has been able to monopolize HT and the economy has long benefited from the sex industry.

As the main contributor to Thailand's development capital the sex trade has been able to survive.⁴⁴ While trafficking is viewed as a negative, Thailand's ability to attract foreigners is positive. In 2005, tourism brought over 11 million USD into the Thai market. The visitors were predominantly men traveling alone. Thailand created ways for traffickers and sex shops to survive by building around them. One of the main transit systems in Bangkok, Skytrain, stops at foreigner's favorite sex spots, two prostitution locations, and Patpong.

Because of the economic disparity in Thailand, most victims of sex trafficking come from rural poor families and the uneducated. The majority of trafficked women have the equivalent of a fourth-grade education and approximately 25% claim a 7th-grade education.⁴⁵ The majority of victims in Thailand come from Lao DPR, Myanmar, Cambodia and Viet Nam. Trafficking occurring between the Golden Triangle (Lao DPR, Thailand, and Myanmar) also tend to involve weapons and illicit drugs.⁴⁶ Victims chasing economic relief, often fall prey to traffickers' promise of work in Thailand because the country is viewed as economically stable compared to their country of origin.

Socio-Cultural Factors

In Thailand, the social-cultural factors play a role in HT. There is a fundamental difference in how the wealthy and the poor live in Thailand. While finances are one of

⁴⁴ Louise Shelley, *Human Trafficking, A Global Perspective* (George Mason University: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 172.

⁴⁵ Gugić, 364.

⁴⁶ John R. Barner, David Okech and Meghan A. Camp, "Socio-Economic Inequality, Human Trafficking, and the Global Slave Trade" *Societies* 4, (April 2014): 153.
doi:10.3390/soc4020148

the differences, the lack of education and representation for minority and poor groups in Thailand allows for HT to survive. Many of the women duped into HT are tricked because of a lack of knowledge and opportunities within society. Thailand's culture has endorsed sexualization, "some say it's our beautiful wide-bodied DC-10s that cause so many heads to turn at airports throughout the world; we think our beautiful slim-bodied hostesses have a lot to do with it."⁴⁷ To keep tourism high, Thailand limited women's societal standing. During the eighties, a deputy minister gave a speech saying Thailand could keep tourism high by promoting the sex industry in provinces.⁴⁸ Thais' unintentional embrace of the sex trade is closely linked to its political policies. Many are unwilling to fully denounce the sex industry and human trafficking due to the stability it has brought to the country. Stability in this manner meaning money, political gains, and societal acceptance. It has been recognized by Thais that many officials take little interest in investigating the HT concerns unless international pressure recommends it.

Cases of victims not seen as Thai, such as the minority groups from the Hill Tribes, have not been taken seriously by the local police. The survivors, instead criminals for illegal immigration and risk facing deportation. After capturing victims, traffickers rid the girls of personal belongings including passports, leaving them vulnerable, dependent on the traffickers, and less likely to attempt escape. Despite numerous policies introduced by the Thai government, the laws are rendered useless if citizens are unaware and police have no interest in enforcement.

⁴⁷ Thanh-Dam, Truong, *Sex, money and morality: Prostitution and tourism in Southeast Asia* (London: Zed Press, 1990), 179.

⁴⁸ Lim, 137.

Political Factors

Despite repeatedly passing laws to reduce HT or appease the international community, it was not until 2004 that the Thai Royal Government officially declared HT to be a national issue.⁴⁹ Thailand will continue to be the human trafficking capital without self-motivation and proper accountability. Leaders monitoring HT focus on what the families should do rather than stopping traffickers. Former Prime Minister Chuan, in 1992, spoke to the governors of 75 provinces telling them to be more efficient and properly prioritize HT cases. He also attempted to persuade families not to sell their daughters but did not offer a financial plan for the families. Throughout the years, Thailand's laws regarding trafficking and the sex industry have come after prompting by the international community or an attempt to rebuild its reputation. On June 21, 1993, *TIME Magazine* cover featured a Thai woman on the lap on a Western man, once again putting the country in the spotlight for its laissez-faire attitude on selling sex. Shortly after, Thailand began initiating raids on brothels but failed because of political corruption. In addition to the raids, Thailand introduced the Prevention Act of 1996.

The 1996 Prevention Act declared any official found participating or supporting the sex industry in Thailand shall be imprisoned for 15 to 20 years and fined 10,000 USD. The fine was hardly enough for officials to adhere; many government officials, including police and soldiers, are “are complicit in trafficking schemes, and the government barely enforces antitrafficking and anti-prostitution laws.”⁵⁰ It is commonly known that Thai officials often go unpunished. Political corruption allowed many

⁴⁹ Wongsu, 507.

⁵⁰ Freedom House, “Freedom in the World 2001- Thailand” Freedom House., accessed April 1, 2019, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2001/thailand>

traffickers to escape punishment because the police often decline to investigate or do not properly pursue the case as they would rather follow the trail to the bigger crime. Political intertwinement with HT has blurred the lines as it is hard to prosecute traffickers if they have contributed to political campaigns. Traffickers have insinuated themselves with Thailand elites and officials by using money to bribe officials.⁵¹ Corrupted officials have been found guilty of collecting money at border checkpoints, not investigating known trafficking spots, warning perpetrators before raids, offering protections such as a “decreasing the severity of the charges.”⁵²

Ethnic discrimination has also influenced the continuation of HT. Particularly in the North, where Thailand and Burma remain reluctant to recognize the ethnic groups in the Hill Tribes as citizens rather than as national security threats. This makes women and children of the area easy targets for traffickers. Thailand’s government does not recognize trafficked as victims but as illegal migrants.

Thailand continues to be viewed as the sex capital of the world because lack of information provided to the public, cultural practices of women being subordinate, and the reluctance of not involving more local NGOs compared to international non-government organizations and IGOs to tackle the HT problem. It has been estimated that there are approximately 300,000 sex workers in Thailand.⁵³ For Thailand to eventually conquer the trafficking industry, there must be an undeniable want displayed by the locals and officials on a consistent basis. There is a fundamental lack of self-will in the Thai

⁵¹ Shelley, 59.

⁵² Wongsu, 508.

⁵³ Empower Foundation, *Moving Toward Decent Sex Work: Sex worker community research decent work and exploitation in Thailand*, Empower University Press, Nonthaburi, 2016, p. 86.

government to fix the country. There is a heavy reliance on IGOs and government agencies but hardly any reliance on the numerous local NGOs focusing on trafficking in the country. In Thailand's political landscape "there is no juridical culture of independent and effective supervision of government and the Council made no effort to encourage, much less sponsor, advocacy for rights."⁵⁴ To have the groundwork for political advocacy, groups must have support from someone high up. Without the proper people backing the fight against trafficking a reform will not be effective. This is because regardless of their voices, advocacy groups and people are considered weak in the grand scheme of things.

Having assessed how trafficking became a successful industry in Thailand through evaluating their, culture, laws and customs, we can address the roles of NGOs. Non-government organizations generally exist to provide mutual aid and support to their community. Generally, these organizations focus on a central concept for which their resources are used. Thailand's local NGOs are often better situated to serve their communities more efficiently than outside agencies with little knowledge of, experience with, or accountability to local people.

Understanding the Role of NGOs

The first TIP Report in 2001, highlighted the importance of cooperation with Thai NGOs in addressing corruption in Thai society. The report recommended that NGOs and the Thai government collaborate more in the assistance of HT victims. It acknowledges NGOs have an edge in promoting anti-trafficking to locals better than an IGO would. The

⁵⁴ Frank Munger. "Trafficking in Law: Cause Lawyer, Bureaucratic State and Rights of Human Trafficking Victims in Thailand" *Asian Studies Review* 39, no. 1 (2015): 73.

TIP advised that the first collaborative project between local and international NGOs and the government happen through the Mekong-Sub-regional Project. However, the project failed due to lack of funding.⁵⁵

The roles of local NGOs in Thailand are hard to follow because many are rarely recognized as legitimate reputable businesses or they are often described in the same manner as international NGOs. To be a recognized organization in Thailand, foreign NGOs register through the Foreign Private Organization. Recognition is given through permits, which may be limited, and the organization will be monitored by the Thai government.⁵⁶ The process for local NGOs is different. Though local NGOs do not have to formally register as it is not required by the constitution, those that do go through the Ministry of the Interior, Culture, and Labour to apply as a foundation.⁵⁷ The organizations must have a list of all owner's assets, testament of virtue, identity cards of all board members and directors, and minutes of the meetings. In addition, local NGOs must have 250,000 baht in cash and the foundation must have an asset of 500,000 baht.⁵⁸ Although the process for local organizations appears easier than international non-government organizations, many have a hard time being established because they are perceived to be international organizations. Local NGOs in Thailand are viewed as “non-

⁵⁵ U.S. Department of State. “Trafficking in Persons Report.” Report., accessed January 25, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2001/3928.html>

⁵⁶ Liberty Asia. “Legal Analysis of Human Trafficking in Thailand” Liberty Asia., accessed October 25, 2018, <http://un-act.org/publication/view/legal-analysis-human-trafficking-thailand/>

⁵⁷ ADB. “Development of Civil Society to Current State.” Civil Society Beliefs Thailand., accessed October 19, 2019 <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/csb-tha.pdf>

⁵⁸ London Associated Law & Practice Investigation (Thailand) Co. Ltd. “Foundations.” LA Law Thailand., accessed October 18, 2019, <http://lalawthailand.com/business/foundations/>

Thai,” if they are perceived to be foreign supported.⁵⁹ The demand for local NGOs to have a high asset and cash before opening explains why many local organizations close shortly after opening.⁶⁰ Furthermore, despite their mutual purpose of aiding Thai victims of HT, local Thai NGOs are outnumbered and outsized by international foundations making their presence in their community small in comparison. There are cultural differences in how to successfully combat trafficking for international organizations researching Thailand and local NGOs in Thailand. International organizations, IGOs and INGOs, follow the model of ‘giving’ while ignoring the factors that led to trafficking in the first place. These IOs often assume “every practice should follow the policy or legal system standard based on their knowledge of their home countries.”⁶¹ Because these organizations receive more attention and give more detailed reports about their progress, local non-government organizations struggle to be seen as a credible force against HT.

Local NGOs' roles are difficult to understand because it is frowned upon by the Thai government to speak too much with the media and foreigners. This makes NGOs rely more on networking. Local NGOs must build relationships with another person within another organization that they can share information with. As interpersonal relationships' trust builds, local NGOs become more likely to reveal information.⁶² However, this can be damaging toward the NGO and the victim they are trying to help if

⁵⁹ Frank Munger, “Globalization, Investing in Law, and the Careers of Lawyers for Social Causes: Taking on Rights in Thailand” *New York Law School Law Review* 53 (2008-2009): 763.

⁶⁰ Juree Vichit-Vadakan.

⁶¹ Wongsas, 512.

⁶² Ibid.

the network fails. Failing relationships may result in unwanted information being leaked.⁶³

It is hard to specifically determine the duties of anti-HT local NGOs because many are unclear whether prostitution falls into the category of HT. For many, there is “no distinction between forced and consensual prostitution.”⁶⁴ Despite the internationally accepted definition, the lack of separating the two for a lot of local NGOs in Thailand leads to some organizations' efforts not being taken into consideration by TIP. In addition, studying the roles of anti-trafficking local NGOs in Thailand is complex because many of the organizations blur the lines on which category they fall into: local NGO, INGO, IGO, or GO. The way an NGO role must be measured has to be different from how one would measure the success of a government or IGO. This is because most local NGOs do not have the same resources allotted to them. While an IGO uses the same model and approach from one setting to another, a local NGO has a better chance of comprehending the complexity of a cultural setting.

During the process of understanding the efforts of anti-HT local NGOs, one must take into consideration the benefits they are providing to the victims and their bureaucratic duties. Advocate lawyers, while not the most glamorous career, have begun lending services to local Thai NGOs across Thailand representing HT victims, the organization's platform, and opening communications between the local NGOs, “good”

⁶³ Courtland Robinson, “Anti-Human Trafficking in Thailand” accessed May 20, 2019, <http://hopkinshumanitarianhealth.org/assets/documents/Anti-Trafficking-in-Thailand-30Jun2016.pdf>

⁶⁴ Elizabeth M. Donovan, “Same As It Ever Was: In Support of the Rights of Sex Trafficking Victims” *Quinnipiac Law Review* 36, no. 489 (2018): 551.

police, and cooperative judges.⁶⁵ Thailand's local NGOs roles must be monitored by how they are organized and to what purpose. How they work must also be accounted for.

Local NGOs' effectiveness should also be measured by how and how often they disseminate information to the public, their transparency with the public, and their ability to keep confidential information. Understanding the functions of local NGOs must also be a case by case bases as each organization funds themselves differently and performs different tasks. Because Thailand's local NGOs serve different purposes, despite having the same agenda, their roles often change.

⁶⁵ Munger, 73-74. Trafficking in Law: Cause Lawyer, Bureaucratic State and Rights of Human Trafficking Victims in Thailand

III. METHODOLOGY

Based on background information regarding non-government organizations (NGOs) in Thailand, I had the following expectations: (1) NGOs, both local and international, will aid in the fight against human trafficking, however, they would not be as impactful as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and government organizations (GOs), and (2) majority of the work by NGOs would be providing shelter for vulnerable communities and HT survivors. In addition, NGOs would be advocating for legislation that will further provide protections for those vulnerable to traffickers. The broad goals of this research were to find answers to the following questions:

RQ1: What are NGOs doing to prevent and reduce human trafficking?

RQ2: Have NGOs made a difference in how trafficking has been perceived in Thailand?

To answer the research questions, this study used literature, the websites and social media accounts of NGOs, IGOs, and GOs, and the survey method to gather descriptive data. Survey questions were formed based on information that could not be gathered from the organization's websites. Two versions of the survey (see Appendix Section) were sent out, one going to local NGOs and INGOs and the other to IGOs and GOs. A letter of invitation and the survey were issued to all the organizations through email, social media accounts, and their websites' contact response pages. Before asking any organization to participate in this study, I was granted approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB). Upon the conditions of this approval, all organizations that were asked to participate in this study were promised anonymity. Non-government organizations that were to be given incentives (monetary donation, shipment of an item said to be needed by

the organizations website, online purchase of an item, or public sharing of the organizations website on a social media platform) if they participated in this study and if needed were open to further communication with me. These incentives were to my discretion and would only be given to organizations that followed through with the agreement for communication. No incentives were given to government organizations or IGOs. Each organization invited to participate in the study was contacted because they offered an English translation on their website. This was done to avoid any possible language barriers. Non-government organizations that were selected defined themselves as an NGO, civil society organization (CSO), or as a community-based organization (CBO) on their websites. The NGOs' websites needed to clarify that they indeed identified as a non-government organization to avoid misclassification and risk organizations being sent the wrong survey. All organizations could decline the invitation for any reason.

A total of ten NGOs, six local NGOs and four INGOs, were asked to complete the survey. They were asked questions that were constructed after an examination of their websites. The questions pertained to their locations, methods, media usage, and were asked to gauge how helpful they were to their communities. This was done to determine if NGOs in various regions used the same strategy and to assess which were more effective when strategies differed. The questions also provided insight on future partnerships between local, national, and international organizations and lead to further questioning if future collaboration under the leadership of local organizations are possible. The self-critique elicited opinions from NGOs personnel about whether NGOs are contributing to fighting trafficking. Having the organizations themselves explain their

roles gives an opportunity to track growth if further studies are conducted. Having local NGOs rate their work rate provides some subjective evidence of where they would fit into the TIP system ranking of the country.

To further gain access to the specific activities anti-trafficking NGOs partake in, a list of follow up questions was sent to the email of organizations that agreed to further contact. These series of questions were designed specifically for each NGO. The questions were formed based on the information available on the NGO's website and social media accounts. Each of the questions (see Appendix Section) were composed to obtain further explanation on how programs the NGO provided work and the benefits. NGOs were also asked to provide information that was necessary to understand how their non-government organization worked and spread information.

Six IGOs and eight GOs were invited to take the survey. These questions were similar to those presented to the NGOs. Thailand's government organizations and IGOs were asked to rate NGOs to determine their success and efficiency in combatting HT. The answers provided by the NGOs, IGOs, and GOs were then analyzed.

IV. FINDINGS

By asking what non-government organizations (NGOs) in Thailand are doing an opportunity to focus on local NGOs arose. While studying NGOs as a whole is important, this study paid special attention to the work of local NGOs as they are often not as visible as their international counterparts. Largely, this is because INGOs have more resources than Thailand's local organizations. This chapter will focus on the roles and services provided by non-government organizations by answering the broad research questions:

RQ1: What are NGOs doing to prevent and reduce human trafficking?

RQ2: Have NGOs made a difference in how trafficking has been perceived in Thailand?

The chapter will answer these questions by discussing the results from the two surveys as well as the responses of participants that chose further contact. Answers were also determined by background literature (see chapter II) and the social media accounts and websites of NGOs, IGOs, and GOs. Non-government organizations' services will be measured against the Thai constitution, the promises and work of the RTP, and other government departments. This chapter is organized into two sections, the first will focus on NGOs and the second will focus on IGOs and GOs survey and website responses.

Non-government organizations

During the invitation process of this study, non-government organizations responded differently depending on how they were asked to participate. Though each organization was sent the same participation invitation, local NGOs were more likely to respond when contacted email-to-email (2), followed by their response pages (1), and then through social media pages (0). Participating INGOs in this study were responsive via social media until an email connection could be established and contact response

pages. Overall, NGOs had a response rate of 50% to the survey, with three local NGOs and two INGOs taking the survey. It can be that the reasons for the NGOs' response rate is the organizations were eager to have their organizations work recognized albeit anonymously. I believe NGOs, especially local NGOs, wanted to justify their existence and show their ability to aid potential victims and survivors of trafficking in Thailand. By having their roles defined NGOs can likely justify more funding for their anti-trafficking agenda.

There was also a difference in the kind of Thai NGOs that responded to the survey. Non-government organizations that had multiple locations were more likely to respond compared to those with a singular location. This was especially seen in organizations that had a U.S. office. Thailand's NGOs were found reluctant to participate in the study without the reassurance that their organizations would not be named. The hesitance to participate without anonymity prompted me to study the issue of freedom of expression in Thailand. This would allow me to understand if an NGO had the right to express their opinions online. I found that media censorship has been employed in the country since 2014. In addition, it was reported that under the Computer-Related Crime Act, online surveillance has taken place and caused several arrests.⁶⁶ NGOs wanted to ensure their safety and the integrity of their organizations by not having their names recorded. I also concluded that Thai NGOs' survey answers needed to be cross-checked with the information provided on their social media and websites. This helped determine if online monitoring restricted local NGOs in ways international agencies were not regarding how they answered certain questions. Through studying Thailand's NGOs

⁶⁶ Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2019- Thailand" Freedom House., accessed August 1, 2019, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/thailand>

staff, location, strategy, and relationships full comprehension of how they are changing the perception of HT and aiding the fight to reduce human trafficking can be assessed.

Who works for local Thai organizations?

To understand the capability of a local NGO, this study explored their staff sizes in comparison to their international allies. By doing so, the ability of an NGO to service those in need can be measured and the amount of work per staff member could be established, which could lead to another reason local organizations have high turnover rates as mentioned in the previous chapter. Staff size is obviously related to workload, another indication of the differences between local and international NGOs and IGOs. Understandably, when compared to IGOs, local non-government organizations are smaller in size. The regional IGO, ASEAN, which aims to improve the lives of Southeast Asians, is made up of 10 member states. The IGO, that has representatives tackling the social, economic, and political sector established the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) to handle concerns of human trafficking as well as other matter of human rights. While the AICHR handles the human rights cases, they must still answer and work with other ASEAN departments, such as ASEAN's Environmental Impact Assessment regional consulting team to be sure ASEAN's objectives are being accomplished and AICHR goal can be achieved equally by member states.⁶⁷ In comparison to a department, an anti-HT NGO has roughly 25 people on staff. Of the organizations investigated during this study, one referenced on its website that it had a staff of only six people. Nonetheless, despite the difference of employed people, both GOs and NGOs are more likely to have Thai staff compared to international

⁶⁷ AICHR. "Our Work" ASEAN., accessed October 19, 2019. <https://aichr.org/our-work/>

organizations (IOs). Non-government organization's staff members came from various backgrounds compared to international and government organizations. Local NGOs' employees ranged from being mothers, ethnic minorities, migrants, and sex workers. Through having a diverse staff, local organizations had an easier time forming connections, giving advice and suggestions based on experience.

To keep up with the demand of those in need, many of the smaller staffed NGOs urged for volunteers. One organization listed the preferred skillset for potential volunteers. Some of the skills included art therapy, human rights, languages, and marketing. While all the non-government organizations had a donation option; those that were in true need often displayed the message on the top of their websites. However, those with a larger staff size were in more need of donations compared to smaller staffed NGOs. These organizations would list reasons for the need, most mentioning that a critical program offered would be shutting down. NGOs overall seemed relatively steady with how they handled the demand. Many, though short staffed have various programs to aid potential and former HT victims. Even those in need of donations and volunteers have a multitude of services that can be offered. NGOs' staffs varied by gender. The majority employed both men and women, some by women only, and lastly, very few NGOs were staffed by only men.

Having an equal or near-equal number of male and female employees means that constituents are supported by a variety of staff. Because we work with young people, we are especially aware of how a staff person's gender could impact their experiences and what and how much they might be willing to share.⁶⁸

Staffs impact the duties NGOs partake when combating trafficking. They are not only responsible for the well-being of the vulnerable but are key components to how

⁶⁸ Interview.

successful an NGO will be. Because NGOs typically have smaller staff sizes, compared to an international organization, HT victims are likely to welcome seeing familiar faces compared to the overwhelming presence of an international organization. The same comparison can be made with NGOs staff and those of the Thai government; victims are likely to open up to the staff of an NGO rather than Thai policemen for reasons mentioned in chapter two. While knowing about the staff of an organization is important to understanding the role and capability of an NGO, the efficiency of an NGO can also be determined by its location.

Where are NGOs located?

Maps dedicated to tracking HT in Thailand depict areas where various types of trafficking occur. Figure 3 shows sexual exploitation happening in the Chiang Mai and Nakhon Ratchasima only, while the mixed exploitation of economic and sexual is found in the central and south. However, the vagueness and lack of information about the east and northeast regions causes concern along Thailand's Cambodian and Laos border. Despite knowing Laos is a part of the Golden Triangle and Cambodia is a main supplier of sex trafficking victims into Thailand, maps denounce sexual exploitation and economic trafficking in the regions. If it cannot be efficiently determined where HT is happening in Thailand, then it becomes harder for organizations to establish themselves in the areas needed. This leads to the question, are NGOs not in areas they would be most effective because they too are not aware of the trafficking concerns there?

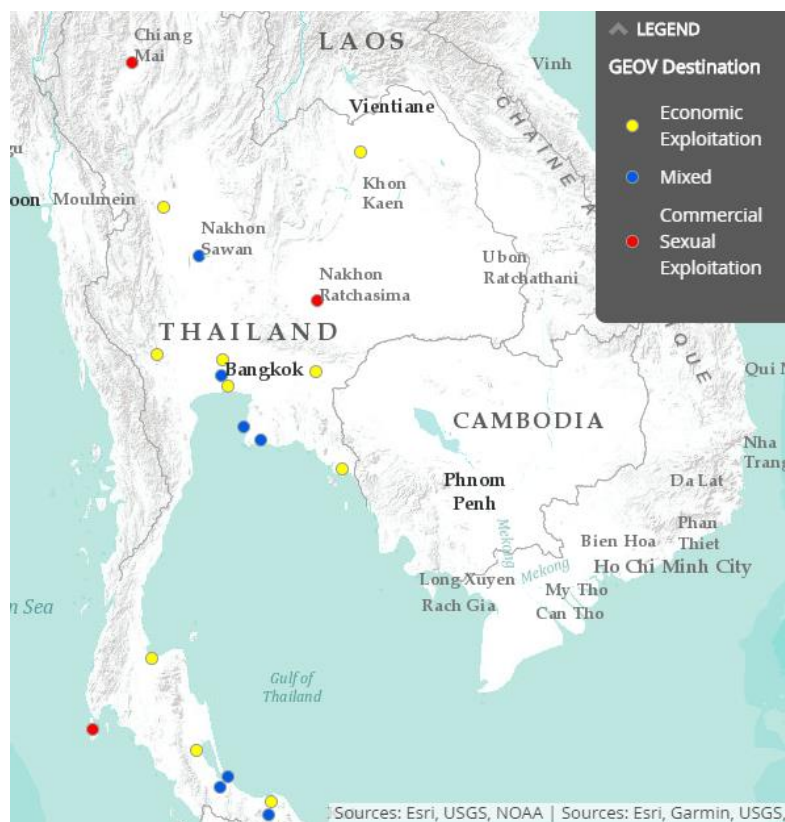


Figure 3. Types of Trafficking throughout Thailand. Graph from “Destination Countries” “Human Trafficking in Thailand.” Esri.

Knowing where a non-government organization is, provides information on who they are serving and how likely it is they are helping the surrounding community. If too many (NGOs, INGOs, IGOs) are in one place is it harmful or beneficial? Areas with too many organizations may potentially drive traffickers to areas where there is less anti-trafficking awareness. Yet, communities with a high population are commonly reported to have numerous cases of human trafficking.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, knowing where Thailand’s NGOs are located allows for comparisons on how they function by region, how they compare to other types of organizations in the area, and if their decision to be in an area effects who and why they serve certain people.

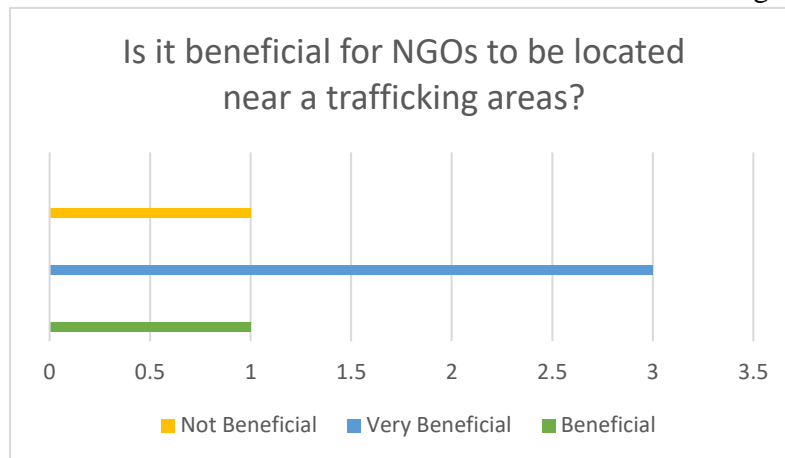
⁶⁹ According to the 2018 TIP Report, Thailand had 336 sex trafficking victims in 2017.

International agencies and GOs, like most anti-trafficking organizations, are located within the Northern and Central region of Thailand. This is not a surprise being that Bangkok is in the central region and Chiang Mai is in the Northern region. Both cities have rich histories and rank in the top six of the most populated cities in Thailand, thus making them breeding grounds for trafficking and favorites for foreign tourism. While international organizations tend to be in areas of high population, Thai local NGOs are more likely to be located where migrant presence is likely.

However, because there are NGOs and international organizations in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, it is important to compare the similarities and differences between them. IOs and Thai local non-government organizations in these areas tend to have other issues that they are fighting for along with their anti-human trafficking objectives. These organizations also seem to have multiple locations, either outside the country or simply another building within the area. Sixty percent of the surveyed NGOs defended the Thai governments' laws against human trafficking by indicating the laws were not a hindrance to combating HT. These organizations were found to be located in Bangkok and Chiang Mai. The differences for the organizations, however, were their lasting legacy and impact. Meaning more international organizations stayed afloat and active online during this study, leading to the belief they were likely more stable and active within the community than the local NGOs within the area. Nevertheless, Thai non-government organizations are very particular when deciding their location; the majority found it imperative to be located near routinely trafficked areas. Three out of five NGOs saw it to be very beneficial while one decided it was not beneficial to be in trafficking neighborhoods despite having a location there anyway as seen in Table 1. NGOs that

opted to be away from major cities were found to be in areas, like Phuket and Pattaya, that had a recorded history of foreign involvement in trafficking and prostitution.

Table 1. Location of an NGO Beneficial to Anti-trafficking



When asked how helpful they were NGOs found themselves most helpful in areas where human trafficking thrives, like Bangkok. Because the majority settle in Bangkok and other major cities they neglect areas where they can be most impactful. Reasons for NGOs being in areas with other organizations are linked to the duties they perform. Local NGOs often monitor the performance of international and government organizations. In addition, many NGOs find comfort in being near other anti-trafficking organizations because of the assurance they are making an impact within the community even if they are being overshadowed by the international agencies. NGOs would find it beneficial to be in the Eastern and Northeastern regions because many well-known IOs are in the bigger Thai cities as well as the governments' agencies dedicated to HT.⁷⁰ If NGOs were to branch out into other regions of Thailand, they could help spread awareness and aid to

⁷⁰ There was difficulty finding information about NGOs in the North East and East region despite Laos being a part of the Golden Triangle of human trafficking and Cambodia being on of the main suppliers of residents being trafficked into Thailand.

potential trafficking victims. However, if Thai local organizations choose to stay in the main cities, they should adopt specific services their organizations will provide to differentiate themselves from other organizations.

Who are NGOs helping?

In Thailand, the majority of international anti-trafficking organizations were focused on aiding children and women. The websites of the local NGOs were aimed towards certain ethnic groups, people who were poverty-stricken, and women. While not many, some Thai local organizations had a sole focus on male trafficking survivors. This less observed scope into sex exploitation made it clear that male-focused organizations were rare and as a result, these NGOs were more private on the information released to the public. Through the process of observing the people serviced by NGOs, the differences between the NGOs and why each are necessary was revealed. Thailand's laws on human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and the rights of certain ethnic groups became the forefront as many NGOs were developed to offer protection for victims of HT who found it difficult to obtain justice.

The ages of the people aided by NGOs were monitored to learn who was most vulnerable to HT and if there were any differences between the age range NGOs, GOs, and IGOs assisted. As a result of government and international organizations displaying stories of children on their websites and centering the majority of their projects on child protection, children became the face of human trafficking in Thailand. While both offer services to older people, their target age group are school children. NGOs were found to be unrestrictive about the age when determining who would be assisted by their services. The organizations were observed to be helping people from infants to elders.

Nonetheless, NGOs were observed to focus on students by creating programs to keep them enrolled and on track for university.

There is an imbalance of information within the study of human trafficking as related to gender. While women “continue to be the largest group by far, with slightly more girls detected than women,” males, mostly boys, have also been victims of sex trafficking in Thailand.⁷¹ Because women and girls are most likely to be victims of HT, most organizations center their focus on women and girls. Even though Thailand’s government recognizes men are also vulnerable to the sex trade, it too centered its work around women and girls. “But the majority of sex workers is girls and women, so our main focus is women.” responded the Ministry of Justice deputy director.⁷² Before the 2008 ATIP, male victims were more likely to be deported as illegals rather than being assisted by the government.⁷³ Most NGOs and IGOs too focused their organizations on women and children. However, participating NGOs expressed acknowledgment that the needs and anticipations of all genders were important. Local organizations understood that there is a difference in how men and women responded to HT and that the NGOs “staff’s gender could impact their [those serviced] experiences and what and how much they might be willing to share.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ UNODC, “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons”2018, 67-68.

⁷² Rina Chandran, “In Thai Tourist Spots” Reuters., accessed August 1, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-trafficking-sexcrimes/in-thai-tourist-spots-a-hidden-world-of-male-sex-slavery-idUSKBN1J91GU>

⁷³ Son Ninsri. “Thailand’s Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act B.E. 2551 (2008): A New Development in Human Rights Protection and Justice” *Journal of Peace Education and Social Justice* 2, no. 2 (2008): 340, http://www.infactispax.org/Volume_special_IPE/Ninsri.pdf

⁷⁴ Interview.

Because males make up such a small percentage of sex trafficking their representation in HT is often ignored. As a result of underrepresentation, boy-centered NGOs began opening in Thailand near high trafficking areas. These NGOs brought to light issues boys faced in HT. For instance, boys and men are least likely to report their abuse in fear of being ridiculed. NGOs that focused on boys were also inclusive in accepting transgender persons, who were estimated to make up 10,000 people of the sex trade in Thailand.⁷⁵ Through looking at the differences of the genders serviced by various NGOs, it can be determined that local organizations are committed to combatting HT for everyone. Though the majority are still heavily focused on providing services to women and girls, there has been some growth in NGOs providing services for males appearing in Thailand. In addition, centers that previously cared for only girls are now welcoming boys and creating specific programs specifically designed to give equal quality and care.

Just as most people benefiting from local organizations are women, people suffering from low economic status also benefit the most from NGOs. The majority of people being serviced by non-government organizations are from rural areas; their families are essentially forced to have a child enter the sex trade due to monetary reasons. “Poverty as a top one reason for trafficking is present all around the world and especially in countries of Southeast Asia, also known as Mekong region countries.”⁷⁶ In addition, those who lack education make up large numbers of NGOs’ beneficiaries. Many did not have “any education beyond high school level, and only half had primary education or below.”⁷⁷ They came to the organizations for safe ways to collect income to provide for

⁷⁵ Chandran, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-trafficking-sexcrimes/in-thai-tourist-spots-a-hidden-world-of-male-sex-slavery-idUSKBN1J91GU>

⁷⁶ Gugić, 360.

⁷⁷ UNODC, 31.

family members, learn ways to better themselves through education and many finding it safer to be at the local organizations rather than government organizations.⁷⁸ This is because the NGOs, despite possible collaborations with the government, are viewed as separate entities from the government and its programs. Migrants coming into Thailand are particularly are fond of NGOs because of their promise to seek justice for them.

In Thailand's Constitution, Chapter 3, Section 25 offers protection and assistance to citizens and legal migrants provided by the country. These protections were designed to ensure the safety of Thai residents from criminal actions against them. Other types of protections by the government are given to people with jobs. These protections are to monitor safety conditions and reporting of mistreatment on duty. Despite their legal status migrants of certain descent are often subjected to ethnic discrimination, leading to them being less likely to report any incidents causing them to not be protected. And those who have crossed the border, illegally or have been trafficked, are unable to claim these protections. Due to the illegality of working in the sex industry, the services of the "Office of Labour Protection and Welfare, the Department of Employment, Department of Social Security and the Ombudsman," are also denied thus keeping sex workers, legal immigrants, illegal migrants, and trafficked persons vulnerable.⁷⁹

Because of these denials, non-government organizations have stepped up in providing services to migrants, legal and illegal, throughout Thailand. NGOs reported their work for migrants is important because of the consistent denial of justice provided by the Thai government. The Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) condemned

⁷⁸ Wongsu, 505.

⁷⁹ Empower Foundation, 35.

The Office of Ombudsman was created by the 1997 Thailand Constitution. Its purpose is to provide advocacy on behalf of the people by investigating and resolving complaints.

Thailand on its failure on being unable to separate trafficked children from illegal immigrants.⁸⁰ Local organizations that have chosen to focus on migrant communities have done so in efforts to strengthen the connection between Thai citizens and the migrant communities. These organizations, in their own way, are promoting the objectives of ASEAN. NGOs are training migrant communities to be self-reliant rather than giving handouts, their goal is to not only give assistance but to encourage migrants to “lead better lives while in Thailand... make an impact in their home country.” Compared to the intergovernmental partnership of Myanmar and Thailand, more migrants have returned home through the combined efforts several INGO services which “estimates that 18,000 refugees have returned to south-eastern Myanmar without government assistance since 2012.”⁸¹ One reason for the high numbers in favor of NGOs is the reluctance of being identified through the Thai governments' assistance programs. Alongside aiding migrants from neighboring states, local NGOs established to assist the ethnic minority groups within Thailand, like the Hill Tribes.

Thailand's inner cities are typically the focal point when studying HT within the country, yet its border regions are less developed resulting in its inhabitant being more susceptible to being trafficked. The tribes are made of six minority groups who most are considered stateless by the Thai government, despite having been residing in Thailand for years. By 2013, it was estimated that over 500 thousand people were considered stateless

⁸⁰ Human Rights Watch. “Two Years with No Moon” Immigration Detention of Children in Thailand”, Human Rights Watch, accessed July, 25, 2019, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/thailand0914_ForUpload_0.pdf

⁸¹ United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand. 2019. *Thailand Migration Report 2019*. Bangkok: United Nations. https://thailand.iom.int/sites/default/files/document/publications/Thailand%20Report%202019_22012019_LowRes.pdf

in Thailand.⁸² The U.S. State Department concluded, “foreign migrants, members of ethnic minorities, and stateless persons in Thailand are at the greatest risk of being trafficked.”⁸³ NGOs' interest in these groups has increased as it is believed they would lower the HT rates in Thailand. Local NGOs believe that by recognizing these minorities as citizens, trafficking within these regions would decrease. This is because though the majority of human trafficking is taking place in Thailand, Thai citizens themselves are only a small percentage of victims.⁸⁴ However, since citizenship has yet to be announced for the Hill Tribe communities, more NGOs have appeared throughout the country aiding the foreigners since 2002.

Since their beginnings, NGOs' duties have been to identify, figure out the nationality, document experiences, shelter, train, and return victims of human trafficking. They have gone a step beyond by contacting foreign states to see if victims would be properly cared for before returning a person.⁸⁵ While they have succeeded in the role of caretaker, the duties of non-government organizations have expanded. The roles of NGOs should not only be evaluated by who they look out for but what they do to discourage human trafficking within Thailand.

⁸² United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees Global Trends. 2013. *War's Human Cost*. New York: United Nations.

Thailand at the time ranked amongst the highest in country's with documented stateless persons. This number combined with Thailand Tier 2WL ranking in 2013 provides further proof that majority of trafficked persons are likely stateless.

⁸³ U.S. Department of State. “Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.” Report., accessed July, 16 2019, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/226849.pdf>

⁸⁴ Christina Arnold “Thai NGOs & Government Balance Anti-Trafficking Efforts,” Human Trafficking Search, accessed July, 16, 2019, <https://humantraffickingsearch.org/ngos-and-governments-balance-the-anti-trafficking-fight/>

⁸⁵ Arnold and Bertone, 41.

Services, Strategies, and Social Media

This sub-section will identify the various services provided by NGOs. It will evaluate the different programs by determining if the programs are effective in combatting human trafficking and the effects it has on potential victims in Thailand. Through analyzing these programs, it will be seen that local organizations direct access to the community is especially important in combating human trafficking. This section will highlight different types of strategies demonstrated by local organizations; however, the approaches will be divided as general strategic approaches, how social media is used by NGOs and the projects initiated to promote the organizations' anti-trafficking agenda will be evaluated.

Strategic Approach

The strategic approach taken by anti-trafficking non-government organizations are mostly centered around team efficiency and building substantial networks. However, the strategies implemented by local organizations must be able to easily change as Thai culture continues to evolve. As a result of globalization in the 1970s, Thai culture began modernizing. Thailand's local organizations whose main role was to provide shelter was now able to use mass media and the internet to provide regular updates on the human trafficking problems plaguing the community.⁸⁶ As a result of local organizations adopting the internet as a strategy, international companies, like Google, began working with local NGOs resulting in an "increasing area of civil society activity."⁸⁷

When participating NGOs were asked if their organization focused on, most responded that they do not only work to combat human trafficking within their

⁸⁶ Patchanee Malikhao. Culture and Communication in Thailand (Springer, 2017) 6.

⁸⁷ ADB, 3.

communities. Though it is common that organizations in Thailand partake in various focuses, it is still a common perception that when attention is being divided something else lacks in return. However, when further questioned all non-government organizations proceeded by stating that they range between being *helpful* and *very helpful* in reducing human trafficking throughout Thailand. The reason for this self-assessed success is although attention may be spaced, non-government organizations since 1995 have adopted the multidisciplinary team approach. Through using the multidisciplinary team approach strategy NGOs were encouraged to have teams of diverse backgrounds. The approach allowed NGOs to hire medical, legal, and social assistance workers as staff members. Each member of the team uses the skill sets from the discipline to carefully analyze the different outcomes of sex trafficking in Thailand. The legal members perform advocacy duties on behalf of the organization, social workers work alongside legal members to ensure those within an NGOs care are getting the psychological care needed for recovery, and medical professionals assist victims by providing any needed health care. By using the multidisciplinary team approach local organizations have provided “comprehensive assessment and consultation.”⁸⁸

Local organizations have begun undertaking the role of informant as a strategical method to make the public aware of how the Thai government handles HT. NGOs, that are not directly working with the government, often tattle or “fong farang” to international authorities that are willing to share information with them. These informing agencies permit more accurate reporting to the TIP reports that in turn lead to Thailand’s

⁸⁸ Wongsu, 511. Local organizations brought the new strategy to Thailand after adopting the idea from child protecting organizations in the United States.

tier ranking.⁸⁹ The informant role allows NGOs to create the narrative of HT, which can be harmful to the NGOs and GOs relationship, because the government may view the NGOs' actions as a betrayal. Though this strategy enables distance between GOs and local organizations, it proves to be useful as the TIP has led the Royal Thai Government to make changes before regarding its approach to human trafficking.

Anti-human trafficking local NGOs use mobilization as a strategic approach to develop public awareness. Typically, this is done by influencing government policies and hosting meetings to establish relationships with other anti-trafficking actors in Thailand. The relationships gained by local organizations are strategically chosen as partners are chosen by who will be advantageous to the objectives of the NGO. When genuine relationships are established local organizations can achieve more results.⁹⁰ By being transparent in their objectives, Table 2 shows that four of the surveyed NGOs received funding from IGOs, GOs, and were given donations.

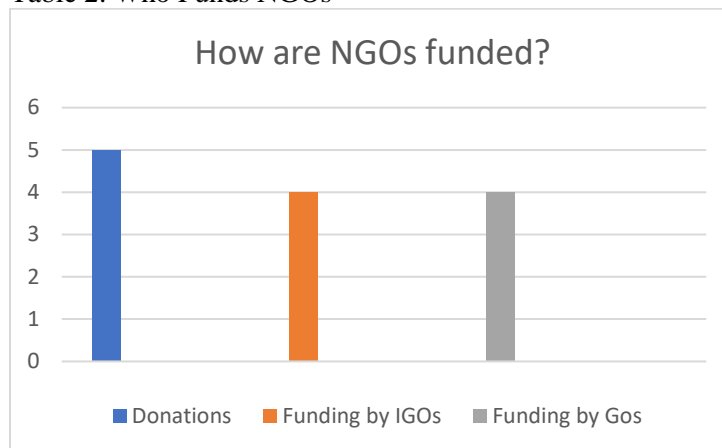
Relationships are extremely important for us. It is one of our key values. Only through genuine relationships with constituents can we know what their needs are and how we can work together to decrease risk. Similarly, relationships with funders are key as that ensures clarity of mission and vision and how we can work together. Relationships with external organizations are key as partnership and using each organization's strengths is key to impacting communities best.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Robinson, 58. Fong farang refers to relaying information to foreigners.

⁹⁰ The relationships between NGOs, IOs, and GOs will explained later in the chapter.

⁹¹ Interview.

Table 2. Who Funds NGOs



Of all the strategies implemented by NGOs, how they handle those affected by human trafficking may be the most important. The approaches to human trafficking are typically dealt with through two types of methods: preventative and rehabilitative. The preventative method aims to teach ways to avoid being a target of human trafficking. Rehabilitative approaches are used to aid recovery for people who have already been trafficked. Previous studies concluded that the majority of local organizations in Asia focus on rehabilitate practices over those of prevention. However, 3 out of 5 non-government organizations responded to the survey saying they engage in both anti-HT methods. One stating it used only the preventative method and another NGO said it used education as a method to prevent HT. The prevention methods make it easy for NGOs to change tactics as quickly as traffickers. Local organizations display the two approaches for human trafficking in the various programs provided for their communities. The programs range from creating financial opportunities to sponsoring art workshops for creative engagement.

Projects and Programs Provided

The programs and projects also do a decent job of conveying the objectives and mottos of each organization. Throughout this study, it was noted NGOs in Thailand's had four common themes:

1. Promote public awareness about the dangers of human trafficking.
2. Embrace the multidisciplinary team approach to engage in the protection and rescue of victims of human trafficking.
3. Provide legal and social assistance to those most vulnerable to human trafficking in Thailand.
4. Develop relationships with other anti-human trafficking actors to bridge the disconnect between victims and the royal Thai government.

In Thailand, non-government organizations are representatives of society. "Often viewed as being the conscience of government," local organizations aim to create programs that will allow genuine assistance without being considered a typical handout.⁹² Their contribution to HT is can be evaluated during the thorough examination of services offered.

Non-government organizations in Thailand are commonly thought of as shelters but not all offer housing. Those that do are try to create a supportive atmosphere so people can have a safe place to rest. NGOs that do provide shelter typically cater to specific genders and children. While the housing programs are typically recommended for long term stayers, some NGOs allow emergency temporary housing. Alongside housing, NGOs provide education and create economic opportunities for Thailand's trafficking survivors. Thailand's NGOs use educational programs to alleviate the risk of being victims of HT; it is a common belief that knowledge is power. Thailand's history with trafficking has shown that when people become aware of circumstances changes

⁹² Marina Tzvetkova, "NGO Responses to Trafficking in Women" *Gender and Development* 10, no. 1 (2002): 61.

occur. This was observed when Thailand began implementing a series of legal reforms to fix its TIP rank of 3 in 2015. The curriculums of non-government organizations' educational programs include ensuring children are going to school, homework support, year-round tutoring. In addition, NGOs are providing Thai and English language classes. Classes also educate the public of their human rights as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).⁹³

Before the emergence of local NGOs, the majority of trafficked people in Thailand were Thai women. To lessen the percentage, local organizations began offering educational classes. These classes, alongside the government enforcing a mandatory primary school education, saw reductions in Thai women being involved in the sex industry. This change, unfortunately, saw an increase of Hill Tribe women being exploited. Because of denial of legal protection through citizenship, Hill tribe women were left defenseless until non-government organizations began the same educational procedures and encouraging the Thai government to do the same. Following the pattern, as more tribe women began understanding the importance of education, economically disadvantaged persons from neighboring states began being the latest victims of sex trafficking into Thailand.

Thailand offers all children the right to an education. However, due to a lack of access and the inability to speak Thai, migrant groups in Thailand are unaware of these opportunities. As they age, due to their limited schooling, migrants take low paying dirty, difficult, and dangerous jobs. In efforts to promote school, local migrant focused anti-HT NGOs began creating learning centers that would teach Thai and primary level education.

⁹³ Thailand was amongst the first signees of the UDHR in 1948.

One local NGO claimed to be in the process of currently aiding 444 migrant children through its programs, and a grand total of over 5,500 have gone through its program.

Thai NGOs' educational programs are encouraging schooling in new ways. Local organizations have stepped into the role guidance counselors for the vulnerable youth in Thailand as they have begun encouraging students to receive vocational training or to attend university. Aware of economic disparities the NGOs created various ways to make university attendance possible. These programs include sponsorship, where a local organization covers the tuition of students allowing them to concentrate on their studies. Other non-government organizations offer more competitive ways for students to cover university fees. These organizations give scholarships to vulnerable teens depending on their financial needs and career aspirations.

One of the reasons human trafficking has been successful in Thailand is the economic gap between the wealthy and the poor. The lack of opportunity led to poverty and food shortages, which resulted in many turning to the sex trade and being trafficked to provide money for their families. According to NGOs, if economic programs were introduced people would learn ways to support themselves and people willingly turning to HT would significantly decrease. Non-government sponsored economic programs aimed to find ways for communities to financially support themselves.

The economic programs provided by local NGOs take a different approach than those of international organizations. For NGOs, the programs were about communities being able to support themselves long-term, while most IOs supplied outside aid to vulnerable communities. Local organizations saw it important to teach program participants the basics of finance through classes. The reason was if the NGO were going

to support the financial ventures then the people should be aware of how to properly save and spend earned money. Some NGOs created a loan system for communities that could not go to the government. Non-government organizations distributed these loans interest-free to applying ethnic minorities with business aspirations. To ensure recipients would be able to repay loans and were qualified, applications asked for level of education, ethnicity, domestic violence history, housing status, and the reasoning for the loan. NGOs wanted to ensure the businesses they would be supporting would contribute to the community.

Organizations that did not provide loans, aided entrepreneurs in creating business plans, helped choose the best location for their businesses and contributed to the marketing of the business. Because traditional Thai culture encourages the younger generation to care for elders, which often leads to desperation for income, local organizations began substantial development programs that would allow parents and grandparents to gain new money-making skills such as organic agriculture to lessen the burden on their children. One Thai NGO created a website to encourage creators located in areas at risk of HT to sell their art to support their families. Through the website, the NGO helps “prevent their young daughters from needing to bring in income.” In similar efforts another Thai non-government organization allowed its residents to sell their artwork. The organization created saving accounts for the eventual return home of the residents to be sure they will be financially stable for a suitable amount of time. To ensure designers will be able to have a sufficient quality of living, the NGO itself buys from the women above-market prices. Others assisted in securing employment for those using their services. Ethnic Thai women that otherwise have difficulty finding work were

able to secure jobs as clothing designers, cooks, housekeepers, beauticians, nurse aides. Local organizations that catered to vulnerable men were able to help “preparation to live a life beyond the red-light district,” by helping the men find jobs after teaching life skills. Non-government organizations aim to further reduce the risk of HT in Thailand by encouraging projects that teach life skills to the most vulnerable. Skills included teaching cooking, fitness and computer literacy to all age groups.

Rehabilitative programs by local organizations consist mostly of therapeutic activities. The majority focus on group activities as a method of integration back into society. Because victims are often left traumatized by their experiences, local organizations kept group activities light natured and the activities were designed for all ages and genders to participate in. Hosted projects included: swimming lessons, martial arts, music, and art classes. However, understanding trauma needs to be dealt with by Thai NGOs offered both group and individual counseling sessions. In addition, staff members aided victims by allowing individual art therapy for those who struggled with being in groups.

The services NGOs provide to those who have not been trafficked and those who have often overlap. This is because non-government organizations host numerous programs designed to aid victims of HT and to prevent trafficking to continue in Thailand. To disseminate information to the public about the danger of unprotected sex, including through trafficking, local organizations saw the importance of having inclusive health programs. Through these programs, NGOs provided the community with free HIV and AIDS screenings along with other health concerns. For victims, this allowed them to seek treatment for illnesses they may have been unaware of. NGOs that primarily worked

with undocumented migrant and ethnic minorities were able to provide healthcare for individuals that otherwise would have been denied by Thailand's healthcare system. Furthermore, NGOs provide better quality care as they are not as "stretched thin" like the country's healthcare teams. One local NGO participating in this study noted that their medical team was always on active duty to aid the migrant Burmese community in Thailand.

Continuing their role as a supplier of information, the workshops put on by local organizations vary in the objectives and their target audience. Projects aimed at children focused on recognizing the differences between good touch and bad touches. These children designed projects also hope to express the importance of reporting bad touches to authority figures. Because of the trauma, the NGO uses a mentorship program for children to give them a stable and reliable person to express their feelings with. Workshops for parents teach how to protect children from exploitation and how to properly communicate with children who have experienced sexual trauma. Each of the organizations observed in this research demonstrated the importance of integrating play into discussions about sexual exploitation. According to the NGOs, activities that encourage art through music and dance allow people in high trafficking areas to relieve stress. One organization compared the creative shops to the D.A.R.E program in the United States. The creative expression workshops act as a therapeutic expression allowing victims to manage their anger about life circumstances. Perhaps one of the most notable projects hosted by local organizations are hotline services used by potential victims to report trafficking within the area. However, as modern technology evolves,

Thailand's non-government organizations must as well. These days most NGOs are moving to the internet to connect with the public.

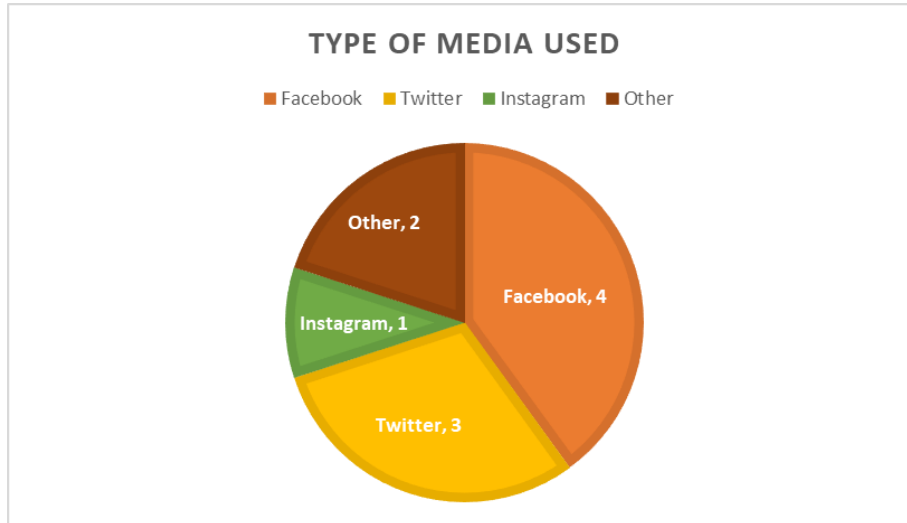
Social Media

The usage of online media by non-government organizations in Thailand has opened the door to understanding their contributions to the anti-trafficking campaign within the country. Thai organizations have been able to share beneficial information with locals but have been able to spread their achievements and goals with the world. Through their posting, international onlookers have an insight of the effect human trafficking has caused outside of the government-sponsored narrative. To comprehend the effect of anti-human trafficking NGOs have on the public this research used the framing theory to monitor how local organizations used their media accounts to push their agendas. Framing theory shows how information is presented and how that affects the way information is perceived.

When asked about the type of online media used by their non-government organizations the most popular answer was Facebook (4 out of 5) and Twitter (3 out of 5) as shown in Table 3. This information is unsurprising, considering Facebook has more female users compared to other media sites and around the time the majority of the organizations began using social media Twitter was amongst other online sites. Instagram, Vimeo, YouTube, and the organizations' website also made the list of types of online media being used by Thailand's NGOs. As traffickers continue to "use of social media to recruit women and children into sex trafficking," it is reasonable to assume

more local organizations will create social media accounts in response.⁹⁴ On average, non-government organizations stated they update their online pages once a week.

Table 3. NGOs Social Media Preference



While studying the accounts of the NGOs it was observed that the media accounts were used differently. Organizations that had more than one type of account shared different information on each. Instagram accounts for NGOs tended to promote the programs the organization provided and included the accomplishments of the NGO. In addition, local organizations' accounts featured more images of kids compared to women or men. The images served its point in proving users of the NGOs were happy and seemingly thriving in the care of the local organization. Captions for the images described the current activities and partnerships the organizations were involved in. In addition, most of the NGOs used hashtags to attract bigger audiences to their pages. Despite, not being voted the most used media platform, monitored non-government

⁹⁴ U.S. Department of State. "Trafficking in Persons Report." Report., accessed September 13, 2019, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/226849.pdf>

organizations were shown to be more consistent on the platform compared to Twitter. Likely, this was due to the follower size on Instagram being larger than Twitter.

Twitter usage by Thai local organizations is surprising considering it was chosen to the most used. It was discovered that while most of the NGOs have Twitter accounts, they have been abandoned or untouched in months. Nonetheless, information on the account were observed to generic. Unlike those on Instagram images for some NGOs were often repeated several times, similar, and captions were unengaging. Other NGOs twitter accounts were unorganized; these accounts rather than focusing on Thailand issues, often tweeted about cases elsewhere in the world. Compared to Instagram, user engagement on Twitter was low for Thailand's local non-government organizations. Since receiving the results from the survey, some of the NGOs observed closed their Twitter accounts.

Thailand's anti-human trafficking NGOs excelled at using Facebook. Across all social media platforms, Facebook proved to have the biggest reach for local organizations. The number of likes for the NGOs page ranged from 1,800 to almost 10,000. Like their Instagram pages, Facebook posts included pictures of children but also images of women and staff members were included. NGOs, as they did on Instagram, were more likely to regularly update their Facebook accounts. Posts on Facebook were far more detailed than those on Instagram and Twitter, the majority included links where readers would be redirected to articles for an explanation. Facebook post differed from Instagram in the type of post uploaded; on Instagram captions were solely about the NGO but on Facebook, the organization explained actions being taken by the government as well. NGOs were also more likely to promote one another on their accounts by sharing

the post of another local organization on their page. It was observed that for some of the NGOs' Facebook became the main tool to promote anti-human trafficking in Thailand as more updated information was available compared to their actual websites.

Nonetheless, an NGOs website is likely the easiest way to get informed, as mentioned early in the chapter, the NGOs involved in this research were contacted through their website. The websites for local Thai organizations vary. Some are outdated, making navigating through them difficult. Others are simple yet able to capture the attention of the viewer immediately. As a result of the modern look, these NGOs were found to be easily used. The common color scheme of the NGOs websites was among the first of the similarities observed. Organizations that worked with all genders or worked with minorities used the color blue, boys yellow, and organizations that focused on women were a shade of pink. The websites of NGOs shared the images of staff members and programs provided. They also shared the background of the organizations by showcasing how far each has come since their beginnings. Each of the local NGOs sites also provide a small blurb describing the trafficking situation in Thailand and their mission to stop it. Like Facebook, NGO websites shared articles about the current events happening in Thailand regarding the sex industry. Articles shared on the websites described the progress being made in Thailand, recent cases of HT, legal battles, and joint projects the NGO was participating in with other anti-trafficking actors. When asked about collaborations, all the NGOs agreed that collaboration was necessary in order to promote anti-HT throughout Thailand.

Non-government organizations and Collaborations

NGOs partner with other organizations with similar goals. The purpose is to further advance the main objectives of both parties. In the case of human trafficking, NGOs partnering with government agencies in Thailand led to further communications between residents and the government. Intergovernmental agencies and NGOs in Thailand work together to spread more awareness about HT. When the three organizations collaborate it is usually with the goal of advancing the legislature to coincide with Thailand's changing socio-cultural movement.

Local Organizations and the Government and Police

Government organizations, while facing international scrutiny, ultimately do not have to answer to anyone other than their public and other higher-level government officials. An international organization must worry about following the law of their host country or risk expulsion. Unlike Thailand's government and IGOs, NGOs must be able to anticipate and predict the roles of all organizations to be successful. They must be wary of following state law, avoid international disapproval, anticipate IGOs programs in hopes of avoiding redundancy. Nonetheless, NGOs understand the importance of networking. Their relationships with government organizations and officials is important, despite the existing flaws. Local NGOs recognize that they have the benefit of being "flexible, have [ing] a budget, skill, and equipment..." but also understand that it is futile without the authority.⁹⁵

The capabilities of local organizations extend beyond their abilities to accept anyone into their care. To help their communities, NGOs have to be well-versed in Thai

⁹⁵ Munger, 75. *Trafficking in Law: Cause Lawyer, Bureaucratic State and Rights of Human Trafficking Victims in Thailand*

law and the roles RTP has in HT. This includes knowing which laws protect victims, how to service victims without breaking the laws, when and how to report crimes. By having a full comprehension of these duties, NGOs can better advocate for the communities they serve. In order to fully comprehend NGOs what exactly local organizations do in HT, besides providing services, they were first questioned about laws in Thailand and the effect they have on the organizations. The responses varied. Some local NGOs disregarded the question by opting out of answering. One claimed the laws were occasionally hindered their organization's objectives. Others bluntly answered that Thailand's law made it difficult for NGOs to promote anti-trafficking. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the organizations surveyed stated that the laws did not make it difficult for them to promote anti-human trafficking.

Overall, non-government organizations, like victims, are often wary of law enforcement in Thailand. This distrust stems from local forces being complicit in trafficking schemes. Officers, immigration officials, and border patrols have "virtual impunity" and because make up a big sector of the traffickers in Thailand.⁹⁶ In addition, NGOs reported their organization, workers, and volunteers are harassed by law enforcement. "This includes restrictions of movement, demands for bribes, physical abuse and threats of arrest, detention, and deportation."⁹⁷

While States have taken important steps to build child-friendly hotlines and other reporting mechanisms, these methods are not widely used by SEC victims to seek help, and specialized outreach by State actors appears to be a promising but rare practice. Moreover, when SEC survivors do report the sexual crimes against them,

⁹⁶ Physicians for Human Rights. "No Status: Migration, Trafficking & Exploitation of Women in Thailand" Physicians for Human Rights, 2004, accessed August 1, 2019, https://s3.amazonaws.com/PHR_Reports/thailand-women-trafficking-2004.pdf

⁹⁷ Ibid., 3

their report is often delayed, and short statutes of limitations for these crimes can deny them access to justice.⁹⁸

In response to suspicions about the police and other officials, non-government organizations began launching their own human trafficking investigations. Compared to GOs, that often wait to investigate to catch the bigger target, non-government organizations immediately go to the scene of the report to collect evidence by taking pictures and speaking to the workers while pretending to be a client.⁹⁹ The decision to solely perform investigations is also done as a safety precaution for victims, to erase the possibility of police corruption and identify suspicious officers at a later date. These inquiries are conducted in a police-like manner, including NGO workers going undercover in trafficking rings to monitor their activities and getting informants to relay useful information.¹⁰⁰

Local organizations are able to infiltrate HT rings, draft reports that will lead to justifications for future raids, and then coordinate the raids. Afterward, NGOs prove to be the most reliable source of identifying victims and criminals as they have spent time collecting criminating evidence by taking pictures, money, and false documents. This process has allowed for it to be determined the efficiency of the local police and how they handle HT. In addition, it shows NGOs are not only capable of servicing human

⁹⁸ Darlene C. Lynch. "Through the Eyes of the Child: Barriers to Access to Justice and Remedies for Child Victims of Sexual Exploitation" ECPAT International., accessed August 1, 2019, https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Through-the-Eyes-of-the-Child_Barriers-to-Access-to-Justice-thematic-report.pdf

⁹⁹ Ibid., 62- 63.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 61- 62.

trafficking victims, but identifying and raiding trafficking locations suspected of HT at the same level the Thai police.¹⁰¹

Though NGOs can conduct investigations without the police, an arrest must ultimately be done by the police. Thus cautiously, NGOs involve the police in their investigations. However, this is typically done after the surveillance is completed. To which NGOs then aid in “drafting arrest reports.” The relationship between NGOs and local organizations extends beyond arrest, NGOs have taken the initiative to bridge the gap between victims, police and other officials.

The Thai police, NGOs, and victims all respond and observe human trafficking differently. For this reason, it hard to accomplish the common objective they all share in fighting HT. To find common ground, some NGOs began leading workshops at government buildings to promote their organizations but to also so highlight NGOs as being a safe place to report trafficking to victims. Others hold meetings between victims and officials to establish honest dialogue about how trafficking is handled by Thailand’s police. One local organization described their training with NGOs was to “break down stereotypes and build trust.” Once everyone is equally informed about the social and legal facts of HT, it will be easier for governments and victims to work together to combat human trafficking in Thailand. While understanding officers’ duty is to enforce the law, NGOs saw it as their role to ensure they do so in a manner that protects victims. To which as far as police were concerned, were always children.¹⁰² NGOs found that officers needed to be fully aware of the rights of the protections and laws that are offered to all

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 62.

¹⁰² Police were viewed to be uninterested in women trafficking cases as they were seen as prostitutes instead.

HT victims and provided tips to handle certain cases.¹⁰³ To fix the issue, one NGO saw it important for meetings to be held, giving officers the opportunity to share their anti-trafficking ideas with NGOs and find a middle ground.¹⁰⁴ By hosting workshops and meetings, NGOs created a dialogue about human trafficking, they brought together victims and the system that is supposed to protect them. Local organizations proved effective as some officers began following the suggestions of the NGOs that eventually led to further collaborations between GOs and NGOs.

Local organizations' actions within the government must also be examined when looking to clearly define their duties in Thailand. By looking at the partnership, NGOs' determination to uphold their commitment to stopping HT and for also getting equal treatment for minority groups was displayed. Working with the Thai government, which they were at time uneasy with, showed just how willing NGOs were to their objectives. Although, several collaborations came about, one of the most important was the formation of the TATIP. The Anti-Trafficking in Persons Task Force came about after NGOs, since the early 2000s, repeatedly advocated for the government to create a unit dedicated to helping HT victims in Thailand. The TATIP has been responsible for arresting child traffickers and providing survivors with the opportunity to “speak to a trained forensic interviewer about trauma that the child has experienced or witnessed.”¹⁰⁵

Local and government organizations planned prevention projects to provide quick assistance for potential victims. This was accomplished by handing out preventative

¹⁰³ Arnold and Bertone, 38.

¹⁰⁴ Munger, 77. Trafficking in Law: Cause Lawyer, Bureaucratic State and Rights of Human Trafficking Victims in Thailand.

¹⁰⁵ Admin. “Police, FBI, NGOs unite to combat child abuse, sex exploitation in Phuket,” Royal Thai Embassy, accessed October 20, 2019, <http://www.thaianti-humantraffickingaction.org/Home/?p=2339>

methods of birth controls to prevent the spread of HIV, aids and to decrease the risk of unplanned pregnancies. Despite different stances on the rights of migrant victims, the Thai government allowed for NGOs to have “offices in the main detention center of the Immigration Bureau and that asylum seekers may thus contact such NGOs at all times”¹⁰⁶ This allowed for governments to prove their desire to wanting to work with local organizations and show that GOs are working harder to allows services for migrants. Furthering their collaborative efforts, the organizations worked together to create educational programs designed for migrant children to continue education. Under their authority, over 164,000 children are enrolled in a school in Thailand.¹⁰⁷

International and Local Partnering

Anti-human trafficking international organizations have a long history of being in Thailand. They have helped shaped the way Thailand looks at human trafficking, as IGOs were a big reason Thailand took interest in combatting trafficking. However, having an IGO and INGO assess how trafficking works in another country is undoubtedly complex due to the differences in ideological perspectives on how HT should be handled. This has led the relationship of IGOs and INGOs with local non-government organizations being one of competition rather than cooperation. In the past, fueling NGOs irritation with international organizations' presence was the IOs lack of will to investigate trafficking suspects from international countries. When INGOs failed to efficiently monitor “international pedophiles,” Thai members of an international non-government organization left the organization and created a local NGO.¹⁰⁸ This led to local

¹⁰⁶ Human Rights First, “Thailand,” Human Rights First, accessed August 5, 2019, <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf/Thailand.pdf>

¹⁰⁷ United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand, XIII

¹⁰⁸ Arnold and Bertone, 40.

organizations investigating cases that involved international criminals of HT, eventually determining international participants were not being punished as harshly as they were able to pay their way out. The rift caused the organizations to focus on similar HT cases leaving progression stagnant until NGOs began sourcing themselves into different areas.

However, since their formation, and separation, from international agencies, local organizations recognized the importance of collaborating with INGOs and IGOs. NGOs recognize international agencies have more resources as they have more financial backing. They understand mutual collaboration allows them to have a reach outside of Thailand while still aiding Thai causes. The partnership has allowed NGOs to be “pro-active in terms of setting the agenda with international funding agencies.”¹⁰⁹ It has been recognized that international organizations and their governments should continue partnering with local NGOs engaging in “community-based models addressing the root causes of trafficking,” in Thailand by providing funding. Global organizations too have come to understand the importance of cooperation with Thai NGOs. Over the years, many INGOs and IGOs have come to realize though they are contributors to helping reducing HT throughout Thailand, ultimately the issue will have to be resolved by a Thai solution.

The new relationship between NGOs and international agencies is one of ideological similarities. IGOs and local organizations are likely to continue a partnership if the ideals between the two are agreeable. As a result of this understanding, more INGOs are taking into consideration the stance of Thai NGOs. In efforts to prove mutual trust, local organizations, that have chosen to work with IGOs, receive funding from

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 35.

international agencies to continue their private investigations and providing services for victims. If the NGO does so in a satisfactory manner, an IGO provides the NGOs with funding for the local organizations' personal interests. Local NGOs typically use this as ways to pay for “education and preventative activities.”¹¹⁰ One surveyed organization revealed in the past they have received grants from USAID’s Counter Trafficking in Persons to help inform migrant workers about their rights and the laws in Thailand.

To further improve projects between local organizations and IGOs there is a need to share mutual responsibility of bettering the lives of potential victims through prevention methods which both recognize the best way to reduce trafficking in Thailand. The organizations worked together to register migrant children within the state to potentially afford them the services offered by the nation’s government. Through this program NGOs and IGOs inform parents of the legal right to register that children and obtaining related documents. The organizations work together to inform parents of migrant children, in the province of Tak, of their right to register the birth of their child and obtain any related documents. Through this project, both NGOs and IGOs are taking on the role of an advocate by “disseminate information on the importance of birth registration.”¹¹¹ International organizations again followed the lead of NGOs by using a “community-based approach” during a collaboration that aimed to provide health services. However, unlike the NGOs whose health providing was focused on treating non-Thai citizens, the project would provide health facilities for the Thai and non-Thai population.¹¹² The collaborative effort saw IGOs respecting the rule of subsidiarity by

¹¹⁰ Physicians for Human Rights, 55.

¹¹¹ United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand, 110

¹¹² Ibid., 125

allowing NGOs to the lead but maintain their agendas of aiding all groups of people. The efforts put forth by international and local organizations showed more people can receive aid when the two work together. The organizations were able to assist victims (and potential victims) by showing them ways to protect themselves from possible diseases that can occur. By using the community-style of NGOs, both organizations were able to immunize more children while maintaining a good relationship within the community.

Local, National, and International Relations

Non-government organizations have shown their ability to lead successful localized anti-HT projects. They have also displayed their ability to create change throughout Thailand when partnering with international and government organizations, separately. However, when the three organizations decide to work together, they tend to spread more awareness as their audience broadens. While international organizations bring in philanthropists, the government can implement laws and give legality to the work being done, and NGOs can use their boots-on-the-ground mentality to show communities the harm trafficking does despite the lure of earning easy income. When working together, the organizations focus their efforts on projects that each could be valuable partners. I have found in this study that NGOs are the primary voice for minority groups' concerns, the Thai government handles issues of legality and funding, while IGOs (and their governments) provided funding through donations and other attributes within their capacity. When the three collaborate, they can perform a check and balance style report on one another to ensure everyone is upholding themselves to the standards of treaties and the Thailand constitution. Collaborations between the three organizations are primarily conducted through the Ministry of Social Development and Human

Security (MSDHS).¹¹³ The department encourages local NGOs, INGOs, and IGOs to aid victims and potential victims of trafficking by providing protection and rehabilitation.¹¹⁴

The priorities of NGOs, IOs, and GOs when working together to address trafficking focus on three major objectives:

1. To prevent individuals from being trafficked
2. To protect and assist victims who are trafficked
3. To put effective governance and law enforcement structures in place to address the crime¹¹⁵

It is important to study the organization collaborative projects when discussing the role of NGOs as it proves despite working with two organizations (with higher funds) their initiatives were still being heard. The three created an awareness collaboration focused on those residing in small villages. The organizations taught the Thai nationals how to recognize traffickers in the area.¹¹⁶

Though the projects initiated between the organizations brought benefit to those who received service, more collaborations would need to take place between the three organizations, if international organizations continue to have a presence in Thailand. Without it, local organizations, while having a voice, maybe overlooked by government and international organizations. This is due to both, IOs and GOs having an impact on the

¹¹³ The MSDHS is a section of the Thai government responsible for the welfare of Thai citizens. The organization was founded October 2002, as a part of Thailand efforts to promote human rights through development.

¹¹⁴ Ministry of Social Development and Human Security “Thailand’s Country Report on Anti-Human Trafficking Response,” accessed August, 16, 2019, https://www.jica.go.jp/project/thailand/016/materials/ku57pq00001yw2db-att/thailands_country_report_2017.pdf

¹¹⁵ Chemonics International Inc “USAID Anti-Trafficking in Persons Programs in Asia: A Synthesis” USAID, accessed August, 16, 2019, <https://www.traffickingmatters.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/2009-11-USAID-Asia-Synthesis-Anti-TIP.pdf>

¹¹⁶ Physicians for Human Rights, 30.

“political landscape in Thailand,” as was seen during the 20th century.¹¹⁷ In addition, further collaboration is needed to continue defining the roles each organization would have to discourage competition and counterproductive programming.

Intergovernmental and Government Organizations

This chapter reveals the results of international and government agencies in how they responded to the survey questions (see Appendix Section). While NGOs were fairly responsive, GOs and IGOs were less so. The response rate to this survey was 21.42% with three IGOs deciding to participate and two being open to further contact. No government organizations participated in this study. The GOs and IGOs, like NGOs, were contacted by methods of email, response pages, and social media. I found that while getting in contact with an IGO personnel through their social media was simple, establishing a consistent connection was harder. Some IGOs despite having previous involvement with HT in Thailand and working with NGOs, recommend other agencies to contact. Other international organizations simply had an auto-generated message that said the person in charge of responding to inquiries about the organization was on vacation and would respond soon.

It was apparent that this disappointing response to rate was related in part to the time constraints I was under. In addition, I determined that one of the limitations of this research was that it relied on impersonal communication. I believe if this study had been conducted in person, IGOs and GOs would have been more forthcoming with information. While I do not believe the low survey response is an indication of the

¹¹⁷ Robert W. Spines, “Human Trafficking NGOs in Thailand: A Two-Site Case Study of the Children Served in Education Programs” *Slavery Today* 1, no. 2 (2014): 109.
<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1088&context=spcs-faculty-publications>

mindset of these organizations, I do find the lack of ability to respond to emails after being told to contact them an indicator that these organizations do not have a sole focus on the HT conditions in Thailand. International organizations' websites were shown to have moved onto other countries and issues, despite having offices in Thailand. It appeared that IGOs chose countries to highlight at times of high media attention. As a method to counter the low survey response the websites of the government and international organizations were examined. In addition, the actions of both agencies were taken into account to determine how NGOs' efforts would be judged.

Participating IGOs answers and websites were examined to determine how they though NGOs were reducing human trafficking in Thailand. On their websites the “What We Do” pages and articles about Thailand mentioned working with local Thai NGOs. In a similar manner, government organization websites provided details about collaborative projects with NGOs. Both organizations agreed NGOs do contribute to stopping human trafficking in Thailand. The similarities of the organizations (IGOs and GOs to NGOs) were considered. For instance, IGOs share the same concerns with NGOs regarding having to work within the legal framework of Thailand. Thus, it is not a surprise that IGOs agreed that Thailand’s laws make it occasionally difficult for NGOs to provide adequate contributions to stopping human trafficking. According to IGOs, non-government organizations are using the recommended methods to combat HT by adopting rehabilitative and preventative methods. According to surveyed IGOs, NGOs' impact was somewhat successful in Thailand. Responding organizations said that they had heard and seen an anti-HT NGO campaign. Government organizations too approved

of local NGOs' work. GOs provided articles on their website that explained future partnerships and expressed the results of past collaborations.

Although information for this section was limited, this chapter concludes, international and government organizations would not harshly critique the work of NGOs without having to self-reflect as well. Being that many NGOs are registered by the government it would be odd for GOs to question NGO practices. Furthermore, INGOs, IGOs, and GOs all expressed a desire to continue working with local Thai organizations as explained in chapter two.

V. CONCLUSIONS

History has shown Thailand has a complex relationship with sexual exploitation. Despite good intentions, the country has remained an international trafficking hotspot. Thai culture and policy must continue to improve if further progress is to be made in reducing and eradicating sex trafficking, which—despite Thailand’s improved Tier 2 status—remains a significant threat to the security of many people in the country. To retain and to improve its ranking, Thailand’s government and social institutions will need to continue legal reforms and mutual coordination in implementing anti-trafficking programs addressing prevention and rehabilitation. These programs should address both the international and domestic dimensions of the trafficking problem. This study suggests that one part of future successful reform would include greater cooperation and collaboration by the government with local non-governmental organizations in Thailand.

At present, the role of non-government organizations is to be the voice of the public and the watchers of change. The anti-HT organizations have successfully influenced how Thailand handles cases of trafficking; from the adoption of the multidisciplinary team approach demanding legal reforms that eventually led to a collaborative unit designed to investigate cases of trafficking. Local organizations in Thailand, have been fundamental in changing the perception of what defines a trafficking survivor regardless of their ethnicity, gender, and age. The roles of NGOs have continued to evolve with the circumstances in Thailand. From their beginnings of wanting justice for human trafficking survivors to creating programs designed to reduce the risk of trafficking has made local organizations invaluable to the cause. Aware of the reasons HT happens, NGOs, regardless of size, location, and funding are determined to reconstruct

the education and economic systems in Thailand. The results of the efforts put forth by NGOs have seen more underprivileged children receive elementary schooling and more adults receive steady legal incomes. Local organizations since the eighties have been the leading forces in ensuring progress for Thai residents, though they collaborate with IGOs, like the government, they were not pressured to take active combatting roles. Because NGOs can only work within the scope of the legal framework in Thailand, they should be encouraged by the government to continue their services, including conducting solo investigations as they have previously been doing. If NGOs and government agencies continue to collaborate to end sex trafficking in Thailand, further declines will be more likely.

One of the limitations of this study was the time constraint. It is recommended more time be allotted to future studies. This will allow participants an adequate amount of time to respond. Future research on anti-HT NGOs in Thailand should consider conducting surveys in person or via telephone. Doing so will likely encourage more responses from GOs and IGOs. This study relied on a remote survey and analysis of websites to acquire an understanding of the role of local anti-trafficking NGOs. By conducting future studies in person, researchers would be in a better position to reach a larger number of NGOs and to conduct more in-depth analysis with their staff in personal interviews. The same would apply to the study of IGOs and GOs. Future studies should also consider the best incentives to elicit detailed responses. In addition, research into anti-trafficking programs in Thailand should examine the interactions of local NGOs with INGOs, IGOs, and government agencies. These organizations may be inclined to participate in a self-assessment if they believe it will have a positive effect on their

organization. Future studies on anti-sex trafficking NGOs should consider focusing on border states of Thailand and why immigrants entering Thailand enroll in programs hosted by local Thai NGOs and not those of their home countries. Studies should also be conducted on NGOs that focus on other sectors of trafficking to advance the study of non-government organizations in Thailand.

The purpose of this study was to highlight Thai NGOs contributions to public awareness of trafficking and their role in galvanizing anti-trafficking responses to the large sex-trafficking sector. The limited responses from IGOs and GOs to the survey conducted in this study prevent any confident conclusion regarding how they regard the work of local NGOs, apart from the generally positive accounts provided on their websites and in their literature. However, the NGOs, themselves, believe they are making a difference. I had hoped to use IGOs and GOs assessments of NGOs' performance to confirm the quality of the NGO self-assessment. Despite this, I still have confidence in NGOs being major contributors to fighting HT and changing how HT is perceived in Thailand. Alongside the information provided by IGOs and GOs website complimenting NGOs, articles on the websites of INGOs support the work of local NGOs in Thailand. Their studies, which include interviews from Thai lawyers and government officials also share the beliefs that Thai NGOs have been helpful in combating human trafficking within the country.

This study concludes by saying NGOs are arguably important actor in anti-human trafficking. If local NGOs, INGOs, IGOs, and GO are to continue working together it should be done through solidarity. To successfully implement solidarity, local organization ideas need to be incorporated at the national and international levels. Each

organization will need to work together for the common good while respecting the dignity of the local community. Overall, this study contributes to the literature and knowledge on international sex-trafficking and the role played by NGOs to combat this problem.

APPENDIX SECTION

Questions to the NGOs

Timesha Smith, a graduate student at Texas State University, is conducting a research study to understand the roles of non-government organizations (NGOs) in Thailand. You are being asked to complete this survey because this organization fits the characteristics of an NGO that focuses on human trafficking in Thailand and has an availability of English on its website. Participation is voluntary. The survey will take approximately 15 minutes or less to complete. You must be at least 18 years old to take this survey. This study involves no foreseeable serious risks. We ask that you try to answer all questions; however, if there are any items that make you uncomfortable or that you would prefer to skip, please leave the answer blank. Your responses are anonymous.

Potential benefits of this study include understanding the dynamic that exists between local NGOs in Thailand and how they coexist with other agencies within the country. By understanding NGOs in Thailand, this study can potentially provide an insight of how effective NGOs can be while continuing the efforts to expand and strengthen strategies that could further reduce human trafficking in not only Thailand but by other member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) NGOs.

Reasonable efforts will be made to keep the personal information in your research record private and confidential. Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. The members of the research team and the Texas State University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) may access the data. The ORC monitors research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Data will be kept for three years (per federal regulations) after the study is completed and then destroyed.

Participation in this survey and the agreement of further communication, if needed, will be compensated with a money donation, a shipment of items said to be needed by the organization's website, a purchase from the website, or sharing the organizations work on a social media platform. This will be to the discretion of the researcher.

Q1 Is this NGO located near an area where trafficking routinely occurs?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Q2 Is it beneficial for this NGO to be located near a trafficking area?

	Not beneficial	Somewhat beneficial	Neutral	Beneficial	Very beneficial	Not located near a trafficking area
Location benefits for NGO	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q3 How has this NGO been helpful in reducing human trafficking within the region?

	Not helpful	Somewhat helpful	Neutral	Helpful	Very helpful
Is the NGO helping the region	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q4 Does your NGO focus solely on anti-human trafficking?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Q5 What method does this NGO use?

- ☐ Preventative
- ☐ Rehabilitation
- ☐ Both
- ☐ Neither
- ☐ Other _____

Q6 Does this NGO use social media to spread information about human trafficking?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q7 What social media does this NGO use to spread information? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Facebook
- ☐ Instagram
- ☐ Twitter
- ☐ Other _____

Q8 How often does this NGO update its website?

- ☐ Daily
- ☐ Once a week
- ☐ 2-3 times a week
- ☐ 4-6 times a week
- ☐ Monthly

Q9 Does Thailand law make it difficult for your NGO to promote anti-trafficking?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ No

Q10 Does this NGO collaborate with other organizations?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q11 What type of external organization does this NGO collaborate with? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Other NGOs
- ☐ Intergovernmental agencies
- ☐ Government agencies/ programs
- ☐ This NGO does not collaborate

Q12 How is this NGO funded? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Government funding
- ☐ International Agencies
- ☐ Donations
- ☐ Other _____

Questions to the IGOs and GOs

Timesha Smith, a graduate student at Texas State University, is conducting a research study to understand the roles of non-government organizations (NGOs) in Thailand. You are being asked to complete this survey because this organization focuses on human trafficking and has an English translation available on its website.

Participation is voluntary. This survey will take approximately 15 minutes or less to complete. You must be at least 18 years old to take this survey.

This study involves no foreseeable serious risks. We ask that you try to answer all questions; however, if there are any items that make you uncomfortable or that you would prefer to skip, please leave the answer blank. Your responses are anonymous.

Potential benefits of this study include understanding the dynamic that exists between local NGOs in Thailand and how they coexist with other agencies within the country. By understanding NGOs in Thailand, this study can potentially provide an insight of how effective NGOs can be while continuing the efforts to expand and strengthen strategies that could further reduce human trafficking in not only Thailand but by other member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) NGOs.

Reasonable efforts will be made to keep the personal information in your research record private and confidential. Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. The members of the research team and the Texas State University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) may access the data. The ORC monitors research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Data will be kept for three years (per federal regulations) after the study is completed and then destroyed.

Q1 What does your organization classify itself as?

- ☐ Government Agency
- ☐ Intergovernmental Organization
- ☐ International non-government organization

Q2 Does your organization collaborate with any anti-trafficking NGOs in Thailand?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q3 Do local NGOs (in Thailand) make significant contributions to stopping human trafficking?

	No Contribution (1)	No Significant Contribution (2)	Some Contribution (3)	Significant Contribution (4)
Are NGOs contributing (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q4 Has this organization seen or heard of campaigns by NGOs to stop trafficking?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q5 Are NGOs effective in spreading awareness about human trafficking?

- ☐ Not Effective
- ☐ Somewhat Effective
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Effective
- ☐ Very Effective

Q6 Which anti-trafficking method does your organization consider best: preventative or rehabilitative?

- ☐ Preventative
- ☐ Rehabilitative
- ☐ Both
- ☐ Neither
- ☐ Other _____

Q7 Has Thailand laws made it difficult for NGOs to provide adequate contributions to stopping human trafficking?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ No

Q8 Does this organization provide funding to anti-trafficking NGOs in Thailand?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Follow up Questions to an NGOs

1. How large is [NGO name]?
2. How difficult was it for a Burmese focused NGO to be established in Thailand?
3. Are you aware (or have you collaborated with) of any other NGO in Thailand focusing on migrant groups in Thailand?
4. Has your organization faced any difficulties from the public, other organizations, or government agencies since opening?
5. Your approach is to bridge the gap between local citizens and Burmese migrants, how would you rate your organization in doing so thus far?

The next few questions are related to the programs and roles of [NGO name].

1. What are some difficulties Burmese migrants face in Thailand regarding their citizenship status and everyday life?
 - How difficult is the process of citizenship in Thailand?
 - What impact, if any, does being Burmese and without citizenship have on victims of human trafficking?
2. What reason are migrants fleeing to Thailand?
3. Do you find the difficulties Burmese face is different from other Southeast Asian migrants? If so, why?
 - Is there anything to your knowledge being done to address these tensions?
4. Do migrants have a harder time finding justice in Thailand compared to Thai nationals?

5. On your *Our Story* section of your website, it is stated your organization wants to “Empower Burmese migrant women to improve their situation,” how is your organization doing so?
6. Your organization, provides healthcare to migrant workers, what type of activities does the [NGO name] health team do?
7. Has the number of people visiting the clinics increased or decreased over time, why?
8. What are some projects [NGO name] has done that focuses on human trafficking and/or trafficking victims?
9. How does [NGO name] educate on human trafficking, is there a specific course people can take to learn?
10. Men tend to be less likely to report being victims of trafficking, has your organization noticed a disparity in the number of reported trafficking cases between women, children, and men?
11. Is anything being done, either by your organization or others to help men and boys that are victims?

Follow up Questions to an NGOs

1. Roughly, how many people has your organization served throughout the years?
2. The motto for [NGO name] is to educate women in trafficking communities, what is the age range your organization helps?
3. Can you tell me more about [NGO affiliate]?
 - Is [NGO affiliate] a part of [NGO name]?
4. How difficult was it for an NGO focused on indigenous women to be established in Thailand?
 - Why is important for indigenous women to have an organization dedicated to them in Thailand?
 - What age range does your organization mostly serve?
5. What, if any were some of the difficulties [NGO name] faced from the public, other organizations, or government agencies since opening?
6. There are numerous NGOs in Thailand focused on human trafficking how is [NGO name] different?
 - Your organization is employed by primarily women; do you find this makes it easier for victims (or potential victims) to share their experiences?
7. How would you rate your organization's presence in its community?
 - How would a potential victim find your organization without the use of the internet?
8. How effective do you regard your organization in its anti-trafficking work?

The next few questions are related to the programs and roles of [NGO name]?

1. What type of education (school, health, etc.) services does [NGO name] provide?
2. [NGO name] will be working with indigenous women artisans can you explain the significance of [NGO online store]?
 - Does this project also train non-artisans to learn the trade as well?
3. The [NGO project], seems like a great idea, what changes have you seen take place in the participants of this project?
4. We've established indigenous women are the most vulnerable to trafficking, does your organization provide services for the women who are without a home?
5. Do you find the difficulties Burmese face is different from other Southeast Asian migrants? If so, why?
 - Is there anything to your knowledge being done to address these tensions?
6. Men tend to be less likely to report being victims of trafficking has [NGO name] had any contact with male victims?
 - If so, how did your organization serve them?

Follow up Questions to an NGOs

1. Would you consider [NGO name] a large organization?
2. How has this benefited the organization and the people it serves?
3. Is there an age range your organization aids more?
4. Where could one find a copy of [NGO documentary]?
5. Your organization frequently host learning trips to Thailand, how beneficial are the trips to those partaking and to the Thai communities being visited?
6. Being that [NGO name] is based in [location] how do you think its experience and impact differ from local organizations in Thailand?
7. Do you find that being in the U.S. provides this organization with more anti-trafficking resources?
8. Many feel the migrants and indigenous groups have a harder time combating and being protected from trafficking in Thailand, does [NGO name] aid migrants from neighboring Thailand countries, who may possibly be illegal?
 - If yes, do their services differ from legal victims?
9. Your organization is employed by an equal amount of men and women; do you find this to make a difference in how victims (or potential victims) share their experiences?
10. How would you rate your organizations' overall presence within its community?
11. How would a potential victim find your organization without the use of the internet?
12. Your website mentions [NGO name] offers [NGO program], can you tell me more about this and your other programs offered, like the [NGO program]?

13. How are students taught about their sexual, legal, and basic human rights? How long is this program?
14. How important is it for organizations to have a relationship with the people they are serving, the funders, and external organizations?

REFERENCES

- ADB. "Development of Civil Society to Current State." Civil Society Beliefs Thailand., accessed October 19, 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/csb-tha.pdf>
- Arnold, Christina. "Thai NGOs & Government Balance Anti-Trafficking Efforts," Human Trafficking Search. 2015. Accessed July 16, 2019, <https://humantraffickingsearch.org/ngos-and-governments-balance-the-anti-trafficking-fight/>
- Arnold, Christina and Bertone, Andrea M. "Addressing the Sex Trade in Thailand: Some Lessons from NGOs Part 1" *Gender Issues* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 26-52.
- ASEAN. "Aims and Purposes." Overview. Accessed November 25, 2018. <https://asean.org/asean/about-asean/overview/>
- AICHR. "Our Work" ASEAN. Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://aichr.org/our-work/>
- Barner, John R., Okech, David and Camp, Meghan A. "Socio-Economic Inequality, Human Trafficking, and the Global Slave Trade" *Societies* 4, (April 2014): 148-160. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc4020148>
- Barry, Kathleen. *Female Sexual Slavery*. NYU Press, 1984.
- Chandran, Rina. "In Thai Tourist Spots" Reuters. Accessed August 1, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-trafficking-sexcrimes/in-thai-tourist-spots-a-hidden-world-of-male-sex-slavery-idUSKBN1J91GU>
- ChartsBins. "The Legal Status of Prostitution by Country" ChartsBins. Accessed February 10, 2018. <http://chartsbin.com/view/snb>
- Chemonics International Inc. "USAID Anti-Trafficking in Persons Programs in Asia: A Synthesis" USAID. Accessed August 16, 2019, <https://www.traffickingmatters.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/2009-11-USAID-Asia-Synthesis-Anti-TIP.pdf>
- Crawford, Christa Foster. "Cultural, Economic and Legal Factors Underlying Trafficking in Thailand and Their Impact on Women and Girls from Burma." *Cardozo Journal of Law & Gender* 12, (2006): 821-853.
- Donovan, Elizabeth M. "Same As It Ever Was: In Support of the Rights of Sex Trafficking Victims" *Quinnipiac Law Review* 36, (2018): 489-634. <https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=517114114008124117095091081091090121042008063067056033068110118025116084111004083102027022096016013008018069087009071118086096028042091029065099114006079001099081067041041066020119115083069082120076092116011123094024007077082086104011115113020122071009&EXT=pdf>

- ECPAT. "Stop Sex Trafficking of Children & Young People." ECPAT International. Accessed August 16, 2019. https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Factsheet_Thailand.pdf
- Empower Foundation, "Moving Toward Decent Sex Work: Sex worker community research decent work and exploitation in Thailand." Empower University Press. Accessed September 15, 2019. http://un-act.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Moving_Toward_Decent_Work_EMPOWER.pdf
- Esri. "Destination Countries" Human Trafficking in Thailand." Accessed September 14, 2019. <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapJournal/index.html?appid=081f7cd4240f401da7a010e350888aea>
- Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2001- Thailand" Freedom House. Accessed April 1, 2019, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2001/thailand>
- Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2019- Thailand" Freedom House. Accessed August 1, 2019, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/thailand>
- Gugić, Zrinka. "Human Trafficking Under the Veil of Sex Tourism in Thailand- Reaction of the EU" *Pravni vjesnik* 30, no. 2 (2014): 355-376. https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?id_clanak_jezik=195069&show=clanak
- Human Rights First, "Thailand," Human Rights First. Accessed August 5, 2019, <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf/Thailand.pdf>
- Human Rights Watch. "Thailand: Trafficking Convictions Important Step Forward Expand Prosecutions, Provide Protections for Rohingya Migrants," Human Rights Watch, accessed April 26, 2019, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/thailand0914_ForUpload_0.pdf
- Human Rights Watch. "Two Years with No Moon: Immigration Detention of Children in Thailand" Human Rights Watch. Accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/thailand0914_ForUpload_0.pdf
- Jeffrey Leslie Ann. *In Sex and Borders, Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.
- Laczko, Frank and Gozdzia, Elzbieta. "Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey" *International Migration* 43, no. 1-2 (2005): 1-343. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/global_survey.pdf
- London Associated Law & Practice Investigation (Thailand) Co. Ltd. "Foundations." LA Law Thailand., Accessed October 18, 2019, <http://lalawthailand.com/business/foundations/>

- Liberty Asia. "Legal Analysis of Human Trafficking in Thailand" Liberty Asia. Accessed October 25, 2018, <http://un-act.org/publication/view/legal-analysis-human-trafficking-thailand/>
- Lift International, "History of Sex Trafficking in Thailand," Lift International. Accessed December 5, 2018, <https://www.liftinternational.org/updates/2018/8/9/history-of-sex-trafficking-in-thailand>
- Lim, Lin Lean. *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia*. International Labour Office, 1998.
- Limoncelli, Stephanie A., "What in the World Are Anti-Trafficking NGOs Doing? Findings from a Global Study" *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2, no. 4 (2016): 316-328. <https://doi.org/10.1086/23322705.2015.1135605>
- Lynch, Darlene C. "Through the Eyes of the Child: Barriers to Access to Justice and Remedies for Child Victims of Sexual Exploitation" ECPAT International. Accessed August 1, 2019, https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Through-the-Eyes-of-the-Child_Barries-to-Access-to-Justice-thematic-report.pdf
- Malikhao, Patchanee. *Culture and communication in Thailand*. Springer Singapore, 2017.
- Ministry of Social Development and Human Security "Thailand's Country Report on Anti-Human Trafficking Response." Accessed August 16, 2019, https://www.jica.go.jp/project/thailand/016/materials/ku57pq00001yw2db-att/thailands_country_report_2017.pdf
- Munger, Frank "Globalization, Investing in Law, and the Careers of Lawyers for Social Causes: Taking on Rights in Thailand" *New York Law School Law Review* 53 (2008- 2009): 745-804. https://digitalcommons.nyls.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1841&context=fac_articles_chapters
- Munger, Frank. "Trafficking in Law: Cause Lawyer, Bureaucratic State and Rights of Human Trafficking Victims in Thailand" *Asian Studies Review* 39, no. 1 (2015): <https://doi.org/10.1080.10357823.2014.990355>
- Ninsri, Son. "Thailand's Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act B.E. 2551 (2008): A New Development in Human Rights Protection and Justice" *Journal of Peace Education and Social Justice* 2, no. 2 (2008): 335-364. http://www.infactispax.org/Volume_special_IPE/Ninsri.pdf

- Opanovych, Nataliya. "Human trafficking for sex exploitation in Thailand." *Securitologia* 1 (2016): 103-110.
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0009.2972>
- Parrot, Andrea and Cummings, Nina. *Sexual Enslavement of Girls and Women Worldwide*. Praeger, 2008.
- Physicians for Human Rights. "No Status: Migration, Trafficking & Exploitation of Women in Thailand" Physicians for Human Rights. Accessed August 1, 2019, https://s3.amazonaws.com/PHR_Reports/thailand-women-trafficking-2004.pdf
- Rho-Ng, Elizabeth "The Conscription of Asian Sex Slaves: Causes and Effects of U.S. Military Sex Colonialism in Thailand and the Call to Expand U.S. Asylum Law" *Asian American Law Journal* 7 no. 4 (2000): 103-130.
<https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1063&context=ajlj>
- Robinson, Courtland. "Anti-Human Trafficking in Thailand." John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. Accessed May 20, 2019, <http://hopkinshumanitarianhealth.org/assets/documents/Anti-Trafficking-in-Thailand-30Jun2016.pdf>
- Seabrook, Jeremy. *Travels in the Skin Trade: Tourism and the Sex Industry*. Pluto Press, 2001.
- Shelley, Louise. *Human Trafficking, A Global Perspective*. George Mason University: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Siddharth, Kara. *Sex trafficking: Inside the business of modern slavery*. Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Spines, Robert W. "Human Trafficking NGOs in Thailand: A Two-Site Case Study of the Children Served in Education Programs" *Slavery Today* 1, no. 2 (2014): 93-118.
<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1088&context=spcs-faculty-publications>
- Thanh-Dam, Truong, *Sex, money and morality: Prostitution and tourism in Southeast Asia* London: Zed Press, 1990.
- Tzvetkova, Marina. "NGO Responses to Trafficking in Women" *Gender and Development* 10, no. 1 (2002): 60-68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4030684>
- United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees Global Trends. *War's Human Cost*. New York: United Nations, 2013. Accessed September 28, 2019.
https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Global_Trends_report_2013_V07_web_embargo_2014-06-20.pdf

- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018*. New York: UNDOC Research, 2018. Accessed September 28, 2019. https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2018/GLOTiP_2018_BOOK_web_small.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the protocols thereto*. New York: United Nations, 2004. Accessed November 18, 2018. https://www.unodc.org/documents/middleeastandnorthafrica/organised-crime/UNITED_NATIONS_CONVENTION_AGAINST_TRANSNATIONAL_ORGANIZED_CRIME_AND_THE_PROTOCOLS_THERETO.pdf
- United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand. *Thailand Migration Report 2019*. Bangkok: United Nations, 2019. Accessed September 13, 2019. https://thailand.iom.int/sites/default/files/document/publications/Thailand%20Report%202019_22012019_LowRes.pdf
- U.S. Department of State. “Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.” Accessed January 25, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2001/3928.htm>
- U.S. Department of State. “Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.” Report., Accessed July 16, 2019. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/226849.pdf>
- U.S. Department of State. “Trafficking in Persons Report.” Accessed January 25, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2001/3928.html>
- U.S. Department of State. “Trafficking in Persons Report.” Accessed September 13, 2019, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/226849.pdf>
- Vichit-Vadakan, Juree. “Central Role in Development for Thai NGOs?” Global Policy Forum, Accessed November 14, 2018, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/177-un/31618.html>
- Wongsa, Duean. “TRAFCORD and Its Participation in the Promotion of Human Rights to Counter Human Trafficking in Thailand” *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 31, no. 3 (2014): 501-513.