



# Journey of Change

A Chab Dai Study on the Trends & Influencing Factors  
on Counter-Trafficking in Cambodia, 2003-2012

**Chab Dai Coalition, June 2013**

**Authors: Aimee Brammer & Julia Smith-Brake**

**Supervising Editor: Helen Sworn**



2009

2010

2011

2012



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**By Aimee Brammer & Julia Smith-Brake**

**Supervising Editor: Helen Sworn**

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The views expressed in this report are those of the author  
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Front cover photo & design: Aimee Brammer



## **Chab Dai Coalition**

*Christians Working Together to End Sexual Abuse and Trafficking*

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18<sup>th</sup> May 2013

Dear Sirs and Madams,

Chab Dai Coalition is a registered International NGO with the Government of Cambodia and is a network of 60 organizations working together to end sexual exploitation and trafficking as well as implementing ten direct projects. Chab Dai Coalition chairs one of the working groups on the highest Cambodian Government National Committee to address trafficking. This puts our organization in a unique position to be advocates at both the Government and Community levels for those who are most vulnerable.

We appreciate all our partners who were involved in this research. It is critical to see the changes over the last ten years on human trafficking in Cambodia, especially for stakeholders and donors working on this issue.

We strongly encourage our members and readers to use this research and its recommendations as a strategic, collaborative way forward and encourage stakeholders to commit to learning and adapting our programs to meet the changing issues on the ground.

And last, but not least, we acknowledge the experiences of the women, men and children that survived a trafficking experience, returned migrants, and at risk groups, for whom this research is done. It is with them in mind that we must collaborate and forge a strategy forward.

Yours faithfully,

**Ros Yeng**

Country Director

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May 17, 2013

*“Things are different.”*

*“The context has changed.”*

*These comments refer to the environment in Cambodia where trafficking occurs, and I’ve heard them, or similar statements, numerous times over the last year as I interact with leaders of anti-trafficking organizations. They represent a growing sense among the anti-trafficking community that the movement in Cambodia is entering (or has already entered) a distinctively new phase. Equitas Group’s history in Cambodia goes back to 2008, and like many other organizations in this space, we are striving to understand these shifts and what the appropriate response may be.*

*As our strategies evolve to meet new challenges and realities it will be helpful to pause and reflect on where we have been as a movement. What have we done well? What have we not done so well? How have we understood the nature and extent of human trafficking in Cambodia, and what have been the influencing factors on that understanding? How has this understanding shaped the narratives we’ve constructed? What impact has this discourse(s) had on our policies and programs? How have our discourse, policies and programming evolved over time?*

*I am grateful for Chab Dai’s efforts to assist our community in this reflective process. I believe this study can play a key role in fostering meaningful dialogue about what we have learned over the last decade of work, and I hope that the successes and challenges it presents will be used to improve our work on behalf of those we serve.*

*Sincerely,*

*Jeremy Floyd  
Equitas Group*

*Any thought, any idea, any theory,  
is simply a way of seeing,  
a way of viewing an object  
from a particular vantage point.*

*It may be useful,  
but that usefulness  
is dependent upon particular circumstances -  
the time, the place, the conditions  
to which it is applied.*

*If our thoughts are taken to be final,  
to include all possibilities,  
to be exact representations of reality,  
then eventually we run up against conditions  
where they become irrelevant.*

*If we hold on to them  
in spite of their irrelevance,  
we are forced either to ignore the facts  
or to apply some sort of force to make them fit.*

*In either case,  
fragmentation is the result.*

*~ Bohem Xi ~*



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## ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

AHTJPU	Anti-Human Trafficking and Juvenile Protection Unit
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (includes Cambodia, Brunei, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam)
A-TIP	Anti-Trafficking in Persons Program
COMMIT	Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking
COSECAM	Coalition to Address (Sexual) Exploitation of Children in Cambodia
CDRI	Cambodia Development Resource Institute
CSE	Commercial Sexual Exploitation
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
C-TIP	Combating Trafficking in Persons
CWCC	Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre
DoSAVY	District Department of Social Affairs, Veterans, and Youth Rehabilitation
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
EPS	Employment Permit System
EW	Entertainment Worker
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-Region
G/TIP	Global Trafficking in Persons (U.S. State Department reports)
HT	Human Trafficking
IJM	International Justice Mission
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ILO-IPEC	ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
J/TIP	Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (U.S State Department)
KTV	Karaoke Establishments
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
LSCW	Legal Support for Children & Women
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoLVT	Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training
MoSAVY	Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans, and Youth Rehabilitation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NERG	Northeast Research Group
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIS	National Institute of Statistics
RA	Recruitment Agency
SIREN	UN Inter-Agency Partnership's Strategic Information Response Network
TAF	The Asia Foundation
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TSACGSH	The Southeast Asian Consortium on Gender, Sexuality, and Health
TSHTSE/TIPSE	Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, 2008
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNIAP	United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHI	World Hope International

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Purpose and Objectives

The primary aim of this research is to broadly identify and map shifts in trafficking and exploitation that have taken place over the last ten years in Cambodia, as well as how programs addressing these issues have adapted and modified, particularly within the member organisations of Chab Dai Coalition. More specifically, this research aims to identify and understand the key influencing factors that have directly or indirectly impacted these program shifts.

The purpose of this research, therefore, is to establish a common framework of issues, shifts, and responses to human trafficking and exploitation in order to inform future programming. It is our hope that sharing lessons learned and providing a broader understanding of trafficking will inform our strategy as we look at effective discourse and response in the future.

The main research questions in this study were:

1. What factors have influenced counter-trafficking programmatic responses in Cambodia?
2. How have programmatic responses in Cambodia anticipated and adapted to trends in human trafficking and exploitation over the last ten years?
3. What can we learn from the last ten years in order to inform strategic programmatic responses and a holistic and relevant discourse in the future?

## Methodology

This study is a qualitative research using a mixed-methods approach. A desk review was conducted of articles, studies, and reports on the issues in the past decade in Cambodia. Primary research included an online survey, which had 41 respondents. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 participants from Chab Dai members, partners, and donors. Two focus group discussions were also led near the end of the data-gathering phase to overview findings and recommendations.

## Shifts in the Context of Trafficking and Exploitation

This section was the desk review of articles, reports, and research studies on issues of exploitation and human trafficking in Cambodia and serves as a foundation for understanding the shifting issues and responses.

### Literature Overview

A desk review was conducted on a total of 148 research studies and reports that were published about trafficking and/or exploitation in Cambodia between 2003 and 2012. The reports were catalogued into four categories: research focusing generally on the topic of trafficking, exploitation, and abuse; research focusing on demand and pornography; research focusing on commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking; and, research focusing on labour migration and exploitation. The catalogue can be found in Appendix 1.

In 2006, Derks, Henke & Ly systematically reviewed studies about human trafficking in Cambodia conducted between 1996 and 2006, culminating in the “Review of a Decade of Research on Trafficking in Persons, Cambodia” (Derks, Henke & Ly, 2006). The review critically assessed the major approaches, perspectives, and debates that had guided research during that timeframe. They found that information and research had been inconsistent, that there was a lack of exploration into the root causes or broader context of trafficking, and that there was a lack of independent research. Eight years on from this study, the majority of research continues to focus on sex trafficking. It is worth noting, however, that in the last four years more research has been released highlighting trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation and the related issue of migration.

### Exploitation Starts with Demand

A deeper understanding of exploitation and trafficking must begin with a conversation about demand. A demand focus is a prevention focus and assumes that reducing demand will lower the occurrence of exploitation. The ILO outlines three levels of demand:

1. Employer demand (employers, owners, managers, or subcontractors);
2. Consumer demand (clients of the sex industry), corporate buyers (manufacturing), household members (domestic work); and,

3. Third parties involved in the process (recruiters, agents, transporters, and those who participate knowingly in human trafficking at any stage of the process) (ILO, 2006a, p. 15-16).

Demand-focused research in Cambodia has mostly concentrated on demand for sexual services. Although it is often assumed that the issue is mainly focused on foreigners engaging in sex tourism, local Khmer men were found to make up a significant majority of the demand for girls and women (Chan, 2010, p.16).

The role pornography has in driving sexual violence and exploitation within communities is significant. Fordham (2006) observed pornography was increasingly being viewed in private homes due to the very low costs of acquiring pornographic materials (p. 92). Farley's (2012) research on Cambodian men who buy sex found men who watch the most pornography buy sex most often.

#### Vulnerability Factors in Exploitation & Trafficking

Vulnerability factors for exploitation and trafficking are generally similar for both the purposes of sexual and labour exploitation, including those for males and females. Push factors include debt, limited or no access to education, family relationship breakdown, and child sexual abuse; pull factors include labour demand, recruitment advertising, and peer encouragement; and, facilitating factors include social networks, tourism, and improved transportation infrastructure.

There are some differences, however, in push and pull factors between males and females. Some factors specific to women and girls are placement in family birth order (oldest sisters have larger responsibility), virginity selling or loss of virginity, and coming from traditionally migratory areas. Factors specific to men and boys include coming from large families, lack of professional skills or schooling, and landlessness.

There has also been a shift in motivating factors for movement in Cambodia. Though it is important to note that movement or migration does not *necessarily* lead to exploitation, increased movement and vulnerability often go hand in hand. Common reasons for migration include a combination of chronic poverty, landlessness, lack of access to healthcare, natural disasters including droughts and floods, debt, and land grabbing (Maltoni, 2006, p. 27; Chen Chen, 2006, p. 6; Maltoni, 2007, p. 2, Chan, 2009, p. 9), many of which also increase vulnerability to exploitation.

#### Labour Migration & Trafficking for Labour Exploitation

Cambodia has a rapidly growing labour force and its "present engines of growth" are predicted to be unable to absorb the estimated 250,000 young job seekers annually entering the labour market (Maltoni, 2011a, p. 15). Improved infrastructure is increasing Cambodians' access from once-remote villages to urban centers and other countries within the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS). Migration in Cambodia includes rural to rural migration, rural to urban migration, and external migration.

As access to resources has been reduced, rural villagers are forced to find other ways to sustain their livelihoods (Maltoni, 2007). Rural to rural migration has been called the "invisible flow of people," because it has received little attention from the government or NGOs, mainly due to the fact that the affected population is largely landless, nomadic, and, therefore, mostly inaccessible (VSF-CIDA, p. 7).

Migration to urban areas has seen rapid growth in the last ten years. The garment industry alone has particularly grown and has attracted mainly female migrants. Short term or seasonal migrants often come to the cities for work to make up for lack of income from agricultural activities. It is estimated that 1.5 million children in Cambodia are involved in some form of work, representing 40% of the total number of children between seven and 17 years of age (UNICEF, 2006).

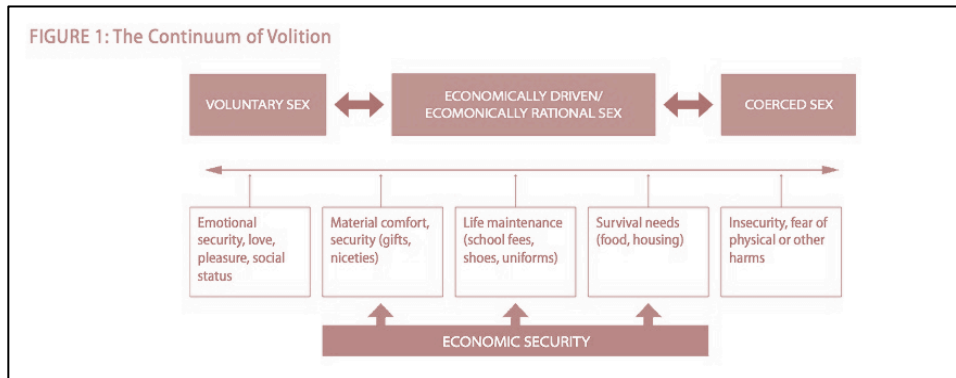
External migration often increases vulnerability, and it is often the vulnerable who try to migrate unsafely. There is an ever-rising number of Cambodians migrating to other countries for work, mainly to Thailand, Malaysia, and Korea, but to others as well. Most employment opportunities abroad are in the manufacturing sector, followed by domestic work and then the agriculture sector, with more women than men working overseas (CNIS, 2010; HRW, 2011, p. 21; Maltoni, 2006, p. 9).

The main trafficking networks out of Cambodia are for labour exploitation, sexual exploitation, and domestic work in Thailand, begging in Vietnam, labour exploitation through recruitment agencies in Malaysia, and forced marriage in Taiwan and Korea. There have also been reports of men being exploited on fishing vessels in South Africa and Thailand.

## Sex Trafficking & Commercial Sexual Exploitation

The number of people being commercially sexually exploited in Cambodia has been widely debated. While statistics are difficult to determine, this form of exploitation has been researched in some depth. Van der Keur and Touch (2013) found lack of data prevented a clear baseline with which to compare current numbers; however, the overall conclusion was “over the last ten years the public justice system’s response to CSEC has improved significantly, contributing to a decrease in CSEC in Cambodia” (p. 7). Commercial sexual exploitation in Cambodia includes: 1) brothel- or establishment-based exploitation, 2) entertainment-based exploitation, and 3) street-based exploitation.

Researchers debate the role of choice in the sex industry. The figure below outlines one perspective on the various levels of choice that sex workers have and how the continuum of voluntary sex to coerced sex interplays with economic security through different aspects of comfort, survival, and fear.



Source: MoEYS (2012)

Brown (2007a) found a strong link between migration for child domestic work and commercial sexual exploitation. Some reports also state it is common for girls to enter the sex industry after a virginity sale; a 2007 research found 38% of women interviewed had entered commercial sexual exploitation through the sale of virginity (The Southeast Asian Consortium on Gender, Sexuality & Health, 2006, 150; Brown, 2007b, 3).

As early as 2007, research was suggesting that the environment of sex trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia was beginning to shift out of standard brothel settings. Brown (2007b) commented, “recent alterations in the social structure of the commercial sex trade are posited to have resulted from concerns to evade counter-trafficking monitoring systems, and arguably to sustain the virginity trade” (p. 8). Sex is sold more and more out of higher-class establishments, such as karaoke bars and beer gardens; young people may be lured into these establishments by promises of employment as waitresses, ice servers, or beer promoters.

Rape and gang rape (“bauk”) also make up an increasing proportion of cases being referred to intervention and aftercare programs, and are overtaking the number of trafficking cases being referred. Sex workers outside formal establishments also report higher instances of rape and violence.

### Influencing Factors in Anti-Trafficking

This section focuses on the main findings of the research. Five key themes emerged through analysis. The five main influencing factors in counter-trafficking found in this research were media, donors, the Cambodian government, research, and, specifically for the coalition’s member organisations, Chab Dai Coalition. The foldout figure at the back of this report is the amalgamated timeline of all the major events and influencing factors in counter-trafficking in Cambodia over the last ten years.

#### Media

The Dateline NBC “Children for Sale” documentary, first aired in 2004, was largely seen as the catalytic media event that sparked the initial influx of funding and programs into Cambodia to address sex trafficking and exploitation. The report, aired across the United States many times, is stated as the reason many organisations and people first came to Cambodia, mainly to start aftercare programs for survivors of sex trafficking. It is also directly linked to U.S. State Department taking a deeper interest in the issue in Cambodia, which led to the influx of millions of dollars of funding and increased pressure on the Cambodian government to take action.

**“[Children for Sale and the brothel raids] have to be the starters. They go together because there was an American response that ‘we can’t let this happen,’ and an embarrassment for Cambodia internationally being called out.” – Interview, Donor, Expat**

Other international media events and publications were seen to influence the issue and response considerably less than the initial “Children for Sale” event. In recent years, there has been an increase in the production of documentaries and movies on trafficking in Cambodia, particularly U.S.-based films. Thirty-two percent (32%) of survey respondents stated documentaries (in general) were not influential in their own programs’ response, and another 37% said they were only somewhat influential.

Local Cambodian media was also explored as an influencing factor. The main positive views on local media were its advances in raising awareness among the Cambodian population on the issue of human trafficking, as well as warning brothel owners of the illegality of having underage children on their premises. Local media was also discussed as potentially increasing the vulnerability of both people at risk of being exploited and survivors who had previously been exploited. For instance, recruitment agencies often use local media, including radio and television, to spread misinformation about migration; in addition, survivors are sometimes manipulated or coerced, intentionally or unintentionally, into sharing their stories for the benefit of their organisation’s publicity.

Some critics argue that highly sensationalized media, which primarily focus on the trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation, has limited our understanding of the scope of human trafficking, and has heightened a sense of urgency to the cause without taking into account the multifaceted and complex root causes that increase the risks of individuals being trafficked (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012). One interviewee also mentioned the immediate danger posed by publicizing the identity and whereabouts of exploited children.

**“For me, I think the media is negative sometimes... Makes traffickers attract children easily because they know what’s going on. Some media doesn’t cover the face and puts the real name and makes demand side go there... looking for children.” – Interview, Chab Dai leader, Cambodian**

#### Donors

There is a wide range of different donor-base countries among Chab Dai’s member organisations, but the main donor country is the United States. One of the main concerns regarding donors was the need to negotiate donor influence; while “following the funding” is often needed to keep programs running, stakeholders emphasized the importance of not allowing donors to dictate the future or direction of an organisation’s anti-trafficking focus and programs. Important to this balance is the need to educate donors on issues and research being done in the field so they can make informed funding decisions.

**“[In every NGO], there is a part of them that understands they have to follow where the money is a little. But that aside, on the whole, it seems that there are a number of Chab Dai organisations that are committed to what they are doing and are looking for donors that are not going to tell them what to do programmatically.” – Interview, Donor, Expat**

The most influential donor in the past ten years in counter-trafficking in Cambodia has been the U.S. government; mainly through the annual TIP Report and the funding informed by the report. For instance, when Cambodia was placed on Tier 3 in the 2005 TIP Report, a 50 million USD grant was given by the U.S. government, mainly focused on shelters. This contributed to the opening of new shelter and aftercare programs. In 2006, this was followed by the C-TIP 1 grant, focused on shelters and law enforcement, which led to strengthening and changing the legal framework and police interventions around trafficking. And finally, in 2011, C-TIP 2 was awarded and has led to a shift from a focus on sex trafficking to labour trafficking.

#### Cambodian Government

The Cambodian government has increased its action against human trafficking and exploitation, especially since 2005, when Cambodia was placed on Tier 3 of the TIP Report. The pressure from the U.S. government and increased funding prompted greater political will and the Cambodian government began to address the issues more

proactively. Stakeholders stated both that NGOs should be supporting government more and that government itself should be taking more responsibility and action in counter-trafficking.

**“Some areas... have no resources, no NGOs, no government social workers, no people who help in this area. So we want to see the government approach more to the areas where there are no resources. Qualified social workers only work part-time and have to have another job to support their family... so the government should put more resources and money. It should not depend on NGOs, the government needs to have more responsibility... It needs to build from the government – from inside, not outside.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

Policies and laws were seen as a major influencing factor in counter-trafficking; 43% of survey participants said “Cambodian policies and laws” were extremely influential, while another 30% said they were very influential. The most influential policies were the 2008 “Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation” (TIPSE), the “National Minimum Standards (NMS) on the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking,” and the “NMS on Alternative Care for Children.” The TIPSE Law had a positive influence in that it promoted and partnered with NGOs to increase police training and the standards for rescuing victims. It was also seen as partially responsible for further pushing trafficking underground, from brothel-based to entertainment-based exploitation. Both the NMS on the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking and on Alternative Care for Children were seen as positive influences in terms of the impact on caring for survivors. The NMS on Alternative Care for Children, and its subsequent implementation policy, were seen as contributing to the shift from focusing on institutional models to community-based models of care. Other policies seen as important were the Penal Code shift, specifically the disallowing of undercover evidence being admissible in court, as well as Sub decree 190, on the sending of migrant workers abroad.

In 2009, the Cambodian government started the National Committee to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labour Exploitation and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children. Although it was seen mainly as a positive entity, stakeholders agreed it has a long way to go to reach its full potential in pushing issues forward and making concrete progress. Cambodia is also a member of COMMIT (Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking), along with five other countries in the GMS. COMMIT has contributed to establishing some important policies, but the implementation on the ground is lacking, as countries hesitate to be accountable to an external entity.

#### Research

Research was seen as a major influencing factor; nine out of 11 interviewees spoke at length about research, 37% of survey participants stated reading a research report had informed a decision to change their program, and 27% of survey participants chose research as the #1 influencing factor in counter-trafficking. Research was seen to have the most impact when it was disseminated well and/or led to a new or changed program response.

**“[R]esearch is about providing information that enables policy and programs to be improved. Most of the research being done here is really actually helping and informing.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

The most influential research, according to stakeholders, were “At What Price, Honour?” and “The Ties that Bind,” “I Thought it Could Never Happen to Boys,” and the “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project.” “At What Price, Honour?” (Reimer, 2006) and “The Ties that Bind” (Brown, 2007b) both brought the issue of exploitation and trafficking of ethnic Vietnamese girls in Cambodia to the attention of practitioners and organisations. They also were influential in promoting the importance of research in shaping program response, as organisations implemented the research findings and recommendations to better serve the victims from these communities.

“I Thought it Could Never Happen to Boys” (Hilton, 2008) had a similar impact in shaping programs’ response to boys issues and in beginning to understand how to work with boys and men. It also opened up the discussion about other forms of exploitation, such as labour trafficking, as it broadened the issue away from female sex trafficking.

**“If we didn’t have this research, we wouldn’t have our program.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**



The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project” (Miles et al., 2012) is an ongoing ten-year research with survivors of sex trafficking, exploring the issues survivors face as they reintegrate back into their communities. Stakeholders stated this research has the most potential for impacting the future of counter-trafficking, as it disseminates the voices of the survivors themselves and its annual progress reports offer recommendations for further supporting survivors throughout their reintegration process.

#### Chab Dai Coalition

Chab Dai was founded in 2005 with the aim of addressing human trafficking and exploitation through coalition building, advocacy, and research, areas seen as gaps in the response at the time. Besides offering a platform where faith-based organisations could work together, Chab Dai has also acted as a bridge builder between the coalition and government and UN agencies. Between 2005 and 2012, there were many shifts in how Chab Dai interacted with key stakeholders on the issues. Program shifts among the coalition’s members have included expanding to provinces outside of Phnom Penh, and there has also been an increase in more recent years towards prevention and business and vocational training programs. There remain a large number of aftercare programs, and a small number of programs addressing demand.

Members have seen Chab Dai as an influencing factor on their own programs as well as on the counter-trafficking sector in Cambodia. Among the survey participants, 57% stated attending Chab Dai forums and member meetings was very or extremely influential on their work. Sixty-five percent (65%) of respondents stated meeting peers from other organisations doing similar work was very or extremely influential. Four interviewees placed Chab Dai in the top five influencing factors on counter-trafficking in the last decade in Cambodia.

**“I don’t think, no one thinks, things would be the same if Chab Dai hadn’t started.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

The main impacts Chab Dai has had, according to stakeholders, were building trust among many different NGOs, establishing a referral systems to increase the standard of care for survivors, fostering honest and candid conversations in order to address the issues as they arose, and acting as a “hub” and an “equipper” while allowing NGOs to focus on their core competencies. Chab Dai contributed to influencing shifts in issues and standards, such as pushing forward boys’ issues, promoting the shift toward community-based care, and drawing attention to the exploitation of Cambodian migrant workers in Malaysia. It has also acted as a voice to the Cambodian government on behalf of its members, and advocated for change on the policy and ministerial level.

#### **Conclusions & Recommendations**

The shifts in both the case environment of trafficking and in the influencing factors on counter-trafficking in Cambodia indicate a broadening of the scope of understanding of the issue. At this crossroads, it is time to challenge the discourse around trafficking, engage in broader discussions of intersecting issues, allow a new discourse to inform programs on the ground, and allow innovative programs to in turn inform discourse.

Over ten years ago, when the issue of human trafficking was starting to gain more widespread attention, the response resembled very much a relief response to a disaster. Although there are still exceptional situations that require relief-like responses, such as in the direct rescuing of victims of exploitation, the sector must begin to think more long-term, and move into a holistic model, both understanding the multiple crosscutting issues, and addressing them together.

By seeing anti-trafficking as a “mini-movement” within the framework of larger rights issues, one can see the potential for reframing the issue to address and discuss it more holistically. Part of restructuring the framework of the movement is challenging and changing the language of the movement: shifting from “human trafficking” to “human rights,” and from “rescue” and “victim,” to “empowerment” and “capability building.”

The following recommendations promote the evolution of the anti-trafficking discourse and call for a collaborative shift towards a human rights approach.

## Media

### Recommendation to Media Stakeholders:

Journalists and other media makers covering issues in Cambodia must:

1. Learn about and adhere to Cambodian laws and policies (Prakas) on protecting victims of human trafficking; gain informed consent and protect the identities of survivors of trafficking;
2. Research the prevalence of existing productions and publications in their area of interest to avoid duplicating efforts and over-simplifying the issue into a narrow perspective; and,
3. Scrutinize the ethics of their coverage of issues in Cambodia, and should not compromise ethical boundaries that would be unacceptable in their own country.

### Recommendation to Christian NGOs and Churches:

Based on the spiritual framework of every person being created in the image of God,

Christian NGOs should:

Empower their clients by following Cambodian laws and policies pertaining to their protection, and by carefully vetting journalists and filmmakers who request access to their organisations, programs, and clients; and,

Christian Churches should:

Remove extreme sentimentalism and sensationalism from their awareness campaigns, and seek to balance their heart and their head response by thinking critically about the way victims are portrayed by the media and within their own churches.

### Recommendation to Coalition:

1. Advocate among own members on media policies, and on maintaining dignity and confidentiality of clients.
2. Educate own members on donor relations and use of media, such as balancing the need for money and attention with respecting and prioritizing their clients' best interests.

## Donors

### Recommendation to Donors and NGOs:

Seek donor/funding partners with whom they can build a mutual respect relationship and move beyond the "money" issue into a joint partnership framework.

### Recommendation to Donors:

Invest in proper due diligence before granting funds to partners, remain engaged throughout grant project, and include training funds for smaller organisations to improve capacity and meet reporting demands.

### Recommendation to NGOs:

Use research-based and holistic language in proposal writing and donor interactions. Communicate with language of rights, empowerment, gender, a broad understanding of the issue, push, pull and facilitating factors, and community and family needs.

## Cambodian Government

### Recommendation to NGOs and Coalition:

Challenge, support, and contribute more into the National Committee, either as an independent NGO or through the Coalition's voice in the Committee.

### Recommendation to NGOs and Coalition:

Invest in relationships, capacity-building, and trust building with key or potentially influential people in the government on a more ongoing and day-to-day basis.

### Recommendation to Coalition:

Provide opportunities and a voice to members to interact and dialogue with government.

## Research

### Recommendation to Researchers and NGOs Doing Research:

Invest in professional, independent research to authentically identify successes and gaps that will inform program changes or new initiatives.

Capitalise on research launches and focus on broad dissemination and sharing of findings. Where possible, link research to existing or planned programs to ensure recommendations are followed up and implemented.

Recommendation to the Coalition:

Invest in academic partnerships in order bridge the gap between practitioners and researchers. Offer a win-win platform where these two stakeholder groups can interact and feed into one another's reflections and actions.

Chab Dai

Recommendation to Coalition:

In light of broadening the framework and discourse around exploitation and trafficking, the Coalition should:

1. Engage more deeply in research and academic discourse on trafficking and intersecting issues;
2. Link members with current best practice and academic discourse to increase the professionalism within the sector; and,
3. Broaden the scope of collaboration: increasing and strengthening the referral system and moving partnerships beyond the Christian sector.

# DEFINITIONS

**Anti-Trafficking** and **Counter-Trafficking** are used interchangeably in this report and have the same connotation, except when referring to the types of grants given by the U.S. government. The A-TIP grant was the initial 50 million USD grant awarded in 2005; the C-TIP 1 grant was awarded for the 2006-2011 period, and the C-TIP 2, for the 2011-2016 period.

## Chab Dai member

A faith-based organisation, legally and financially independent from Chab Dai, which has been granted membership in the coalition. Membership is conditional on an organisation having legal status with a Cambodian government ministry, having an organisation-wide child protection policy, working specifically on trafficking issues within Cambodia.

## Chab Dai partner

An organisation with which Chab Dai collaborates, but which is not a Chab Dai member.

## Child (or minor)

Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) defines a child as: “every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.” In Article 7 of Cambodia’s Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (TSHTSE Law) minors are referred to as 17 years and younger (IJM, 2012).

## Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

When “a child is involved in a situation or a relationship where they are being used sexually, and the child, or a third party, receives a reimbursement for this activity (money, gifts, affection or favours – e.g. alcohol, food or shelter). There are thought to be three main forms of sexual exploitation: prostitution, pornography, and trafficking for sexual exploitation. In this research we are interested in trafficking for the purposes of prostitution, the movement of children from one place to another, within a country or across a border, for the purposes of prostitution, and the exploitation of children through prostitution” (Chab Dai, 2012). According to IJM (2012) “it is safe to say that all children forced to perform commercial sex acts are trafficking victims because under the UN Protocol (2000) the consent for children under 19 is irrelevant where sexual exploitation or sexual exchange takes place”.

## Human Trafficking

Human Trafficking is defined by the 2000 UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, informally referred to as the Palermo Protocol, as including the following aspects:

1. ACT {What is Done}	2. MEANS {How it is Done}	3. PURPOSE {Why it is Done}	= Human Trafficking
Recruitment Transport Transfer Harbouring Receipt of persons	Threat or use of force Coercion Abduction Fraud Deception Abuse of power or vulnerability Giving payments or benefits	Exploitation, including: Prostitution of others Sexual exploitation Forced labour Slavery or similar practices Removal of organs Other types of exploitation	

When children are the victims of trafficking, elements 1 and 2 are sufficient to constitute trafficking.

## Influencing Factors

The term influencing factors is used in this report to refer to people, events, or policies that have caused changes in the actions and/or outcomes of people or organizations working to end trafficking in persons.

Solis (2010) defines influence as “the ability to cause desirable and measurable actions and outcomes” and argues that understanding the characteristics of influence is as important as studying influence itself, including: ability/ power,

action, people, affect/drive, opinions/thoughts, and behaviour.

### **Khmer**

The majority of Cambodian nationals and their language.

### **Motodop**

A common mode of transportation in Cambodia; a single motorbike with a driver available for rent on street corners in main cities.

### **Migration**

Defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), migration is “a process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition, or causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people and economic migration.” More widely used in this report is the term “**labour migration**” which refers to the movement of persons from their home State to another State for the purpose of employment (IOM, 2004). According to the Speaking of Migration glossary by the Mekong Migrant Network (2011) two specific forms of migration referred to in this report are defined as:

1. **Regular or Documented Migration** refers to “the movement of people across an international border with the correct documents and visas required by both countries. This may include exit visas, entry visas, work permits, etc.”; and
2. **Irregular or undocumented migration** refers to “the movement of people across an international border without administrative documents required by immigration”.

**Unsafe migration** is a situation in which the movement of persons is insecure, particularly for those who are undocumented, because of any unscrupulous behaviour of border officials, traffickers and others, and a lack of information with which to make choices and assess risks.

### **Prakas**

“A ministerial or inter-ministerial decision signed by the relevant Minister(s). The subject matter of a Prakas is limited to the jurisdiction of the ministry out of which it is issued. A Prakas may also be jointly issued by different ministries when the subject matter involves more than one ministry. A Prakas must conform to the law under which it is made” (IJM, 2012).

### **Rape and Sexual Abuse**

Defined as forced intercourse and other forms of sexual assault and coercion. Where an adult engages a child sexually (under 18 years), it is considered abuse whether or not the child consents.

### **Sex work**

Refers to the commercial provision of sexual services and encompasses a wide spectrum of coercion and force, from very little to extreme in nature and duration. Two additional terms are:

1. “**Direct**” **sex worker** refers to individuals who are hired only for sex, typically in brothel-based settings.
2. “**Indirect**” **sex workers** refers to individuals who are hired in karaoke bars, beer gardens, massage parlours, etc. whose work may or may not actually include providing sexual services.

### **Continuum of Counter-Trafficking Response**

Chab Dai believes a wide variety of responses are necessary to effectively address the problem of trafficking and exploitation. Together, our members provide a good example of what a “continuum of care” for survivors of trafficking and exploitation looks like. Their programs can be broadly divided into seven categories. Many projects function on a continuum of responses, often offering a combination of the aspects in the table on the following page.

**Table 1: Continuum of Counter-Trafficking Response**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>PROGRAM FOCUS</b>
<b>ADDRESSING DEMAND</b>	Programs directed towards those who contribute to the pull factors of human trafficking and who purchase services, products, and people that are the result of trafficking and exploitation (e.g. outreach with johns, research into understanding demand factors and motivations driving trafficking).
<b>PREVENTION</b>	Programs aimed at raising awareness (including training) among vulnerable or at-risk populations and those individuals in positions to either facilitate or prevent trafficking, as well as providing education programs for children and skills training that provide economic work alternatives.
<b>INTERVENTION: RESCUE &amp; OUTREACH</b>	<b>Rescue Intervention:</b> Programs that work with police to investigate cases of trafficking and perform operations or rescues. <b>Outreach Intervention:</b> Programs that respond directly to cases of trafficking and exploitation often referred by the community, local police, or a hotline number, or by an NGO's direct relational outreach program (e.g. brothel, bars, beer gardens).
<b>AFTERCARE/REHABILITATION</b>	Programs directed towards securing the well-being of victims of trafficking, which may include outreach to areas were victims of trafficking work, drop-in centers, or short/mid/long-term shelter facilities where victims can receive safe housing and services, including but not limited to psycho-social recovery, medical support, and access to education or livelihood opportunities.
<b>REINTEGRATION</b>	Comprehensive provision of programs that are designed to reintegrate survivors of trafficking into society, either with their family or in a safe community, after an individual has been stabilized in an aftercare program, and are often linked directly with vocation training, education, and work placements programs.
<b>VOCATIONAL TRAINING</b>	Programs, generally for young teens or adults, offering specific training in work-based areas, such as cooking, hairdressing, moto repair, mechanics, and housekeeping.
<b>SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE BUSINESS</b>	Income generation projects that offer safe, legal working options for survivors or those at-risk of trafficking or exploitation, are often linked with vocational training programs and believed by many to be a crucial part in the successful reintegration process.

# INTRODUCTION

In the past ten years, much attention has been brought to the issue of human trafficking around the world, and Cambodia has been a primary point for global attention. Over this period, the issues, environment, policies, and program responses in Cambodia, as globally, have seen many shifts. Contextual changes in the ways trafficking and exploitation play out in Cambodia have impacted the way the government, UN agencies, and faith-based and other organisations have responded.

## PURPOSE & OBJECTIVES

The primary aim of this research is to broadly identify and map shifts in trafficking and exploitation that have taken place over the last ten years in Cambodia, as well as the changes in how programs addressing these issues have adapted and modified, particularly within the member organisations of Chab Dai Coalition. More specifically, this research aims to identify and understand the key influencing factors that have directly or indirectly impacted these program shifts.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this research, therefore, is to establish a common framework of issues, shifts, and responses to human trafficking and exploitation in order to inform future programming. It is our hope that sharing lessons learned and providing a broader understanding of trafficking will inform our strategy as we look at effective discourse and response in the future.

The main research questions in this study were:

1. What factors have influenced counter-trafficking programmatic responses in Cambodia?
2. How have programmatic responses in Cambodia anticipated and adapted to trends in human trafficking and exploitation over the last ten years?
3. What can we learn from the last ten years in order to inform strategic and relevant programmatic responses in the future?

## BACKGROUND & FRAMEWORK

For the last ten years, human trafficking has been a “hot-button” issue in Cambodia, receiving prominent international attention, millions of dollars in program funding, and wide media attention. The nature of exploitation and the program responses to these issues have changed considerably over the last ten years, and it is the aim of this study to outline these changes and identify a strategic way forward, specifically focused among Chab Dai Coalition’s member organisations.

### Trafficking & Exploitation

One of the most significant shifts is in the use of specific terminology. The term “human trafficking” has been widely used, often together with the terms “modern-day slavery” or “sex slavery.”<sup>2</sup>

However, a recent debate among practitioners in Cambodia has focused on the need to consider the broader issue of “exploitation” rather than “human trafficking.” Molland (2005) states, “using the very term ‘trafficking’ gives a bias towards movement, and shades over the arguably more serious and real problem of exploitation” (p. 28). Moreover, he determines that the term’s strong focus on movement has misappropriated responsibility on sending countries and has not asked receiving countries (often Western countries) to address exploitation and abuse of workers within their own countries.

In Cambodia, exploitation exists internally; Cambodians are also exploited in neighbouring countries as well as other parts of the world in both commercial sexual exploitation and labour exploitation. The UN Protocol (2000) defines

<sup>1</sup> For this study’s definition of “influencing factor,” see Definitions on page 20.

<sup>2</sup> For the definition of “human trafficking” recognized in this study, see Definitions on page 20.

### Chab Dai Coalition

*Chab Dai is a faith-based coalition that has been working in Cambodia since 2005 with the aim of addressing human trafficking and exploitation through coalition building, advocacy, and research.*

*Chab Dai is committed to addressing human trafficking and exploitation through facilitation of cross-sector and multi-organisational collaboration, and by improving the capacity of stakeholders through technical training, program support, and organizational development.*

*For a list of Chab Dai member organisations, see [www.chabdai.org](http://www.chabdai.org)*

exploitation to include: "[A]t a minimum, the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs" (p. 2).

This study recognizes the need for a shift towards looking at the broader scope of exploitation, under which trafficking, sexual abuse, and other issues, such as human rights, child rights, and gender-based violence fall and often intersect. Holistic program responses that address the root causes of exploitation and the vulnerabilities of the communities throughout Cambodia are needed in order to see an end to all forms of exploitation and, therefore, trafficking. It is hoped that the key recommendations and themes proposed by coalition members and stakeholders will guide us forward.

### **Towards a Human Rights Framework**

Furthermore, there is more discussion among academics and practitioners about reframing the issue of human trafficking in terms of human rights, rather than as a stand-alone issue. More and more it is acknowledged that trafficking crosscuts with other human rights abuses, such as gender-based violence, domestic violence, and child sexual abuse, and there is a need to address these issues as part of a larger continuum, rather than as separate problems.

As DanChurch Aid states about working in this structure (as cited in Reimer, 2006, p. 80):

"Working in a rights framework reinforces the notion that development is not about providing welfare to passive recipients or beneficiaries but is about facilitating the securing of basic claims and entitlements of rights-holders. The focus must therefore be on supporting the poor, where necessary, in their processes of self-identification as rights-holders and in strengthening their active and meaningful participation in decisions that affect their lives."

A new book edited by Brysk & Choi-Fitzpatrick (2011), *From Human Trafficking to Human Rights: Reframing Contemporary Slavery*, deals directly with this issue. In the book, "a cast of experts demonstrates that it is time to recognize human trafficking as an issue of human rights and social justice, rooted in larger structural issues relating to the global economy, human security, U.S. foreign policy, and labour and gender relations" (upenn.edu). The contributing authors call for a shift in perspectives from "sex to slavery," "prostitution to power," and "rescue to rights."

**"[A] human rights approach would empower survivors of trafficking to self-identify as a worker, victim, both, neither, or some other category" (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 23).**

**"Human rights means voice and choice... rethinking trafficking can help us to rethink rights, responsibility, and the solidarity it will take to end all forms of contemporary slavery" (Brysk, 2011, p. 85).**

**"It is easy to think about slavery in a simple way, as evil slaveholders and innocent slaves, a crime that is truly black and white in its moral contrast. Often, from this viewpoint, slaves are victims who need to be rescued – helpless, dependent, a little pathetic, and, we expect, grateful for a chance of freedom. What this view misses is the resilience and strength of people caught in slavery, their endurance, intelligence, and compassion... If we are going to help this push to freedom, we need to recognize and respect the power in every person in slavery, especially when slaves join together and make a decision to struggle together for their own freedom." (Bales & Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 197).**

This study recognizes the need to shift the discussion towards these cross cutting themes and issues in order to be strategic and holistic in the counter-trafficking response.

### **Report Structure**

This report is divided into four sections:

1. The **Methodology** section overviews the types of research methods used, as well as limitations and ethics;
2. **Shifts in the Context of Trafficking & Exploitation** is a desk review of articles, reports, and research studies on issues of exploitation and human trafficking in Cambodia and serves as a foundation for understanding the shifting issues and responses;
3. **Influencing Factors in Anti-Trafficking** is the section on the main findings of the research and is divided into five key themes – media, donors, Cambodian government, research, and Chab Dai Coalition; and,
4. **Conclusions & Recommendations** proposes a strategic way forward to continue addressing the issues.



# METHODOLOGY

The vision for this research began in early 2012 when Chab Dai was strategizing for future coalition activities at what seemed a critical crossroads in the human trafficking movement. Chab Dai carried out an informal, internal mapping of the last ten years' influencing factors on human trafficking and how this would inform the future. Chab Dai then took the mapping to two of its larger member organisations in mid-2012. With the aim of proposing strategy for the coalition's future activities, participating representatives felt it necessary to chart and assess the human trafficking response in Cambodia over the past ten years, with a specific focus on coalition members' response and programs. A small group of partners informally mapped the changes they had seen in Cambodia's Case Environment, Response Environment, and Chab Dai Environment. This initial mapping served as the framework for this research. The initial mapping chart can be found in Appendix 2.

## PRACTITIONER RESEARCH

Chab Dai Coalition conducted this research in order to better inform strategy and discourse for the future of its counter-trafficking efforts. Gillman and Swain (2006) describe practitioner research as follows:

“Research concerned with issues and problems that arise in professional practice. It is conducted by practitioners and aims to bring about change, or influence policy in the practice arena. Practitioner research provides a framework for formulating practice knowledge and allows such knowledge to be disseminated to other professionals... Through practitioner research, practitioners become researchers into their own practice and engage in a continuing process of professional development.”

Practitioner research is rooted in action research, which is defined by Newton (2006) as “a type of applied social research that aims to improve social situations through change interventions involving a process of collaboration between researchers and participants.” Chab Dai maintains its commitment to knowledge for sharing through conducting, promoting, and disseminating professional and cutting edge research. Chab Dai's ethos of collaboration promotes learning from and adapting to changes and trends to better address issues of exploitation and trafficking.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The research used a mixed-methods approach. This includes a review of reports and research that have been conducted in Cambodia by academics, international agencies, non-government organisations, and the Royal Government of Cambodia; semi-structured interviews with Chab Dai members and partners; an online survey among Chab Dai member organisations; and, two focus-group discussions with Chab Dai project managers and leadership.

### Secondary Research

A review of research and literature was conducted pertaining to trends in the anti-trafficking movement in Cambodia, including peer-reviewed articles, NGO- and government-published reports, and other academic research papers. Research published from 2003 to 2012 is included, with a focus on research published from 2007 onward, after the publication of Derks, Henke & Ly's (2006) A Review of a Decade of Research on Trafficking in Persons in Cambodia. A survey of 128 publications was also conducted, mainly to scan the prevalence of types research and the scope of research done in this field over the past decade.

The research also took account of the meeting notes from both Chab Dai Coalition bi-annual member meetings and focus forum meetings, during which times members gave recommendations on trends, gaps, and strategy for the coalition. Coalition forums have focused on themes including prevention, aftercare, family, boys' issues, and community-based care.

### Primary Research

Eleven (11) in-depth interviews were conducted with 13 stakeholders and practitioners, who have been working in the field for an extended period of time, including Chab Dai member organisation staff and Chab Dai partners. Of those interviewed, seven were staff or managers of Chab Dai member organisations, two were members of Chab Dai leadership, and four represented Chab Dai donors, partners, and the UN. Five interviewees were Cambodian, with an average of seven years working in the field of counter-trafficking (the full range being six to eight years). Seven interviewees were expat workers in Cambodia, with an average of 11 years working in the region (the lowest being three years; the highest, 25 years; and the median, 9 years); and, one was visiting from the United States, and had gotten involved in the issue in 2008.

In addition, directors or managers from each of Chab Dai's 59 member organisations (number as of date of publication) were asked to complete a ten-question online survey. Forty-one respondents completed the survey. Nearly 27% of survey respondents were Cambodian and 73% were expats working in Cambodia. The highest-ranking responses to when respondents' organisation started working to address issues of human trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia were "before 2003" and "2005," with 19.5% each, followed by "2007," with 12.2%.

After initial findings were gathered, a focus group discussion was facilitated with Chab Dai managers and directors to confirm and expand on the findings. A second focus group discussion was conducted near the end of the research to contribute to research recommendations.

### **Informed Consent**

Because this research focuses on the counter-trafficking sector, and not necessarily on the experiences of victims and survivors of trafficking in particular, research was not conducted among vulnerable groups. All participants in the research were management and staff members of counter-trafficking organisations.

Each interviewee was asked to read and sign an Informed Consent Form before beginning the interview. The form included an overview of the aim of the study and the confidentiality of the interviewees' contributions. Interviewees were allowed to stop the interview at any time or decline to answer any question during the interview.

The online survey was anonymous and participants could exit the survey at any point.

## **RESEARCH LIMITATIONS**

### **Sample Size**

This study is a qualitative research; therefore, the sample size is quite small. It is also mainly restricted to member organisations of Chab Dai Coalition, which, although representing a significant proportion, do not represent all counter-trafficking organisations in Cambodia. Because of these two factors, the findings cannot be generalised to the whole of the counter-trafficking sector in Cambodia; however, they can indicate the reality for this portion of the sector, and can contribute as a starting point for the larger sector to strategize for the future.

### **Language**

All interviews and the online survey were conducted in English and, although all Cambodian participants had a very good to excellent ability in English, there is always something lost when communication is not in one's mother tongue. Both the interviewer and the participant may have missed some implications or inferences. For ease of communication and understanding, the interviewer may have given examples or leading questions to Cambodian participants, which could lead to biased answers.

For the focus group discussions, sessions were translated from English to Khmer, and feedback from participants was translated back into English for the English-speaking note taker.

### **Interview Format**

A large part of each interview was a discussion around an already established timeline, which was presented to interviewees in printed form near the end of each interview. Although interviewees were free to add or combine items on the timeline, having a visual in front of them may have influenced their answers to and discussions of the issues.

# SHIFTS IN THE CONTEXT OF TRAFFICKING & EXPLOITATION

There is a tremendous amount of research on the issues and trends in trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia; this section gives an overview of the research into how the issues have changed in the last ten years. The aim is to provide an outline of the changing case environment in trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia, as well as a framework and context for these shifts. The review focuses primarily on research published after 2006, as Derks, Henke & Ly published a review of literature to that period; although it does include research from 2003 onward.

## LITERATURE OVERVIEW

A desk review was conducted on a total of 148 research studies and reports that were published about trafficking or exploitation in Cambodia between 2003 and 2012.

In order to summarize and assess how research topics have shifted over the last ten years, each report was categorized into one of four primary categories:<sup>3</sup>

1. Research focusing generally on the topic of trafficking, exploitation, and abuse;
2. Research focusing on demand and pornography;
3. Research focusing on commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking; and,
4. Research focusing on labour migration and exploitation.

As Derks, Henke & Ly (2006) pointed out in their review of research in Cambodia, up until 2005 the primary focus of research was on commercial sexual exploitation and the presence of sex trafficking within Cambodia (p.13, 21). As shown in the chart below, a growing amount of research began focusing on labour migration and exploitation for labour purposes in 2009.

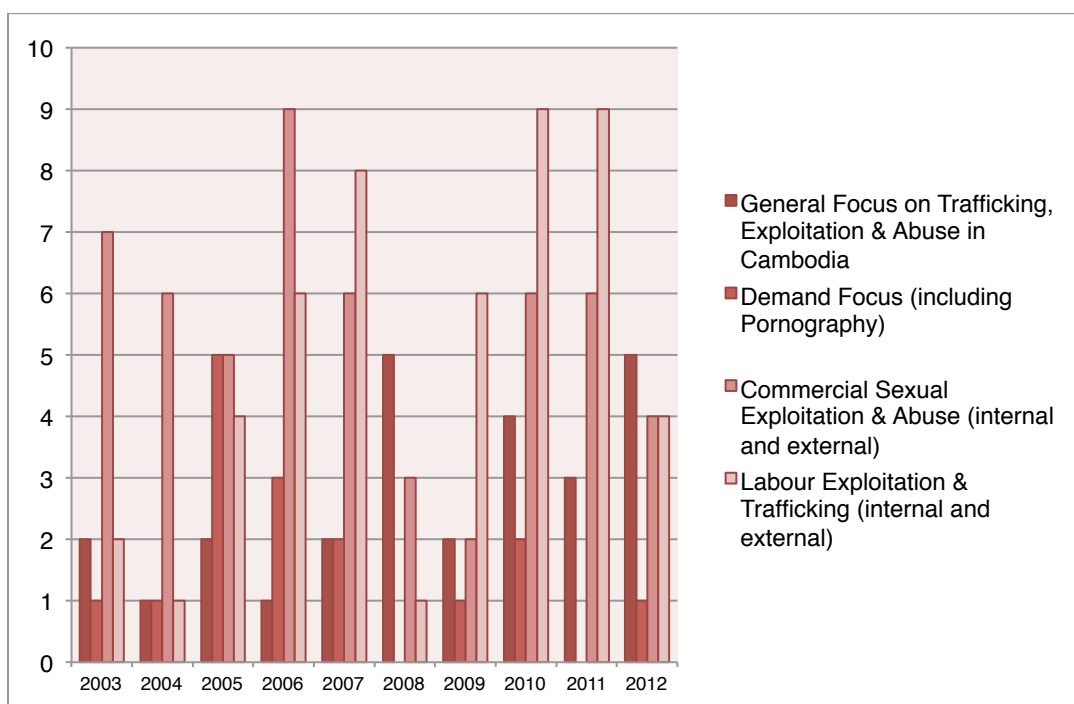


Chart 1: Review of 148 Research Studies & Reports, 2003-2012

A full chart of the desk review is available in Appendix 1.

<sup>3</sup> Some reports may fit into more than one category; in the cases where a report discussed both trafficking for sexual and labour purposes it was labeled under “general trafficking, exploitation, and abuse.”

## **A Note on the Review of a Decade of Research on Trafficking in Persons, Cambodia**

The “Review of a Decade of Research on Trafficking in Persons, Cambodia” (Derks, Henke & Ly, 2006) systematically reviewed studies about human trafficking in Cambodia conducted between 1996 and 2006, and critically assessed the major approaches, perspectives, and debates that had guided research. The purpose of Derks, Henke & Ly’s research was to inform the focus and direction of future counter-trafficking programs and interventions. Their thorough research will be a foundation for this present research to build on.

Of the sixty-seven studies Derks, Henke & Ly reviewed, two-thirds focused solely or partially on trafficking for the purpose of prostitution or sexual exploitation and a quarter on trafficking for labour.

Three main findings of the 2006 study were:

1. The information about human trafficking was inconsistent and, while some groups, sectors, and geographical areas had overlapping research, other issues were not covered at all;
2. Previous research had lacked in-depth research about how trafficking works, what were the root causes of trafficking, and the broader context of trafficking; and,
3. There was a lack of independent research on the subject, and most of the research reflected the interests of the programs and donors funding them.

Eight years on from their research review, the majority of research continues to focus on sex trafficking. It is worth noting, however, that in the last four years more research has been released highlighting trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation and the related issue of migration. Of the research recommendations that Derks, Henke & Ly put forward in 2006, the majority have been implemented to varying degrees, including research on trafficking within ethnic-Vietnamese communities; research on the broader context of trafficking including boys and for the purpose of labour exploitation; research in remote geographical areas, including the North East Region of Cambodia; research on sustainable reintegration and the risks of re-trafficking; and at least one study on the involvement of criminal networks in trafficking in, from, and to Cambodia.

Human rights organisations have conducted research on identified root causes of trafficking, such as domestic violence and land grabbing. However, the anti-trafficking sector has limited engagement with the broader human rights sector, and often the research does not reach the anti-trafficking sector and, therefore, rarely informs counter-trafficking programming.

Research has continued to be primarily conducted by the UN and NGOs based on their interests or the program strategies of their organizations. There is a growing amount of academic research published on the topic of trafficking in Cambodia, but many practitioners and organisations are not engaged with the more academic research in the field. In more recent years, the Cambodian government has also increased the amount of research with which it is directly involved, and has funded and collaborated on UN and non-government agency studies.

## **EXPLOITATION STARTS WITH DEMAND**

A deeper understanding of exploitation and trafficking must begin with a conversation about demand. A demand focus is a prevention focus and assumes that reducing demand will lower the occurrence of exploitation. The International Labour Organization (ILO) broadly defines demand as “a desire or preference by people for a particular kind of person or service” (Pearson, 2005, p. 4).

The UN Trafficking Protocol (2000) mentions demand as a factor in preventing trafficking but does not clearly define it. The “Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking” by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights further expound on the importance of looking at demand:

“Strategies aimed at preventing trafficking should take into account the demand as a root cause. States should consider... analyzing the factors that generate demand for exploitative commercial sexual services and exploitative labour and taking strong legislative, policy and other measures to address these issues” (Pearson, 2005, p.3).

Demand in the context of trafficking lacks a precise, agreed-upon definition and is commonly used in reference to the demand for sex. The ILO suggests “destination factors” as a more inclusive term that also recognizes the need for increased labour protection in order to prevent all forms of trafficking and forced labour. In the ILO’s “The Demand Side of Human Trafficking in Southeast Asia: Empirical Findings,” they outline three levels of demand:

1. Employer demand (employers, owners, managers, or subcontractors);
2. Consumer demand (clients of the sex industry), corporate buyers (manufacturing), household members (domestic work); and,
3. Third parties involved in the process (recruiters, agents, transporters, and those who participate knowingly in human trafficking at any stage of the process) (ILO, 2006a, p. 15-16).

This broadened definition of demand embraces a range of motivations and interests. As pointed out in a report on demand in trafficking by Anderson and O'Connell-Davidson (2005), demand can “refer to employers’ requirements for cheap and vulnerable labour, to requirements for household and subsistence labour, or even to consumer demand for cheap goods and/or services – or any combination of these factors” (p. 4).

Demand-focused research in Cambodia has mostly concentrated on demand for sexual services. It is often misunderstood to be an issue of foreigners engaging in sex tourism, or foreign pedophilia. Research interviews conducted with men who admitted to purchasing sex found that local Khmer men made up a significant majority of the demand for girls and women (Chan, 2010, p.16). Strong cultural norms of masculinity and group peer pressure in Cambodia are seen as influencing factors (USAID, 2006, p.42; PSI-FHI, 2007). In 2009, the “Trafficking in Persons Report” mentioned the problem of demand fuelled by local Cambodian men for the first time.

### **The Influence of Pornography**

The role pornography has in driving sexual violence and exploitation within communities is significant. Fordham (2006) observed a shift in access to pornography in Cambodia: pornography was increasingly being viewed in private homes due to the very low costs of acquiring pornographic materials (p. 92). According to a previous study also by Fordham (2005), only 17.8% of boys and 15.5% of girls had not been exposed to pornography, and the mean age of viewing pornography for the first time was 13.2 years (p. 21). He suggested that watching pornography at such a young age can be detrimental to developing a normal sense of sexuality and of self, and can normalize violence against women with examples of abusive scripts and actions. In addition, it can also impact the self-image of young women, normalizing their roles as victims of male violence (p. 21).

Farley’s (2012) demand-focused research on Cambodian men who admitted to purchasing sex found that pornography was widely viewed by almost all adult sex buyers (99%), on cell phones, the Internet, magazines, and other forms. Men who watched the most pornography bought sex most often. Most men admitted to re-enacting the often-violent acts they had viewed in pornography, including pornography with young children. Forty-one percent (41%) of the men interviewed admitted to participating in gang rape (“bauk”) and 93% said they had watched gang rape pornography (p. 30, 32).

## **VULNERABILITY FACTORS IN EXPLOITATION & TRAFFICKING**

Vulnerability factors for exploitation and trafficking are generally similar for both the purposes of sexual and labour exploitation, and for both males and females. Vulnerability factors include structural, cultural, familial, and other issues. Based on Derks, Henke & Ly’s (2006) “Conceptual Framework of Trafficking,” and updated with later research findings, Table 2 outlines some common push, pull, and facilitating factors existing within the Cambodian context that create an environment within which trafficking and exploitation can occur.

**Table 2: Push, Pull & Facilitating Factors in Exploitation & Trafficking**

<b>PUSH FACTORS</b>	<b>FACILITATING FACTORS</b>	<b>PULL FACTORS</b>
Debt	Social networks	Labour demand
Poverty	History of migration in village	Recruitment practices and advertising
Loss of land	Acceptability of migration within community	Belief that job will be better than reality
Natural disaster	Proximity to urban and border areas, and to transportation roads	Peer encouragement and stories
Lack of employment opportunities, especially in rural areas	Globalization	Lure of perceived easy money
Limited or no access to education	Improved transportation and communication infrastructure	Aspirations for a improved livelihood, independence, and urban experiences
Number of siblings and obligation of primarily young women to help their family	Lack of knowledge about journey, destination and working conditions	Opportunity to earn income to help family
Reliance on agriculture (profile)	Tourism	
Family relationship breakdown (divorce, death or separation of parents) and violence		
Distressing childhood experiences, including virginity selling or sexual abuse (and how the family deals with abuse/ shame)		
Values and attitudes toward filial piety		
Illness		

*Source: Adapted from Derks, Henke & Ly (2006); Brown, 2007b; Arensen, Schantz, Meas, Keo & Chan, 2004; TSACGSH, 2006.*

Although there are many similarities in vulnerability factors across gender and type of exploitation, there are also exceptions specific to certain demographics. LSCW's (2005a) research on the role of gender in human trafficking patterns along the border of Cambodia and Thailand found several differences in vulnerability factors for males and females. Findings for both were divided into push and pull factors for family, social, economic, and other reasons as shown in Table 3. In addition, Maltoni (2001a) found, for women and girls, the phenomenon of the "dutiful daughter" who sacrifices herself for her family was found to play a key role in her decision to migrate (p. 12).

**Table 3: Push & Pull Factor Differences for Women & Men**

	<b>FAMILY</b>	<b>SOCIAL</b>	<b>ECONOMIC</b>	<b>OTHER</b>
<b>WOMEN &amp; GIRLS</b>	<p>Oldest sister in the family</p> <p>Large family/ no family planning</p> <p>Domestic violence from immediate family, stepparents or extended family</p> <p>Sick or ill parents (e.g. HIV/AIDS)</p> <p>Female-headed household with no family and no means of support</p> <p>Recently orphaned and cared for by extended family who exploit or sell them</p>	<p>Illiteracy or low education (often not past Grade 3); dropping out (particularly in rural populations)</p> <p>Married young, sometimes as young as 14, lost virginity and husband died, left or divorced, drunk, violent or gambler</p>	<p>Poor source province, no land or animals</p> <p>Having worked with the parents</p> <p>Parents with no skills or education, and jobs in unstable occupations such as farming and fishing</p> <p>Financial desperation owing to problems in the family such as debt and alcoholism</p> <p>Lost jobs in factory areas in Phnom Penh or had seasonal, non-permanent work where active traffickers were present</p>	<p>Originally left home and outside protection of family/ community</p> <p>Easily trusting and naive</p> <p>Without jobs and coming from border areas</p> <p>From traditional migratory areas such as Kampot or Kandal</p> <p>Raped</p>
<b>MEN &amp; BOYS</b>	<p>Family health problems</p> <p>Large families (5-8 siblings)</p> <p>Following other members of the family that migrate</p>	<p>No professional skills, no schooling, illiteracy. Fishermen interviewed were educated to Grade 4-7</p>	<p>Reliance on crops for survival</p> <p>Debt to others in the community and moneylenders</p> <p>Landless or small amount of land (1-15 hectares), producing one tonne of rice per year (i.e. not enough for consumption)</p> <p>National disasters causing the rice yield to be reduced, especially droughts and floods</p>	<p>Between ages 15-30</p> <p>Reliance on trafficker or smuggler</p> <p>Desire for lifestyle improvement</p>

Source: LSCW (2005a)

Virginity selling or loss of virginity for girls and women is directly linked as an entry point into commercial sexual exploitation (Brown, 2007b; Arensen, Schantz, Meas, Keo & Chan, 2004). Sexual abuse and family violence experienced as a child, for both boys and girls, can be an influencing factor that pushes children and youth to leave their homes, putting them at substantial risk of both labour and sexual exploitation. As Brown (2007b) points out, more important than the abuse itself is the shame as a result of the abuse and the manner in which the family deals with the abuse in contributing to their vulnerability (p. 45).

Ethnicity is another, more unique, vulnerability factor. Research has focused on the Ethnic Vietnamese population in Cambodia, which is the largest minority group in the country, made up of approximately two million people. Reimer (2006) states, "The situation for Vietnamese living in urban Cambodia vis-à-vis trafficking and sexual exploitation is even more difficult than for Khmer, as they are a marginalized minority" (p. 7). She concludes that their risk of exploitation is due to several factors, including their statelessness, lack of legal status, lack of formal education and jobs, and generally low economic status. Brown (2007a) found the percentage of ethnic Vietnamese women engaged in commercial sexual exploitation is often overrepresented (28% of women in CSE were found to be Vietnamese) compared to Khmer women, as a percentage of the population in Cambodia (p. 3).

### **A Shift in Motivating Factors for Movement**

Increased movement and vulnerability often go hand in hand, and risks of exploitation can be considerably compounded when social networks are no longer present and standard protections are not accessible. Several factors can increase risk of exploitation, though it is important to note that movement or migration does not *necessarily* lead to exploitation, and people may migrate for a variety of reasons. Common reasons include a combination of chronic poverty, landlessness, lack of access to health, natural disasters including droughts and floods, debt, and land grabbing (Maltoni, 2006, p. 27; Chen Chen, 2006, p. 6; Maltoni, 2007, p. 2, Chan, 2009, p. 9). COSECAM (2004) found social factors, specifically domestic violence, gambling, alcoholism, and transience, are also significant push factors (p. 18).

Maltoni (2011a) observed, although poverty, landlessness, health issues, and debt continued to play a part in influencing households to migrate, the role of "proactive" factors such as the intention of improving one's livelihood and the general status of the family, were beginning to play a significant role in motivating migration (p. 11). Combined with globalization, the rise of new industries creating a demand for low-skilled workers, the sharp decline of external funds after the Global Financial Crisis, the perception of a better lifestyle, and positive experiences shared from returned migrants, have also brought these pull factors and discussions about the importance of remittances to the forefront (VSF-CIDA, 2006, p. 43; IOM, 2010, p. 12).

## **LABOUR MIGRATION & TRAFFICKING FOR LABOUR EXPLOITATION**

Cambodia has a rapidly growing labour force and its "present engines of growth," which include garment factories, construction, and tourism, are predicted to be unable to absorb the estimated 250,000 young job seekers annually entering the labour market (Maltoni, 2011a, p. 15). The demand for jobs may significantly increase the movement of people.

Patterns of people movement in Cambodia include:

1. Internal migration from rural to rural areas;
2. Internal migration from rural to urban areas; and,
3. External migration to other countries.

Improved infrastructure is increasing Cambodians' access from once-remote villages to urban centers and other countries within the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS).<sup>4</sup> According to Stone & Strutt (2010), discussions to increase and improve the network of highways linking the countries of the GMS together began in 1992. Further, in 2005, nine economic corridors were proposed for the region, and currently are at varying states of implementation. The Southern Corridor of the road will have the most direct affect Cambodia, as plans are for it to connect Hanoi, Vietnam to Bangkok, Thailand, through the Northern region of Cambodia, including the cities of Stung Treng and Siem Reap. The figure below outlines the new networks of transport, power, and telecommunications links between 1992 and 2012.

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<sup>4</sup> 320 million people live in the GMS, which bridges South, Southeast, and East Asia. Countries within the GMS include: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, and Yunnan Province, China.



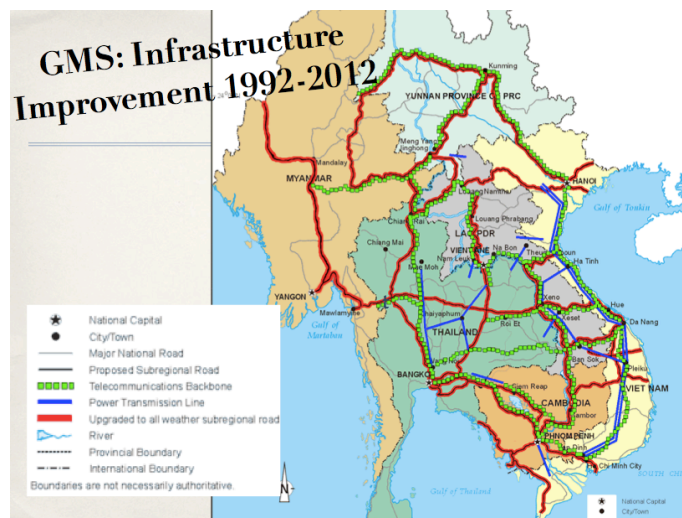


Figure 1: GMS Infrastructure Improvements 1992-2012

Social implications of this infrastructure have been studied since the Northeast Research Group was formed in 2008.<sup>5</sup> They concluded that as sections of the roads linked the Northeast region to other areas, Khmer and Vietnamese had already started to migrate there for construction, business, and prostitution; the construction has also deteriorated natural resources and impacted indigenous villages. The road is therefore seen as a means of making money, and most of the migrants have been establishing their homes within one kilometer of the roadside (Jammes, 2010; Fabrega & Lim, 2011). When the GMS highway is completed it is believed that the region will see unprecedented numbers of people moving cross-border regionally, but further research and data is needed to monitor that the impact in that area.

### Internal Migration

Rural to rural migration accounts for the largest proportion of people movement in Cambodia (58% in 2000 and 35% in 2004), while rural to urban migration has seen the most rapid growth in the last ten years (VSF-CIDA, 2007, p. 2, 6; Maltoni, personal communication, March 24, 2013).

#### *Rural to Rural Migration*

Rural Cambodians make up 90% of the population, and are highly dependent on the social safety net consisting of “enough land, water, and forest to produce almost enough food to feed their families” (Maltoni, 2006). As access to these resources has been reduced due to land grabbing and illegal logging, and in combination with pressures of debt (primarily related to family health crises), rural villagers are forced to find other ways to sustain their livelihoods (Maltoni, 2007).

Pushed to migrate because of extreme poverty, and often when compounded with a crisis, rural migrants are a population highly vulnerable and at-risk of being trafficked (VSF-CIDA, 2006, p. 43). Unique factors pushing people in rural communities to migrate include trouble accessing land<sup>6</sup> and an increasing scarcity of national resources, such as fish and forests. According to the 1998 Census, people from the most densely populated provinces around the lower Mekong region and along the Tonle Sap Lake accounted for over half of the total migrants in Cambodia. In these regions agricultural land plots were becoming smaller, and there were no longer enough local livelihood options (VSF-CIDA, 2006, p. 11).

Research in 2007 called this rural to rural migration pattern the “invisible flow of people,” because it has received such little attention from the government or NGOs, mainly due to the fact that the affected population is largely landless, nomadic, and, therefore, mostly inaccessible (VSF-CIDA, p. 7).

<sup>5</sup> The North-East Research Group (NERG) was composed of six agencies in Cambodia: Chab Dai Coalition, COSECAM, IOM, Oxfam Quebec, The Asia Foundation, and UNIAP.

<sup>6</sup> Maltoni (2007) commented that an estimated 12-15% of the population are landless, with an annual increase of 1-2% every year, and 40% are near landless (meaning they have less than 0.5 hectares of cultivable land).

### Rural to Urban Migration

Migration to urban areas has seen rapid growth in the last ten years. The garment sector alone had 319,383 Cambodian factory workers in 2010, 90% of whom were female (Maltoni, 2011a, p. 12). The tourism industry has also seen substantial growth, with people migrating to Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, and Sihanouville to work in hotels, restaurants, as tour guides, and in other entertainment work (UNIAP, 2008; MoYES, 2012).

Short term or seasonal migrants (e.g. motodop drivers, construction workers) may move only during the dry season, or to overcome the loss of crops due to drought, flood, or other causes; whereas long term migrants (e.g. beer promotion girls and scavengers living in the public dump) may move permanently due to loss of land or significant assets and often break ties with their sending communities (Maltoni, 2007).

According to UNIAP's 2010 Human Trafficking Datasheet the main employment sectors in Cambodia where trafficking in persons occurs include entertainment, factories, begging, domestic work, agriculture, and labour on salt fields.

### Child Labour in Cambodia

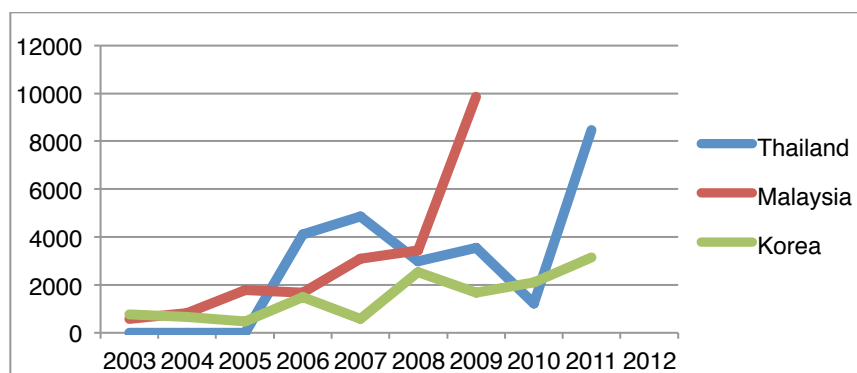
It is estimated that 1.5 million children in Cambodia are involved in some form of work, representing 40% of the total number of children between seven and 17 years of age (UNICEF, 2006). Of these, UNICEF estimated that over 250,000 children (aged 15-17) were engaged in seven of the sixteen nationally identified hazardous sectors (p. ii). Working Cambodia children's education is largely impacted by their late school entry and substantial dropout rates starting in upper primary levels (Ibid, p. iii), and the improvement of the Cambodian education system is the most significant deterrent to child labour (Cruz & Ratana, 2007, p. 5).

In 2007, a mapping of child labour in Cambodia, focusing on worst forms of child labour, produced a national list of hazardous forms of work, which included: portaging, domestic service, waste scavenging, work in rubber and tobacco plantations, fishing (both near-shore and deep-sea), work in semi-industrial agricultural plantations, brick-making, salt production, handicrafts and related enterprises, processing sea production (e.g. crab and shrimp peeling), stone and granite breaking, rock and sand quarries, gem and coal mining, restaurant and small business work, street begging, and flower and souvenir selling (Cruz & Ratana, 2007, p. 9).

## **External Migration & Trafficking**

### Migration & Exploitation Outside Cambodia

As noted above, migration does not necessarily lead to exploitation, but migration, especially of vulnerable people, further increases their vulnerability of being exploited. The rising number of countries in which Cambodian workers are found stresses the need for an understanding of labour exploitation within the broader context of regional and global issues. The graph below shows the official MoLVT statistics of documented Cambodian migrant workers sent to Thailand, Malaysia, and South Korea between 2003-2012.<sup>7</sup> Labour migration to Malaysia rose drastically in 2008, and labour migration to Thailand did the same in 2010.



**Graph 1: Cambodian Migrant Workers to Thailand, Malaysia & Korea, 2003-2012**  
Source: Maltoni (2011a), Table 3, 4, 5, 6

<sup>7</sup> This chart only reports documented workers, and it should be considered that Thailand is the most popular destination for Cambodian workers and includes an additional estimated 180,000 undocumented workers a year to the numbers in the chart.

Since 2004, the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training (MoLVT) has been working to expand its activities to further develop both local and foreign employment options. Migration channels have diversified and more Cambodian migrant workers are seeking employment through official channels in Malaysia, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, and Japan. Most of them are offered employment in the manufacturing sector, followed by domestic work and then the agriculture sector, with more women than men working overseas (CNIS, 2010; HRW, 2011, p. 21; Maltoni, 2006, p. 9). Migration to Malaysia is predominantly female-dominated, whereas migration to Korea is male-dominated, and the number of males and females migrating to Thailand is fairly equal.

According to Maltoni (2011a), the government has also reported expanding formal migration agreements with other countries and regions, including Canada, the Middle East and the Gulf (Oman and Kuwait), and other Asian countries (Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong) (p. 5).

*Cross-Border Trafficking Networks*

According to UNIAP (2010b), the types of cross-border trafficking of Cambodians include trafficking of men, women, and children to Thailand for labour exploitation (e.g. begging, construction, agriculture, and fishing), and women and girls for sexual exploitation and domestic work; trafficking of children to Vietnam for begging; trafficking of men and women to Malaysia for labour exploitation through recruitment agencies; and trafficking of young women to Taiwan and Korea for marriage.

Also, in 2012, reports of Cambodian men trafficked onto fishing vessels, by licensed recruitment agencies, in South Africa and other African countries, were received by several NGOs. A joint report by seven agencies was sent to the MoLVT and the National Committee outlining cases reported to them by Cambodian fishermen or their families asking for rescue or repatriation assistance, including 82 cases in South Africa, 24 in Mauritius, and six in Senegal. In addition, this report cited that both MoFA and MoI had unofficially reported 170-200 cases involving fishermen, but overlap between the data sets was unknown (LSCW et al., 2012).

The figure below shows some of the main source, destination, and transit areas for trafficking networks in Cambodia. Not surprisingly, Cambodians trafficked to Thailand come mainly from, or are transited through, eastern and southeastern provinces. Victims are trafficked to Vietnam from and through southern provinces, and to Malaysia, Korea, and Saudi Arabia from Siem Reap and Phnom Penh.

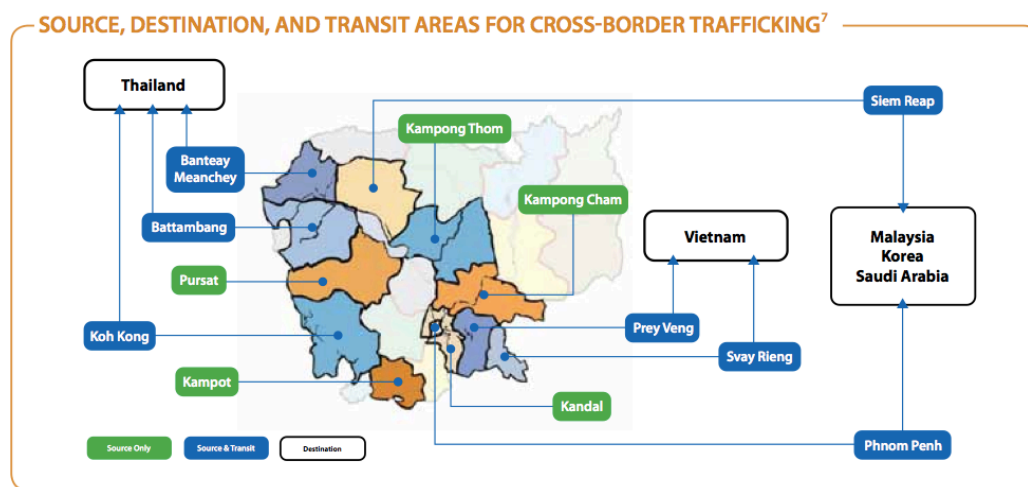


Figure 2: Source, Destination & Transit Areas for Cross-Border Trafficking  
Source: UNIAP (2010b)

*Exploitation of Domestic Workers in Malaysia*

Female migrant workers have most clearly demonstrated the growing shift of internal to external migration. For example, women and girls have been migrating for years from rural areas to urban centers, primarily to work in garment factories. The growth of the garment sectors has decreased significantly, from 10% in 2007 to only 2.2% in 2008 (NIS-MOP, 2010, p. xii). Around the same time as this decrease, the number of Cambodian domestic workers migrating to Malaysia increased. (HRW, 2011, p. 21; Maltoni, 2011a, p. 5). As seen in Graph 1 above, the significant increase of migrant workers to Malaysia was mainly in 2008-2009; in 2008, there were 3,432 workers and, in 2009,

the number rose to 9,862 workers (Maltoni, 2011a, p. 20). More Cambodian women than men work in Malaysia, and between 1998 and 2008 they accounted for 85% of the total number of migrant workers sent to Malaysia through licensed recruitment agencies (Maltoni, 2011a, p. 12).

According to a HRW (2011) report, in 2009, the Indonesian government put a freeze on sending domestic workers to Malaysia due to an increased number of Indonesian women facing abuses at the hands of their employers. Cambodian agencies stepped in to fill the gap and recruitment and training increased significantly.<sup>8</sup> It was also reported that between 2007 and 2011, there was a 376% increase in Cambodian migrant workers going to Malaysia, predominantly for domestic work.

Domestic work takes place in an isolated work environment that often leaves workers completely dependent on their employers, and provides few protection mechanisms or access to legal recourse. In Malaysia, domestic work is not recognized as formal work and is not covered under the 1955 Employment Act. Soon after the increased influx of Cambodians to Malaysia, there was an increased number of abuse cases reported by Cambodian domestic workers. Abuses included withholding travel and identification documents, long work hours, being denied adequate food, time to sleep, and weekly days off, physical and sexual abuse, not being permitted to leave the workplace, lack of access to health insurance, no means of accessing legal or dispute mechanisms, and work related deaths (HRW, 2011; Maltoni, 2011a, p. 5, Boyle and Kunthea, 2011b).

Following the increasing reports of abuse, recruitment and training centers in Cambodia were also scrutinized for their exploitative conditions and denial of workers' human rights. Some abusive recruitment practices included false job advertising in rural villages, debt bondage, locked training facilities, and falsified documentation, including age. Despite questionable, or often illegal, practices, the Cambodian government sent an estimated 30,000-40,000 women and girls to work in Malaysia between 2009 and 2011.

In 2011, 34 licensed recruitment agencies were sending workers to Malaysia. One of these, T&P Recruitment Company, was closed when media reports confirmed confinement and harsh conditions in the center (Boyle & Kunthea, Phnom Penh Post, 2011a). Shortly after, in October 2011, Prime Minister Hun Sen issued a ban on sending Cambodian domestic workers to Malaysia, which has yet to be lifted.

Since the 2011 ban was enacted, government agencies and NGOs have focused on implementing recommendations put forth by CWCC (2005) on monitoring recruitment agencies, embassy support in Malaysia, translation services for victims in the legal process, and finalising the bilateral MOU between the Cambodian and Malaysian governments (p. 31-32). These efforts include a revision of Sub-Decree 190 (2011), and an accompanying Prakas, on the "Management and Sending of Migrant Workers Abroad" (set to finish by 2014).

During 2012, while the ban with Malaysia has remained, the MoLVT has been approached by Singapore and Qatar to negotiate future work placement contract agreements (Worrell and Sen, 2012; Tan, 2012).

#### *Irregular Migration & Trafficking to Thailand*

Similar numbers of males and females migrate to Thailand either through regular (formal) or irregular (informal) channels. Sectors of work, typically classified as "3D jobs" (dirty, difficult, and dangerous), include construction, agriculture, manufacturing, domestic work, and fishing (Chan, 2009, p. 8; UNIAP, 2010a, p. 22). Communities living along the border may cross back and forth regularly for day or seasonal labour, either without legal documentation or using border passes. Others from distant provinces may migrate seasonally or for a few years.

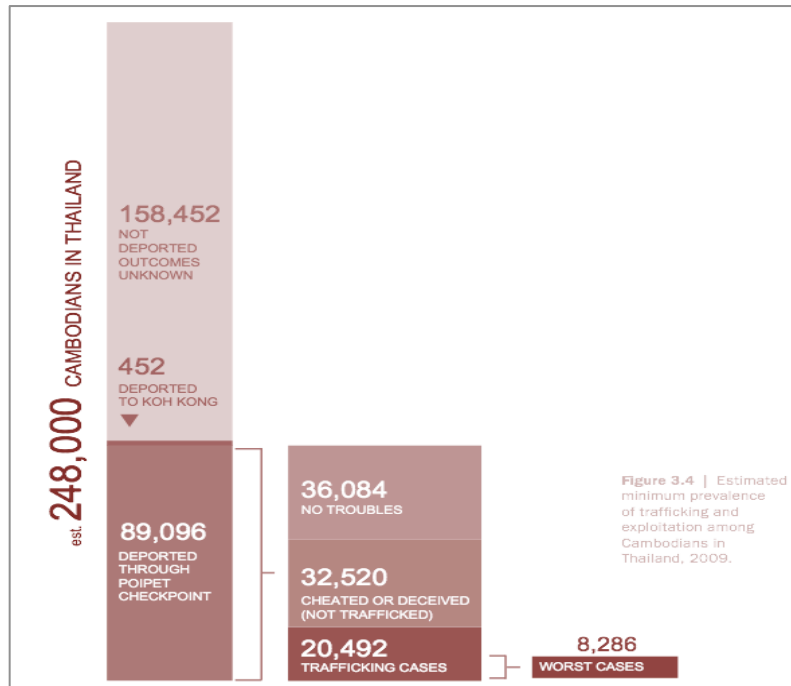
Because of the high costs and inconvenience of regular migration – averaging 700 USD and several months for processing – irregular migration, facilitated through a "guide" (often a neighbour or relative in the village with connections), has consistently remained the most popular method for migration to Thailand. An estimated 180,000 workers migrate informally annually. Depending on the destination and distance from their homes the costs can range from 4 USD (just over the border) to 70-100 USD (to Bangkok or elsewhere). This type of migration, however, is highly risky, and makes people vulnerable to exploitation because they lack documents that would provide social, medical, or legal assistance (Hing, Lun & Phann, 2011).

In 2009, 89,096 Cambodians were deported through the Poipet border, a high proportion of these were men. UNIAP (2010a) asked deportees to describe their experiences in Thailand, which included poor working conditions, cheating,

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<sup>8</sup> Until the ban enacted by Indonesia, Malaysia was host to 300,000 domestic workers mostly from Indonesia and the Philippines.

no pay, little or no freedom of movement, threats and violence in the workplace, and poor quality of life. Chart 2 represents the estimated 248,000 Cambodians in Thailand, and the breakdown of those deported, and, of those, who experienced no trouble, were cheated or deceived, or were trafficked. Of the over 80,000 deportees, approximately 40% experienced no trouble; 36% were cheated or deceived; and, 23% were trafficked. Of those who were trafficked, 40% experienced the worst forms of trafficking. Males reported higher cases of being cheated, exploited, and trafficked (UNIAP, 2010a, p. 46).



**Chart 2: Trafficking & Exploitation among Cambodians in Thailand, 2009**  
 Source: UNIAP (2010a)

Thailand’s Anti-Trafficking in Persons Law was revised in 2008, and included, for the first time, a provision that recognized males as victims of human trafficking, in addition to women and children. This was a significant legal shift in relation to the high incidence of men being trafficked onto deep-sea fishing vessels (UNIAP, 2009b). Exploitation and trafficking of Cambodian fishermen onto fishing vessels for two or more years at a time presents a very clear example of the impact globalisation is having on migration patterns and the importance of looking regionally at this issue. Tenaganita’s<sup>9</sup> (2009) book *The Global Catch* highlights how globalisation, trade liberalisation, high priced market fish, and climate change have played a role in a shift from local fishing on national waters to fishing in international waters.

Trafficking for Marriage

Increased attention in recent years has been given to the outflow of Cambodian brides to Korea and Taiwan, through the facilitation of brokers and unregistered marriage companies, who may charge up to 13,000 USD per bride (Maltoni, 2011a). Differing experiences have been reported ranging from women who had a “successful” marriage and were able to send home remittances to support their family, to others being trafficked for sexual and labour exploitation, or faced a situation of domestic servitude, lacked freedom of movement, and/or had their documents confiscated (CWCC, 2007; Maltoni, 2011a).

The Cambodian government has banned marriages between Cambodians and both Korean and Taiwanese nationals (CWCC, 2007; Maltoni, 2011a). Despite the ban, marriages between Cambodian and Korean nationals doubled between 2008 and 2009 (TAF, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Tenaganita is an NGO in Malaysia that focuses on protecting and promoting the rights of women, migrants & refugees. [www.tenaganita.net](http://www.tenaganita.net).

## SEX TRAFFICKING & COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The number of people being commercially sexually exploited in Cambodia has been largely debated. While statistics are difficult to determine, the forms of exploitation have been researched in some depth. Research spanning different provinces, and using varied types of methodology and target groups, has painted a picture of what trafficking and exploitation look like and how it has changed over the last ten years.

In 2006 the Ministry of Women’s Affairs statement on “Prevention of All Forms of Trafficking of Women and Children” began:

“The full extent of trafficking and sexual exploitation in Cambodia remains unknown and often subject to speculation. Existing empirical studies provide only a partial and inaccurate picture of the extent and magnitude of the problem and are often limited to the numbers involved in sex work who have been internally trafficked to meet the demand of the country’s growing sex industry. Little is documented about the socio-economic, cultural, financial, historical, geographical and political dimensions that collectively shape the trafficking situation within its context. However, there appears to be a consensus that the problem is increasing at a rapid rate and Cambodia is a source, destination, and transit country for trafficking and internal trafficking also occurs.” (Reimer, 2006, p. 5)

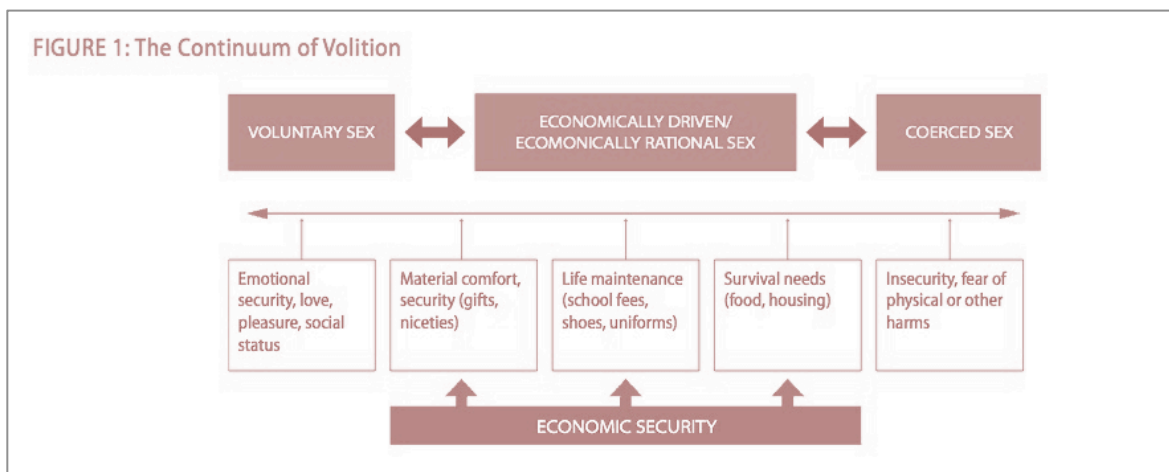
Van der Keur and Touch (2013) published a research study for IJM on the prevalence of child commercial sexual exploitation in Siem Reap, Phnom Penh, and Sihanoukville since 2000. The findings confirmed that lack of data prevented a clear baseline with which to compare current numbers. Nevertheless, the overall conclusion was “over the last ten years the public justice system’s response to CSEC has improved significantly, contributing to a decrease in CSEC in Cambodia” (p. 7).

Commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) in Cambodia includes: 1) brothel- or establishment-based exploitation, 2) entertainment-based exploitation, and 3) street-based exploitation. The role of community-based rape and sexual violence is also linked with more “formal” forms of exploitation. Some research referred to these different forms of exploitation in terms of “indirect” and “direct” sex work.

### Choice vs. Coercion

Research debates the role of choice in the sex industry. A survey in 2004 (Arensen, Schantz, Meas, Keo & Chan) found the majority of young women in sex work said they were not trafficked into sex work. One-third (31.4%) stated they were trafficked, and of these respondents, 50% said they had been minors at the point of entry, and 67.4% said they had been tricked or forced into sex work (p. 25).

The figure below outlines the various levels of choice that sex workers have and how the continuum of voluntary sex to coerced sex interplays with economic security through different aspects of comfort, survival, and fear.



**Figure 3: The Continuum of Volition**  
Source: MoEYS (2012)

The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project” (Miles et al., 2012) also found survivors of sexual exploitation and

trafficking in Cambodia had different views on their participation and “choice” in sex work. The study uses Sandy’s (2007) article as a basis for the discussion around choice and coercion.

“The concept of “choice” in the Cambodian context is a deeply complicated issue. In Sandy’s (2007) article, “Just Choices: Representations of Choice and Coercion in Sex Work in Cambodia,” she explores the ideologies of “victim” versus “agent,” and suggests there is “an uncertainty and permeability between boundaries of forced and voluntary participation in sex work” (p. 203). She concludes that the perception that women are “defiled” or “duped” is perhaps an oversimplification; rather, we must understand “women’s choices are constrained by hierarchal structures such as gender, class and socio-cultural obligations and poor employment opportunities” (p. 194)” (Miles et al., 2012, p. 81).

One study participant described her experience in sex work and, although she was not physically forced to do sex work, her description points to the complexity of “choice” in the current context.

**“When I worked in the provinces, sometimes I needed to have sex with customers in exchange for money. My family thought I was just a waitress in a restaurant but in fact I was not. I didn’t want to do sex work, but I didn’t have money to spend on my most basic daily needs so I had no choice. I sent money to my mother four times each month. I did not want my mother to suffer from no money. The biggest obstacle in my family was that we didn’t have enough money to live. This is the reason I chose to lose my virginity to sex work. I don’t regret I did this because this was the way I helped my family. I am not disappointed I lost my virginity to help my family survive” (Miles et al., 2012, p. 81).**

### **Link Between Domestic Work & CSE**

Brown (2007a) found a strong link between migration for child domestic work and commercial sexual exploitation. Her report, “The Ties that Bind,” found 50% of Khmer commercially sexually exploited women and girls interviewed had formerly worked as domestic workers and had often been removed from households due to family dysfunctions, which led to vulnerability (p. 2).

In the same year, a different report by Brown (2007b) found a similar link between domestic work and commercial sexual exploitation (p. 8). In 2012, Sao Seny, Licadho’s senior monitor on child rights suggested that Cambodia’s growing standard of living may be leading to a higher demand for domestic workers, and “[a] shortage of labour leads some to hire children as domestic workers, and they are most vulnerable to abuses such as physical violence, verbal abuse, emotional abuse and sexual abuse” (Sopheap, 2012).

### **Virginity Selling**

Virginity selling is considered a common practice in some villages and communities in Cambodia. Chab Dai’s research on exploitation of Vietnamese girls, conducted by Reimer (2006), found a “best estimate” of underage girls being sold in ethnic Vietnamese communities studied was 30-40%, typically after the age of 13. After the virginity sale, girls are then “forced” by families and circumstances to enter prostitution. The study pointed to a combination of factors in the decision-making process and, although families were often living in desperate poverty, materialism was also a driving factor, as well as strong normalisation and pressure by the community to sell one’s daughter (Reimer, 2006, p. 4, 39).

Some reports state it is common for girls to enter the sex industry after the virginity sale; a 2007 research on domestic trafficking of women and children found 38% of women interviewed had entered commercial sexual exploitation through the sale of virginity (The Southeast Asian Consortium on Gender, Sexuality & Health, 2006, 150; Brown, 2007b, 3).

Driving the demand for virginity selling is, largely, Cambodian men (Chan, 2010; Farley et al., 2012), who make up 49% of total clients, while other Asian men make up the second majority (Brown, 2007b, p.9). Many believe that having sex with a virgin is good luck for a new business venture and negotiate between 300-500 USD for a virgin (Reimer, 2006, p. 39). A rising number of sex tourists in the region and Cambodia may also be contributing to the demand (The Southeast Asian Consortium on Gender, Sexuality & Health, 2006).

### **From Brothels to Entertainment-Based Exploitation**



As early as 2007, research was suggesting that the environment of sex trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia was beginning to shift out of standard brothel settings. In her research on internal trafficking in Cambodia, Brown (2007b) commented, “recent alterations in the social structure of the commercial sex trade are posited to have resulted from concerns to evade counter-trafficking monitoring systems, and arguably to sustain the virginity trade. This can be seen, for instance, in the systemic shift from “direct” to “indirect” commercial sexual exploitation” (p. 8). She further noted the impact police monitoring had on virginity selling, saying that it had “overwhelmingly moved out of the brothel” and into higher-class establishments, such as karaoke lounges, because brothel owners perceived that arrests were more likely for virginity selling than for any other kind of trafficking (p. 61).

In Cambodia an increasing number of entertainment establishments employing both women and men (including massage parlours, coffee shops, karaoke bars, and beer gardens) have opened in urban areas as well as tourist hotspots. The most recent research, published in 2012, estimates that 35,000 women, many of them young, are working in various entertainment establishments across Cambodia (MEYS, 2012, p. 15).

Young people may be lured into these establishments by promises of employment as waitresses, ice servers, or beer promoters. Women employed by these establishments often work under conditions that make them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, including harassment by clients (verbal and physical abuse), excessive alcohol use, the perception by clients that beer promotion girls are sex workers, and pressure to reach certain sales quotas, which directly impact their incomes (ILO, 2006, p. vii). They may also be pressured to have sex with clients off-site in order to make extra money, often persuaded by their coworkers or employers.

There is limited evidence the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) is linked to a shift into employment in the sex industry. UNIAP’s (2009a) study on the effects of the GFC found over 30,000 women lost their jobs in garment factories, and concluded that there was an increase in women and girls entering the entertainment sector during this timeframe, suggesting a correlation between the two events. Fifty-eight percent (58%) of the 357 women interviewed said they had started working in the entertainment sector in the last eight months, and were primarily employed in massage and karaoke establishments. “Difficult family circumstances” was the primary reason given for entering sex work (p. 4).

In a 2004 study of women working in brothels in Sihanoukville (a high tourist beach town), 90% of the 210 women interviewed said that they would be willing to stop working if they had the opportunity. Of these, 93.8% identified “more money for family” as what they would need in order to stop engaging in sex work; 25% said more money for medical and health care; and, 24.3% said more farmland for family. In their discussions of dreams for the future, 49.3% of the women said they would like to start a small business and over 30% said they wanted to return to their home province to or their family (ILO, 2004, p.41).

More recently, researchers and practitioners are seeking to better understand the role economics play in vulnerability before and after exploitation. The Butterfly Research (Miles et al., 2012) is a longitudinal study tracking 128 survivors of sex trafficking over a period of 10 years; the study is in its fourth year. The 2012 progress report for the project found most survivors were reintegrating into situations of dire poverty, and many engaged in, or had family members who engaged in, high risk and unsafe employment and migration practices (Miles et al., 2012, p. 12).

Other reasons for staying in indirect sex work include fear and distrust of police, shame, and complex trauma. A USAID report quotes a female sex worker who explained these dynamics further: “One common saying that people used to say to the sex worker when sex workers looked for help was ‘Be a pig, don’t be afraid of the hot water.’ When I reported to the local authority like a policeman I was also told to be patient and be quiet like the brothel owner, or I would be abused more” (USAID, 2006, p. 30).

## **Gender & Trafficking**

A ground-breaking study in 2008 focused on the sexual abuse of boys in Cambodia. The study (Hilton, 2008) disconfirmed the commonly held misconception that only foreign pedophiles abused boys and that abusers also included local Cambodian men. It also reported that the abuse of boys took many forms, including oral and anal sex, but that it did not seem to be organized commercial sexual exploitation, as is mainly the case for girls. The risk factors reported were similar to those of girls, including poverty, domestic violence, low education levels, and family breakdown. Most boys in the study did not understand the risk factors of sexual abuse when forming relationships with older men. After facing such abuse, the fear of disclosure and further isolation from peers, combined with little access or awareness of resources, causes victims to be plagued with negative, long-term effects and they often resort to the use of drugs to numb painful feelings.



More recent research on the commercial sexual exploitation of young men in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap observed an increase of night-clubs, gay bars, internet chat rooms, and massage establishments where young men who had migrated to the cities with the intention to find work were now providing sexual services to other men, including both national and foreign clients (Miles & Blanch, 2011; Davis & Miles, 2012). These studies demonstrate a significant trend as, prior to this study, it was understood that boys experienced sexual abuse in communities, or were approached on the streets by foreigners to have sex, normally in high tourist areas, but were not recruited into a brothel-like arrangement (Hilton, 2008; Renault, 2006, p.7, Reimer, 2006, p.40).

A recent study (MoEYS, 2012) on young female, male, and transgender entertainment workers (EWs) between the ages of 15 and 24 in four cities in Cambodia found the primary reason they were pushed to leave home was due to difficult family relationships and the need for money. Female EWs' need for finances was to support their families or their children, whereas male and transgender EWs were primarily working to support themselves (p. 12). The table below, describes the experiences from a total of 77 entertainment workers interviewed:

**Table 4: Profiles of Female, Male & Transgender Entertainment Workers**

	<b>FEMALE EWS</b>	<b>MALE EWS</b>	<b>TRANSGENDER EWS</b>
<b>EDUCATION</b>	0 had graduated from high school	The average had finished 8 <sup>th</sup> grade, 1 had finished university, and 2 were enrolled in university	The average had finished 9 <sup>th</sup> grade, and 2 had graduated from high school
<b>PLACE OF WORK</b>	Karaoke and beer garden/ restaurant	Freelance sex work and entertainment establishments/ bar	
<b>FIRST SEXUAL ENCOUNTER</b>	All had sex between 14-20 years of age; most non-consensual	Most had sex between 18-20 years of age; most consensual	Majority has sex between 17-26 years of age; most consensual
<b>ABORTION</b>	Yes	Encouraged abortion	N/A
<b>FAMILY BACKGROUND</b>	Poor, lack of emotional love and support, large families		Middle class families without support for gender identity
<b>FACTORS FOR ENTERING EW</b>	Finances for family, few employment alternatives	Finances, curiosity about sex with another man	Finances, discrimination by family
<b>VIOLENCE IN THE WORKPLACE</b>	Violence, discrimination, stigma, and "self-stigma for being a sex worker"	Stigma and discrimination	Violence, stigma, and discrimination

*Source: Compiled based on findings from MoEYS (2012, p. 12)*

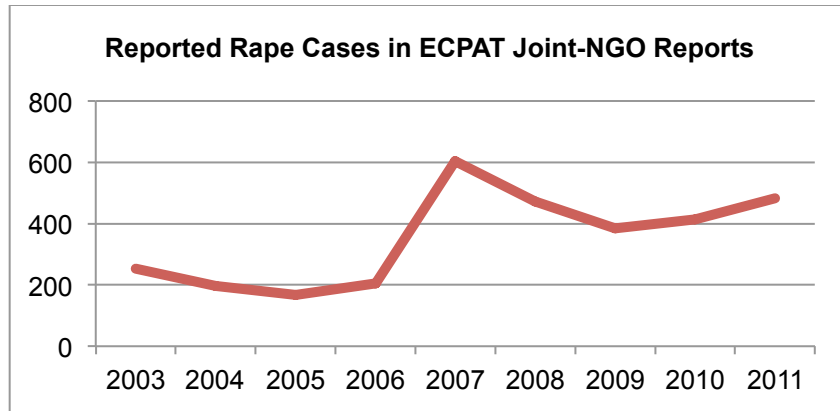
## Rape

Rape is clearly defined by Cambodian criminal law as any forced act of penetration or attempt at penetration. In 2004, a study by Tearfund on sexual abuse was conducted with 1,314 Cambodian school children between the ages of 12 and 15. A disturbingly high percentage of both girls and boys (63.5% and 64%, respectively) reported they knew children who had been raped by an adult, while over 20% of both girls and boys said they had witnessed the rape of a child in their community (Miles & Sun, 2004).

In 2012, rape and attempted rape accounted for 82.5% of total cases received and investigated by LICADO, and it remains the most common form of child rights violations they investigate (LICADHO, 2012). Sex workers interviewed in 2006 described being raped by family or others when they were still virgins:

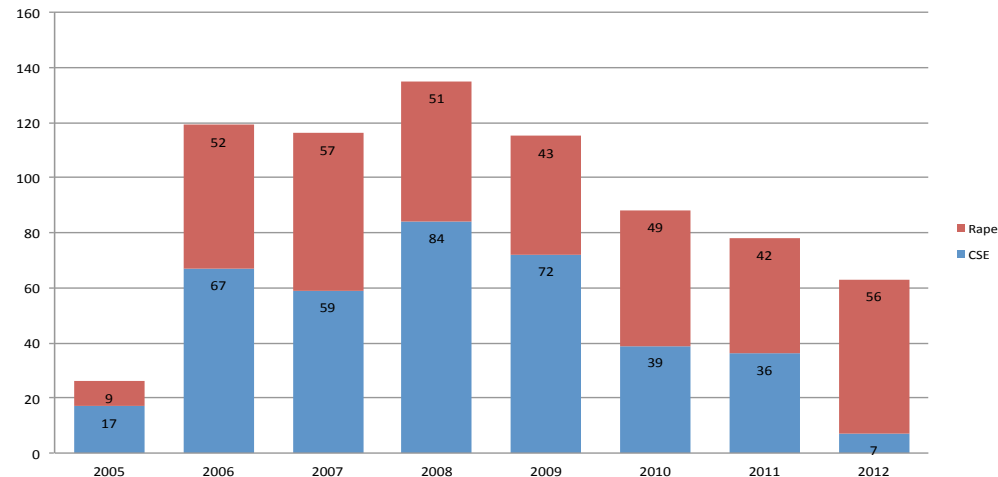
"Some suspect that rape functions as a way to prime young women for the sex industry, in that they are then considered (and consider themselves) 'damaged goods' and thus suitable only for sex work. Shame and blaming the victim instead of the perpetrators are strong factors in the underreporting of rape to authorities [by both genders]" (USAID, p.7).

ECPAT Cambodia has been compiling an annual database of joint statistics from multiple agencies in Cambodia on the number and nature of reported rape cases since 2003. The graph below charts the statistics from these joint reports, from 2003 to 2011. The average number of reported rape cases in this period was 353, with a spike in 2007 of 604 reported cases. In years after the spike, numbers were lower than in 2007, but stayed higher than before 2007. This does not necessarily point to an increase in rape but, rather, an increase in reporting rape.



**Graph 2: Reported Rape Cases in ECPAT Joint-NGO Reports, 2003-2011**  
 Source: Statistics compiled from ECPAT Joint-Reports 2003-2011

World Hope International’s Assessment Center in Phnom Penh opened in 2005. The comparison of rape case referrals to commercial sexual exploitation case referrals can be seen below in Chart 3. Rape cases spiked after 2005 and remained high, whereas commercial sexual exploitation cases steadily decreased over the period.



**Chart 3: Rape & CSE Case Intakes, WHI Phnom Penh Assessment Centre, 2005-2012**  
 Source: World Hope International Case Database, internal (used with permission)

Statistics from both ECPAT and World Hope show an increase in reported child rape cases, but insufficient research shows whether the prevalence has increased or not. This may indicate an increase, not in prevalence, but in victims feeling safe to report abuse and having accessible mechanisms for reporting. Some practitioners mentioned that rape often occurs when the parents are working and leave their children with a neighbour or relative in the village.

### Gang Rape & Violence Towards Sex Workers

Wilkinson and Fletcher’s (2002) research brought more public attention to the issue of “bauk,” or gang rape. The term “bauk” means “plus” (+) in Khmer but it is also the slang word used for the practice of rape perpetrated by numerous men. Bearup (2003) found, generally speaking, “bauk” is the “practice of one or two students hiring a woman for the night and then taking her back to a guesthouse where several more men are waiting” and research has found that it is considered “commonplace” among university students (cited in Wilkinson & Fletcher, 2001, p.6).

The incidence of gang rape has increased, especially for prostituted women outside formal brothel-like settings. In a USAID (2006) study among sex workers in Phnom Penh, 19.1% of sex workers based in brothels reported gang rape, whereas 54.8% of street-based workers reported gang rape. Table 4 below summarizes the report’s findings on the prevalence and types of violence used in gang rape, against both brothel-based and street-based women, as well as street-based “srey sroas” (transgender). Although a higher percentage of street-based workers reported gang rape,

brothel-based workers reported higher incidences of violence related to gang rape, including being held down, forced vaginal sex, use of weapons, and alcohol use by perpetrators.

**Table 5: Prevalence & Types of Violence in Gang Rape**

	<b>BROTHEL/MOBILE SEX WORKERS</b>	<b>FREELANCE SEX WORKERS</b>	
	WOMEN	WOMEN	SREY SROAS
<b>% THAT EXPERIENCED GANG RAPE BY CLIENTS IN THE LAST YEAR</b>	19.1%	54.8%	37.5%
<b>MEAN NUMBER OF MEN</b>	5.1 men	5.7 men	6.1 men
<b>% BOUND OR HELD DOWN</b>	91.6%	74.1%	76.7%
<b>% FORCED VAGINAL SEX</b>	97.7%	93.2%	---
<b>% ON WHOM WEAPONS WERE USED</b>	86.9%	70.7%	71.2%
<b>% STATING MEN HAD BEEN USING ALCOHOL</b>	97.7%	86%	87.5%

*Source: Based on Statistics from USAID (2006)*

Increased awareness about the prevalence of “bauk,” and the fear of being tricked into “bauk” assaults, have seemingly impacted negotiations for sex, especially among non-brothel-based entertainment workers (PSI-FHI, 2007, p. 24).

Other than gang rape, sex workers, both direct and indirect, also experience high instances of violence – reportedly the harshest from gangsters and police. USAID’s (2006) study found 87% of sex workers interviewed reported being raped by a single client in the last year, and 74.6% said they were beaten by clients (p. 6). Nearly 40% of female sex workers and 15% of transgender sex workers reported police harassment (p. 43). The report further stated that the situation for sex workers had become more complicated and more unsafe in the last few years due to rising levels of drug use,<sup>10</sup> continued availability of handguns by civilians, and the growth of gangs among slum dwellers and street children (p. 6).

### **Street-Based Exploitation**

A large amount of research has studied pedophiles and street-based exploitation of children. According to a report in 2006 (Renault), 80% of APLE’s cases of child victims of street-based exploitation were male. Stress in family environment, low levels of family incomes, little or no education, a street working or living lifestyle, and peers engaging in similar high risk behaviour (100% of child victims interviewed had friends who had also been sexually exploited), were identified push factors. Over one third of child victims were using or had previously used drugs on a regular basis, and offers of shelter, food, education, and training had been rejected “in favour of short-term, high risk income generation activities” (p. 2-4).

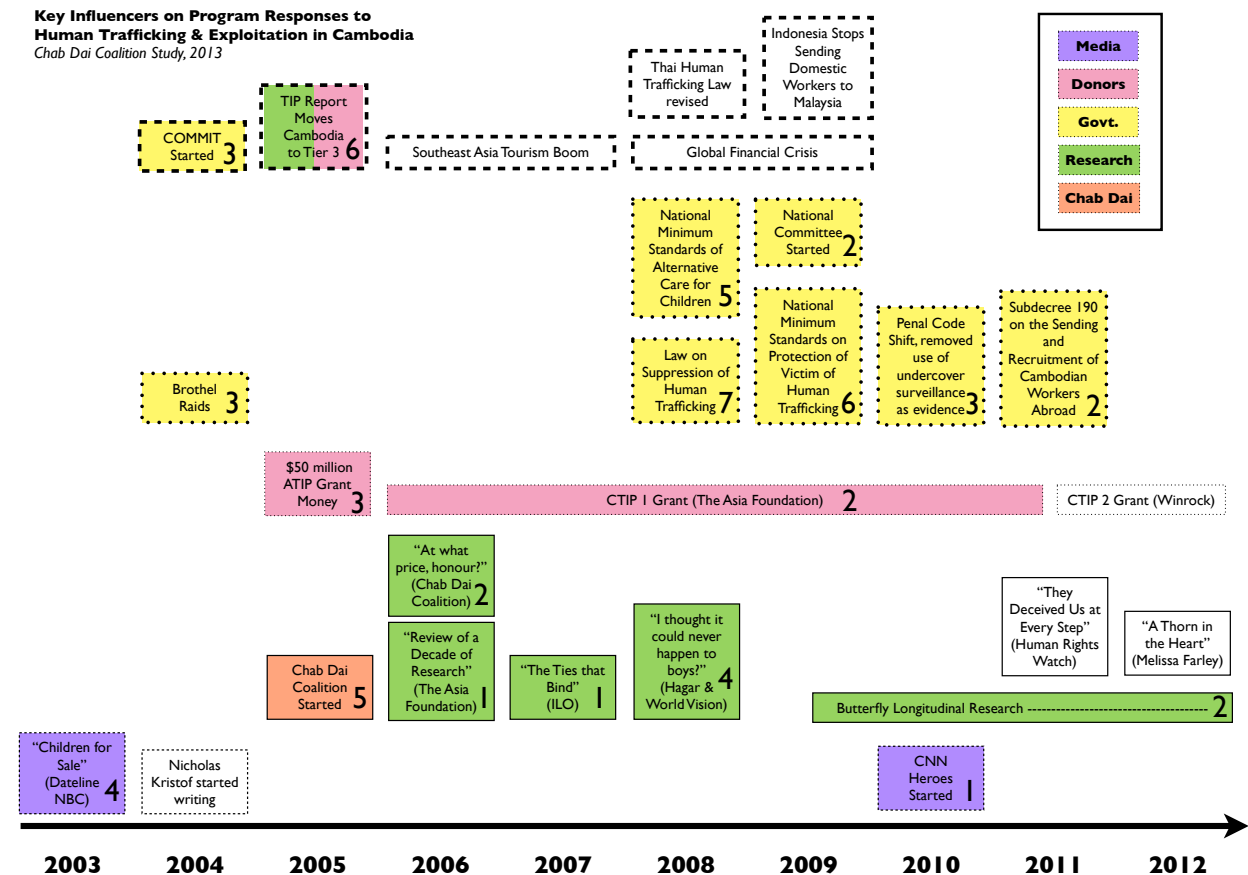
<sup>10</sup> The report found that the most popular drugs used were methamphetamines, ATS, glue sniffing, ketamine, ecstasy, and heroin (p. 29).

# INFLUENCING FACTORS IN ANTI-TRAFFICKING

This section deals with the main findings of this study from key stakeholders in counter-trafficking in Cambodia, with a focus on Chab Dai Coalition member organisations. Five key themes emerged in the research on influencing factors on the programmatic response to trafficking and exploitation in the past decade in Cambodia. The amalgamated timeline of the whole period can be found on page 71. The five main influencing factors found were:

1. Media;
2. Donors;
3. The Cambodian Government;
4. Research; and,
5. Chab Dai Coalition.

The figure below outlines these five key influencing factors, each theme divided by colour. The number assigned each text box is the number of times it was ranked in the top five influencing factors by interviewed stakeholders.<sup>11</sup> Some interviewees chose two factors together as “one” of the top influencing factors; for example, the two research studies on the sexual exploitation of Vietnamese girls, “At What Price, Honour?” and “The Ties that Bind,” were put together by an interviewee as a joint influencing factor.



Timeline 1: Key Influencing Factors on Program Response, 2003-2012<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> There were 13 interviewees in 11 interviews; 12 stakeholders took part in the ranking exercise. The items in white boxes denote options in the original timeline that were not chosen as a top five influencing factor by any of the interviewees.

<sup>12</sup> For a summary of some of the cross-cutting factors in the shifts in counter-trafficking, see Appendix 3.

## MEDIA

### Timeline

The timeline below outlines some of the major media events and publications on trafficking and exploitation in the last ten years. The catalyst for global awareness of the issue of trafficking in Cambodia, focused initially on the trafficking of young girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation, is seen by many to have been Dateline NBC's "Children for Sale" footage, shot in 2003 and aired from 2004 onward. Also noteworthy is the very high number of documentaries on trafficking in Cambodia produced very recently, in 2012, all of which are about sex trafficking.



### Timeline 2: Media Influences, 2003-2012

#### Media as a Catalyst: Dateline NBC

Media has played an enormous role in the anti-trafficking programmatic response in Cambodia. Sex trafficking in Cambodia has been put in the spotlight by documentaries, popular films, books, and news media since 2004, when the prominent Dateline NBC "Children for Sale" footage of a brothel raid in an area outside Phnom Penh (Svay Pak) aired, which caused national and international alarm, and is attributed credit for an influx of funding and programs to Cambodia to counter human trafficking and sexual exploitation of children.<sup>13</sup>

**"[Children for Sale] showed that this was an issue and it kind of seemed to catapult. So media actually had a major effect on seeing this issue becoming significant as an important issue." – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

This media event was the top-ranked media-specific influencing factor by interviewees. The Dateline NBC "Children for Sale" coverage was especially impactful for foreign counter-trafficking organisations. For some international organizations, this footage was a positive catalyst to start aftercare programs in Cambodia.

**"I know [Children for Sale] was what got [our organisation's directors] out here." – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

**"[Children for Sale] did impact program change – brought in a panic reaction, not necessarily the right change, but it was change and it was good. It brought a quick response mainly from American organisations." – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

Additionally, the Dateline NBC coverage influenced political will and action. According to several interviewees, the footage caught the attention of the U.S. State Department, pushing them to place Cambodia in Tier 3 in the 2005 TIP Report, and causing the government to take stronger action against human trafficking. After this, Cambodia also received a \$50 million dollar anti-trafficking in persons grant from the U.S. government.

<sup>13</sup> Both national and international media attention has been given to one area outside of Phnom Penh known as Svay Pak, which is comprised of both Khmer and Vietnamese families. Several brothel raids in 2004 and 2005 uncovered underage girls and women found to be victims of sex trafficking. After these brothel raids, however, activities were reported not to have been halted, but simply moved elsewhere – primarily to Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. COSECAM's (2005) research on the impact of the brothel raids was the first research suggesting a shift in brothel-based exploitation (p. 34-37). For a full case study on "Operation Svay Pak," see IJM's report, Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Cambodia and the Public Justice System Response (Van der Keur & Touch, 2013).

**[Chose “Children for Sale” in Top Five Influencing Factors]:**

“[B]ecause for us it was huge in the engagement of police... [and] seeing other programs start and saying, ‘We came because we saw this film (sic)’... Frankly, if it hadn’t happened I don’t think we would have had such a response by the TIP office.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat

“[Children for Sale and the brothel raids] have to be the starters. They go together because there was an American response that ‘we can’t let this happen,’ and an embarrassment for Cambodia internationally being called out.” – Interview, Donor, Expat

**Other International Media Influences**

A number of newspaper and television outlets, documentaries makers, journalists, and writers have reported and explored issues of trafficking in Cambodia, at an increasing rate since the Dateline NBC brothel raid coverage. Nicolas Kristof, a journalist for The New York Times, has reported on the issue, and co-wrote the book *Half the Sky*, which was then made into a documentary. Somaly Mam is a Cambodian survivor of trafficking who directs an aftercare program and has also written a book and been frequently interviewed and popularized in both local and international media. CNN began its CNN Heroes campaign in 2010, with human trafficking in the region as one of the issues it highlights. More recently, a higher number of documentaries and movies on human trafficking have been produced. In 2012 alone, four major films were released, including *Half the Sky*, *Nefarious: Merchant of Souls*, *The Pink Room*, and *Trade of Innocents*.

Documentary films on human trafficking and exploitation have played a role in influencing counter-trafficking, if a lesser one than news and print media. Survey participants were asked to rank on a scale of 1-4 (1 being not influential and 4 being extremely influential) various influencing factors on their own programs’ response to trafficking. As seen in Chart 4, a large number of respondents stated “Watching a documentary about human trafficking and exploitation” was somewhat or very influential (38% and 27%, respectively). On the other hand, this statement, compared to other influencing factor choices, received lowest percentage of votes for “extremely influential” and the highest percentage of votes for “not influential” (5% and 32%, respectively).

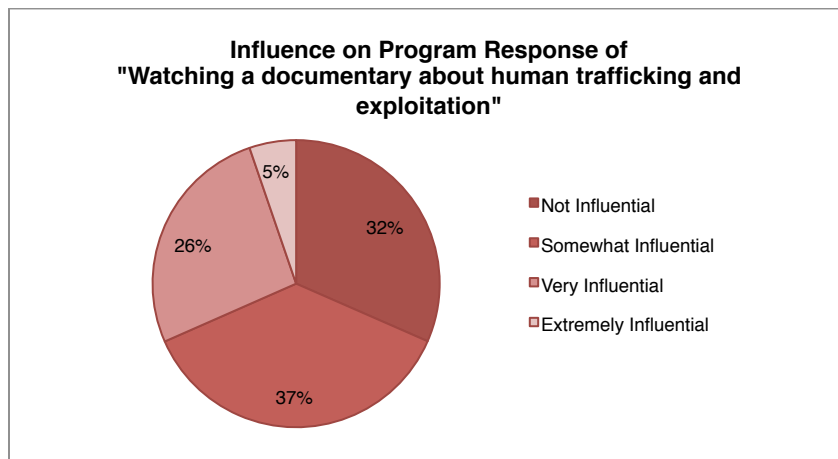


Chart 4: Influence of documentaries on program response

**Local Cambodian Media**

Local media, mainly through newspapers and the radio, has also impacted the issue of trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia. It has impacted the issue through raising awareness and is used by the government to announce new laws and policy changes on a broader scale. Local media was instrumental in raising awareness on what trafficking is, starting in 2005, and was also used to inform brothel owners that they could be arrested if they had minors on their premises. In this capacity, local media is seen as in a positive light.

**“The media’s role – some information about trafficking, they give messages. For example, about how trafficking happens. And so it’s also good information.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

On the other hand, one interviewee suggested that media could also increase vulnerability to trafficking. When the Thai government announced a national wage increase, many Cambodians migrated, often illegally and unsafely.

**“[T]he Prime Minister of Thailand said on TV that they will increase salary from 100 to 300 BHT [10 USD] per day... the people hear and they don’t want to stay here.” – Interview, Chab Dai leader, Cambodian**

Another example, given by a FGD participant, was the use of local media by fraudulent recruitment agencies, leading to the trafficking and exploitation of migrant workers abroad.

**“Recruitment agencies use local media to spread misinformation about migration.” – FGD participant, Cambodian**

Interestingly, FGD participants, who were mainly Cambodian, all ranked local media as the top media-specific influencing factor on the issue in the past ten years, attributing a lot of credit to the media’s role in making Cambodians aware of the issues around human trafficking. Participants also discussed the positive and negative impacts of Cambodian activist Somaly Mam’s use of local media. Participants commended her for helping Cambodians understand trafficking through telling her own story, but were critical of her inappropriate use of minors in publicity and questioned the inconsistencies in the stories she told in the media.

### **Criticism of Media**

Some critics argue that highly sensationalized media, which primarily focus on the trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation, has limited our scope of trafficking, and has heightened a sense of urgency to the cause without taking into account the more multifaceted and complex root causes that increase the risks of individuals being trafficked (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012). One interviewee also mentioned the immediate danger posed by publicizing the identity and whereabouts of exploited children.

**“For me, I think the media is negative sometimes... Makes traffickers attract children easily because they know what’s going on. Some media doesn’t cover the face and puts the real name and makes demand side go there... looking for children.” – Interview, Chab Dai leader, Cambodian**

Researchers and practitioners have called for a closer look at structural factors, such as the economic, political and social consequences of globalization, or at root causes of migration, such as poverty and barriers to equal opportunities for women seeking employment (Alvarez, 2012; Weitzer, 2007). Soderlund (2005) argues that the media has “ultimately distracted [us] from drawing connections between gendered poverty and forced prostitution and presumes a moralistic approach that is unlikely to consider poverty, hunger, and low wages as equally pressing forms of violence against women” (p. 70).

The UN Palermo Protocol in 2000 provided a framework for understanding the various forms of forced labour, but popular media continued to focus on sex trafficking, which has also created “a sense of invisibility for other forms of trafficking” (Peters, Alvarez & Alessi, 2012, p. 146). While there have been a few documentaries about labour trafficking and forced labour globally, almost 100% of the media about exploitation and trafficking in Cambodia in the last ten years has focused on trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation. The timeline here outlines the popular media that has been documented about Cambodia.

Popular media may not be immediately seen to impact grassroots or international agencies programs or project design; however, Galusca (2012) argues “current journalistic truth-making claims about sex trafficking enter foreign policies and have a considerable impact on sex workers in the non-Western world” (p. 1). He critiques that by using first person narrative, journalists have become public heroes, and are seen as credible witnesses because they can say, “I was there and witnessed it myself” (p. 5). Perhaps the biggest problem with considering journalism in this

heroic light is when state officials and leaders regard the investigative practices of journalists as acts of heroism. He further argues that “[Kristof & Cohen’s] investigations function as proof of the existence of women’s trafficking” (p.15) and the label “victims of trafficking” when applied to foreign women and children, “serves as an ideological function and silences all critics” (p. 15).<sup>14</sup> Investigative journalism has played a role in Cambodia as well, which has had positive and negative ripple effects.

While the famous NBC “Children for Sale,” which aired in 2004, may have been widely cited as a proof that the insidious crime of sex trafficking occurred globally, the methods of undercover investigation and “beating down the door” to do a rescue, Soderlund (2005) said, was an “implicit endorsement of these tactics” (p. 65). She further questions the United States government’s use of their status as a superpower and major donor nation to require other countries to raid brothels and create laws that criminalize sex trafficking (and often prostitution). In President Bush’s annual “Address to the United Nations” in 2003, he used the term “War Against Trafficking” and his speech was laden with strong rhetoric against prostitution and amplified the mode of public sentimentality. Soderlund points out that his public speech on trafficking had “widespread reverberations in the journalistic field,” and his tone and substance in the UN speech was “adopted by a cadre of male journalists” (p. 77).

## DONORS

### Timeline

The timeline below shows the major international donors and funding for anti-trafficking in persons programming in the last ten years in Cambodia. As seen in the timeline, the U.S. government has been the main funder for counter-trafficking. The TIP Report, also discussed in this section, is primarily used for funding decisions by the U.S. government.



Timeline 3: Donor Influences, 2003-2012

It should be noted that, while the main donor in anti-trafficking in Cambodia is the U.S. government, through the A-TIP and C-TIP grants, other donors, such as other governments and private foundations, also play a role for counter-trafficking organisations. The primary influential donor base, though, remains the United States government as well as private foundations in the United States. The chart below speaks to this in the sample of survey participants. Almost 40% of respondents stated their organisation or donor base was from the United States.



Chart 5: Survey Respondents' Donor Base

<sup>14</sup> Nicolas Kristof is a journalist with The New York Times, and has frequently reported on trafficking. He co-wrote *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide* (2009). Aaron Cohen is an activist and writer; he co-wrote *Slave Hunter: One Man's Global Quest to Free Victims of Human Trafficking* (2009).



## Negotiating Donor Influence

Two main themes that emerged about donors and funding were the interrelated issues of educating donors about the realities of the needs and issues, and not allowing donors to dictate the direction of an organisation's programming.

**“[In every NGO], there is a part of them that understands they have to follow where the money is a little. But that aside, on the whole, it seems that there are a number of Chab Dai organisations that are committed to what they are doing and are looking for donors that are not going to tell what to do programmatically.” – Interview, Donor, Expat**

**“There have been some donors within the faith-based community that have been very responsive to the quest to change and being more responsive to issues... They have their ears to the ground... They talk to everyone... They get a good impression of what's going on. I think other donors have had less involvement and not done research to see what's really going on.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

**“Donors, after they understand labour is also a problem, also think it's a problem and put money there.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Cambodian (emphasis added)**

The option “Our donors suggested a new program idea so we made changes” was the least chosen among survey respondents as to why their organisation had made program changes in the last ten years (only 8.6% chose this option). Another 11.4% stated they changed their program because of a new grant they applied for. “Donors” was ranked the least number of times as “#1 most influential on programs addressing trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia,” along with “The Church in the West” and “Annual TIP Report” (each of these three were ranked #1 by only 8.1% of respondents). The chart below maps the options according to how often each one was chosen as #1 influencing factor. “Research” and “Cambodian government laws and policies” were both chosen as #1 by 27% of respondents, followed by “Media,” chosen as #1 by 21.6% of respondents. The survey results on the influence of the TIP Report was in contrast to results from interviews; half of interviewees ranked the TIP Report in the top five influencing factors.

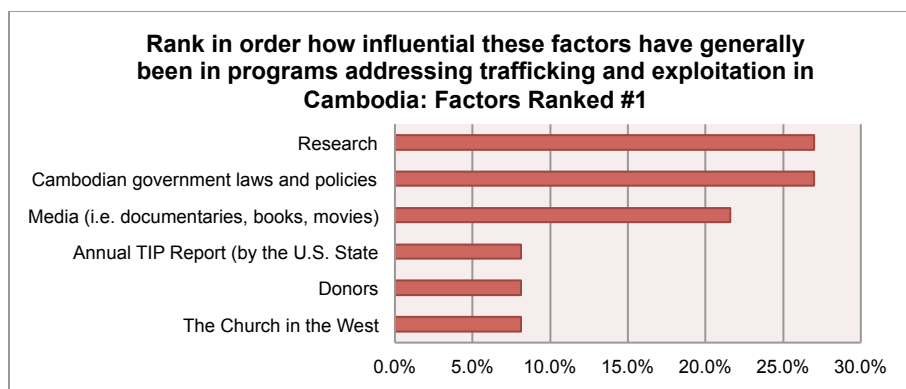


Chart 6: #1 Ranked Influencing Factor, Survey

On the other hand, just over 75% of survey respondents stated “Ideas from donors about programs” was “somewhat influential” or “very influential” on their own program's response to issue of trafficking and exploitation. Eighteen percent (18.9%) stated it was “not influential,” and 5.4% stated it was “extremely influential.”

## The TIP Report

The annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report, put out by the U.S. State Department since 2001, ranks countries in the world on their performance in counter-trafficking efforts and programs. There are four possible tiers: Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, and Tier 3. Countries ranked on Tier 3 are subject to trade sanctions by the U.S.A. until they improve their anti-trafficking efforts. As seen in Graph 3 (on page 52) in the section on Cambodian government below, Cambodia has ranked Tier 3 once in the last ten years.

As seen in Chart 6 above, most survey respondents did not rank the TIP Report as a #1 influencing factor (it was most often ranked #5 out of six (6) options); however, it was discussed at length in interviews as an indirect influencing factor. That is, although the TIP Report was not generally seen as a direct influence in and of itself, it has

contributed to other major influencing factors, such as the A-TIP and C-TIP grants from the U.S. government, and the 2008 Cambodian Trafficking Law. In fact, six interviewees ranked the 2005 TIP Report (the first and only year Cambodia was put in Tier 3 in the report) in their top five influencing factors.

Interviewees stated various reasons for ranking “TIP Report” in the top five influencing factors. One reason was the impact it had on shifting political will towards taking greater action against trafficking.

**“We took action because the world saw us as the worst on trafficking.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

**“[The TIP Report is] positive because it influences the government to be more aware.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Cambodian**

Second, it was a factor in shaping funding responses, specifically from the U.S. government.

**“It shaped the U.S. response to Cambodia, the pressure that came, the C-TIP grants.” – Interview, Donor, Expat**

Also, it led, indirectly, through pressure from the U.S. government, to the establishment of the Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking.

**“It led to the law on human trafficking.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

**“Because the Cambodian government got so scared of losing money, which is what led to the 50 million USD, and the law on human trafficking.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

Stakeholders also warned about the pitfalls of only using the TIP Report as a point of reference on issues of trafficking and exploitation. The TIP Report is for the purposes of U.S. government funding decisions, and other donors should be looking deeper for an understanding of the situation.

**“If donors are just looking at the TIP Report they aren’t seeing the full picture... It’s our job to educate donors about what’s really going on and what they should still be funding.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

### **A-TIP & C-TIP Grants**

The A-TIP and C-TIP grants were the major anti-trafficking funds awarded by the U.S. government. The A-TIP grant of 50 million USD was awarded in 2005, after Cambodia ranked Tier 3 in the TIP Report. This grant was mainly aimed at starting aftercare shelters for victims of sex trafficking, despite requests for funding other types of programs.

**“The big money has positive and negative impacts... If [the U.S. State Department] had listened to us at the beginning, the “package” would have had a much better sweep – advocacy, prevention, shelters, reintegration – if you look at our original [proposal]. They just wanted to focus on shelters only... It was a push, but it was a push that was slightly the wrong direction from the beginning.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

There have also been two C-TIP grants, with C-TIP1 covering the time period of 2006-2011, and C-TIP2 commencing in 2011. Whereas the 2005 A-TIP grant was mainly aimed at shelters, C-TIP1 focused on shelters as well as on law enforcement and prosecution, which promoted government discussions on more and better laws to prosecute traffickers and protect victims, as well as the establishment of the National Committee to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labour Exploitation, and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children. There was an

emphasis on bridge building, particularly between government and civil society response.

**“The major engagement of the C-TIP1 grant was on law enforcement, and prosecution in specific, and drew in aftercare and others, and even prevention, but in the realm of how they related to [law enforcement].” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

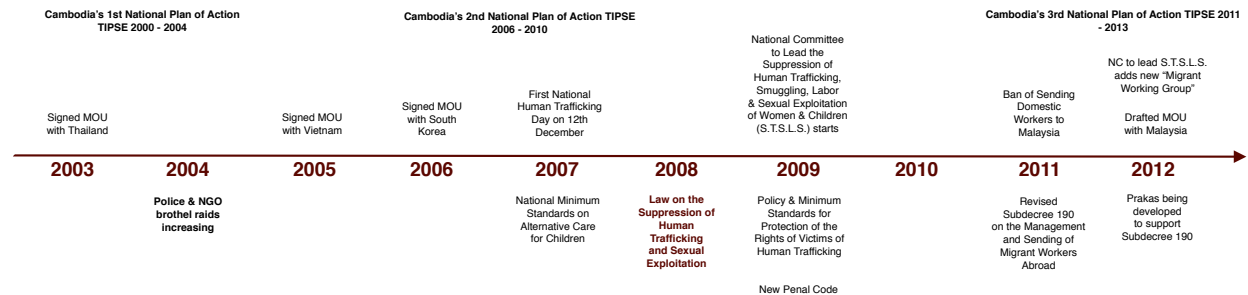
The more recent C-TIP2 grant has largely shifted its focus from sex trafficking to labour trafficking, with an emphasis on community education and raising awareness on safe migration. Generally, stakeholders saw this shift as timely and appropriate, but were hesitant that there was too strong a swing from domestic sex trafficking issues in CTIP 1 to cross-border labour trafficking issues in CTIP 2. They suggested that both needed to be addressed simultaneously.

**“It makes sense since there has been an overemphasis on sex trafficking, and specifically of women and children, so I think the broadening of the C-TIP2 grant to labour trafficking really makes sense. And it was a needed shift.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

## CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT

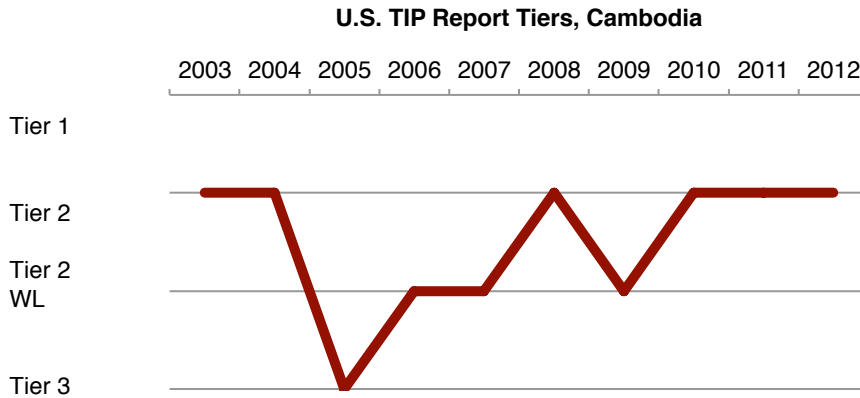
### Timeline

The first timeline in this section outlines the Cambodian government’s laws, policies, and responses to trafficking between 2003 and 2012. The major law that influenced anti-trafficking was the 2008 Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation. The graph below the timeline shows how Cambodia has ranked in the annual TIP Report since 2003.



**Timeline 4: Cambodian Government Influences, 2003-2012**

Several factors acted as an impetus for the Cambodian government to look closely at addressing human trafficking and exploitation. As discussed above, the annual TIP reports rank governments into 4 tiers. Cambodia has fluctuated between Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, and Tier 3, and is currently on Tier 2. In 2005, it was ranked Tier 3. Cambodia has remained Tier 2 for the past three years, and has yet to be ranked Tier 1.

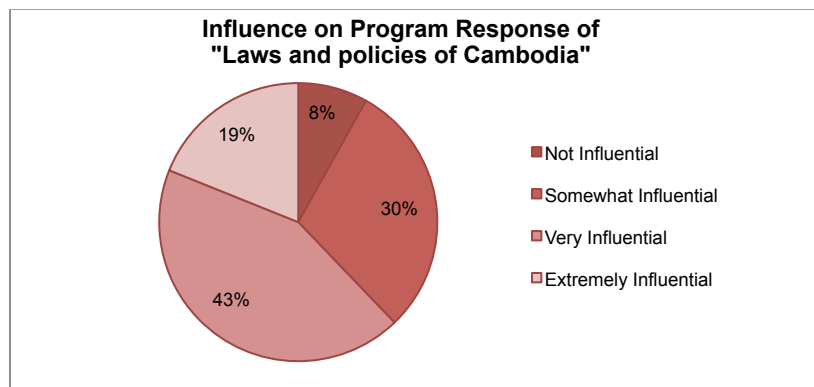


**Graph 3: TIP Report Rankings, Cambodia, 2003-2012**

The Cambodian government's active response in addressing trafficking has come through shame on the global platform, and fear of losing donor money. Some interviewees noted the links between the Dateline NBC "Children for Sale" footage in 2004, the TIP Report ranking Cambodia on Tier 3, the U.S. increasing both pressure on and funding to Cambodia, and the increase in political will in the Cambodian government to address trafficking more strategically.

**Policies & Laws**

As seen above in Chart 6, "Cambodian government laws and policies" was the highest ranked #1 influencing factor, along with "Research," in the stakeholder survey. In addition, the majority of respondents ranked "Laws and policies of Cambodia" as "somewhat" or "very influential" on their own programs addressing trafficking and exploitation, with a significant percentage also ranking it "extremely influential." The chart below shows the results of this ranking.



**Chart 7: Influence of Cambodian laws & policies on program response**

Government-specific influencing factors were chosen the highest number of times in interviewees' top five influencing factors. The three laws and policies most chosen as influencing factors were:

1. Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (TIPSE) (ranked in top five by seven (58%) interviewees);
2. National Minimum Standards on the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking (ranked in top five by six (50%) interviewees); and,
3. National Minimum Standards on Alternative Care for Children (ranked in top five by five (42%) interviewees).

Other laws and policies ranked in the top five influencing factors by more than one interviewee were the Penal Code shift, which disallowed the use of undercover surveillance as evidence in court, and Sub decree 190, on the sending and recruiting of Cambodian workers abroad. FGD participants agreed the TIPSE was the most influential law or policy in the last ten years.

## Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking & Sexual Exploitation

In 2008, the Royal Cambodian Government introduced a revised law on trafficking, “The Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation” (TIPSE). Before the law was passed, there was already a noticeable shift from brothel-based exploitation to entertainment-based establishments. This is believed to have happened partly due to widespread crackdowns on brothels and suspected establishments by the Anti-Human Trafficking Police and the military police, with assistance from international agencies, which caused fear for brothel owners, especially those selling virginity and under-age children (Reimer, 2006, p.5; Brown, 2007b, p. 61; MEYS, 2012, p.15). The TIPSE Law is also thought to have contributed to pushing exploitation further underground and into entertainment-based establishments. To avoid police monitoring and prosecution, brothels either relocated to other cities where police pressure was minimal (ECPAT, 2011a), or set up coffee shops or massage parlours as front businesses. Recently sex has increasingly been negotiated at karaoke parlours and beer gardens, and workers are taken off-site to guesthouses or hotels (PSI-FHI, 2007, p. 39).

Shifts in violence towards sex workers are said to be a result of the increased underground or indirect nature of sex work. USAID’s (2006) report on the types of violence that sex workers in Phnom Penh face states:

“Under the pressure of police scrutiny, the commercial sex trade continues to morph, shifting its form to accommodate pressures from state authorities, social activists, donors of HIV prevention projects, and others, *while still trying to maintain access to clients and profitability*” (p. 43).

Almost every interviewee used the term “underground” in reference to the TIPSE Law, as well as the to the police crackdowns prior to the launch of the law in 2008. These findings were confirmed in Van der Keur & Touch’s (2013) research: “Sexual exploitation of minors has not decreased, but minor sexual exploitation has gone underground” (p. 34).

**“After the law was more knowledge and brothels stopped. There are some still, but they use different methods, underground [methods].” – Interview, Chab Dai leader, Cambodian**

**“The law changed... you see now a lot of KTV opened and KTV is legal. We know that under aged [girls] are in there but we cannot access, we cannot find them. Because they hide underground.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

**“Starting in 2008 when the new law passed you really saw human trafficking, specifically sex trafficking, went more and more underground. It became more and more difficult to raid a brothel because sex was not sold on site anymore.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

There was a mix of responses on whether the TIPSE Law was positive or negative, and many stakeholders saw it as both. Some saw the law as being the main catalyst for pushing trafficking underground, as seen above, while others saw the law as missing the mark on recognizing the broad issue of trafficking and focused too much on trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

**“If it’s the same numbers and they’ve just gone underground that’s not a victory. So I would say the government response has potentially had a negative impact.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

**“...There was an assumption that the law was just there to close down sex work establishments, which demonstrates a lack of understanding about human trafficking – that’s not what it’s about.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

On the other hand, the law was seen as positive by some in terms of police training and the raised awareness of the issue among law enforcement and policy makers. Seeing trafficking go underground was even seen positively by some.

**“Anything that makes criminals afraid to operate in the open, in public light, is a good thing.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

### National Minimum Standards

Stakeholders often spoke of two Prakas together, the “NMS on Alternative Care for Children” (2008) and the “NMS on the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking” (2009). Most said they had positive impacts on children and victims, through the organisations that served them.

**“[NMS on Protection of Victims of HT] influenced the whole country on how to protect children.” – Interview, Chab Dai leader, Cambodian**

**“[Both NMS] helped us to think more about providing quality care... the standards are just minimum but if we can reach this it will respond to the need of the child.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

The “NMS on Alternative Care for Children” (leading to the follow-up 2011 Prakas on Procedures to Implement the Policy on Alternative Care for Children) was seen as greatly influential in the shift in focus from shelter-based care to community-based care (CBC), and the promotion of the belief that “shelters are a last resort.”

**“[NMS on Alternative Care for Children] was fairly key in the shift to community-based care.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

**“I think the government, within the last few years, has made it clear that they want to move away from the shelter model so that’s working people up.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

Related to this shift and the implementation of the NMS on Alternative Care for Children was UNICEF’s (2011) report, “With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes towards Residential Care in Cambodia.” The study concluded that family and community-based care were in the best interest of children, and that institutional care should be a last resort and a temporary solution (p. 8). DoCarmo’s (2012) research on “NGO Attitudes towards Community-Based Care Models for Survivors of Human Trafficking in Cambodia” found there was some resistance to the shift toward CBC, and that in order for the NMS on Alternative Care of Children to be implemented well, increased stakeholder buy-in was needed.

### Other Policies

The 2010 shift in the Penal Code, disallowing the use of undercover surveillance as evidence during criminal trials, was seen as a negative shift in anti-trafficking efforts in Cambodia. This shift was pointed out as a contributing factor to pushing trafficking further underground and increased difficulty in finding and proving the presence of underage victims of trafficking in entertainment establishments selling sex on premises.

**“[The Penal Code Shift] made police not allowed to do investigations... When you were able to walk into a brothel and get a girl, [undercover surveillance] wasn’t necessary. It’s extremely necessary at an underground level.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

Another policy many believe will be important going forward is Sub decree 190 on the Management and Recruitment of Sending Workers Abroad, which was revised in 2011. The Sub decree and its supporting Prakas set out guidelines to ensure the safety of migrant workers abroad and to protect them from being recruited into exploitative situations outside Cambodia.

### **National & Regional Involvement**

Some stakeholders discussed the need for counter-trafficking NGOs to work more to support the government, not just work around the government, and to help build the capacity of government social workers that are responsible for implementing the National Minimum Standards, including family assessments, reintegration, and follow-up visits in the community.

**“[A] major issue is that most groups are still not looking to see ‘What will make this program sustainable regardless of whether I’m here or not.’ There is still a semi-limited engagement with government, it’s still viewed as, ‘What do I need from government and I’ll partner with them at that level.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

**“I know in my country’s government there is corruption. If we are linked with them... because the major responsibility for the people is government, and the NGO is like the hands to build this, to be stronger.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

On the other hand, stakeholders also felt the government needs to step up itself, and fill the gaps that the NGO sector is not able to, nor should be expected to fill.

**“Some areas... have no resources, no NGOs, no government social workers, no people who help in this area. So we want to see the government approach more to the areas where there are no resources. Qualified social workers only work part-time and have to have another job to support their family... so the government should put more resources and money. It should not depend on NGOs, the government needs to have more responsibility... It needs to build from the government – from inside, not outside.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

Overall, the most important aspect of NGOs working with government centered on concrete collaboration and investing long-term with individual policy- and decision-makers to give them a personal reason to move the issue forward.

**“Meaningful coordination! And I think we need to build up young people... in the government who might not be powerful right now, but claim them as a champion and train them for the next 10 years and plan ahead for when they will be the go-to person.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

**“[We need to take] time with the right people... personally sitting with change makers in the government because they don’t have a money or popularity incentive – for instance, their friends making money might get mad – so we have to make it a personal incentive.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

## Ministerial Action

Despite varying views on the effectiveness and broad involvement of the government on this issue, many different government ministries are involved in some way. Below is a table outlining how the government's different ministries are addressing trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia.

**Table 6: Government Ministries Dealing with Trafficking in Cambodia**

TABLE 1  
**Government ministries and departments dealing with trafficking – Cambodia**

Acronym	Ministry	Focus
MoI	Ministry of Interior <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Department of Anti-Human Trafficking</li> <li>■ Department of Foreigners</li> <li>■ Department of Immigration</li> <li>■ National Police</li> </ul>	Prevention and combating via investigations, border controls, arrests. Incorporates the Department of Anti-Human Trafficking, which was set up to investigate trafficking cases.
MoJ	Ministry of Justice	Preventing and combating via prosecutions.
MoSVY	Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Coordination and Documentation Center (CDC Project)</li> <li>■ Cambodian National Center for Children (CNCC)</li> <li>■ Child Labor Unit</li> <li>■ Child Protection Network</li> <li>■ Department of Child Welfare</li> </ul>	Protection and support via management of alternative care, information relating to trafficking and public awareness-raising.
MoWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Legal Protection Department</li> <li>■ Provincial Department Of Women Affairs (PWDA)</li> </ul>	Research and analysis into: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Socio-economic factors affecting levels of migration and trafficking.</li> <li>■ Description of the levels and types of migration.</li> <li>■ Risk factors associated with migration.</li> <li>■ Village-based activities for the prevention of trafficking within the targeted communities.</li> </ul>
MoLVT	Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Department of Employment and Manpower</li> </ul>	Labor migration issues associated with trafficking.
MoCR	Ministry of Cults and Religions	Raises the capacity of Monks and <i>Achars</i> <sup>4</sup> to identify trafficking victims and to support and assist them and their families.
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Consular Department</li> </ul>	Awareness raising, research and poverty reduction and providing protection, return and reintegration assistance to Cambodian victims trafficked to Malaysia, while also aiming to strengthen ongoing recovery and reintegration support both for Cambodian and Vietnamese trafficking victims.
MoH	Ministry of Health	Contribute to the psychosocial rehabilitation of children and their families in the target districts and to increase their awareness levels to the risk and avoidance mechanisms of trafficking.
MoT	Ministry of Tourism	Issues associated with sex tourism with a focus on children.

<sup>4</sup> Elder respected persons who assist with religious ceremonies.

Source: David (n.d., p. 17)

As the table shows, the Ministry of Interior is mainly responsible for prevention and intervention, the Ministry Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth oversees implementation of alternative care standards and public awareness, and other ministries are involved in numerous cross-cutting issues and sectors having to do with trafficking and exploitation.

## National Committee

In 2007, the National Task Force Against Trafficking in Persons and the High Level Working Group were launched. In 2009, these two groups merged to become one national committee – the National Committee to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labour Exploitation and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children (S.T.S.L.S.), led by Secretariat H.E. Chou Bun Eng (Secretary of State at the MOI). The Secretariat's role is to promote and strengthen coordinated action among relevant government ministries and civil society organizations at the national and provincial levels. There are currently seven working groups in the committee, which is co-chaired by one ministry representative and one civil society representative. The working groups are:



1. Prevention Working Group;
2. Protection, Rehabilitation, Reintegration and Repatriation Working Group;
3. Law Enforcement Working Group;
4. Justice Working Group;
5. International Cooperation Working Group;
6. Child Affairs Working Group; and,
7. Migrant Workers Working Group (this group was added to the original six in 2012).

Overall, stakeholders spoke of the National Committee as a positive entity, although there was a general sense that it has an ongoing struggle for relevancy and working towards concrete progress.

**“At the moment there are some elements [in the National Committee] that are not functioning – there is a long way to go.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Cambodian**

### COMMIT

Regionally, Cambodia is one of the key players in the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking (COMMIT), which started in 2004. COMMIT aims to create a sustained and effective system of cross-border cooperation to combat human trafficking across the six countries of the Greater Mekong Sub-Region (Cambodia, China, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam). In 2004, Cambodia was a signatory to the ASEAN Trafficking in Persons Declaration, and became part of the Working Group on Trafficking in Persons in 2007. Cambodia signed MOU's with Thailand and Vietnam in 2003 and 2005, respectively, on “Bilateral Cooperation in Eliminating Trafficking in Children and Women and Assisting Victims of Trafficking;” Cambodia and Vietnam also more recently signed an updated MOU. An MOU agreement was made in cooperation with China in 2008 that included human trafficking.

Cambodia is in its third National Plan of Action Against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children (starting in 2011), the first was from 2000-2004, the second from 2006-2010, which encompassed a greater holistic approach in line with its commitment under COMMIT. In 2002, a specialized Anti-Trafficking and Juvenile Protection Police Unit (AHTJP) was created, which was the first of its kind in Asia and, in 2006, these specialized units expanded from seven to 17 provinces. In 2008, the Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation was passed, replacing the previous 1996 law.

Like the National Committee, COMMIT was seen by stakeholders as having both positive and negative impacts on counter-trafficking programs and collaboration. Although COMMIT has fostered good policies, implementation has been a challenge because countries have been reticent to be accountable to external entities.

**“It is positive, [because of COMMIT] we have a lot of policies.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Cambodian**

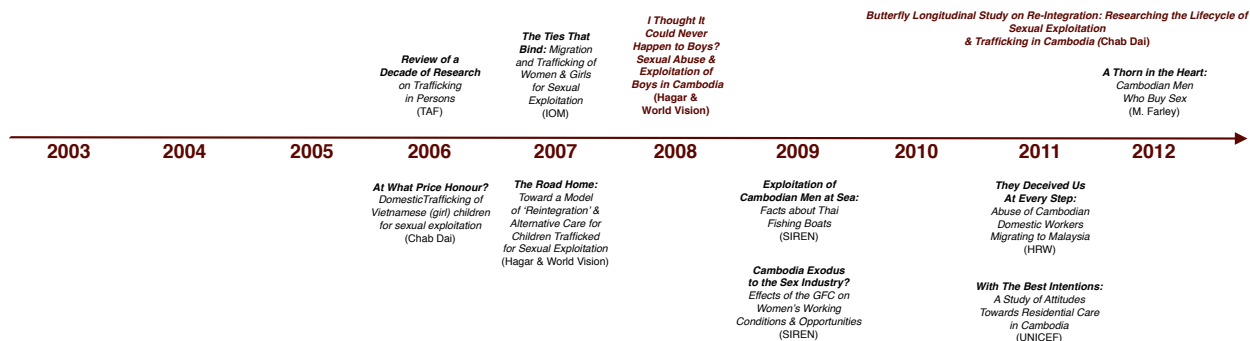
**“COMMIT has not become a regional approach... they complain that the enforcement on the ground is lacking.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

## RESEARCH

**“Our approach is learning, listening, reading relevant research, and we adjust our funding to meet the realities.” – Interview, Donor, Expat**

### Timeline

The following timeline outlines the major research studies conducted on trafficking in Cambodia in the past ten years, which have been recognized as influencing factors on anti-trafficking programs.



### Timeline 5: Research Influences, 2003-2012

#### Importance of Research

As discussed in the Literature Review, a vast amount of research has been completed on the issue of trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia over the past ten years. Research in general, as well as specific research studies, came up in interviews as significant influencing factors in program responses. Research was brought up in nine of the 11 interviews. Some interviewees spoke about the general importance and relevance of research.

**“People working on counter-trafficking base their project proposals on [their research and their experience].” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Cambodian**

**“[R]esearch is about providing information that enables policy and programs to be improved. Most of the research being done here is really actually helping and informing.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

#### Impact of Research

In answer to why an organisation had changed a program, 37% of survey respondents chose “We read a new research that informed our decision to make program changes,” coming only second to the highest chosen answer, “We saw a gap that wasn’t being filled” (74%).<sup>15</sup>

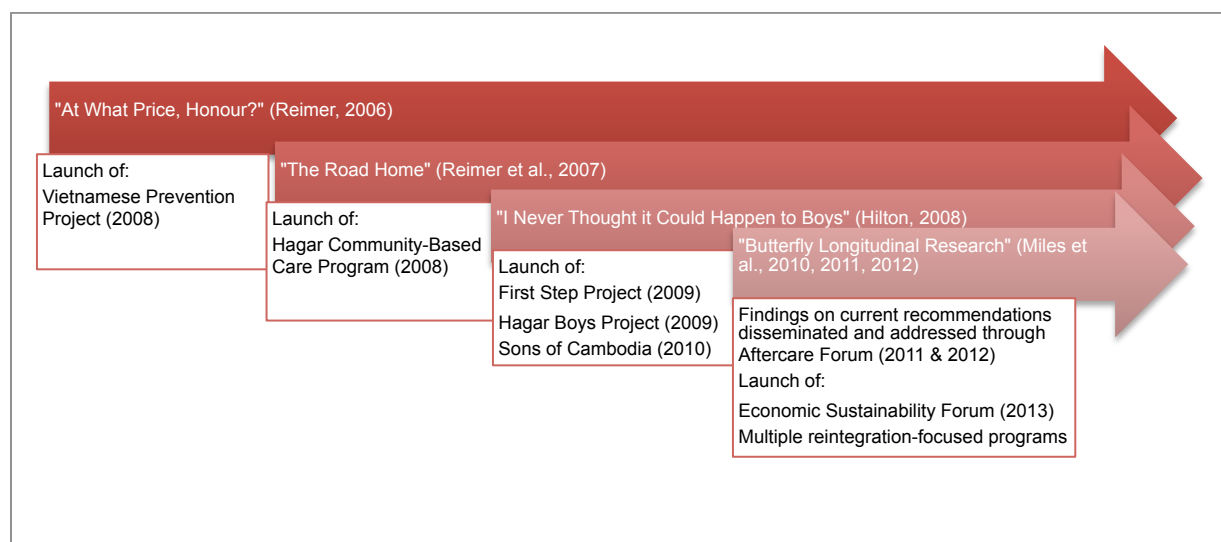
<sup>15</sup> Survey participants could choose all options that applied to their situation. The options, and percentage of respondents that chose them, were:

- Our donors suggested a new program idea so we made changes (8.6%);
- We saw a gap that wasn’t being filled (74.3%);
- We saw a shift in the type of cases being reported (28.6%);
- We learned from Chab Dai that the situation of trafficking and exploitation was different from when we started (22.7%);
- We were not getting enough clients accepted in our program (8.6%);
- We applied for a grant so we needed to change our program (11.4%);
- We read a new research that informed our decision to make program changes (37.1%).

**“Our own research showed us that what we were doing needed to be changed in order to have the most strategic positive impact.” – Survey respondent, Chab Dai member**

Twenty-seven percent (27%) of survey participants also chose “Research” as the top-influencing factor on programs addressing trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia. “Research” was the most chosen for #1 influencing factor, alongside “Cambodian government laws and policies.” In addition, 51% of respondents stated “Reading new research reports about trafficking and exploitation” was very or extremely influential on their own programs, and another 30% stated it was somewhat influential (barely 3% stated it was not influential). Thirty-three percent (33%) of respondents chose “Research” as one of the ways their own programs were currently addressing trafficking and exploitation.

Research has played an important role in program responses within Chab Dai Coalition. The figure below shows some examples of programs responding to needs and recommendations put forth by research studies. It is noteworthy that shortly after each research was published a program was established based on that report’s recommendations.



**Figure 4: Research and Program Response**

### Dissemination of Research

Another observation made about the impact or potential impact of research was about how well and how broadly research was disseminated. Some observed they vaguely knew about research that was conducted but did not recall the research being launched, or any of the recommendations implemented because practitioners, program planners, and government were not aware the research had been done. In the Focus Group Discussion led on the present study’s main findings, participants ranked research studies in terms of their influence on counter-trafficking in the past ten years in Cambodia. The common thread in the choices of each group was that host organisations and authors that had publicly launched and promoted the research were considered influential. FGD participants used the phrases “widely distributed” and “delivered to many members.” Another comment that came up in the FGD was that the entity that commissions or does the research should also be responsible for leading forward the implementation of the research recommendations.

### Influential Research

During stakeholder interviews, three research studies in particular were discussed by multiple interviewees and were brought up specifically as influencing factors in counter-trafficking. These were (in order of date of publication):

1. “At What Price, Honour?: Research into Domestic Trafficking of Vietnamese (Girl) Children for Sexual Exploitation from Urban Slums in Phnom Penh, Cambodia” (Reimer, 2006) & “The Ties that Bind: Migration and Trafficking of Women and Girls for Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia” (Brown, 2007b);
2. “I Thought it Could Never Happen to Boys: Sexual Abuse & Exploitation of Boys in Cambodia, An Exploratory Study” (Hilton, 2008); and,

3. The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project. A Chab Dai Study on (Re-)Integration: Researching the Lifecycle of Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking in Cambodia” (Miles et al., 2012).

“At What Price, Honour?” & “The Ties that Bind”

Both of these studies were often spoken of together. Both studies were launched within a short period and were discussed in terms of how they brought the issues of trafficking of young Vietnamese girls in Cambodia to the attention of practitioners and organisations across the country. Even though “The Ties that Bind” was about sexual trafficking and exploitation in general, its findings on the exploitation of Vietnamese girls and women in particular were the most shocking, and are what the study is remembered for. One of the main findings of the study was that Vietnamese girls were overrepresented in commercial sexual exploitation (Brown, 2007b).

“At What Price, Honour?” looked at vulnerability factors and the likelihood of girl children being sold for sexual exploitation in ethnic Vietnamese communities in Cambodia. The research suggested almost half of families in the communities studied sold their child for sex (usually for virginity sale) and that more than half of families would consider selling their child as an option. Many of the children surveyed in the study stated they felt in danger of being sold or forced into sexual exploitation (Reimer, 2006).

The importance of these two research studies was discussed on two levels. First, they are discussed in terms of contributing to the perception of research in general.

**[Chose “The Ties that Bind” & “At What Price, Honour?” in Top Five Influencing Factors]**

**“[Because they] showed that research was important and woke people up to some of the myths around it (sic).” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

Secondly, the studies were discussed in terms of prompting a targeted response to the issues brought up in the research.

**“[Prior to this research], there was still a lot of hostility [towards the idea] that parents can traffic their children and [“The Ties that Bind” and “At What Price, Honour?”] opened them up to the idea that it was happening. I think this is positive.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

More attention was paid to ethnic Vietnamese issues and communities after these two studies were published. For example, as stated in Figure 4 above, Chab Dai launched its Vietnamese Prevention Project. Also, rescue and aftercare programs began employing Vietnamese-speaking staff and making their programs more accessible to Vietnamese survivors of trafficking.

“I Thought it Could Never Happen to Boys”

Stakeholders referenced this research on the sexual abuse and exploitation of boys in Cambodia as the most influential research on human trafficking in Cambodia in the last ten years. The study prompted a major shift in perspective and impacted program response.

**“If we didn’t have this research, we wouldn’t have our program.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

The research caught the attention of counter-trafficking organisations, because many were not aware of the issue or the extent of boys’ issues. It was also suggested that exploring issues of sexual exploitation of boys opened up discussions of other forms of trafficking and exploitation, moving the focus away from only female sex trafficking, and towards a focus on labour trafficking.

**“We learned quickly about the research on boys... it’s not just girls, it’s boys.” – Interview, Donor, Expat**

**“[Research] is good we learn information and people who have skills and go to interview and identify the problem. It’s good because some programs here and other NGOs start projects because of the research. Like the boys project at Hagar – it started because of the research.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

**[Chose “I thought it could never happen to boys” in Top Five Influencing Factors]**

**“[Because] it did cause program shifts. I think that was part of the shift into labour trafficking, oddly enough because... it started about boys’ vulnerability within that context of trafficking and then, ‘Oh, there are other areas that people are being trafficked in’.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

#### The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research”

The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project” is a ten-year study on the reintegration experiences of survivors of sex trafficking in Cambodia. The study is currently in its fourth year and has published a progress report at the end of each year (Miles & Miles, 2010 & 2011; Miles et al., 2012). The main findings so far have included survivors’ experiences and perspectives on family and intimate relationships; shelter- and community-based care; education, employment, and poverty; spirituality and religion; emotional and physical health; and, the importance of economic factors in reintegration.

Many stakeholders discussed how this study, which started near the end of the 2003-2012 period, is up and coming, and has the potential to greatly influence future strategy in counter-trafficking.

**[Chose “The Butterfly Research” in Top Five Influencing Factors]**

**“Because you follow the girls... The research provides in-depth information on the real victims, the gaps on what should be done... [It’s] very good for program interventions.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Cambodian**

**[I thought it could never happen to boys] had the most impact over 10 years. But if I was looking at what was the most impactful right now it would be the Butterfly Research.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

## CHAB DAI

**“I don’t think, no one thinks, things would be the same if Chab Dai hadn’t started.”**  
**– Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

This section deals with Chab Dai Coalition as an influencing factor in anti-trafficking, specifically among the over 50 member organisations in the coalition. In this last section, we will integrate discussion about how the previous four influencing factors have interwoven with the coalition’s activities and, further, how the coalition had influence itself.

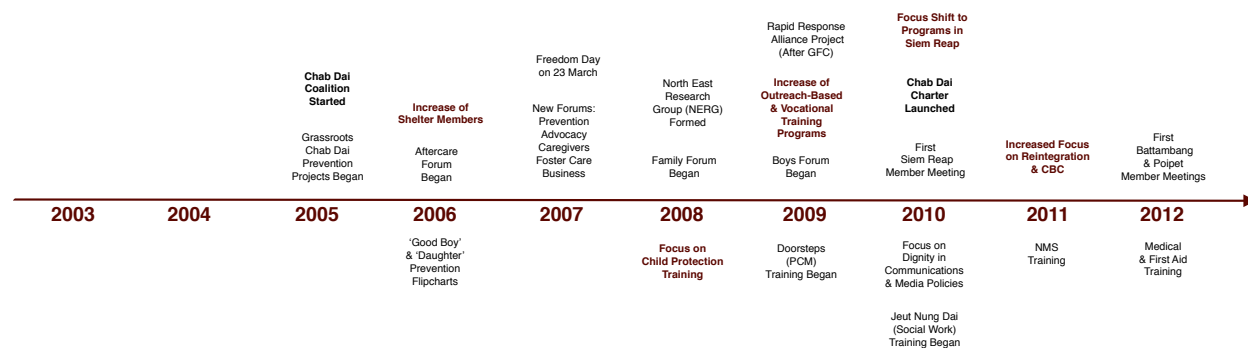
Chab Dai (literally meaning “joining hands” in Khmer) Coalition started in Cambodia in 2005 with a vision of working together to address human trafficking and exploitation through coalition building, advocacy, and research. The primary focus of the coalition is bringing together faith-based organisations addressing these issues at a grassroots level. Chab Dai strongly believes that actively engaging with stakeholders outside of the coalition is critical to addressing the issues, and has served as a “bridge-builder” between faith-based organisations and UN government agencies – especially representing smaller organisations and ministries.

The core values of the coalition are:

- Knowledge for sharing. We are committed to addressing issues of abuse, exploitation and trafficking by working together and providing opportunities for learning.
- Advocacy for justice. We believe partnership in coalition creates more collaboration for advocacy, and enables organisations to support one another more effectively.
- Support for strength. We believe that working together enables us to keep our individual identities while also acknowledging the broader issues we face as a whole.
- Hope for the future. We exist so that families and communities at risk, and those who have been exploited, trafficked, or sexually abused can be all that God created them to be.

### Timeline

The final timeline maps Chab Dai Coalition’s major activities since its beginning in 2005.



**Timeline 6: Chab Dai Activities, 2005-2012**

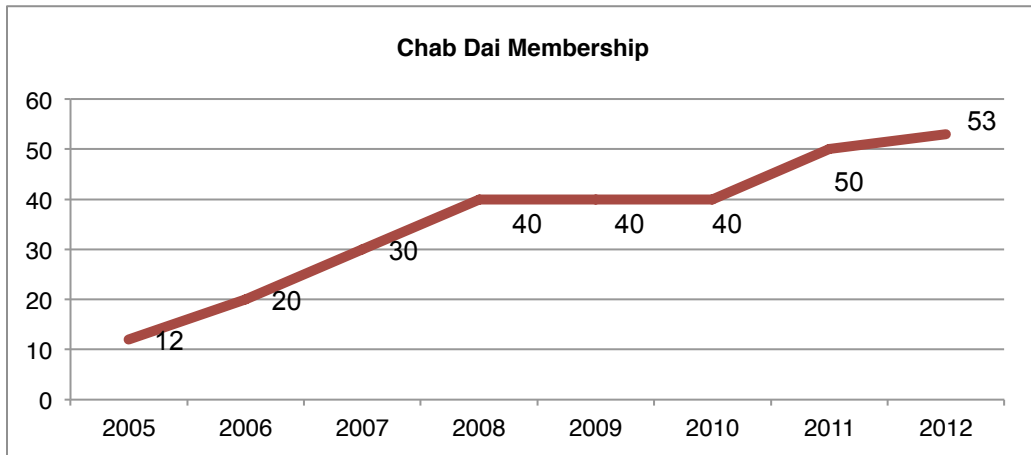
Chab Dai Coalition began in 2005 and started its first direct program, the grassroots prevention program, in the same year. As the main focus in anti-trafficking was shelter programs, the first focus forum in 2006 was on Aftercare, followed by a number of other forums in 2007. In 2008, because of the growing links and infrastructure in the GMS, Chab Dai joined the Northeast Research Group and led a coalition-wide focus on child protection policy training and implementation. Starting in 2010, Chab Dai began provincial member meetings, first in Siem Reap, and then in Poipet and Battambang. During this time, there was also more focus on building the capacity of member organisations, with social work training (Jeut Nung Dai), project cycle management (Doorsteps), and trainings on National Minimum Standards and First Aid.

The 2012 World Faith’s Dialogue Report on “Faith Roles in Cambodia’s Efforts to Counter Trafficking in Persons” noted that faith-based organisations continue to play a significant role in counter-trafficking. Roughly half of faith-based organizations, the vast majority of which are members of Chab Dai, focus on victim protection, including

emergency and long-term aftercare, counselling, rehabilitation programs, and vocational training (WFDD, 2012, p. 23).

### Growth in Membership

Since Chab Dai Coalition’s beginning in 2005, the number of faith-based member organisations has grown from 12 organisations to 53 at the end of 2012.<sup>16</sup> The graph below shows the rate of growth of the coalition.



Graph 4: Chab Dai Members 2005-2012

There has also been an increase, in more recent years, in member organisations and programs in provinces outside of Phnom Penh, though programs are still overwhelmingly found in Phnom Penh. The chart below shows, as of 2012, there were 29 member programs outside the Phnom Penh area.

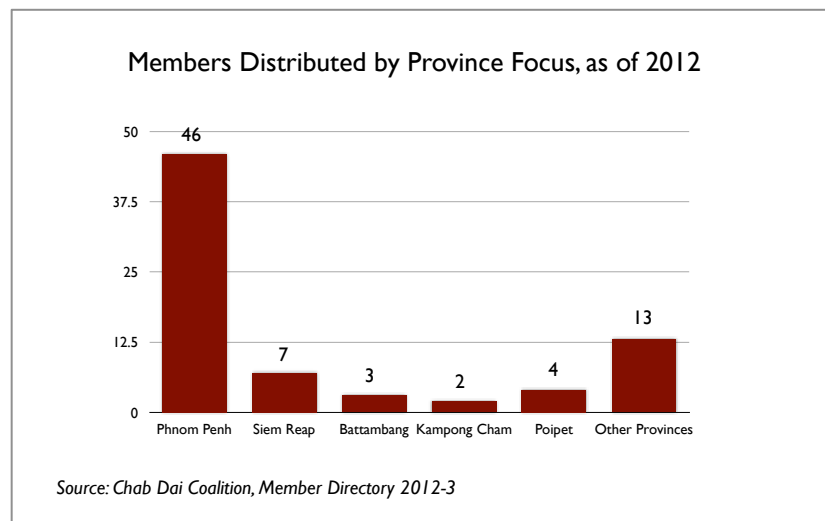


Chart 8: Chab Dai Member Projects by Province, 2012

### Focus of Member Activities

The coalition recognizes multi-faceted responses are required to end exploitation and trafficking and member organisations have a wide range of programs, including prevention through education provision, community awareness, and education about child rights and trafficking in communities; outreach to men in order to address demand issues; aftercare programs for girls, boys, and women; vocational training; and, socially responsible business

<sup>16</sup> The criteria for membership within the coalition is to have legal registration with the Cambodian government, to have a written and implemented child protection policy, to be a faith-based organisation (though there is no required statement of faith), and to be focused on addressing human trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia.

models. Other areas also include ongoing research on issues surrounding trafficking and capacity-building and training for member staff. The chart below shows the coalition members' activities, by program focus.

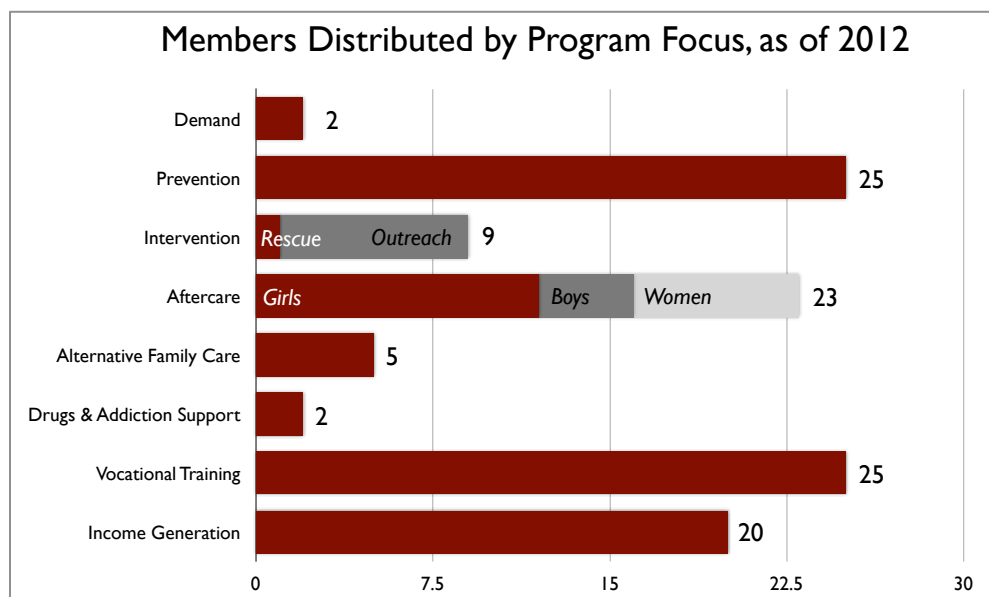


Chart 9: Chab Dai Members' Program Focus, 2012

The first large wave of faith-based NGOs to address trafficking came in 2004 and 2005 to set up shelters following the police raid in Svay Pak, which was publicized on Dateline NBC. In 2004, IJM opened an office in Phnom Penh and the U.S. State Department's A-TIP offered a \$50 million grant towards anti-trafficking work in Cambodia, with a focus on shelter programming. Two shelter organisations mention the Dateline coverage on their websites as the catalyst for taking action. At the same time, Hagar and World Vision, who had already been working in Cambodia for many years, shifted their focus towards addressing trafficking and exploitation.

After seeing a gap in grassroots, community-based prevention work, Chab Dai launched its prevention programs in 2006. The first outreach-based aftercare model was started in Phnom Penh in 2007 (Daughters of Cambodia), which included training and employment as an integral part of their care model. In 2008 and 2009, the need for vocational training and business models was pushed further to the forefront as they were recognized to be both sustainable and holistic aspects of care and rehabilitation. A number of shelter programs responded by expanding their programs to include vocational training options, and new organisations also started up with this specific aim. In 2009, another wave of outreach-based organisations started in Phnom Penh, including a growing number reaching out to women in beer gardens and entertainment industries, as well as targeting "johns" visiting those entertainment establishments.

The chart below outlines the projects of new Chab Dai members as well as project changes of existing Chab Dai members since 2003. As the years progressed, one can observe the increase in both prevention, and business and vocational training projects. Outreach and alternative care projects also increase slightly toward the end of the period. New aftercare projects spiked in 2005-2009 and some organisations expanded their aftercare programming to new geographic areas during the latter half of those years.



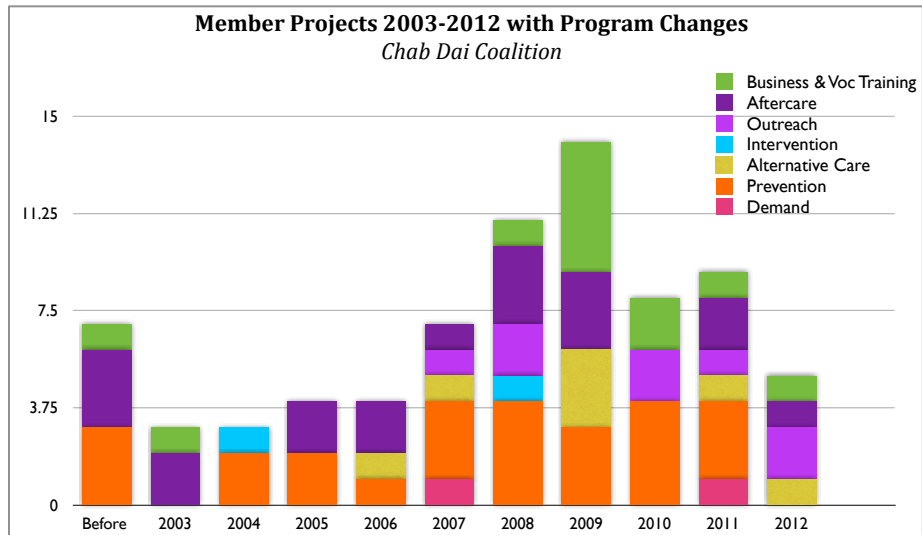


Chart 10: Chab Dai Member Projects, including program changes, 2003-2012

A shift from shelter-based models towards community-based care began in 2008. Although many aftercare programs already had reintegration as a component of their program, the shift towards community-based care models was significantly impacted by policy shifts and research. In 2011 and 2012, five different research studies were conducted on issues of reintegration and community-based care in Cambodia (e.g. Cody, 2012; DoCarmo, 2012; Mauney & Srun, 2012; Miles et al., 2012); only three studies were conducted on the subject between 2003 and 2010. Some of the new policies promoting this shift included the Prakas on National Minimum Standards on Alternative Care for Children and the Prakas on Procedures to Implement the Policy on Alternative Care for Children. Chab Dai members have seen the shift both positively and negatively, which was reflected in the responses given by interviewees.

**Question: Have you seen change in responses by faith-based organisations?**

**“By and large, [they have been] slow to take on board the community-based care changes, and not just slow but resistant. That’s the most difficult because we can all see it’s a necessary change.” – Interview, Chab Dai partner, Expat**

In the early 2000s, coalition members were primarily focused on the issue of sex trafficking of women and girls. In 2006, there was a shift towards exploring boys’ issues after research was published on the sexual abuse of boys (Hilton, 2006). Historically, the HIV/AIDS community has been the sole community to focus on the transgender population in Cambodia, but in 2010, a member of the coalition (Sons of Cambodia) launched a project reaching out to young members of the transgender population involved in sex work, offering employment, training, and a supportive community. Chab Dai members also conducted research in 2010 and 2011 in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, respectively, which focused on young men’s experiences working in massage parlours (Davis & Miles, 2012).

Finally, while cross-border migration programs have been operating on the Thai border for years, since 2009, there has been an increase, in the rest of Cambodia, in programs focusing on labour exploitation. These programs focus specifically on safe migration messaging in villages and reintegration support for Cambodians who were trafficked or exploited in Malaysia, Thailand, Korea, or further abroad. In 2011, three aftercare programs had specific programs for women returning from exploitative experiences in Malaysia.

**Collaboration Shifts Within the Coalition**

Timeline 6 (on page 62) above shows how Chab Dai Coalition has been actively engaging members and partners in collaboration since its inception in 2005. Active collaboration has included bi-annual member meetings, hosted in Phnom Penh, where member organisations from all over the country meet for two days to look at the bigger picture issues, trends, and responses related to trafficking in Cambodia. Between those large meetings, focus forums have met regularly, starting with the Aftercare Forum in 2006. The goal of these forums is to bring people around the table to discuss specific program responses and issues within their areas of work. Forum focuses have included: Family, Prevention, Business, Child Protection, Caregivers, Foster or Alternative Care, Leadership, Vietnamese issues, Boys

issues, and Advocacy. The outcomes of these forums have included toolkits, advocacy strategies, practitioner-level advice, and they have identified and responded to new trends. Beyond these formal activities, however, are the personal relationships and informal connections between Chab Dai and among member organisations. Trust building is the most important aspect in fostering collaboration.

In the early days, organisations within the coalition were eager to work together because the issue was relatively new to practitioners on the ground, and there was a strong felt need to depend on each other. During 2003-2006 the response to trafficking was fairly fragmented; new organisations were just starting up and little was known about what other agencies around the country, or even nearby, were doing. Chab Dai was started in 2005 for this exact reason – to learn from one another, to map responses, to network together, and to coordinate responses against trafficking and exploitation. An important reason Chab Dai exists is the referral system and continuum of care established among members. This system was established to smooth the transition between rescue, assessment, and aftercare for victims coming out of situations of exploitation and trafficking. The figure below shows the initial referral system set up by coalition members.

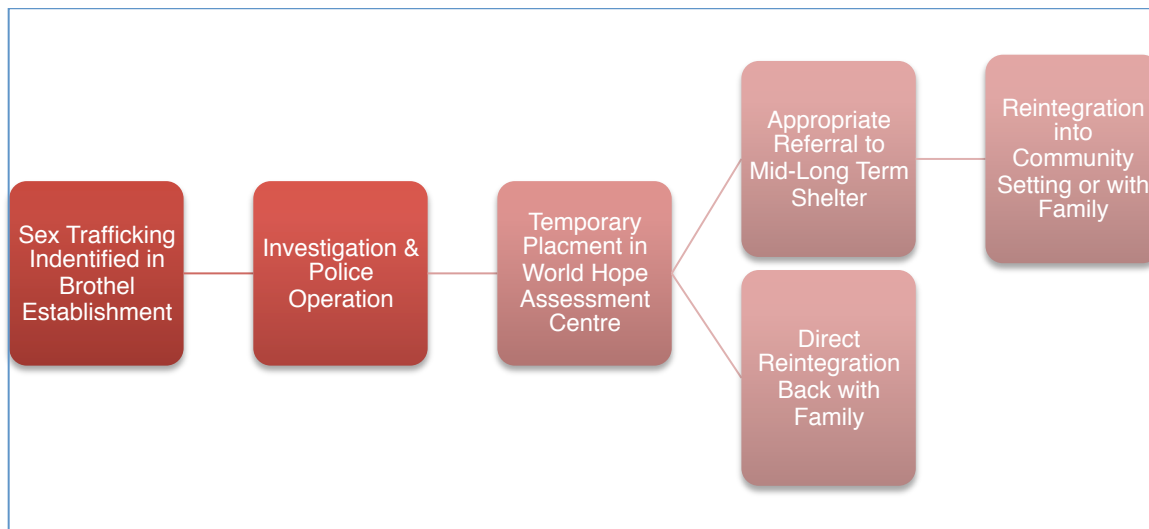


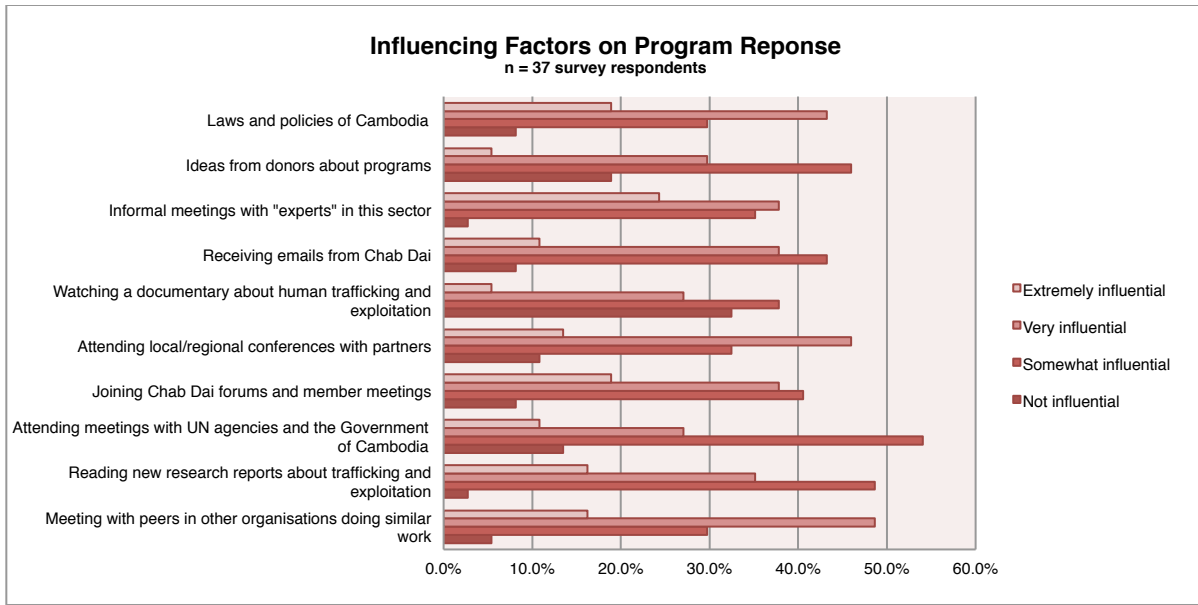
Figure 5: Chab Dai Coalition Referral System <sup>17</sup>

In 2012, an external impact evaluation was conducted on Chab Dai’s coalition activities. It found that, in spite of some challenges, Chab Dai has been needed and appreciated by its member organisations. Some main findings included:

- “Chab Dai Coalition is an ongoing learning laboratory where member organisations have been increasing their accountability and credibility.
- Chab Dai Coalition fosters a fair and equitable exchange of resources and information among members.
- Members were committed to work together to achieve concrete and common goals” (Algeri, 2012, p. 22).

For the present research, survey respondents were asked, “On a scale of 1-4 rank the following influencing factors on your own program’s response to the issue of trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia.” Fifty-seven percent (57%) of respondents said “Joining Chab Dai forums and member meetings” were very or extremely influential, with another 40% saying it was somewhat influential. Almost 50% said “Receiving emails from Chab Dai” were very or extremely influential, and another 43% said it was somewhat influential. The graph below outlines the full answers to this survey question.

<sup>17</sup> During Temporary Placement in WHI Assessment Centre: initial physical, psychological, and family assessment (ideally between 1 week and 3 months); during Mid-Long Term Shelter Placement: rehabilitation, counseling, education (ideally no more than 2 years); during Reintegration into Community Setting or with Family: assistance of vocational training, job placement, family reintegration or reunification.



**Chart 11: Influencing Factors on Program Response among Chab Dai Members**

Although not mentioning Chab Dai directly, the last option is also related to Chab Dai’s objective of coalition building; and in fact, 65% of survey respondents said “Meeting with peers in other organisations doing similar work” was very or extremely influential on their program’s response to trafficking and exploitation.

In addition, seven out of the 11 interviews brought up Chab Dai’s broader impact in counter-trafficking in Cambodia, and four out of 11 ranked Chab Dai as one of the top five influencing factors on the issue in the last decade. Interviewees discussed different aspects of Chab Dai’s impact, including building trust among many anti-trafficking NGOs, and fostering honest and candid conversations in order to address current and emerging issues. Chab Dai is seen to have helped organisations focus on their core competencies, while acting as a “hub” and as an “equipper” for the whole network. Through building trust and bringing people and organisations together, Chab Dai has been able to impact and influence the broader environment of counter-trafficking.

**“The faith-based community is lucky to have Chab Dai to share what the trends are, this is the research that’s been done, this is what the government is now saying... they’re able to say, ‘This is what’s happening,’ and people have learned through it and then moved to a response.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

**“When we work with Chab Dai we see a lot of resources; with the partners, we’re sharing the information; we got a lot of support so that’s useful.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

### **Influencing Issues and Standards**

In part because of the high level of trust and honest relationships established in Chab Dai Coalition, the standards of care for survivors or trafficking and exploitation among member organisations has risen drastically in the past decade. Chab Dai was able to create an accountability framework for members to work together on cross-cutting issues and joint initiatives.

**“We all helped set up ‘You aren’t legitimate if you aren’t part of Chab Dai’... so there became this social pressure to become part of Chab Dai and to be submitted to the process of review of your programs and child protection policy guidelines. There was no accountability like that before.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Expat**

Chab Dai was also seen as influencing key issue shifts, by leading or being a key voice in discussions on new issues. Some of the shifts mentioned by interviewees were the emergence of issues relating to Vietnamese populations and boys in Cambodia, labour trafficking to Malaysia, the harms of institutionalisation and the need to focus on community-based care, and the importance of dignity in communications.

When asked why organisations had changed a program or component of a program, 22.8% of survey respondents chose “We learned from Chab Dai that the situation of trafficking and exploitation was different than when we started” as one of their answers.

### **Advocating as “One Voice”**

Beyond the influence Chab Dai Coalition has had among its own members, including providing a platform for members to influence one another, Chab Dai has acted as an advocate for its members to the Royal Government of Cambodia. The phrase “one voice” was used multiple times by interviewees, in reference to coalition members having access to both the government and to a larger constituency.

#### **[Chose Chab Dai Coalition as #1 Influencing Factor]**

**“Because of collaboration and it coordinates all the NGOs that come together as one and raise one voice for protection and prevention. And also the voice to the government.” – Interview, Chab Dai member, Cambodian**

Through Chab Dai, the coalition has been able to influence key policy projects, such as the National Minimum Standards for the Protection and Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking, and have a presence on the National Committee to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labour and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children meetings and on UNIAP stakeholder meetings.

## **SUMMARY**

The five main influencing factors in counter-trafficking found in this research were media, donors, the Cambodian government, research, and, specifically for the coalition’s member organisations, Chab Dai Coalition. The figure on page 71 is the amalgamated timeline of counter-trafficking in Cambodia over the last ten years.

### **Media**

The Dateline NBC “Children for Sale” report, first aired in 2004, was largely seen as the catalytic media event that sparked the initial influx of funding and programs into Cambodia to address sex trafficking and exploitation. The report is stated as the reason many organisations and people first came to Cambodia, mainly to start aftercare programs for survivors of sex trafficking. It is also directly linked to U.S. State Department taking a deeper interest in the issue in Cambodia, leading to the influx of millions of dollars and pressure on the Cambodian government to take action.

Other international media events and publications were seen to influence the issue and response considerably less than the initial “Children for Sale” event. In recent years, there has been an increase in the production of documentaries on trafficking in Cambodia. Thirty-two percent of survey respondents stated documentaries (in general) were not influential in their programs’ response, and 37% said they only were somewhat influential.

Local Cambodian media was also explored as an influencing factor. The main positive views on local media were its advances in raising awareness among the Cambodian population on the issue of human trafficking, as well as warning brothel owners of the illegality of having underage children on their premises. Local media was also discussed as potentially increasing the vulnerability of both people at risk of being exploited and survivors who had previously been exploited. For instance, survivors are sometimes manipulated or coerced into sharing their stories for the benefit of their organisation’s publicity.

### **Donors**

There is a wide range of different donor-base countries among Chab Dai’s member organisations, but the main donor country is the United States. One of the main concerns around donors was the need to negotiate donor influence; while “following the funding” is often needed to keep programs running, stakeholders emphasized the importance of not allowing donors to dictate the future or direction of an organisation’s anti-trafficking focus and programs. Important

to this balance is the need to educate donors regarding issues and research on the field so they can make informed funding decisions.

The most influential donor in the past ten years in counter-trafficking in Cambodia has been the U.S. government; mainly through the annual TIP Report and the funding informed by the report. For instance, when Cambodia was placed on Tier 3 in the 2005 TIP Report, a 50 million USD grant was given by the U.S. government, mainly focused on shelters. This contributed to the opening of new shelter and aftercare programs. In 2006, this was followed by the C-TIP 1 grant, focused on shelters and law enforcement, which led to strengthening and changing the legal framework and police interventions around trafficking. And finally, in 2011, C-TIP 2 was awarded and has led a shift from a focus on sex trafficking to labour trafficking.

### **Cambodian Government**

The Cambodian government has increased its action against human trafficking and exploitation, especially since 2005, when Cambodia was placed on Tier 3 of the TIP Report. The pressure from the U.S. government and increased funding prompted greater political will and the Cambodian government began to address the trafficking and exploitation more strategically.

Policies and laws were seen as major influencing factor in counter-trafficking; 43% of survey participants said “Cambodian policies and laws” were extremely influential, while another 30% said they were very influential. The most influential policies were the 2008 Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (TIPSE), the National Minimum Standards (NMS) on the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking, and the NMS on Alternative Care for Children. The TIPSE Law had a positive influence in that it promoted and partnered with NGOs to increase police training and the standards for rescuing victims. It was also seen as partially responsible for further pushing trafficking underground, from brothel-based to entertainment-based exploitation. Both the NMS on the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking and on Alternative Care for Children were seen as positive influences in terms of the impact on caring for survivors. The NMS on Alternative Care for Children, and its subsequent implementation policy, were seen as contributing to the shift from focusing on institutional models to community-based models of care. Other policies seen as important were the Penal Code shift, specifically the disallowing of undercover evidence being admissible in court, as well as Sub decree 190, on the sending of migrant workers abroad.

In 2009, the Cambodian government started the National Committee to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labour Exploitation and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children. Although it was seen mainly as a positive entity, stakeholders agreed it has a long way to go to reach its full potential in pushing issues forward and making concrete progress. Cambodia is also a member of COMMIT, along with five other countries in the GMS. COMMIT has contributed to establishing some important policies, but the implementation on the ground is lacking, as countries hesitate to be accountable to an external entity.

### **Research**

Research was seen as a major influencing factor; nine out of 11 interviewees spoke at length about research, 37% of survey participants stated reading a research report had informed a decision to change their program, and 27% of survey participants chose research as the #1 influencing factor in counter-trafficking. Research was seen to have the most impact when it was disseminated well and/or led to a new or changed program response.

The most influential research, according to stakeholders, were “At What Price, Honour?” and “The Ties that Bind,” “I Thought it Could Never Happen to Boys,” and the “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project.” “At What Price, Honour?” (Reimer, 2006) and “The Ties that Bind” (Brown, 2007b) both brought the issue the exploitation and trafficking of ethnic Vietnamese girls in Cambodia to the attention of practitioners and organisations. They also were influential in promoting the important role research has in shaping program response, as organisations implemented the research findings and recommendations to better serve the victims from these communities.

“I Thought it Could Never Happen to Boys” (Hilton, 2008) had a similar impact in shaping programs’ response to boys issues and their understanding of how to work with boys and men. It also opened up the discussion about other forms of exploitation, such as labour trafficking, as it broadened the issue away from female sex trafficking.

The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project” (Miles et al., 2012) is a ten-year research with survivors of sex trafficking, exploring the issues survivors face as they reintegrate back into their communities. Stakeholders stated this research has the most potential for impacting the future of counter-trafficking, as it disseminates the voices of the

survivors themselves and its annual progress report offers recommendations for further supporting survivors throughout their reintegration process.

### **Chab Dai Coalition**

Chab Dai was founded in 2005 with the aim of addressing human trafficking and exploitation through coalition building, advocacy, and research, areas seen as gaps in the response at the time. Besides offering a platform where faith-based organisations could work together, Chab Dai has also acted as a bridge builder between the coalition and government and UN agencies. Between 2005 and 2012, there were many shifts in how Chab Dai interacted with key stakeholders on issues of trafficking and exploitation. Program shifts among the coalition's members have included expanding to provinces outside of Phnom Penh, moving away from a focus on solely female sex trafficking to address boys' issues and migration, a move from institutional care towards community-based care, and a greater focus on prevention, and business and vocational training programs. There remain a large number of aftercare programs, and a small number of programs addressing demand.

Members have seen Chab Dai as an influencing factor on their own programs as well as on the counter-trafficking sector in Cambodia. Among the survey participants, 57% stated attending Chab Dai forums and member meetings was very or extremely influential to their work. Sixty-five percent (65%) of respondents stated meeting peers from other organisations doing similar work was very or extremely influential. Four interviewees placed Chab Dai in the top five influencing factors on counter-trafficking in the last decade in Cambodia.

The main impacts Chab Dai has had, according to stakeholders, were building trust among many different NGOs, establishing referral systems to increase the standard of care for survivors, fostering honest and candid conversations in order to address the issues as they arose, and acting as a "hub" and an "equipper" while allowing NGOs to focus on their core competencies. Chab Dai contributed to influencing shifts in issues and standards, such as pushing forward boys' issues, promoting the shift toward community-based care, and drawing attention to the exploitation of Cambodian migrant workers. It has also acted as a voice to the Cambodian government on behalf of its members, and advocated for change on the policy and ministerial level.

# Timeline of Influencing Factors on Anti-Trafficking in Persons Programming in Cambodia, 2003-2012

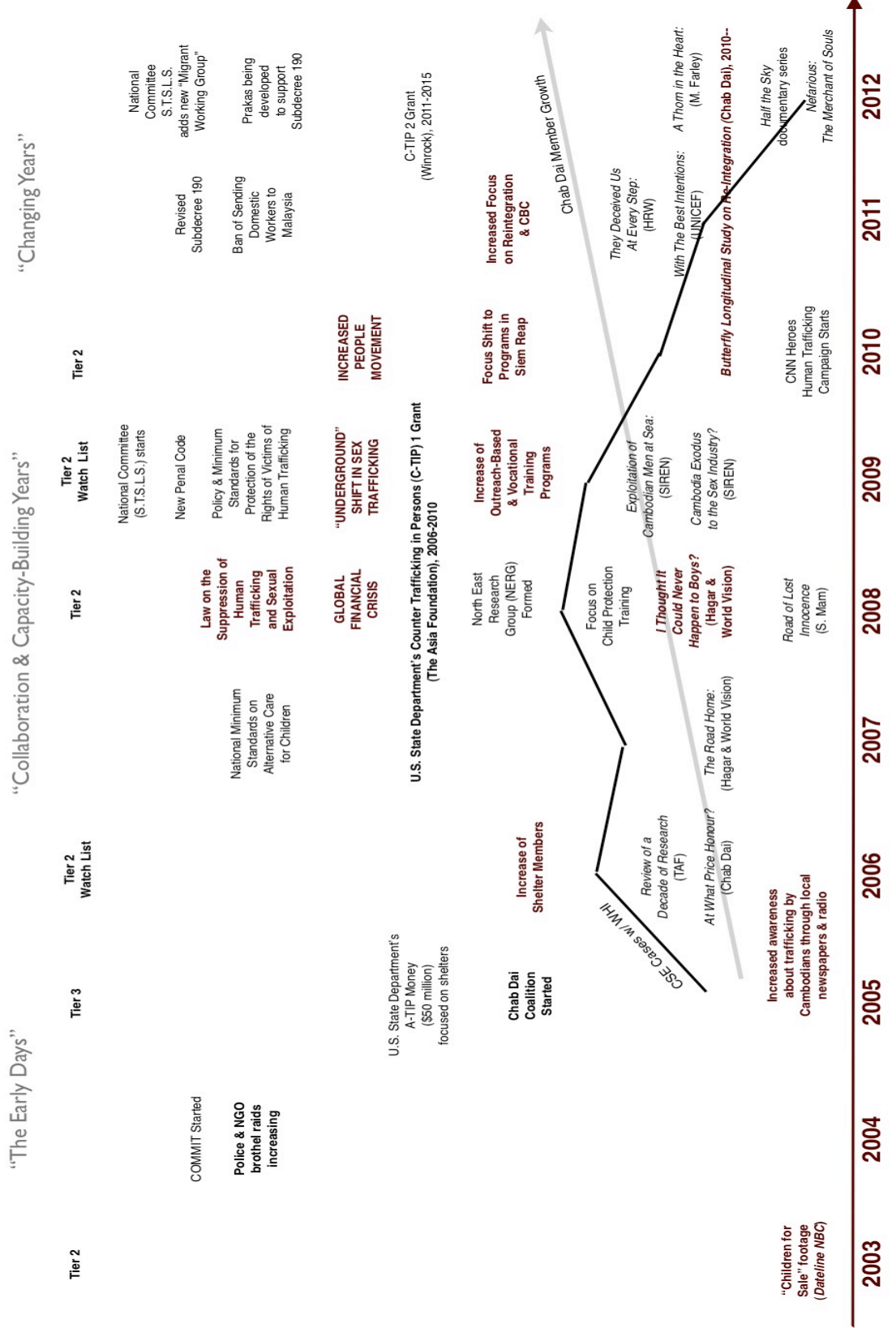


Figure 6: Timeline of Counter Trafficking Sector in Cambodia, 2003-2012

# CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

The shifts in trends in both the case environment of exploitation and trafficking and in influencing factors on counter-trafficking in Cambodia have indicated a broadening of the scope of understanding of the issue. At this crossroads, it is time to challenge the discourse around trafficking, engage in broader discussions of intersecting issues, allow a new discourse to inform programs on the ground, and allow innovative programs to in turn inform discourse.

## CHALLENGING THE DISCOURSE AROUND THE RESPONSE TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING

### Lessons from the Development Field

In the field of international development, practitioners often talk about the differences and relationships between relief and development. In Myers' (1999) *Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development*, he outlines the process of relief to rehabilitation to development. In the relief stage, usually after a natural disaster or directly following a conflict crisis, there is an influx of money, resources, and people to respond to the urgency of the situation. The response is fast, intense, and focused on rescue and survival. As the situation stabilizes, most agencies move into a rehabilitation phase, where the true rebuilding can begin. The focus is less on the individual and more on the community, and "beneficiaries" are more involved in the planning processes. The development phase is the long-term strategy to enable communities and nations to become self-sufficient. The figure below briefly outlines this continuum.

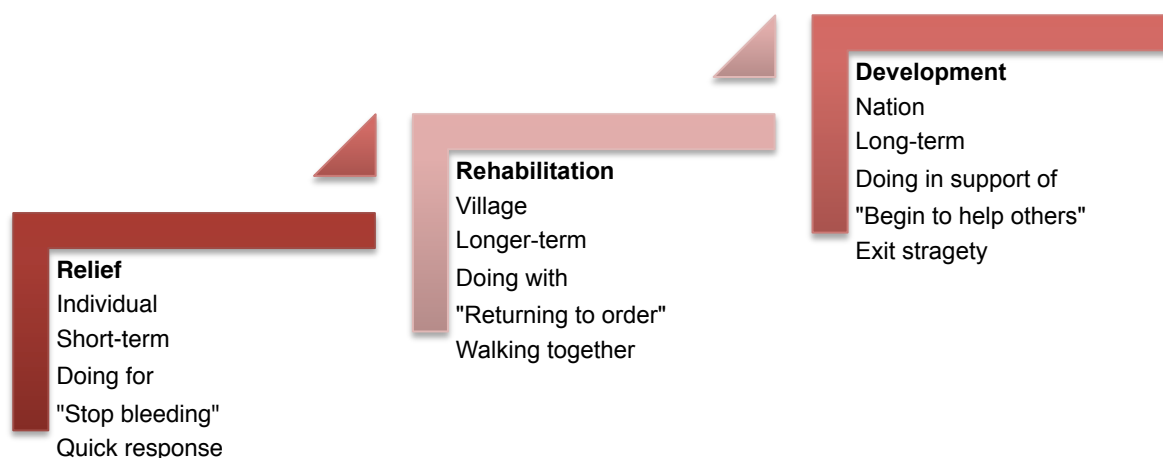


Figure 7: Continuum of Relief to Development

Source: Adapted from Myers (1999) and Corbett & Fikkert (2009).

Over ten years ago, when the issue of human trafficking was starting to gain more widespread attention, the response resembled very much a disaster relief response. Although there are still exceptional situations that require relief-like responses, such as in the freeing of victims of exploitation, the sector must begin to think more long-term, and move into a holistic model, understanding the multiple crosscutting issues, and addressing them together.

Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, a development economist and a political philosopher, respectively, pioneered the capabilities approach to development. Sen's (1999) *Development as Freedom* stated that freedom is both the means and the end to development. Capabilities are a set of functionings that allow people and communities to achieve the lives *they themselves* deem valuable. As the discourse around trafficking moves forward, it is imperative to prioritize the values and freedoms of those we work to empower. The influencing factors, and the agendas and motivations of those influencers, should be scrutinized so that survivors and communities at risk can achieve their full capabilities, as they define them.



## **Restructuring the Framework**

This research was initiated after a number of stakeholders in anti-trafficking in Cambodia were discussing the sector as being at a crossroads. Both in the program response and in the larger discourse around human trafficking, organisations and advocates are becoming more engaged in how the issues and theoretical dialogues are shifting, and recognize that the sector must begin addressing issues together, instead of each one in a “silo.” Human trafficking must be addressed within the bigger picture of human rights violations and even as a symptom of other injustices, such as gender-based violence, income disparity and class division, and structural racism and sexism.

Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, author and co-editor of *From Human Trafficking to Human Rights: Reframing Contemporary Slavery*, verbalizes this crossroads in the grander scheme of global movements:

“Mini-movements serve as an excellent means for channelling enthusiasm, attention, personnel, and money onto ‘new’ issues. As movement entrepreneurs establish better links with institutions, and as they get older and look for greater career stability, and as publics tire of the Newness of the Issue, the formerly ‘new’ issue either disappears, or is integrated into more established institutional efforts” (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012).

By seeing anti-trafficking as a “mini-movement” within the framework of larger rights issues, one can see the potential for reframing the issue to address and discuss it more holistically. Part of the restructuring the framework of the movement is challenging and changing the language of the movement: shifting from “human trafficking” to “human rights,” and from “rescue” and “victim,” to “empowerment” and “capability building.”

## **KEY INFLUENCING FACTORS**

This research has explored how different events, organisations/institutions, data/information, people, and policies have influenced the counter-trafficking response in Cambodia in the last ten years. This section will set forth a number of recommendations, specific to each of the five major influencing factors, as a way for NGOs and programs to feed back into the influencing process and move the sector forward in its response to the issues around human trafficking and exploitation for the future. The following recommendations promote the evolution of the anti-trafficking discourse and call for a collaborative shift towards a human rights approach. For related and secondary recommendations, see Appendix 4.

### **Media**

The way human trafficking has been portrayed in mainstream media is frequently criticized for sensationalizing the issues, for over-emphasizing the need for rescue-based programs, for exploiting the shock factor of a story, and for re-victimizing survivors of trafficking by divulging their identities and coercing them to share their stories. In order to make (albeit awful) everyday occurrences “newsworthy,” many journalists and media makers capitalise on shock value and sensationalise the issues. In doing so, media communicate that this is a valid method in journalism, and promote others gathering and showing the same types of footage, which are often degrading to survivors and offensive to host cultures and countries. Also, Western media focuses on but a small part of trafficking, namely female sex trafficking, and reinforces the narrow view of the issue, giving viewers the impression the issue, and therefore the solution, is simple and straightforward. Gulati (2010) found media representations of human trafficking in large newspapers in Canada, the U.S., and the UK all promoted a narrow view of the issue and marginalized alternative viewpoints and criticism of current government policy on the issue.

Media stakeholders defend their “good intentions” and justify the use of these methods because, they claim, it raises awareness and people will be more likely to act if they have been shocked and heartbroken. The question this raises is, “Awareness at what cost?” It is time to move beyond good intentions and begin balancing “the heart and the head.” Awareness should not be raised at the expense of simplifying the issue and disregarding the dignity and humanity of the survivor. Downman (2013) states media re-victimizes survivors, over-simplifying situations into stereotypes, and depicting the issue inaccurately. Both media and organisations who partner with media have a responsibility to communicate and educate on the real issues, and to protect the dignity of survivors, respecting that a survivor’s story is and always will be their own.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS TO MEDIA STAKEHOLDERS:**

JOURNALISTS AND OTHER MEDIA MAKERS COVERING ISSUES IN CAMBODIA MUST:

- LEARN ABOUT AND ADHERE TO CAMBODIAN LAWS AND POLICIES (PRAKAS) ON PROTECTING VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING; GAIN INFORMED CONSENT AND PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF SURVIVORS OF TRAFFICKING;
- RESEARCH THE PREVALENCE OF EXISTING PRODUCTIONS AND PUBLICATIONS IN THEIR AREA OF INTEREST TO AVOID DUPLICATING EFFORTS AND OVER-SIMPLIFYING THE ISSUE INTO A NARROW PERSPECTIVE; AND,
- SCRUTINIZE THE ETHICS OF THEIR COVERAGE OF ISSUES IN CAMBODIA, AND SHOULD NOT COMPROMISE ETHICAL BOUNDARIES THAT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

News stories, books, documentaries, and other media events, have influenced the issue, specifically how the issue is understood and addressed by individuals, communities, and organisations in the West (e.g. North America). Much of the media attention to the issue, especially prolific in the U.S.A., has been popular in Christian circles. Christian organisations and stakeholders have engaged in the media primarily through documentaries. In the relief phase of a situation, results of interventions are very visual, easy to portray and describe; on the other hand, rehabilitation, and development, in particular, are difficult to see tangibly. It is easy to show a girl being rescued from a brothel, but less apparent to communicate about internal trauma or the multiple interconnected challenges of reintegration. Christians, though, believe that all humans are created equally in the image of God; therefore, a spiritual framework of caring for and communicating about survivors would not sanction the portrayal of victims without dignity. Consequently, Christian portrayals of victims should not promote pity or shock, but rather compassion and empowerment, lifting up survivors as equal human beings.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS TO CHRISTIAN NGOS AND CHURCHES:**

BASED ON THE SPIRITUAL FRAMEWORK OF EVERY PERSON BEING CREATED IN THE IMAGE OF GOD,

##### **CHRISTIAN NGOS SHOULD:**

EMPOWER THEIR CLIENTS BY FOLLOWING CAMBODIAN LAWS AND POLICIES PERTAINING TO THEIR PROTECTION, AND BY CAREFULLY VETTING JOURNALISTS AND FILMMAKERS WHO REQUEST ACCESS TO THEIR ORGANISATIONS, PROGRAMS, AND CLIENTS; AND,

##### **CHRISTIAN CHURCHES SHOULD:**

REMOVE EXTREME SENTIMENTALISM AND SENSATIONALISM FROM THEIR AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS, AND SEEK TO BALANCE THEIR HEART AND THEIR HEAD RESPONSE BY THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT THE WAY VICTIMS ARE PORTRAYED BY THE MEDIA AND WITHIN THEIR OWN CHURCHES.

An effective coalition is in a unique position to act as a voice for multiple NGOs and practitioners, and can have a much deeper impact than each of its individual partners or members on their own. Therefore, it is a coalition's duty to advocate on behalf of its members.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS TO COALITION:**

- ADVOCATE AMONG MEMBERS ON MEDIA POLICIES, AND ON MAINTAINING DIGNITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY OF CLIENTS.
- EDUCATE MEMBERS ON DONOR RELATIONS AND USE OF MEDIA, SUCH AS BALANCING THE NEED FOR MONEY AND ATTENTION WITH RESPECTING AND PRIORITIZING THEIR CLIENTS' BEST INTERESTS.

The media discourse that over-simplifies and stereotypes human trafficking must change if the movement is to move forward and more deeply engage a larger community of potential advocates for the issue. As Soderlund (2011) challenges, "If we remain mired in a discourse of innocent victims and villainous captors, we are unlikely to find solutions to the problem that do not ultimately rely on repressive measures to curb instances of forcible trafficking" (p. 207).

#### **Donors**

It is easy to place the entirety of the blame or responsibility upon donors for driving a particular response to the issue and for luring organisations to "chase the money." However, joint responsibility needs to be apportioned. Some donors have driven responses, but often NGOs blindly follow and allow themselves and their programs to be directed by donor agendas rather than by the needs and knowledge on the ground. For example, early programs reflected these donor agendas through the wave of NGOs opening shelters for a particular sub-sector of victims, rather than responding to the previously identified gaps and needs. As a result, there was an overlap in responses to one sector

of beneficiaries while others remained neglected.

Much conversation ensues around donor education, which is much needed, but it needs to be developed from joint collaboration, openness, transparency, and participation in ongoing dialogue, which is mutually beneficial to the education of the donor and the NGO. It is also important to understand the influence donors have in their own circles and to not limit a relationship to a purely financial one, but one which is also influential in terms of advocacy and education within other sectors, such as other donors, politicians, businesses, churches, and the general public.

**RECOMMENDATION TO DONORS AND NGOS:**

SEEK DONOR/FUNDING PARTNERS WITH WHOM THEY CAN BUILD A MUTUAL RESPECT RELATIONSHIP AND MOVE BEYOND THE "MONEY" ISSUE INTO A JOINT PARTNERSHIP FRAMEWORK.

In order to create more professional, appropriate, and relevant programs on the field, donors need to also balance the "head versus heart" scenario. This can be a challenge but is critical to keep NGOs accountable through rigorous due diligence both before and during funding periods to ensure that partners are adhering to standards of excellence. It is a challenge to do this without being too "paperwork heavy" for the sake of bureaucracy. Instances of bias in both directions have been experienced. In some cases, funds are given with little or no accountability, but with a great heart, leading to misuse of money. On the other hand, some donors have such a demanding reporting procedure that NGOs or programs are overwhelmed due to low capacity, and subsequently, leaders burn out and programs suffer.

**RECOMMENDATION TO DONORS:**

INVEST IN PROPER DUE DILIGENCE BEFORE GRANTING FUNDS TO PARTNERS, REMAIN ENGAGED THROUGHOUT GRANT PROJECT, AND INCLUDE TRAINING FUNDS FOR SMALLER ORGANISATIONS TO IMPROVE CAPACITY AND MEET REPORTING DEMANDS.

Finally, if the discourse in the counter-trafficking sector is to evolve and the framework is to shift to a more holistic, rights-based approach, NGOs and donors need to move forward together. Much of this can be founded in how NGOs speak and write about the issues they are addressing. NGOs can influence the anti-trafficking movement by communicating about the interconnectedness of issues and the holistic, community-focused responses to these issues.

**RECOMMENDATION TO NGOS:**

USE RESEARCH-BASED AND HOLISTIC LANGUAGE IN PROPOSAL WRITING AND DONOR INTERACTIONS. COMMUNICATE WITH LANGUAGE OF RIGHTS, EMPOWERMENT, GENDER, A BROAD UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUE, PUSH, PULL AND FACILITATING FACTORS, AND COMMUNITY AND FAMILY NEEDS.

The Christian Church in the West has the potential to be influential on the issue of exploitation and trafficking. It is important to dialogue about anti-trafficking discourse and responses with Christian communities and equip them to be informed donors and advocates.

**Cambodian Government**

NGO and practitioner attitude towards government are often to work around the government, engaging the least amount possible, and to view the government as an obstacle, rather than as a partner. In order to see real progress, though, the counter-trafficking sector must begin viewing the government as part of the solution, rather than as part of the problem, and must begin working with the government, rather than around or against it. Although political corruption is still pervasive in Cambodia (Chêne, 2009), NGOs must work within the laws and policies of Cambodia and with those politicians, government workers, and departments that are seeking to make change, in order to see sustainable and long-term change.

For an effective response by the Cambodian Government, it is critical for the government departments to work cooperatively, to share and compare data, and to provide a broader picture of the issues and responses from a higher level. The National Committee has created an environment for inter-ministerial collaboration but this is often limited to the joint meetings rather than ongoing, day-to-day cooperation. In terms of general government involvement, stakeholders in the present study stated there is both a need for government to take more responsibility and action in

fighting against trafficking and exploitation, as well as a need for NGOs to support and build the capacity of government workers - particularly MoSAVY and DoSAVY social workers in communities. There is also a need for more buy-in from higher up government representatives to move the issue forward.

**RECOMMENDATION TO NGOs AND COALITION:**

CHALLENGE, SUPPORT, AND CONTRIBUTE MORE INTO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, EITHER AS AN INDEPENDENT NGO OR THROUGH THE COALITION'S VOICE IN THE COMMITTEE.

It is also important for NGOs to build greater partnership with the Cambodian Government in a similar manner to this framework. NGOs need to go beyond the official duties of their MOU to work more cooperatively in an ongoing partnership. Some cite the challenges of working with the government on a regular basis but if sustainable and long-term change in Cambodia is to happen, it is imperative to dialogue and work with and through the Cambodian Government to mutual benefit.

**RECOMMENDATION TO NGOs AND COALITION:**

INVEST IN RELATIONSHIPS, CAPACITY-BUILDING, AND TRUST BUILDING WITH KEY OR POTENTIALLY INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT ON A MORE ONGOING AND DAY-TO-DAY BASIS.

**RECOMMENDATION TO COALITION:**

PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES AND A VOICE TO MEMBERS TO INTERACT AND DIALOGUE WITH GOVERNMENT.

## Research

The research with the most influence, as chosen by the stakeholders in the present study, was tied to a new program or a significant program change, and had been successfully and broadly disseminated. Also, all three of the research studies with influence impacted the discourse around trafficking and understanding of the issues. "At What Price, Honour?" (Reimer, 2006) and "The Ties that Bind" (Brown, 2007b) changed the understanding of female sex trafficking in Cambodia, drawing attention to the fact that ethnic Vietnamese girls were the primary victim group, and changing the way practitioners and organisations viewed research in general, and its potential impact on improving and targeting program response. "The Ties that Bind" was also used to advocate to the Cambodian government for ethnic Vietnamese issues.

"I Never Thought it Could Happen to Boys" (Hilton, 2008) not only expanded the sector's understanding of the issue of sex trafficking, that boys as well as girls were being sexually exploited; but also broadened the scope of trafficking in general. Consequently, organisations started realising, if the issue was not only about female sex trafficking, perhaps other forms of exploitation were just as prevalent, such as labour trafficking. The research was used as an advocacy tool to raise awareness of boys' issues globally, and it also resulted in subsequent and complementary research in Cambodia (Miles & Blanch, 2011; Davis & Miles, 2012; Davis, Lippmann, Isaac & Miles, 2013).

The "Butterfly Research Project" (Miles et al., 2012) has broadened the scope of care for survivors of trafficking, moving the sector beyond understanding counter-trafficking in terms of rescue to seeing the larger issue of *vulnerability* both before and after trafficking occurs. It contributed to the understanding of the continuum of volition (e.g. survivors being re-trafficked, or "choosing" to go back into the sex industry) and survivors' ongoing vulnerability to other forms of rights abuses, even after successful aftercare and reintegration.

**RECOMMENDATION TO RESEARCHERS AND NGOs DOING RESEARCH:**

- INVEST IN PROFESSIONAL, INDEPENDENT RESEARCH TO AUTHENTICALLY IDENTIFY SUCCESSES AND GAPS THAT WILL INFORM PROGRAM CHANGES OR NEW INITIATIVES.
- CAPITALISE ON RESEARCH LAUNCHES AND FOCUS ON BROAD DISSEMINATION AND SHARING OF FINDINGS. WHERE POSSIBLE, LINK RESEARCH TO EXISTING OR PLANNED PROGRAMS TO ENSURE RECOMMENDATIONS ARE FOLLOWED UP AND IMPLEMENTED.

Research should be informing theoretical discourse and program response around issues of human trafficking and human rights, and stakeholders should examine where research comes from and who is driving the research agenda. Often research related to this field is driven by counter-trafficking organisations or funders themselves; the risk is the research will serve to confirm an already established agenda (Derks, Henke & Ly, 2006). There is a need for more

independent, professional research on the issues, which should then inform program response, advocacy frameworks, and academic discourse.

There is a polarisation between academic institutions and practitioners; by bringing the two sectors together, collaborative response will be more effective. Often academic researchers lack an understanding of and exposure to the issues and responses at a grassroots level. On the other hand, practitioners often lack both access and the will to interact and partner with academic institutions.

**RECOMMENDATION TO THE COALITION:**

INVEST IN ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIPS IN ORDER BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN PRACTITIONERS AND RESEARCHERS. OFFER A WIN-WIN PLATFORM WHERE THESE TWO STAKEHOLDER GROUPS CAN INTERACT AND FEED INTO ONE ANOTHER'S REFLECTIONS AND ACTIONS.

For recommendations on specific research gaps, see Appendix 4.

**Chab Dai Coalition**

Chab Dai Coalition has clearly been seen as a significant influencing factor since its inception in 2005, developing its own responses and informing and educating member organisations on big picture issues and emerging needs, both programmatically and geographically. However, the challenge ahead for Chab Dai is to remain strategic and cutting-edge in its own programming and how it continues to dialogue with its members. A primary recommendation for Chab Dai is to not only continue its influence with its members but to broaden its influence in mutually beneficial discourse and learning environments with external partner organisations, the Government of Cambodia, community gatekeepers, academic institutions, and other newer stakeholders, such as the private sector. Chab Dai should also continue to broaden its scope by partnering with agencies in neighboring countries where high numbers of Cambodians migrate for work.

Collaboration is at the heart of Chab Dai's ethos and in line with this is the need to be proactive in leading the way forward in broadening the dialogue and fostering responsible partnerships with a more diverse stakeholder group. Collaboration is a prerequisite to effectiveness, according to Austin (2000), and although every stakeholder has their own aims and agendas, finding common ground, however small, is critical to finding creative and sustainable objectives and solutions to complex issues based on the core competencies and circles of influence of each (Covey, 1989).

**RECOMMENDATION TO COALITION:**

IN LIGHT OF BROADENING THE FRAMEWORK AND DISCOURSE AROUND EXPLOITATION AND TRAFFICKING, THE COALITION SHOULD:

- ENGAGE MORE DEEPLY IN RESEARCH AND ACADEMIC DISCOURSE ON TRAFFICKING AND INTERSECTING ISSUES;
- LINK MEMBERS WITH CURRENT BEST PRACTICE AND ACADEMIC DISCOURSE TO INCREASE THE PROFESSIONALISM WITHIN THE SECTOR; AND,
- BROADEN THE SCOPE OF COLLABORATION: INCREASING AND STRENGTHENING THE REFERRAL SYSTEM AND MOVING PARTNERSHIPS BEYOND THE CHRISTIAN SECTOR, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES, NON-CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS, THE UN, AND THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT.

Both individuals and organisations can become quite risk averse in the face of stress and pressure in times of change and dialogue around change. This risk aversion can lead NGOs to resort to a comfort zone of program maintenance rather than program evolution to meet gaps and changing needs. Chab Dai's role has been to facilitate and encourage a culture of change and growth among its members; this should continue, but Chab Dai should also take the responsibility of leading the way forward with its own program change processes.

Over the last ten years, multiple factors have influenced the changes in the programmatic responses and trafficking trends in Cambodia, both positively and negatively. By analyzing the changes over the last ten years, this research and its recommendations can lead the way forward to a broader response to ending human trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia, and abroad.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1: CHART OF DESK REVIEW OF LITERATURE, 2003-2012

The chart below is a non-comprehensive list of publications on trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia, published in the last ten years. The chart is divided into four categories and publications are listed chronologically, in order of year published.

The four categories are:

1. General Focus on Trafficking, Exploitation & Abuse in Cambodia
2. Demand Focus (including Pornography)
3. Commercial Sexual Exploitation & Abuse (internal and external)
4. Labour Trafficking & Exploitation (internal and external)

<b>1. GENERAL FOCUS ON TRAFFICKING, EXPLOITATION &amp; ABUSE IN CAMBODIA</b>					
<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Organization/ Publisher</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Type of Resource</i>	<i>Sample Size/ Methodology</i>
Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia: A Direct Observation Field Study	Steinfatt, T.	University of Miami & RUPP	2003	Report	Visual counts of assumed underaged workers in adult entertainment establishments in 163 towns and cities within Cambodia.
Gender, Human Trafficking, and the Criminal Justice System in Cambodia	Ly & Menh	ACIL	2003	Research	Interviews were conducted throughout two target provinces with various individuals working in the judiciary, humanitarian protection, police and prosecution, local officials, and victims themselves.
Moving Forward: Secondary Data Review of Sending and Receiving Areas and Employment Sectors in Prevention of Trafficking Children and Women in Cambodia	Harrison & Khou	ILO-IPEC	2004	Report	Secondary research
Stop Violence Against Us, Part 1 & Part 2: A Preliminary National Research Study into the Prevalence & Perceptions of Cambodian Children to Violence Against and By Children in Cambodia	Miles, G. & Sun, V.	Tearfund	2005	Research	Various methods with school aged children
Gender Analysis of the Pattern of Human Trafficking into and through Koh Kong Province	Preece & LSCW	LSCW	2005	Report	N/A
Trafficking of Cambodian Women and Children: Report of the Fact-Finding in Malaysia	CWCC	CWCC	2005	Report	Interviews and observation with Cambodian, Indonesian, and Vietnamese migrant workers, interviews with NGOs and government
Review of a Decade of Research on Trafficking in Persons, Cambodia	Derks, A.	The Asia Foundation	2006	Research	Literature review

ASEAN and Trafficking in Persons: Using Data as a Tool to Combat Trafficking in Persons	David, F.	IOM	2007	Report	Assessment of internal data collection processes
Collateral Damage: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights Around the World	Pattanaik, B et al.	Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW)	2007	Research	Assessments of eight countries' impact of anti-trafficking initiatives on human rights by country experts
Cambodia: human trafficking legislation threatens HIV response	Pearshouse, R.	HIV/AIDS Policy Law Review, 13(2-3)	2008	Journal article	N/A
Detention of Trafficked Persons in Shelters: A Legal and Policy Analysis	Gallagher, A. & Pearson, E.	AUSAID	2008	Report	N/A
Research on Trafficking in Persons in South East Asia: A Comment on Recent Trends, along with Remaining Gaps and Challenges	David, F.	IOM	2008	Paper presentation	Desk review
Meeting the Challenge: Proven Practices for Human Trafficking Prevention in the Greater Mekong Sub-region	Slater, B	ILO	2008	Report	N/A
Why Shelters? Considering residential approaches to assistance	Surtees, R.	Nexus Institute to Combat Human Trafficking	2008	Research	Desk review
Globalization and Human Trafficking	Brewer, D.	Human Rights & Human Welfare	2009	Research Digest	Annotated research list
The Middle Way: Bridging the Gap Between Cambodian Culture and Children's Rights	Gourley, S.	NGO Committee on the Rights of the Child	2009	Research	Focus group discussions with 360 parents and 180 children (aged 12-17); household survey with 1,800 adults and children
A Protocol Against Trafficking in Persons: Is It Enough?	Forrest, M. K.	Santa Clara University School of Law	2010	Unpublished paper	Desk review
Deoum Troung Pram Hath in Modern Cambodia: A Qualitative Exploration of Masculinity and Domestic Violence	N/A	GADC (P4P)	2010	Research	12 Focus Group Discussions (4 per province: 2 women & 2 men groups), 40 interviews, Prevy Veng, Pursat, Phnom Penh
Faith Inspired Organizations and Development in Cambodia	Delaney, A & Scharff, M	World Faiths Development Dialogue	2010	Report	140 faith-based experts interviewed
Assessing Socioeconomic Impacts of Transport Infrastructure Projects in the Greater Mekong Subregion	Stone, S & Strutt, A.	ADB Working Paper Series	2010	Research	Multi-regional computable general equilibrium model and database (modified from GTAP model)
National Review of Faith-Based Responses to HIV in Cambodia	Kaybryn, J & Moriarty, K	National AIDS Authority	2011	Report	Survey across 24 provinces
Relevant Documents related to Victim Protection and Human Trafficking in Cambodia	N/A	The Asia Foundation	2011	Report	N/A

With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia	Jordanwood, C & Seng, S.L.	MoSVY	2011	Research	Participants in interviews, focus groups, and surveys, 5 provinces
Social Inclusion of Child Survivors of Human Trafficking in Cambodia	Tsugami, F. P.	Waseda University	2012	Conference paper	N/A
Faith-Roles in Cambodia's Efforts to Counter Trafficking in Persons	Carroll, E	World Faiths Development Dialogue	2012	Research	Interviews
Report on Gender Sensitivity and the Legal Process in Cambodia	Winslade, T. & Pearson V.	LSCW	2012	Report	Observations or trials involving victims and women, and interviews with lawyers
Impact of Economic Globalization on the Human Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region Countries	Peerapeng, Chaitip, Chaiboonsri, Kovacs & Balogh	APSTRACT: Applied Studies in Agribusiness and Commerce, 6(5)	2012	Journal article	Empirical test of a cross-section of 6 countries, including Cambodia
Research Report on Sex and Labour Trafficking Networks & Patterns in Cambodia	Brown, E	Winrock	2012	Research	KAP Score Analysis; 60 survivors interviewed (36 females in shelters & 24 males in community), 210 returned migrants, 700 vulnerable people; 7 provinces

## 2. DEMAND FOCUS (INCLUDING PORNOGRAPHY)

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Organization/Publisher</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Type of Resource</i>	<i>Sample Size/Methodology</i>
A Preliminary Study into the Accessibility by Minors of Pornography in Cambodia	O'Shea, D	Child Welfare Group	2003	Research	677 minor children, 230 vendors, 4 provinces
Demand-Side of Trafficking in Three Service Sectors in Cambodia	Catalla, R.F.	ILO-IPEC	2004	Research	N/A
Child Sex Tourism: Study of the Scope of the Problem and Evaluation of Existing Anti-Child Sex Tourism Initiatives	Putman-Cramer, C	COSECAM	2005	Research	Interviews with key NGO and government informants; interviews with hotel and travel companies in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Sihanoukville
Situational Analysis of Paedophilia in Sihanoukville: Study of Perceived Demand for Child Sex in Sihanoukville	Von Gyer, J.	COSECAM	2005	Research	30 tourists, 20 businesses, 1 city
"Street Pedophilia" in Cambodia: A Survey in Phnom Penh's Suspects and Victims	Grillot, C.	APLE	2005	Report	N/A
The Mekong Challenge: Redefining Demand	Pearson, E.	ILO	2005	Report	N/A
Wise Before Their Time: Young People, Gender-Based Violence and Pornography in Kandal Stung District	Fordham, G.	World Vision Cambodia	2005	Research	103 children (between 12-18 years old), 1 province

As if they were Watching My Body: A Study of Pornography and the Development of Attitudes Towards Sex and Sexual Behaviors Among Cambodian Youth	Fordham, G.	World Vision Cambodia	2006	Research	458 children (between 13-17 years old), 3 provinces
Study on Cambodia's Criminal Justice System with Focus on Prosecuting Foreign Child Offenders	Paillard, H.	APLE	2006	Report	N/A
Who are the Child Sex Tourists in Cambodia?	Thomas, F.	Child Wise	2006	Research	119 persons currently or previously engaged in prostitution (men, women, and children), 2 cities
Let's Go for a Walk: Sexual Decision-Making Among Clients of Female Entertainment Service Workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia	Smith, R.	Population Services International and Family Health International	2007	Research	48 Cambodian men (between 21-35 years old)
Travelling Child-Sex Offenders in South East Asia: A Regional Review 2007/2008	Dodds, A. Farrington, A. & Kaviani Johnson, A.	Child Wise	2007	Report	N/A
Mind the Gaps: A Comparative Analysis of ASEAN Legal Response to Child-Sex Tourism	Kaviani Johnson, A.	Child Wise	2009	Report	N/A
Addressing Local Demand for Commercial Sex with Children in Cambodia	Chan, I.	ECPAT	2010	Research	37 experts on demand and local stakeholders, 47 Cambodian men and 46 former female sex workers
TRaC Study Evaluating Condom Use with Sweethearts in Phnom Penh	Nauman, E.	PSI	2010	Research	1,000 current female entertainment workers (massage parlor, karaoke bar or beer garden)
A Thorn in the Heart: Cambodian Men who Buy Sex	Farley, Freed, Sery Phal & Golding	ECPAT	2012	Research	133 Cambodian men who had purchased sex
<b>3. COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION &amp; ABUSE (INTERNAL &amp; EXTERNAL)</b>					
<b><i>Title</i></b>	<b><i>Author</i></b>	<b><i>Organization/ Publisher</i></b>	<b><i>Year</i></b>	<b><i>Type of Resource</i></b>	<b><i>Sample Size/ Methodology</i></b>
Prostitution and Trafficking in Nine Countries: An Update on Violence and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder	Farley, M.	Journal of Trauma Practice, 2(3-4)	2003	Journal article	Interviews with 854 people currently or recently in prostitution
Gender, Human Trafficking and the Criminal Justice System in Cambodia	Ly, V. & Menh, N.	Asia Regional Cooperation to Prevent People Trafficking	2003	Report	N/A
Paupers and Princelings: Youth Attitudes Towards Gangs, Violence, Rape, Drugs, and Theft	Bearup, L.	Gender and Development for Cambodia	2003	Research	Analysis of local newspaper reporting youth gang activity, quantitative study with 580 young people (ages 13-28) from 24 sangkats across Phnom Penh qualitative interviewing, and focus groups



Sold Like Chickens: Trafficked Cambodian Girls Speak Out	Hudd, S.	COSECAM	2003	Report	Focus group discussions with 17 girls (between 13-18 years old) formerly victims of child trafficking currently living in centers in 4 provinces
The Journey Home: Return and Reintegration of Vietnamese Women and Girls from the Sex Trade in Cambodia	Beesey, A.	IOM	2003	Research	N/A
Sex Trafficking in Cambodia	Schwartz, A.	Columbia Journal of Asian Law	2003	Journal article	N/A
Sex Trafficking in Cambodia (Working Paper 122)	Levised, D.	Monash Asia Institute	2003	Working paper	N/A
41 Brothels: Prostitution, Trafficking, and Human Rights in Sihanouville, Cambodia	Catalla, R.F. & Tap, C.	ILO	2004	Research	210 women, 41 brothels
Beer Promotion Girls in Phnom Penh, Cambodia	Catalla, R.F.	ILO-IPEC	2004	Research	408 Quantitative interviews, 7 qualitative interviews and one focus group discussion
Direct Sex Workers in Sihanouville Municipality, Cambodia	Catalla, R.F.	ILO-IPEC	2004	Research	N/A
Life Histories and Current Circumstances of Female Sex Workers in Cambodia	White, Lim & Ke	CAS	2004	Research	N/A
Preventing Trafficking of Women: A Study of Origin and Vulnerability Factors for Trafficking Victims and Direct Sex Workers in Four Cambodian Cities	Arensen, L	PACT Cambodia	2004	Research	420 brothel-based workers, 4 locations
Caring for Children from Commercially Sexually Exploitative Situations: Current Practices in Cambodia and Recommendations for a Model of Care	Arensen, Bunn & Knight	Hagar Cambodia	c. 2004	Report	In-depth interviews & literature review
Impact of Closing Svay Pak: Study of Police and International NGOs Assisted Interventions in Svay Pak, Kingdom of Cambodia	Thomas, F.	COSECAM	2005	Research	Interviews and investigations in 14 locations in 2 cities
Professional Girlfriends: Sex Workers and the Bartering of Intimacy in Phnom Penh	Hoefinger, H.		2005	Research	25 women
Reintegration Assistance for Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia - A Review	Arensen, L. & Quinn, I.	The Asia Foundation	2005	Research	31 government & NGO stakeholders interviewed, 4 reintegrated trafficked women, 4 provinces
The New Practice of Prostitution: Study of the new practices of prostitution after actions conducted by the royal government of Cambodia for elimination of the prostitution	So, S.	COSECAM	2005	Research	Interviews at 24 entertainment establishments
Trafficking of Cambodian Women and Children: Report of Fact-Finding in Malaysia	N/A	CWCC	2005	Report	32 men and women in Malaysian detention centers, informal interviews with stakeholders
At what price, honour? Research into domestic trafficking of Vietnamese (girl) children for sexual exploitation from urban slums in Phnom Penh, Cambodia	Reimer, J.K.	Chab Dai Coalition	2006	Research	Group discussions with 81 children and 24 adults, 24 interviews with stakeholders

Sex Work in Cambodia: Beyond the Voluntary/Forced Dichotomy	Sandy, L.	Asia and Pacific Migration Journal, 15(4)	2006	Journal article	N/A
Living on the Edges: Cross-Border Mobility and Sexual Exploitation in the Greater Southeast Asia Sub-Region, Second Edition	Darwin, M., Wattie, A.M. & Yuarsi, S. (eds.)	TSACGSH	2006	Research book	31 women and children, 2 cities
NGO Joint Statistics: Database Report on Trafficking and Rape in Cambodia 2005-2006	Joint Report, multiple NGOs	ECPAT	2006-2012	Report	Annual joint report with data from participating NGO's. Note: In 2010 the report title changed to include the term "Sexual Exploitation"
Street Based Child Sexual Exploitation in Phnom Penh and Sihanokville: A Profile of Victims	Keane, K.	APLE	2006	Research	26 child victims of street-based exploitation, 2 cities
Survey on Street-Based Child Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia: Overview of 7 Provinces	Renault, R.	APLE	2006	Report	7 provinces
The Mekong Challenge: Cambodia's Beer Promotion Girls: their recruitment, working conditions, and vulnerabilities	N/A	ILO	2006	Assessment	426 beer promoters, 8 employers
The Mekong Challenge: Cambodian's Hotel and Guesthouse Workers: their recruitment, working conditions and vulnerabilities	Catala, R.F. & Tap, C.	ILO	2006	Assessment	371 workers, 17 employers, 36 guesthouses/ hotels, 1 city
Violence and Exposure to HIV Among Sex Workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia	Jenkins, C.	USAID	2006	Research	33 self-identified sex workers (16 brothel-based and 17 freelance), 1 city
Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Child Domestic Workers and Patterns of Trafficking in Cambodia	Brown, E.	IOM	2007	Research	123 child domestic workers, 87 house owners, 3 provinces
Just Choices: Representations of Choice and Coercion in Sex Work in Cambodia	Sandy, L.	The Australian Journal of Anthropology, 18 (2)	2007	Journal article	N/A
Report: Fact-Finding-Visit on Current Living Situation And Past Experience in Term Of Trafficking And Abuses in Marriage Of Young Cambodian Women In Taiwan	Oung, C. & Ros, C.	CWCC	2007	Assessment	2 focus group discussions with at total of 21 Cambodian women living in Taiwan, individual meetings with government and NGOs in Taipei
Situation Analysis of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Kingdom of Cambodia 2006-2007	Vijghen, J.	COSECAM	2007	Report	N/A
The Road Home: Toward a model of 'reintegration' and considerations for alternative care for children trafficked for sexual exploitation in Cambodia	Reimer et al.	Hagar and World Vision	2007	Research	Focus group discussion with 100 trafficking survivors and family/community members, 6 shelter/center staff, 20 stakeholders
The Ties that Bind: Migration and Trafficking of Women and Girls for Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia	Brown, E.	IOM	2007	Research	203 women and girls, 3 provinces

Gender-Based Norms and Their Functions in the Context of Human Trafficking: A Case Study of Kreung in Ratanakiri	Nal, S.	Chab Dai Coalition	2008	Research	15 qualitative interviews
I Thought It Could Never Happen To Boys: Sexual Abuse & Exploitation of Boys in Cambodia, An Exploratory Study	Hilton, A., Sokhem, K. et al	Hagar Cambodia	2008	Research	Various methods with 200 adults and 40 boys and young men
Qualitative Assessment of Trafficked Girls in Cambodia	Bolton, P., Nadelman, S. & Wallace T.	World Vision Cambodia	2008	Research	Free listing and key informant interviews
'Behind Closed Doors': Debt-Bonded Sex Workers in Sihanoukville, Cambodia	Sandy, L.	The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 10(3)	2009	Journal article	N/A
SIREN Cambodia: Exodus to the Sex Trade? Effects of the Global Financial Crisis on Women's Working Conditions and Opportunities	N/A	UNIAP	2009	Research	357 women and girls (between 15-49 years old) currently working in entertainment sector
The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project: A Chab Dai Study on (Re-) integration: Researching the Lifecycle of Sexual Exploitation & Trafficking in Cambodia	Miles et al.	Chab Dai Coalition	2010-2012	Research	10 year longitudinal research of 128 survivors of sex trafficking from 12 aftercare service programs
Human Trafficking Trials in Cambodia	Mang, M.	Cambodian Center for Human Rights	2010	Report	18 human trafficking cases, 199 other cases, 2 courts
Understanding the Complexities of Human Trafficking and Child Sexual Exploitation: The Case of Southeast Asia	Blackburn, Taylor & Davis	Women & Criminal Justice, 20(1-2)	2010	Journal article	Observations and interviews with government officials, NGO workers, and women and children involved in the sex industry
Negotiating Intimacy: Transactional Sex and Relationships about Cambodian Professional Girlfriends	Hoefinger, H.		2010	Research	164 surveys with males and females (foreigners and Khmer) in 3 areas in Phnom Penh
Trafficking experiences and violence victimization of sex-trafficked young women in Cambodia	McCauley, Decker & Silverman	International Journal of Gynaecology and Obstetrics, 110(3)	2010	Journal article	Analysis of 136 sex trafficking cases seeking services at NGOs
Off the Streets: Arbitrary Detention and Other Abuses against Sex Workers in Cambodia	Pearson, E. et al	Human Rights Watch	2010	Research	Met with 94 sex workers (16-45 years) including 7 male-to-female transgender sex workers, of those they interviewed 51 and had informal discussions with 43; 4 provinces
From Inside Prison Walls: Interviews with Incarcerated Brothel Owners and Human Trafficking in Cambodia	Svensson, N.	International Justice Mission	2011	Research	57 females imprisoned for human trafficking or commercially sexually exploiting women

Young Women Engaged in Sex Work in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, Have High Incidence of HIV and Sexually Transmitted Infections, and Amphetamine-Type Stimulant Use: New Challenges to HIV Prevention and Risk	Couture et al.	Journal of Sexually Transmitted Diseases, 38(1)	2011	Journal article	Assessment by self-report by sex workers and HIV & STI testing
Measuring the Extent of Sex Trafficking in Cambodia-2008	Steinfatt, T. & Baker, 2.	UNIAP	2011	Report	A total of 377 venues and 1,809 direct and indirect sex workers observed in 24 provinces
Sex trafficking in Cambodia: fabricated numbers versus empirical evidence	Steinfatt, T.	Crime, Law & Social Change, 56(5)	2011	Journal article	Review of empirical methods used to measure data
What about boys?: An initial exploration of sexually exploited boys in Cambodia	Miles, G. & Blanch, H.	Love146	2011	Research	45 young men working in 6 massage establishments in Phnom Penh
The Whole Person, The Whole Family, The Whole Society: A Study on the Impact of Services and the Success of Reintegration for Clients of Service Providers to Victims of Trafficking, Exploitation, and Migration	Macpherson, A.	COSECAM	2011	Research	166 victims and their families, 11 service providers
Assessment of Shelter Versus Community Based Services Report	Mauney, R. & Srun R.	Winrock	2012	Assessment	Key informant interviews with government authorities, community service organization staff, development partners, and survivors of various types of trafficking
Care and Control: NGO Attitudes Toward Community-Based Models of Care for Survivors of Human Trafficking in Cambodia	DoCarmo, T.	Chab Dai & University of North Texas	2012	Research	Surveys and in-depth interviews with practitioners
Examining life experiences and HIV risks of young entertainment workers in four Cambodian cities	Phlong, Weissman, Holden, Liu.	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport	2012	Research	77 in-depth interviews with female, male, and self-identified transgender entertainment workers (18-29 years old), 4 cities
The Lingha Boys of Siem Reap: A Baseline Study of Sexually Exploited Young Men in Siem Reap	Davis, J. & Miles, G.	Love146	2012	Research	50 young men, 1 city

**4. LABOUR TRAFFICKING & EXPLOITATION (INTERNAL & EXTERNAL)**

<b><i>Title</i></b>	<b><i>Author</i></b>	<b><i>Organization/ Publisher</i></b>	<b><i>Year</i></b>	<b><i>Type of Resource</i></b>	<b><i>Sample Size/ Methodology</i></b>
Rapid Assessment on Child Labour Employment in the Border Area between Thailand and Cambodia Srasakaew, Chantaburi and Trad Province	Angsuthanasombat, Petchote, Nop & Vann	UNICEF & Chulalongkorn University	2003	Report	N/A
Labour Migration to Thailand and the Thai-Cambodian Border	ADI	CCC-ADI	2003	Report	Qualitative, in-depth interviews with 59 Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand.
Goods & Girls: Trade Across Borders		Joint Border Research	2004	Research	52 participants

Gender Analysis of the Patterns of Human Trafficking into and through Koh Kong Province	Kannika; Petchote,	LSCW	2005	Research	100 sex workers, 1 destination province, FGD in origin provinces
Khmer Women on the Move: Exploring Work and Life in Urban Cambodia			2005	Book	Field research of women in the garment industry, prostitution, and street trading
The Mekong Challenge: Destination Thailand - A Cross-Border Labour Migration Survey in Banteay Meanchey Province, Cambodia	Jiravool; Nop, Vanna;	ILO	2005	Research	31 villages surveyed, 365 primary people, and 37 other resource persons; 6 communes in Banteay Meanchey
Needs Assessment and Analysis of the Situation of Cambodian Migrant Workers in Klong Yai District, Trad, Thailand		LSCW	2005	Research	50 migrant workers in 1 province in Cambodia and 1 province in Thailand
Cambodian Women Migrant Workers: Findings from a Migration Mapping Study	Vann, Sokunthea	UNIFEM	2006	Research	18 female migrant workers
Female Labour Migration in Cambodia	Lee, C. C.	UNESCAP	2006	Research	Desk review
Children's Work in Cambodia: A Challenge for Growth and Poverty Reduction	N/A	UNICEF Understanding Children's Work Programme	2006	Report	N/A
Review of Labor Migration Dynamics in Cambodia	Maltoni, B.	IOM	2006	Report	N/A
The Invisible Flow, Rural to Rural Migration in Cambodia: A Case Study in the Provinces of Takeo and Prey Veng	N/A	VWF-CICDA	2006	Research	200 households identified as landless, 2 provinces, interviews with 20 local key informants
The Nature and Scope of the Foreign Child Beggar Issue (especially as related to Cambodian Child Beggards) in Bangkok	Milgan, C.	Friend-International & UNIAP	2006	Research	182 Cambodian children and some women near nine "Sky Train" stations and three public areas in Bangkok
6-Month Report on the Situation of Cambodian Migrant Workers in Klong Yai District	N/A	LSCW	2007	Report	Informal discussions and semi-structured interviews (unclear methodology)
A Study into Exploitative Labour Brokerage Practices in Cambodia	Lee, C. C.	UNIAP	2007	Research	Policy review and interviews with government officials' in-depth interviews with 10 migrant workers who had been recruited by employment companies and experienced exploitation or trafficking
Child Workers in Brick Factories: Causes and Consequences: A Research Study for Campaign of Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labor in Cambodia	Bunnak, P.	LICADHO & World Vision Cambodia	2007	Research	134 children from 26 factories; 43 parents and 15 brick factory owners were interviewed
Exploitation of Cambodian Men at Sea: Facts About the Trafficking of Cambodian Men onto Thai Fishing Boats	N/A	UNIAP	2007		1 case study of 11 male returned migrant workers

Migration in Cambodia: Internal vs. External Flows	Maltoni, B.	IOM	2007	Presentatio n	N/A
The State of Health of Migrants Report: "Mandatory Testing"	Tep, M. & Ek, S.	CARAM Cambodia	2007	Research	7 key government stakeholders, 1 private clinic, 3 recruitment agencies, 86 returned migrant workers, 15 Vietnamese sex workers interviewed; FGD with recruited migrants
Understanding Children's Work in Cambodia: Mapping & costing current programmes targeting the worst forms of child labour	Cruz, A. & Ratana, L.	UNICEF Understanding Children's Work Programme	2007	Report	N/A
Youth Migration and Urbanisation in Cambodia	Lim, S.	CDRI	2007	Research	Key informant interviews with 600 randomly selected young migrant workers from 8 different occupation groups; 50 household interviews from 4 provinces
Identifying Cambodian Victims of Human Trafficking Among Deportees from Thailand	Olivie, A	UNIAP, COMMIT	2008	Research	50 deportees from Thailand, 1 town and stakeholder interviews
Costs and Benefits of Cross-Country Labor Migration in the GMS: Sythesis of the Case Studies in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam	CDRI	CDRI	2009	Report	N/A
Economic Costs and Benefits of Cross-Border Labour Migration in the GMS: Cambodia Country Study	Sophal, C.	CDRI	2009	Research	526 households, 6 villages
Exploitation of Cambodian Men at Sea: Facts about Thai fishing boats (SIREN)	N/A	UNIAP	2009	Report	Case summary of 49 Cambodian men and boys trafficked onto Thai fishing boats
Is combining child labour and school education the right approach? Investigating the Cambodian case	Kim, C.-Y.	International Journal for Educational Development, 29(1)	2009	Journal article	Desk review
Human Trafficking in Cambodia: Reintegration of the Illegal Migrants from Vietnam and Thailand	Naro, N.	Rajarathnam School of International Studies	2009	Working Paper, No. 181	Interviews with NGOs, government, and 50 victims
Remittances Sending, Constraints and Benefits: Migrants from Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar	Jampaklay, A. & Kittisuksathit, S.	ILO/Mahidol University	2009	Research	Questionnaires with 60 migrants from each of the three sending countries who have worked in Thailand for at least two years and sent remittances to their family

Analyzing the Impact of Remittances from Cambodian Migrant Workers in Thailand on Local Communities in Cambodia	Dr Maltoni, B.	IOM	2010	Research	302 households in 2 provinces in Cambodia, 210 migrant workers in 2 provinces in Thailand
Domestic workers in Thailand: their situation, challenges and the way forward	Vachararutai (Jan) Boontinand	ILO	2010	Report	N/A
Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010	Samedi, D.	UNIAP	2010	Research	400 Cambodian deportees from Thailand, 1 town
Labour and Social Trends in Cambodia	Bunton, H. & Kanol, H.	National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, ILO	2010	Report	Socioeconomic surveys; census data; interviews with key persons
Lowlands Bridging Highlands: Mobility and Vulnerability in Ratanakiri (North East Cambodia)	Jammes, J.	COSECAM	2010	Research	Literature review
Male Human Trafficking in Koh Kong Cambodia: Who Are the Victims, What Do They Need and How Are The Systems Operating?	Dermott, T, Sean S. & Rose, L.	SISHA, HCC, USAID	2010	Research	Data of 258 men who received services at the HCC Transit Shelter; 35 focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with relevant government & NGO representatives and returnees
Migrant Workers' Remittances from Thailand to Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar: Synthesis Report on Survey Findings in Three Countries and Good Practices	Deelen, L. & Vasuprasat P.	ILO	2010	Research	356 interviews with migrant workers (aged 16 or older) in Thailand who had worked more than two years and sent remittances home
The Global Catch: Modern-Day Slavery Fishermen	Fernandez, I.	Tenaganita	2010	Book	Case Studies
Tracking Study of Cambodian Garment Sector Workers Affected by the Global Economic Crisis: First Tracking Study	Chandararot, K. & Dannel, L.	ILO	2010	Research	2,000 workers (1,200 employed in the garment sector and 800 unemployed)
Border Assessment on Mobility and Vulnerability in Cambodia	Fabrega, P. & Lim H.	North East Research Group	2011	Research	4 border provinces; In-depth interviews with migrants; focus group discussions with key stakeholders
Borderline: Labour Migration Policy, Practice and Protection in Cambodia	N/A	TAF	2011	Report	N/A
Cambodia's Labor Migration: Analysis of the Legal Framework	Holliday, J.	TAF	2011	Report	N/A
Female Labour Migration in Cambodia	Maltoni, B.	IOM	2011	Report	N/A
Irregular Migration & Human Trafficking: Data Collection	Maltoni, B.	IOM	2011	Presentatio n	N/A
Irregular Migration from Cambodia: Characteristics, Challenges and Regulatory Approach	Hing, V., Lun, P. and Phann, D.	CDRI	2011	Research	526 households, 4 provinces (6 villages with high incidence of migration), interviews with stakeholders

Legally Binding: A Summary of Labour Laws in the Greater Mekong Subregion	N/A	Mekong Migrant Network	2011	Report	N/A
Recruitment Agencies and the Employment of Cambodian Domestic Workers in Malaysia	N/A	UNIAP	2011	Research	120 returned female migrant workers
They Deceived Us at Every Step: Abuse of Cambodian Domestic Workers Migrating to Malaysia	N/A	Human Rights Watch	2011	Research	80 migrant domestic workers in Malaysia and Cambodia, 15 family members interviewed
Cambodian Domestic Workers in Malaysia: Challenges in Labor Migration Policy and Potential Mechanisms for Protection	Leone, E.	IOM	2012	Report	N/A
From our Eyes: Mekong Migrant Reflections 2000-2012	N/A	Mekong Migrant Network	2012		N/A
Migration in Cambodia: Report of the Cambodian Rural-Urban Migration Project (CRUMP)	N/A	Ministry of Planning	2012	Research	Recent migrants; rural household survey in 375 villages (1,500 surveys designated as non-migrants and 3,000 surveys designated as migrant); surveys of 375 village chiefs; 1,000 surveys of recent migrants in Phnom Penh
State of Migration: An overview of forced displacement in Cambodia	Gleeson, M.	Jesuit Refugee Services	2012	Research	Literature review and interviews



## APPENDIX 2: INITIAL ENVIRONMENT MAPPING

### 10 Year Overview of Regional, Government, Human Trafficking Sector, and Chab Dai Coalition Environment

#### Cambodia, 2003-2012

This mapping, which took place mid-2012, served as a framework for the research planning.

Table 7: Anti-Trafficking Environment Mapping, 2003-2012

		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>CASE ENVIRONMENT</b>	<b>Regional Response</b>		COMMIT began ASEAN Declaration Against TIP signed			SIREN Initiative began	First Cambodia Human Trafficking Datasheet (SIREN)		Mekong Country Datasheets on Human Trafficking (SIREN)		
	<b>Cambodian Government Responses &amp; Legal Environment Changes</b>	MOU with Thailand Cambodia 1st National Plan of Action TIPSE 2000-2004		MOU with Vietnam	MOU with Korea Cambodia 2nd National Plan of Action TIPSE 2006-2010	National Task Force Against Trafficking in Persons (TIP Task Force) High Level Working Group formed to provide support to the TIP Task Force First National Human Trafficking Day NMS on the Alternative Care for Children	Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia	National Committee started with 6 Working Groups NMS on the Protection of the Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking New Penal Code		Ban on Sending of Domestic Workers to Malaysia DOSAVY discussions about how to make protective placements Sub decree 190	Migrant Working Group added to National Committee Draft MOU with Malaysia
	<b>Natures of Cases, Trends in Exploitation, Trafficking, and Migration in Cambodia</b>	Svay Pak brothel raid	Brothel raid of 83 women and children					Global Financial Crisis Rise in KTV entertainment centers	Increasing People Movement and rise of migration to Malaysia & Thailand	Community Based Care Focus beings Decrease of brothel-based operations NGO Labour Forum started	Increase of rape case referrals and labor exploitation cases

		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>HUMAN TRAFFICKING SECTOR ENVIRONMENT</b>	<b>TIP Report &amp; Grants</b>	TIER 2		TIER 3	TIER 2 WATCH LIST		TIER 2	TIER 2 WATCH LIST	TIER 2		
				ATIP Money \$50 million	CTIP 1 - TAF					CTIP 2 - WINROCK	
	<b>Public Interest</b>	Dateline NBC "Children for Sale"  Nicholas Kristof started writing about sex trafficking in Cambodia in New York Times	<b>Public awareness about human trafficking in Cambodia grows</b>  Born into Brothels film  Fields of Mudan film	Terrify No More (Haugen)	Amazing Grace film	Ending Slavery (Bales)  Not For Sale (Batstone)  Very Young Girls film  Holly film	Half the Sky (Kristof)  Escaping the Devils Bedroom (Herzog)  Road of Lost Innocence (Somaly Mam)  Call + Response film  Taken film	Modern Slavery (Bales)  Sex + Monday film	The Slave Next Door (Bales)  CNN Heroes bean	Girls Like Us (Lloyd)	Half the Sky  Nefarious  The Pink Room
	<b>Major Research on Trafficking in Cambodia</b>			Annual Joint Database Report on Rape and Sex Trafficking (ECPAP, 2004-2012)	At What Price Honour? (Chab Dai)  A Decade of Research (TAF)	The Ties that Bind (IOM)  Long Way Home: Reintegration & Alternative Care (Hagar)	"I Thought it Could Never Happen To Boys (Hilton)  CEPAT Tool Piloted (World Vision, John Hopkins)	The Middle Way (Gourley)  Cambodian Exodus to the Sex Trade? Effects of GFC (SIREN)  Exploitation of Cambodian Men at Sea: Facts about Thai fishing boats (SIREN)	10 Things in GMS about Labour Trafficking (World Vision)  HT Sentinel Surveillance : Poipet 2009-10 (UNIAP)  Butterfly Longitudinal 10 Year Research on Reintegration (Chab Dai)	They Deceived Us at Every Step (HRW)  With the best intentions: Attitudes towards residential care (UNICEF)	A Thorn in the Heart: Cambodian Men who Buy Sex (Farley)
<b>The Church Response</b>		Church "Heart" Res-ponse Began and influx of volun-teers & teams into Cambodia	Professional Response Began					Burnout begins	Visiting Teams/ Volunteers as new funding source		

		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
<b>CHAB DAI COALITION ENVIRONMENT</b>	<b>Chab Dai Cambodia Projects</b>	Chab Dai Exploration Started		Chab Dai opened office	<b>Focus on Child Protection Policies &amp; Implementation</b>				Chab Dai Charter Launched			
				<b>Learning Community Project</b> <b>C&amp;CT</b>		<b>Urban Prevention Training</b>  <b>Child Helpline Planning Began</b>  <b>Freedom Day</b>	<b>Doorsteps</b> <i>Resource Library Re-Launched</i>  <b>Vietnamese Prevention Program</b>	<b>Boys Project</b>  <b>Safe Karaoke</b>  <b>Rapid Response</b>  <b>Jeut Nung Dai</b>	<b>Doorsteps 2</b> <b>LEADER SHIP HANDOVER</b>	<b>Case Support Project</b>  <b>Community Heroes</b>  <b>Global Learning Community</b>	<b>Medical Training</b>	
	<b>Number of Chab Dai Members</b>			12	20	30	40				53	
	<b>Member Meeting Themes &amp; Coalition Focus Forums</b>			<b>November</b> – First meeting & vision for FBOC (coalition)	<b>May</b> – FBOC history and networking <b>November</b> – Discuss future for the coalition <b>November</b> – Discuss membership, CPP Overview, discuss activities: advocacy, capacity building, and best practices	<b>May</b> – Partners share program activities and plans	<b>May</b> – “A Vision for the Future” <b>November</b> – “Raising the Standard of Care” & Day 2: Community Based Foster Care Programming, and Business Development	<b>May</b> – “Our Journey” & Day 2: Sustainable Programming <b>November</b> – “Leaving a Legacy ... with our staff & beneficiaries”	<b>May</b> - “Building the Team” <b>November</b> – “Meeting with Regional Partners”	<b>May</b> – Hand-over & Chab Dai’s 5th Birthday <b>November</b> – “Dignity with Media & Communications”	<b>May</b> – “Commitment to Excellence” <b>November</b> – “Strategic Thinking & Vision”	<b>May</b> – “Community & Family Focus”  <b>November</b> - “Stronger Together”
						<b>Aftercare Forum Started</b>	<b>Advocacy Forum, Business Forum, Caregivers Forum, Foster Forum started</b>		<b>Child Protection Forum, Prevention Forum Started</b>			<b>Evaluation and Start of New Forums:</b> Leadership Prevention/ CPP Aftercare CBC Family
	<b>Member Activities</b>	First IJM raid	First wave of new NGOs		New Shelter Based NGOs		Focus on Boys  Regional Shift to Siem Reap  Member Shelter Capacity 434 beds = 80% full		Increase of Outreach NGOs  Member Shelter Capacity 347 beds = 79% full			
	<b>Collaboration Trends</b>	Fragmented responses and health conflict around program responses			Openness to work together and strong case referral network; Higher standards of care and expertise	“Supply Chain” partnerships based on case referrals			Increased case ownership, less sharing of information, lowered perception of the need to collaborate			

### APPENDIX 3: CROSS-CUTTING FACTORS CHART

The chart below is a summary of some of the cross-cutting factors in the shifts in counter-trafficking. It is not a comprehensive list, but provides some framework to the trends discussion.

SHIFT	INFLUENCING FACTORS
“Open” brothel to “underground” entertainment establishments	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Brothel raids and local media (raised awareness &amp; informed owners they could get arrested)</li> <li>2. 2008 TIPSE Law</li> <li>3. Penal Code Shift (prohibition of undercover authority)</li> </ol>
Growth of A-TIP stakeholders in Cambodia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dateline NBC (international awareness)</li> <li>2. 2005 A-TIP Grant (specifically for shelters and rescues)</li> <li>3. Chab Dai Network</li> <li>4. C-TIP 1 Grant</li> </ol>
Broadening the issue from sex trafficking of young girls to include boys, men, women, and labour trafficking	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 2008 Boys research and implementation (followed by other broadened research)</li> <li>2. Brothel to entertainment shift and age increase (disputed still)</li> <li>3. Increase of people movement, global financial crisis, and migration</li> </ol>
Increased standards and focus on quality (e.g. trauma focused counseling and child protection/media policies)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Chab Dai “positive peer pressure”</li> <li>2. National Committee (combination of other task forces and formed in 2009)</li> <li>3. National Minimum Standards on Alternative Care and on Protection of Victims</li> <li>4. Media policies (shift in terminology: “sex slave” to “victim” to “client”)</li> </ol>
Lowered number of client referrals between partners	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Higher in early years because there was a high number of brothel raids</li> <li>2. Brothels changed to entertainment establishments, in combination with prohibition of undercover authority</li> <li>3. Fewer clients than beds leading to competition and lack of referrals</li> <li>4. Increase of rape case referrals (higher incidence of direct reintegration)</li> </ol>
Focus on reintegration and community based care (starting in 2009)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Push from Chab Dai to focus on reintegration</li> <li>2. NMS and Prakas on Alternative Care</li> <li>3. Increase in vocational training &amp; business programs</li> <li>4. Butterfly Research (voice of clients informing aftercare program models)</li> <li>5. UNICEF Best Intentions research (2011)</li> </ol>

## APPENDIX 4: SECONDARY RECOMMENDATIONS

Below are area- or program-specific recommendations given by stakeholders throughout the research.

Area	Recommendations												
<b>Reframing the Discourse</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Research and implement a gender-based framework to focus on changing attitudes towards women in Cambodia.</li> <li>- Partner with organisations that address root causes of exploitation; e.g. health care, domestic violence, women's rights, poverty, community development.</li> </ul>												
<b>Media</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Implement and disseminate a Media &amp; Communications policy throughout organisations and their visitors and donors.</li> <li>- Engage in critical thinking with others in issues presented in the media: for example, through movie and book discussion groups.</li> </ul>												
<b>Donors</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educate donors regularly on crosscutting issues and current research; distribute research on program-related issues to donors on an ongoing basis.</li> <li>- Implement accountability frameworks between donors and NGOs, e.g. structured monitoring and evaluation processes.</li> </ul>												
<b>Cambodian government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Advocate for undercover authority for police to collect audio and video evidence for prosecution.</li> <li>- Build the capacity of government social workers and standardize the intake and reintegration processes of MoSAVY and DoSAVY.</li> </ul>												
<b>Research</b>	<p>Research Gaps on Trafficking in Cambodia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Issues of demand</li> <li>- New tactics of domestic sex trafficking (e.g. use of technology, local networks)</li> <li>- Relationship between internal/external labour opportunities and trafficking cases</li> <li>- Impact of prevention strategies</li> <li>- Roots causes of exploitation and trafficking, such as domestic violence and land grabbing.</li> <li>- Trafficking patterns and sexual abuse in under-researched areas and communities in Cambodia (e.g. Northeast region, Cham community)</li> </ul>												
<b>Chab Dai</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seek greater collaboration with other coalitions and groups; e.g. ECPAT, COSECAM, WNU, UN agencies, Winrock.</li> <li>- Map available educational and vocational options and opportunities.</li> <li>- Regularly engage in discussions of Chab Dai's vision and the importance of collaboration.</li> </ul>												
<b>Program Response</b>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>General</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on areas outside of Phnom Penh.</li> <li>- Do baseline research on target issue or area prior to starting a project.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Prevention</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Develop/advocate for a joint, national messaging strategy: e.g. safe migration</li> <li>- More creative and direct prevention programs: e.g. civic responsibility to fight trafficking, gender awareness campaign on sex.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Demand</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recruit more men to engage in addressing demand.</li> <li>- Focus on challenging consumer demand to counter labour exploitation.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Aftercare</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase services for boys and men, especially those returning from abroad, as well as transgender clients.</li> <li>- Shift toward community-based models: e.g. outreach programs, community housing for women in vocational training.</li> <li>- Prepare survivors for reintegration: e.g. mobile phones to clients in shelters, Internet safety education, life skills, other soft skills.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Vocational Training and Education</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Diversify training options, expand beyond gender stereotypes.</li> <li>- Prioritize finishing schooling over vocational training.</li> <li>- Provide affordable childcare for clients seeking employment.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Reintegration</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Build up network of services in the community: e.g. legal aid, viable job options</li> <li>- Invest in marketable job creation for sustainable employment in the community.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </table>	General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on areas outside of Phnom Penh.</li> <li>- Do baseline research on target issue or area prior to starting a project.</li> </ul>	Prevention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Develop/advocate for a joint, national messaging strategy: e.g. safe migration</li> <li>- More creative and direct prevention programs: e.g. civic responsibility to fight trafficking, gender awareness campaign on sex.</li> </ul>	Demand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recruit more men to engage in addressing demand.</li> <li>- Focus on challenging consumer demand to counter labour exploitation.</li> </ul>	Aftercare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase services for boys and men, especially those returning from abroad, as well as transgender clients.</li> <li>- Shift toward community-based models: e.g. outreach programs, community housing for women in vocational training.</li> <li>- Prepare survivors for reintegration: e.g. mobile phones to clients in shelters, Internet safety education, life skills, other soft skills.</li> </ul>	Vocational Training and Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Diversify training options, expand beyond gender stereotypes.</li> <li>- Prioritize finishing schooling over vocational training.</li> <li>- Provide affordable childcare for clients seeking employment.</li> </ul>	Reintegration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Build up network of services in the community: e.g. legal aid, viable job options</li> <li>- Invest in marketable job creation for sustainable employment in the community.</li> </ul>
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