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국제학석사 학위논문

**Analyzing the Cause and Current
Situation of Human Trafficking
for Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia:**

캄보디아의 人身賣買: 現地 人身賣買
調査 및 原因 分析

2013年 2月

서울대학교 國際大學院

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Analyzing the Cause and Current Situation of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia

Abstract

The main purpose of this research is to analyze the cause and current situation of continuous human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia despite the various actions taking place to combat the trafficking of women and children in Cambodia. In fact in Cambodia there is a large volume of funding available for anti-trafficking initiatives. Also there are lots of anti-trafficking campaigns as well as projects by international organizations. Intriguing question is that whether these plans for anti-trafficking are effective and efficient enough to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation issues in Cambodia. This research questions why Cambodia's commercial sex industry is still thriving despite various efforts to root out sexual exploitation made by a number of NGOs, international organizations, legislations and policies on national level.

The factors leading to human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia are numerous and varied. However, many unpublished reports by local NGOs and studies on the trafficking of women and children among Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand by the International Organization of Migration highlight some intertwined

factors relating to economic, political, social, cultural and psychological issues.¹

Although there are many elements that affected trafficking on individuals, this research hypothesis focuses on the two factors that contributed severely and tremendously to Cambodian human trafficking, especially sexual exploitation based on interviews and data. The root causes of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia are twofold. First, it is due to Khmer Rouge's genocidal regime. The poverty forced girls to serve as prostitutes by their parents or being trafficked. Interesting thing is that this poverty has created a disjuncture between Cambodian tradition of valuing virginity and the status of men and women. Also traditional attitudes toward women and sexuality in Cambodia are totally against the social phenomenon.

Second cause of human trafficking in Cambodia is the failure of international and local NGOs' measures in human trafficking issues. The inefficient role of NGOs is rather turning Cambodia into a state highly dependent on international safeguards. Furthermore, the inefficient and ineffective reintegration programs for sex workers provided by international institutions are leading to re-trafficking issues.

The thesis will investigate the Cambodia human trafficking cases mostly found in Siem Reap Acting for Women in Distressing Situations (AFESIP)

¹ IOM 1999:71

reintegration center, and focus on the elements of continuous human trafficking for sexual exploitation development in that particular country.

To do so, the research is going to focus mainly on the concept of female trafficking, human trafficking for sexual exploitation, contributing factors, and its impact and actions taken to date to combat the problem. This paper examines the key challenges and obstacles the government and the international community face. Lastly, the research discusses what still needs to be done both at the national and international levels to liberate these innocent girls. It is expected as well that the study will develop implications and recommendations to better alleviate trafficking in persons in Cambodia. Therefore the research expects to show the primary sources that escalate the trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia.

Student number: 2011-22386

Key words: Cambodia, human trafficking, sexual exploitation, poverty, reintegration, international organization, anti-trafficking, commercial sex industry, commercial sex, sex workers, human rights

<Glossary/ Definition of Human Trafficking>

While conducting research on human trafficking for sexual exploitation of Cambodian women and children, understanding the correct definition of human trafficking is imperative in terms of leading to the fundamental and right direction of the research. Not only for analytical reasons, but also in the interest of finding proper solutions to combat the phenomenon, it is imperative to find a clear answer to the question “what is human trafficking?”

Definition of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is the illegal act of human beings for the purpose of either sexual exploitation or forced labor or featuring both forms. In case of Cambodia, human trafficking is often associated with especially women and children being sold, deceived or otherwise lured into prostitution. The Cambodian Women’s Development Association (CWDA) describes trafficking as ‘the practice of taking people outside their support structure and rendering them powerless’². The Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW) uses the following definition for trafficking:

The recruitment and transportation of (a) person(s) within and across national borders, by means of violence or threat of violence, abuse of

² Cambodia Women’s Development Agency, 1996, *Selling Noodles: The Traffic in Women and Children in Cambodia*, Phnom Penh, p.1.

*actual of perceived authority arising from a relationship, or deception, in order to subject them to the actual and unlawful power of (an)other person(s).*³

GAATW separates and distinct categories such as ‘trafficking for labour exploitation’ and ‘trafficking for sexual exploitation’.⁴ In reality, however, GAATW definition of trafficking does not necessarily come together in all circumstances.

However according to United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP), it provides more specific and reliable definition of human trafficking. The UN Trafficking Protocol provides a three-part definition of trafficking.

UN Trafficking Protocol Definition

Article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons defines

- (a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person,

³ GAATW/FFW/FATW, 1997, Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Trafficked Persons, New Draft, p.1.

⁴ More ‘trafficking’ less ‘trafficked’, trafficking for exploitation outside the sex sector in Europe/ GAATW working papers series

for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of 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;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article’

(d) “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

Matthew Friedman of the US Agency for International Development(USAID) summarizes as involving the movement and trade or sale of persons, a technique of doing so such as deception, fraud, violence), and a purpose for that movement like labour and servitude.⁵ Like previous international instruments addressing

⁵ Population Council 2001, 14

trafficking,⁶ the protocol emphasizes the sex trade as a destination sector⁷ and women and children as its victims.

In addition, Wijers and Lap-Chew⁸ developed definition of Trafficking in Women⁹

All acts involved in the recruitment and/or transportation of a woman within and across national boundaries for work or services by means of violence or threat of violence, abuse of authority or dominant position, debt bondage, deception or other forms of coercion.

Thus we can assume that human trafficking is done by recruitment deceiving either women or man for the purpose of labor exploitation or sexual exploitation. Wijers

⁶ Precedent legal instruments include: the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade; the 1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic; the League of Nation's Mandate; the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children; the 1933 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age; the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women suggests that these instruments share concerns about the sex trade mixed with concerns about female migration and independence (2000, 10)

⁷ There are two strongly opposing interpretations of the nexus of the sex trade (particularly migrant sex workers) with trafficking. Organisations such as the Coalitions Against the Traffic of Women (CATW) see all sex work as non-consensual and therefore trafficking, while others like the Global Alliance Against Trafficking of Women (GAATW) favour responding to the abuses currently associated with the sex trade by decriminalising, regulating and extending the protective and responsive mechanisms of the law, such as labour codes, to those working in the sex trade. This is similar to the argument that the abuses migrant domestic workers face, for example, could be at least in part mitigated by extension of regulation and workers' rights to private households as places of employment (see, for example, Stasiulis and Bakan 2003, 107). While many women and children are subject to the means set out in subparagraph 3(a) of the trafficking protocol for commercial sexual exploitation, it is the method and means, not the sector of employment, that defines this as trafficking (Sanghera, 1998; Jordan 2002, 8). Even so, the role of the sex trade in trafficking remains prominent and is recognised in the protocol as a sector of particular concern.

⁸ Wijers, Marjan and Lin Lap-Chew, 1997, *Trafficking in Women, Forced Labour and Slavery-like Practices in Marriage, Domestic Labour and Prostitution*, Foundation Against Trafficking in Women, Utrecht, p.36.

⁹ Wijers and Lap-Chew (ibid.: p.35) argue that the overwhelming majority of the victims of trafficking are women. Therefore, substitution of "trafficking in women" by "trafficking in persons" suggests a gender neutrality which in reality does not exist.

and Lap-Chew¹⁰ state that coercion, in any possible form, is a crucial element in both definitions. This includes, but is not limited to:

- violence or threat of violence, including deprivation of freedom (of movement, of personal choice)
- deception: with regard to, amongst other things, working conditions or the nature of the work to be done
- abuse of authority or dominant position: this can range from confiscating personal documents in order to place another person in a dependent position, to abusing one's dominant social position or natural parental authority or abusing the vulnerable position of persons without legal status
- debt bondage: i.e. pledging the personal services or labour of oneself or another person as a security for a debt, if the value of those services or labour as reasonable assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt, or the length and nature of those services or labour are not limited and defined.

To summarize, in the context of human trafficking, it means the transportation, transfer, harboring, recruitment or receipt of a child within or across borders for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation includes, at a minimum, the exploitation of 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.¹¹ This research will mainly emphasize on human trafficking for

¹⁰ Ibid. Wijers and Lap-Chew: p. 38.

¹¹ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons especially women and children,

Cambodian women and children's sexual exploitation. Human trafficking for labour exploitation will not be covered within the scope of this research.

supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime: Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000 (not in force). Article 3.

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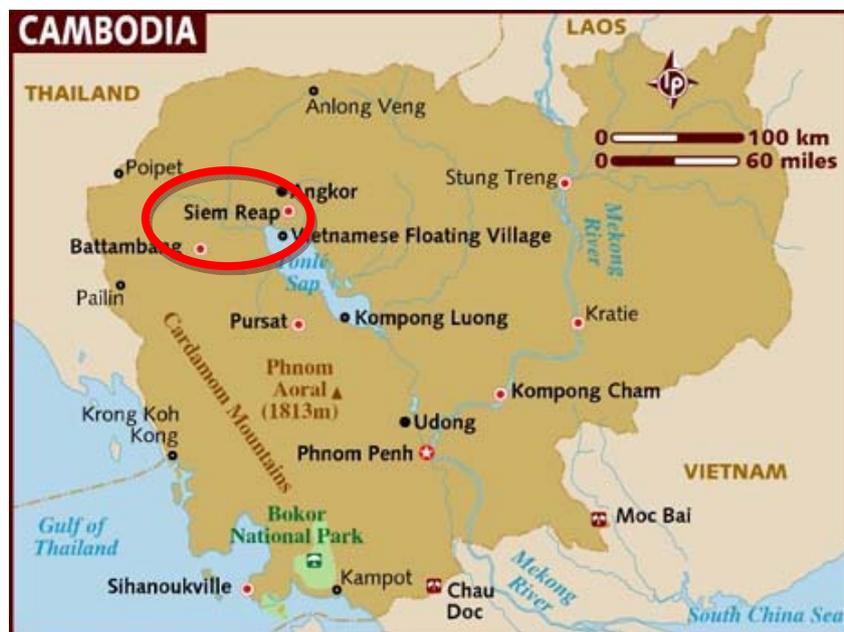
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List of Acronyms

- AFESIP Agir Pour Les Femmes en Situation Précaire-
(Acting for Women in Distressing Situation)
- CSTC Child Safe Tourism Committee
- CWCC Cambodia Women's Crisis Center
- CWDA Cambodian Women's Development Association
- GAATW The Global Alliance Against Trafficking in
Women
- LICADHO Cambodian League for the Promotion and
Defense of Human Rights
- IJM International Justice of Mission
- USAID US Agency for International Development
- UNCRC United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the
Child
- UNESCAP The United Nations Economic and Social
Commission for Asia and the Pacific
- UNTAC United Nations Transitional Authority in
Cambodia
- UNIAP United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human
Trafficking

Map of Cambodia¹²



Research was conducted in Siem Reap where sex tourism and human trafficking for sexual exploitation are known to exist in Cambodia.

¹² <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/asia/cambodia/>

Chapter one: Introduction

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in April 2012 encouraged the international community to take action against human trafficking and its harmful impacts. According to Ban, trafficking crimes are often described as unthinkable and unspeakable. He added that it is our shared responsibility to think and speak about them. Above all, he said, we must make them unprofitable and untenable. Human trafficking is a serious problem not only at regional and state level but also in global. It is related with human rights issues and HIV/AIDS since women and young girls are being trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The modern day slavery, human trafficking is a serious problem which requires truly integrated approach in this global era. Trafficking is a widespread human rights issue that cannot be alleviated successfully when approached in the current fragmented way.¹³

In fact due to widespread under-reporting of the crime, it is very difficult to assess the real size of human trafficking. For instance, a victim of sexual exploitation who reports the crime may be classified in official statistics as a victim of rape, but not of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. However, a conservative estimate of the crime puts the number of victims at any one time at 2.5 million. It affects every region of the world, ranks as the third largest source of income for organized crime (exceeded only by arms and drugs trafficking), and is the fastest growing form of

¹³ Sex Trafficking in Southeast Asia: the Need for a Victim-Centered Perspective

international crime.¹⁴ Also it generates tens of billions of dollars in profits each year.¹⁵

This study will first discuss the nature of the trafficking problem in Cambodia, along with the cause of Cambodia human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The principal reason for choosing this particular country is that Cambodia is the one of the fastest growing commercial sex industry in the world. Even though there are growing number of international organizations and NGOs to prevent, protest and reintegrate prostitution, it is intriguing that the number of women and children being trafficked for sexual exploitation is not decreasing in Cambodia. In order to battle this problem in 2007 Cambodia government implemented a new law entitled: *Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation* aimed at offering protection for human trafficking. However in reality women safety has been decreased and the new law has become an expensive white elephant. Matters went from bad to worse when Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen feels in a strong enough position to move against the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which have been a perennial thorn in the strongman's side since he took power more than two decades ago.¹⁶ He said in 2008 that Cambodia has been a heaven for NGOs for too long adding that he had given up hope of reading any positive

¹⁴ United Nations Global Compact. UN.GIFT Global initiative to fight human trafficking

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JK14Ae02.html

reports written by international or local NGOs. He added that "The NGOs are out of control ... they insult the government just to ensure their financial survival." If Hun Sen initiates to expel all international safeguards sooner or later, there will be no safety net which was the only way for the women to be liberated. Thus I believe it will create a republic of prostitution if he implements his new plan. Therefore it is significantly important to analyze and study about human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation issues in Cambodia at this very moment to relieve the suffocating innocent girls.

1.1 Research Aim and Objectives

The purpose of this research is to support and enhance Cambodian society as well as international campaigns and programs that address human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia by providing detailed information on growing Cambodian human trafficking issues and analyzing the major cause of dramatically increasing Cambodian human trafficking. I believe that this research will assist international safeguards to target specific audiences with culturally relevant messages using the effective and appropriate means.

The interview was carried out over fourteen day's period from June to July 2012. This research employs primary data from interview and secondary data based on published books, reports, and materials from the government and NGOs. Interviews were conducted to victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation who

were staying in Siem Reap center and interview with NGO program managers and staffs who are actively involved in implementing women anti- trafficking programs in AFESIP, recovery center for victims. Although the research was limited to only one NGO, it should be noted that both sexual abuse perpetrators and the victims of sexual abuse have been found throughout the country. Moreover my research covers a variety of anthropological methods and sources: informal unstructured and formal structured observations of and participation in conferences; informal unstructured interviews of individual and groups, ranging from casual conversation to specific interview; and documents such as official statistics and international organizations.

1.2 Limitations

Due to the highly sensitive nature of the issue and the clandestine nature of young girls in prostitution, undertaking research on female prostitution was challenging and asking questions to the girls who were being trafficked before was emotionally difficult. Although sex workers were easily being accessed by male tourists, as an Asian woman visiting Cambodia it was hard to access to sex workers, as their behaviors and movements were guided by *meebon* (brothel owner in Cambodian). While interviewing some girls who were trafficked before were reluctant to speak their past experience about their activities recollecting their past. Right before my visit a couple of pimps invaded the center and asked for the returns of girls. Due to these frequent invasions, the fear made the interview tougher. As a result, these reluctances made it difficult to gain an accurate understanding of the perceive

information.

In addition it was beyond the scope of this project to investigate all the locations where female prostitution is known to exist in Cambodia. Thus, the location with a well-known reputation for being female sex tourism and human trafficking destinations was chosen for this research.

As the majority of respondents were adults when interviewed, but were first abused as teenager, there are possible limitations to the currency of the research as time has lapsed. Given the limited budget and time, it was not possible to conduct a more intensive survey. The time frame allowed for this research was limited to only 14 days. This tight timeframe did not allow for a larger sample and a more in-depth analysis of the situation. So far, little in-depth research has been conducted on trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia. This research could be a starting point in Korea for more research on this reprehensible phenomenon.

1.3 Research Methodology

The research is descriptive, qualitative and analytical. The structure of the research will be as follow: First it starts with abstract. Chapter one contains introduction, research aims and objectives, limitations and research methodology. Chapter two is literature review which deals with the economy and background of human trafficking history of Cambodia adding UN peacekeepers group action in 1990s and sex tourism issues. In chapter three it analyzes the research finding; push

factors and pull factors of human trafficking into two grounds. Chapter five implies the implication of this research. Lastly chapter six contains conclusion. And references and introduction of AFESIP organization follows.

The research was strengthened by visiting Cambodia doing voluntary work at Somaly Mam foundation (AFESIP) from June to July. Most of the work was doing voluntary work at the shelter, collecting data, researching and interviewing.

Chapter Two: Literature Reviews

The characteristic of human trafficking in Southeast Asia has a strong aspect of forced prostitution. The business of commercial sex industry has tripled in its size and economic importance worldwide in past 30 years and Southeast Asia has been a major contributor to the increase of such business.¹⁷ As the commercial sex industry grows in the region, the number of trafficked victims also dramatically increased. Sex workers in Southeast Asia are mainly recruited from economically poor regions such as Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The trafficked population is estimated to increase every year and Cambodia alone generates US \$511 million each year through human trafficking for sexual exploitation.¹⁸

2.1 Cambodia Economy

Cambodia is one of the world's poorest countries in terms of economy. Therefore economic development is its highest priority in Cambodia. Cambodia's per capita income is rapidly increasing yet it is low compared to other Southeast Asia countries. Most rural households are highly depending on agriculture and its related sub-sectors.¹⁹ Another crucial misfortune is Cambodia's long period of turmoil and civil strife, which began in 1970 with the overthrow of the government of Prince

¹⁷ UNIFEM East and Southeast Asia 2002

¹⁸ Poole 2001

¹⁹ http://www.xpatulator.com/cost-of-living-review/Cambodia-Phnom-Penh_35.cfm

Sihanouk. Strife and instability lasted 28 years²⁰ and severely affected the Cambodian economy, its human resource base, and its physical infrastructure.²¹

The great Angkor Khmer civilization happened between 802 and 1432.²² The Angkor Wat is one of the famous products of the great Khmer civilization. One of the most forceful and productive kings of the Cambodian empire, Angkor King Jayavarman VII, produced an impressive network of hospitals, royal roads, and advanced hydraulic irrigation schemes.²³ During the reign of Jayavarman VII the Khmer Empire encompassed what is currently Cambodia and much of what is Thailand, Laos, and the southern part of Vietnam.²⁴ After Jayavarman VII's death, Khmer power declined at the hands of the Siamese and later the Vietnamese. After all during the 19th century, Cambodia fell under Siamese and Vietnamese domination.²⁵

In 1863 the French established a protectorate over Cambodia, and in the early 1900s Cambodia became part of colonial French Indochina.²⁶ French exploited Cambodian natural resources such as rubber. And finally in 1953 Cambodia achieved its independence from France.²⁷ Under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia enjoyed peace and stability. In terms of its economy, the country was

²⁰ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com>

²¹ *ibid*

²² Cambodia After the Khmer Rouge inside the politics of nation building, by Evan Gottesman

²³ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com>

²⁴ Cambodia: Report From a Stricken Land, By Henry Kamm

²⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶ Representing Cambodia: French Cultural Politics in "Indochina" Ellen Furlough, University of Kentucky Teaching Cambodia workshop, Marlboro College and the Hill Center for World Studies, 3 April 2005

²⁷ <http://www.caraweb.org>

poor, but most of the population enjoyed affluent subsistence. Farmers, for the most part, had their own land and there was adequate fish, rice, fruit, and vegetables for much of the population.²⁸

Starting from March of 1970, Cambodia initiated several wars which severely affected their economy. People who were against Prince Sihanouk drawn into the vortex of the Cold War and the U.S. war in Vietnam.²⁹ For the next 5 years there was a civil war between the Khmer Rouge and the government of General Lon Nol with the support of United States' military aid as well as financial assistance. The secret bombing of the Cambodian countryside by the United States and the civil war drove hundreds of thousands of rural people into the capital of Phnom Penh and devastated the economy.³⁰

On 17 April 1975, the Khmer Rouge captured the capital and immediately evacuated the population to the countryside. There then ensued the most radical socialist experiment in the history of the world, in which basically the entire population became a huge work camp engaged in various agricultural activities. As a result from 1975 to 1979 for "three years, eight months, and twenty day³¹," the Khmer Rouge brutalized the Cambodian population. Not only did their murderous regime alter Cambodia demographically, but also culturally and psychologically.

The Khmer Rouge believed Cambodians had been corrupted by exposure to

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ The Cold War and Its Aftermath in East Asia by Dr. John Swenson-Wright

³⁰ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com>

³¹ Eisenbruch, 75. Maurice Eisenbruch, "The uses and abuses of culture: Cultural competence in post-mass-crime peace-building in Cambodia," page 71-96, Pouligny, Beatrice, Simon Chesterman, and Albrecht Schnabel, ed. *After Mass Crime: Rebuilding States and Communities*. New York: United Nations University Press, 2007.

foreign influence, modernity, Buddhism, and immoral Western influence³². They set-up agrarian communes aiming to cure and re-educate Cambodians, ultimately hoping to, “reconstruct the Cambodian mentality³³.” Maurice Eisenbruch in her essay, “The uses and abuses of culture: Cultural competence in post-mass-crime peace-building in Cambodia,” examines how the Khmer Rouge culturally uprooted and abused their fellow Cambodians. During their short reign, “nearly two million out of a population of eight million Cambodians died from execution, torture, overwork, starvation, and disease.”³⁴ In 1979 the, “traditionally reviled Vietnamese “liberated” Cambodia³⁵.”

During People's Republic of Kampuchea which was made by Vietnamese for the purpose of establishing Cambodian real government in 1978, Cambodia economy became better. With the present of United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) to oversee the transition to a multi-party democracy and free market economy, Cambodia was able to establish the State of Cambodia. Under the UN umbrella, Cambodia achieved impressive economic growth of 4.5 percent in 1999 and 5 to 5.5 percent in 2000.³⁶ Cambodia is highly depended on garment industry and tourism. Cambodia is receiving huge amount of international aid constituting 61 percent of its public funds.³⁷

According to the country's secretary of state, Cambodia expects an increase in

³² Eisenbruch, 76-77.

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Lum, Thomas. “CRS Report for Congress: Cambodia: Background and U.S. Relations,” page 2.

³⁵ Eisenbruch, 75.

³⁶ East Asia and Pacific Data Monitor, The World Bank, October 2012

³⁷ Aid Dependence and Governance, by Deborah Bräutigam

prostitution and human trafficking as the unemployment rate climbs during the economic downturn.³⁸ Chou Bun Eng, whose portfolio includes anti-trafficking, told reporters during a visit to Singapore, added that more women and more girls will be entering the entertainment business and will also face issues on sexual exploitation.³⁹ Cambodia's economy could shrink 0.5 percent due to a slowdown in garment exports and a drop in the number of tourists, the International Monetary Fund said in March. In addition, Chou said the economic crisis has forced many female factory workers to return home and look for "riskier jobs."⁴⁰ Thus economy factor is strongly linked with human trafficking issues in Cambodia.

2.2 Human Trafficking History in Cambodia

As explained above, in 1953 Cambodia was granted independence from France and sustained relative stable social structure until the Communist Khmer Rouge came to power in 1975. Prior to 1970, it is surprising that the trafficking was not actively practiced as modern society. However between 1970 and 1975, the nation was controlled by a military government that caused much suffering to the people in the rural areas, which increased the flow of migrants to the urban areas.⁴¹ Human trafficking and commercial sex were practiced throughout the country during this time.

³⁸ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/05/06/us-cambodia-trafficking-idUSTRE5453QN20090506>

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ <http://seameo.org/vl/combat/appendix.htm>

However during the Khmer Rouge time from 1975 to 1979 the story was different. During the Khmer Rouge period human trafficking was prohibited under strict restrictions. Migration, trafficking, and prostitution were completely prohibited as a result of movement restrictions, oppressive social controls, and the collective economy.⁴²

After the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979 and the re-establishment of relationships with neighboring countries, the trafficking and exploitation of non-Cambodian children started and increased. The Khmer Rouge reign of terror was followed by a 12 year civil war ended by the UN brokered Paris Peace Accords of 1991. The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) lasted from February 1992 until September 1993 and brought 15, 991 military components and 3,359 civilian police to Cambodia⁴³. The peace deal did not halt the violence, it continued well into the 90s. The last of the Khmer Rouge outliers surrendered in 1999 and elections since 2003 have been relatively peaceful⁴⁴.

Briefly summarizing the figure of trafficking for sexual exploitation in the course of the 20th century prior to 1975, Cambodian women experienced trafficking, especially by foreign men who came to Cambodia as a result of wars that ravaged Southeast Asia⁴⁵. From 1975 to 1991, prostitution was generally suppressed, initially during the highly repressive Khmer regime and subsequently during the

⁴² <http://seameo.org/vl/combat/1content.htm#Appendix E: The Case of Cambodia>

⁴³ UNTAC: Facts and Figures. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/untacfacts.html>

⁴⁴ CIA World Fact Book: Cambodia

⁴⁵ Swain, 1995

Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

2.3 UN Peacekeepers in 1990s

Research by the Cambodian Women's Development Agency estimates that the number of prostitutes in Cambodia jumped from about 6,000 to more than 20,000 in Phnom Penh alone during 1992 in order to meet the demands of 22,000 United National Transitional Authority peacekeepers.⁴⁶ The arrival of the UNTAC peace keeping forces in 1992 was also the arrival of a great increase in prostitution and the trafficking of women and children. By the end of 1992, the estimated number of sex workers in Phnom Penh alone was more than 20,000.⁴⁷ UNTAC's peacekeepers were mandated by the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement to maintain peace, repatriate about 400,000 Cambodia refugees from Thai-Cambodian border camps, and to oversee the 1993 national elections in Cambodia, the first held since 1981. Their presence increased the demand for female and child prostitution.

Vidyamali Samarasinghe author of *Female Sex Trafficking in Asia*, explains that from 1975 to 1991 prostitution was generally suppressed by Cambodia's rulers⁴⁸. However with the arrival of the UNTAC in Cambodia and close to 20,000 mostly male UN peacekeepers, demand for female and child prostitution increased⁴⁹. The arrival of the UNTAC is one factor tied to the, "emergence and detection of human

⁴⁶ CWDA 1997

⁴⁷ <http://seameo.org/vl/combat/appendix.htm>

⁴⁸ Jeffreys, Sheila. *The Industrial Vagina: The Political Economy of the Global Sex Trade*. New York: Routledge, 2009, 89.

⁴⁹ Samarasinghe, 89.

trafficking in Cambodia⁵⁰.”

However an astonishing fact has been discovered after UNTAC’s departure. The number of prostitutions decreased relatively whereas the age of sex workers has been younger. Survey by the Cambodian Women’s Development Association (CWDA) released that while the minimum age of prostitutions was 18 years old in October 1992, it dropped to 15 years old by April 1993. According to February 1994 survey conducted by CWDA, nearly 35 percent of girls in the capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh were less than 18 years of age. When UNTAC's mission ended in 1993 the number of sex workers dramatically decreased to between 4,000 to 10,000 girls working in about 400 establishments.⁵¹ There were 17,000 sex slaves in Phnom Penh in 2001 with 80,000 throughout Cambodia.⁵² And there is no accurate information in 2012 yet from international communities. Following shows trends in commercial sex slavery by time period along with political period and figures related to trafficking and sexual exploitation in Cambodia before 1970 to 2001.⁵³

⁵⁰ UNIAP <http://www.no-trafficking.org/cambodia.html>

⁵¹ <http://www.hrsolidarity.net/mainfile.php/1996vol06no04/219/>

⁵² Perrin et al, 2001, p.14

⁵³ Cambodia Human Development Report 2000 of the Ministry of Planning & the National 5 year plan against CSEC

Time Period	Political Period	Trends in commercial sex slavery
Before 1970	Kingdom of Cambodia	Existed but not widespread
1970-1975	Khmer Republic	Increased due to war in Vietnam
1975-1979	Democratic Kampuchea	Banned
1979-1989	People Republic of Kampuchea	Existed but strictly controlled
1989-1993	State of Cambodia	
1990		1,500 sex slaves and prostitutes in Phnom Penh
1991	(UNTAC)	6,000
1992	(UNTAC)	20,000
1993-Present	Kingdom of Cambodia	
1995	(Post UNTAC)	17,000
2001		17,000 in Phnom Penh 30% under 18 years 80,000-100,000 nationwide

2.4 Human Trafficking Situation in Cambodia

Human trafficking in Cambodia is far from a homogenous phenomenon.

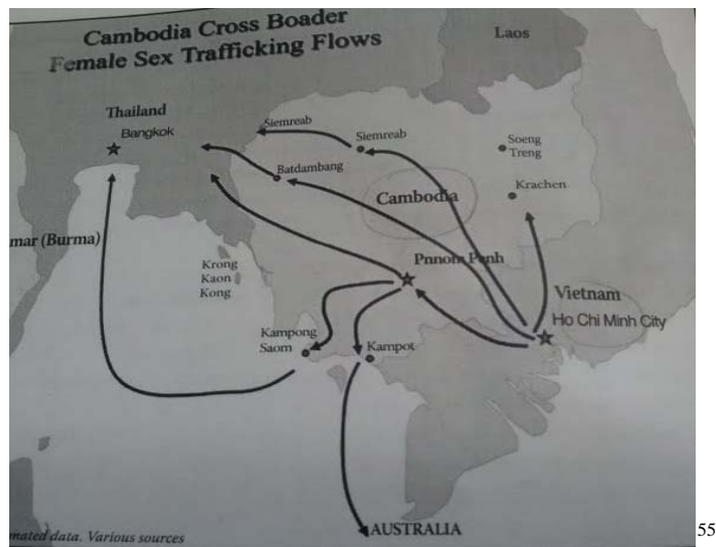
Trafficking networks in Cambodia range from small-scale ad hoc activities to

large-scale and well organized operations.⁵⁴ Cambodia now experiences

significant internal and cross-border trafficking, and is a country of origin, transit

and destination.

⁵⁴ What is Behind Human Trafficking in Cambodia?, by Amanda Monson



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Trafficking patterns worldwide are difficult to define, since there are many intertwined factors that induce women and children to leave their homes and fall prey to the entangling webs of the sex trade and slavery. But in the case of Cambodia, patterns can be categorized as internal and international trafficking where Cambodia is both a recipient and supplier country. Cambodia is a country for women and children who are trafficked from and to Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam and China for sexual exploitation.

2.4.1 Trafficked from Cambodia

A report by Barber⁵⁶ and a 1999 report by International Organization of Migration imply that the trafficking of women and children from Cambodia to Thailand or to countries has rapidly increased over recent years. They cite substantial evidence

⁵⁵ Female sex trafficking in Asia : the resilience of patriarchy in a changing world / Vidyamali Samarasinghe

⁵⁶ Barber (2000)

based on the reports of increasing numbers of kidnapping and trading of women and children worldwide. Thailand obviously is a sex trading hub for Cambodia. According to UNESCAP, Thai government crackdown on child prostitution and a simultaneous opening of Cambodian border checkpoints caused by an escalation of human trafficking from Thailand's poorer neighbors to meet an increased demand in Thailand in 1992.⁵⁷ Besides human trafficking flow to Thailand, women and children were also experiencing trafficking into other countries for instance to Taiwan as a bride.⁵⁸ There have been hundreds of bogus marriages arranged between Cambodian women and Taiwanese men in order to obtain legal documents for travel to Taiwan for commercial sex purposes.⁵⁹

2.4.2 Trafficked to Cambodia

Women and children from countries such as Thailand, China, the Philippines and Vietnam have been trafficked to Cambodia for local establishments, or for transference to a third country, according to the Head of the CWCC which assists around 300 cases of trafficked victims every year.⁶⁰ Most Vietnamese women and girls entering Cambodia are from southern provinces that share common borders with, or have close access to Cambodia and Khmer women are included in this group. In addition, ethnic Chinese women have also been trafficked to Cambodia via Vietnam. Thai traffickers assist Filipinas and Thai women to enter Cambodia to work in major cities or in sex shows in hotels or bars.

⁵⁷ The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) 2000

⁵⁸ Cambodian Women's Development Agency 1997

⁵⁹ Cambodian Women's Development Agency 1996 to 1997

⁶⁰ Marcher 2000b

2.4.3 Internal Trafficking

Trafficking within Cambodia is largely from rural to urban areas of children and women for commercial sexual exploitation. According to various local NGOs, such as AFESIP, CWCC, LICADHO and CWDA, women and children are taken to brothels where they are raped, abused, humiliated, tortured and emotionally harassed.

2.4.3 Scale of Human Trafficking in and from Cambodia

Official Repatriations from Thailand of Cambodian Human Trafficking Victims⁶¹	
Year	Number repatriated
2005	186
2006	232
2007	100

Official Repatriations from Malaysia of Cambodian Human Trafficking Victims	
Year	Number repatriated
2005	19
2006	6
2007	3

⁶¹ Information on repatriations from Cambodia to Vietnam received from MoSVY, Thailand to Cambodia from Poipet Transit Centre, Vietnam to Cambodia from IOM, and Malaysia to Cambodia from MoFA

Official Repatriations from Vietnam of Cambodian Human Trafficking Victims⁶²	
Year	Number repatriated
2005	93
2006	113
2007	224
Official Repatriations from Cambodia of Vietnamese Human Trafficking Victims	
Year	Number repatriated
2005	15
2006	5
2007	8

Unfortunately there is no universally accepted estimate of the number of trafficked persons being trafficked into, out of, or within Cambodia exists. From 2005 to 2007, 1061 victims of human trafficking have been officially repatriated in government-to-government repatriations.⁶³ Whereas 179 cases of human trafficking were received from 25 NGOs in an ECPAT survey on trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation between 2005 and 2006.⁶⁴

Then besides UN peacekeepers contribution increasing human trafficking for sexual exploitation, what contributed to Cambodia increasing trafficking now days? According to the Cambodian Ministry of Tourism there were 118,183 international

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ SIREN human trafficking data sheet STRATEGIC INFORMATION RESPONSE NETWORK, United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP): Phase III

⁶⁴ ECPAT, 2008

visitors to Cambodia in 1993⁶⁵. This number has been steadily increasing over the years and there were 2,125,465 visitors in 2008 and tacitly more than 60% of male tourists visit with sex purpose⁶⁶. Next section will discuss sex tourism specifically.

2.5 Sex Tourism

It is necessary to discuss the relationship between commercial sex industry and sex tourism. Samarasinghe states that, “since 1991 Cambodia has also been associated with sex tourism which has developed alongside the mainstream tourist industry in Cambodia⁶⁷ .

Tourism is of great importance to Cambodia’s economy growth. The prospering sex tourism constituted a part of the country’s economic development policies.⁶⁸ The tourist attractions which were designated as a UNESCO World heritage site attracts tourists from all corners of the globe, yet there is a darker side of these spectacular venues in Cambodia. It created a huge-profit-making sex industry which allows traffickers to continue seeking victims to sexually exploit. In *Night Market*, one of the famous tourist attractions in Siem Reap, on more than one occasion it is easy discover older or even young western men holding hands with Cambodian girls. Sex tourists who are sometimes virgin seekers and pedophiles come in the guise of tourist and prey upon the young victims. Some tourists who come as individual or group plan their entire holidays or sometimes temporarily

⁶⁵ Cambodia: Ministry of Tourism. “Tourism Statistical Report 2008,” 2.
<http://www.mot.gov.kh/ConferencesAndSemars.aspx?mm=11&bg=pink>

⁶⁶ Ibid, 2.

⁶⁷ Jeffreys, 89.

⁶⁸ Piper, 2005

move to have cheap sex before returning back to their original house to their normal life, jobs or wives. Also around tourist attractions it is easy to meet young girls selling bracelets, making bracelets, selling postcards or other trinkets or posing for a photograph. Following is an interview with a girl who spoke excellent English and was selling bracelets and postcards to tourists. It was hard to discover whether the purpose of her job was for living or due to human trafficking. She said she is selling this for her poor mother but at the end of the conversation she admitted that she does not have parents or family. Following is the conversation that I had with her. I asked her why is she doing this, whether she attends school, how much she earns, where did she get this experience.

Q: Where did you learn English? / A: I need to speak with many tourists. I have been working in this area for more than two years.

Q: Do you go to school? / A: Yes, but only in the morning.

Q: Why are you doing this? / A: My mother is poor. So I am in charge of the family.

Q: How much do you earn? / A: I do not know. I do not know how to count money.

Q: How did you start this job? / A: One guy asked me to do it for him.

Q: Are you enjoying doing your job or forced to it? /

A: Sometimes I like it, but although I am sick, I have to work.

Q: Have you ever asked being sold? / A: Yes

Q: Who asked you? / A: My mother

Q: Do you want to work selling your body? / A: No

Q: What is your dream? /

A: I want to be a flight attendant. (She did not know this word so I taught her.)

Q: Thank you for talking with me.

Even though the purpose of accessing to people was selling bracelets and postcards, she was delighted to speak with someone who was interested in her. Although it was hard to discover whether somebody was controlling her, it was easy to recognize she was forced by someone to do this.

Unfortunately, unless this girl moves to another country, there is and was a possibility of this postcard selling girl to experience trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation in the past and in the future. Then what is making her vulnerable to live in Cambodia? Next chapter will discuss the cause of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Cambodia. What is the cause of this continuous trafficking in Cambodia, even though there are a myriad of international communities to remove commercial sex industry? The following illustrates two primary points of this issue.

<Research Findings 1 – Cause of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia>

Chapter Three: Poverty

The former chapter provided a basic knowledge about Cambodia human trafficking issues as well as Cambodia history. It is true that due to the arrival of UN peacekeepers, it dramatically increased the number of prostitutions in order to meet the demands of male UN peacekeepers. UNTAC came to Cambodia under the name of peace, yet instead of stabilizing the country, it raised serious social disorders in 1990s. In recent days sex tourism is the lucrative industry which is counted as a promising industry for economic development in Cambodia. These social circumstances are making Cambodia a heaven for sex deteriorating nation's image. This chapter will analyze the factors which led women to trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation based on empirical research with interviews. First factor that caused human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia is poverty in a big picture. This poverty can be divided into two; poverty which was caused due to post war and women are undervalued in the name of poverty.

3.1 Post War Result: Poverty

The high-cost of protracted civil war over decades and by the Khmer Rouge's genocidal regime brought poverty and social disruptions. Poverty is considered as one of the principal catalysts of creating sex industry. Cambodia located NGOs

whose work is dedicated to assisting sexually exploited women and children as well as international organizations clearly say the relationship between poverty and human trafficking. Sex exploitation occurs based on supply and demand basis. In terms of supply, push factors which prompt both illegal migrations in general and trafficking in particular tend to be negative in context and can encompass economic hardship, environmental conditions and or personal insecurities.⁶⁹ Poverty and social disruptions in Cambodia were also caused by the high-cost of protracted war over decades and by the Khmer Rouge's genocidal regime. Cambodia still lacks basic social support services while there is productive land, often inaccessible, due to landmines, droughts or flooding, leaving the rural population with few options for survival.⁷⁰

Poverty is an important factor which has increased women and children's vulnerability to human traffickers particularly the poor and the unemployed due to their willingness to join or their low levels of awareness on the dangers associated with human trafficking.⁷¹ The Chen Chen Lee report in 2007 showed that the interviewees cited poverty for trapping into commercial sex exploitation as well as being trafficked to another country like Thailand. According to Vijghen and Jeronimus article in 2007, the low level of education, family debt, agricultural failure, lack of land and off-season work were pushing people to the big cities or to other countries as the men go into construction, women into services and

⁶⁹ Human Trafficking in Cambodia: Reintegration of the Cambodian illegal migrants from Vietnam and Thailand - Neth Naro

⁷⁰ HRTF 1996

⁷¹ Yasunubu, 2004

prostitution. Similarly, the perception of children as wage earners also increases the likelihood of them being trafficked.⁷²

3.2 Women Undervalued in the Name of Poverty

Poverty is a principal element which made hundreds of thousands of women vulnerable to sex exploitation particularly to the poor and the unemployed due to their willingness to join or their low levels of awareness on the dangers associated with human trafficking.⁷³ However according to the Chen Chen Lee report which says the main reason as poverty and Vijghen and Jeronimous article in 2007 which focus on poverty factor as an intertwined factor pushing people to the big cities that contributed women to work as a prostitute.

In Cambodia it is common that bonded relationship, parents, sell their daughter in return for cash. It is not an alarming fact that mother or father walk hand in hand and pass their daughter to the pimp and visit the brothel to receive money that the abused daughter has earned. Reynolds describes this kind of entry in prostitution as a “fairly consistent and quite distinct model of trafficking”.⁷⁴ Reynolds continues that the use of bonded labor to repay a debt incurred either directly by the laborer or by an associate of the laborer was a traditional common form of slavery in Cambodia. Marjorie Muecke states that the 'historical practice of selling women'

⁷² Margallo and Poch, 2002

⁷³ Yasunubu, 2004

⁷⁴ Reynolds, Rocque, 1996, *Trafficking and Prostitution: The Law of Cambodia*, University of New South Wales, p. 2.

can be found in Southeast Asia and provides an important precedent for the current practice whereby adults, predominantly men, sell family members, particularly daughters, for economic gain.⁷⁵ There are two features of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in terms of degrading and undervaluing women in the name of poverty in Cambodian society.

3.2.1 Parent's Participation in Trafficking

Even though there are lots of international safeguards in Cambodia, it is difficult to obtain reliable data on trafficking and prostitution. However surveys of 1993-1994 conducted by Vigilance and Cambodian Women's Development Association (CWDA) indicated that about half of the women and girls were sold into prostitution, mostly by parents or other relatives.⁷⁶ As a human being it is hard to understand how it is possible to sell their bonded relationships or beloved daughter to the brothel without tormented by a guilty conscience. It is because of undervaluing women in Cambodian society. It is surprising that according to The Situation Report on Trafficking and Prostitution of Children, poor families are by definition more susceptible to promises of jobs for their young daughters, often desperate enough to sell their daughters or other relatives to pay off a debt.⁷⁷ Thus bringing their daughter not their son into prostitution is justifiable when it comes to

⁷⁵ Muecke, Marjorie, 1992, 'Mother Sold Food, Daughter Sells her Body: The Cultural Continuity of Prostitution', in Soc. Sci. Med., No.7, p.892.

⁷⁶ Unicef, 1995, *The Trafficking and Prostitution of Children in Cambodia: A Situation Report*, Phnom Penh.

⁷⁷ Unicef, 1995, *The Trafficking and Prostitution of Children in Cambodia: A Situation Report*, Phnom Penh. P.17

poverty issue in this regard. Important thing to consider here is that always family's victims are daughters not sons.

In Cambodian cultural view, daughters are responsible of remitting funds to their parents. Thus by fair means or foul prostitution has become an essential social activity by tacit agreement fulfilling their expectations of providing financial support for the family in exchange for a loan from the brothel-owner. Usually once the parents bring their so-called virgin daughters to work as prostitutes to the sex industry, they borrow money from the *meebon* (brothel-owner in Cambodian) granting permission for the temporarily prostitution until they pay back the money. Thus in order to relieve family' financial burden daughters are recognized as a supporter or a head of household in Cambodia. Following cases shows the seriousness and real story that the traffickers are their birth mother.

Case 1

One girl that I met in AFESIP who used to work in Phnom Penh said she is the youngest daughter among seven children. Her mother was ill and too old to work and she did not mention her father. Her brothers went to Thailand to be a farmer and three sisters were deceived by their neighbor and being trafficked to a brothel. Thus there were no breadwinners; neither her brother nor sisters send money to her mother. Finally she confessed painfully that her mother actually participated in trafficking procedure. Not only herself but also her sisters were the victims of her mother.

She was only twelve years old when she first entered the sex industry. She said that the main reason for this tragedy was poverty.

Case 2

When I first met her, she was really bright and active so it was hard to believe her past. She said she was the subject of producing money to the family. Her mother forced her to be a prostitute to make money. She wanted to continue her study but need to quite when she was in 5th grade. First she worked as a farmer and became a commercial sex worker due to mother's request. Currently she is not keeping in touch with any of her family members.

3.2.2 Women being Trafficked by False Promise

Most of the girls that in the AFESIP center were deceived, kidnapped or in any other way tricked into commercial sex industry guaranteeing that they will earn plentiful of money. According to the surveys of CWDA,⁷⁸ conducted in 1994 in Tuol Kork, among 399 women over 40 percent of the women interviewed were not aware that they could be involved in sexual exploitation before being trafficked. When I asked this same question in 2012 summer to the street girls hovering around tourist attractions, eight out of ten girls were outlier of this matter. And two

⁷⁸ CWDA, 1994, *Prostitution Survey Results*, Phnom Penh

did not mind being trafficked unless they can eat enough and earn money. In a Human Rights Task Force report⁷⁹ of 1995 based on 310 interviews with related people in 13 provinces, it was estimated that 45 percent of the prostitutes interviewed were deceived by pimps or abducted into prostitution. Following interviews are the cases that have been trafficked, kidnapped or lured by strangers or acquaintances.

Case 3

“I am 19 years old now. (Some girls do not know their exact age. So this might be inaccurate.) One day when I was walking in my village and suddenly one nice looking girl came to me and gave me some food. She was wearing good cloth and smelled good. I have not met her in my village. We talked a lot and had good relationship for two months. She said that if I go to city with her, I can earn a lot of money. Since she was really nice to me, I trusted her at that time. But when I followed her, I was raped first to a stranger and later I knew she sold me to *meebon* (brothel owner). I was a prostitute for two years in the capital before being rescued by AFESIP.”

A survey on Cambodian and Vietnamese sex workers⁸⁰ considers the general belief

⁷⁹ Human Rights Task Force, 1995, *Prostitution and Sex Trafficking: A Growing Threat to Women and Children in Cambodia*, Phnom Penh.

⁸⁰ GAATW/IOM/CWDA, 1997, *Cambodian and Vietnamese Sex Workers along the Thai-Cambodian*

that the motives of women for following the trafficker are often based on false promises of well paid jobs in restaurants or hotels. Following interview is about a Vietnamese girl who was being trafficked and forced to work as a sex worker in Cambodia. Due to her lack of English proficiency, one of the staff members interpreted her story.

Case 4

“I am from Vietnam. In Cambodia Vietnamese girls are famous to Cambodians owe to white skin. Many girls are being trafficked to Cambodia and work as a prostitute. And sometimes we are being trafficked again to Thailand. When I was in Vietnam some people promised to give me a nice job at Cambodian restaurant. I do not remember where I worked as a sex worker in Cambodia. I was in several places working as a prostitute.”

Unofficial estimates say that there are as many as 15,000 prostitutes in the capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, and that up to 35% of them have been smuggled into Cambodia from China or Vietnam, mostly from the southwestern provinces of Vietnam⁸¹ being lured, deceived or kidnapped like internal trafficking. Brothel owners pay traffickers from US\$350 to \$450 (8,750 to 11,250 baht) for each

Border, Cambodia

⁸¹ Long An, An Giang, Song Be, Kien Giang, Dong Thap, Can Tho and Ho Chi Minh City)

attractive Vietnamese virgin 16 years or younger. Non-virgins and those considered less beautiful are sold from \$150 to \$170 each (3,750 to 4,250 baht).⁸²

Due to white skin that Cambodian prefers, Vietnamese prostitutes are usually forced to have intercourse with Cambodian men instead of tourists. Vietnamese girls are commonly brought to Phnom Penh, where they are concentrated in a strip 15 km north of the city in an area known as Svay Pak red-light district of Cambodia.⁸³ Svay Pak has the largest number of prostituted Vietnamese girls.⁸⁴

Although there are 84 non-profit organizations specifying for human trafficking issues in Cambodia, still there are no reliable statistics on accurate data of females being trafficked, lured, or kidnapped into prostitution within Cambodia, across the border neither to Thailand, Laos, or even Australia nor from Vietnam to Cambodia. Nonetheless there are abundant research done about the motivation or procedure of recruitment of women and girls to sex industry.

As it is mentioned earlier in the Vietnamese girl case, female recruiters build up trust of a girl and promise a decent job with high income. Innocent rural girls are completely taken in this palpable lies and move together with the recruiter with the hope of escaping from poverty.

⁸² "Children of the dust," rewritten from 'Children of the Dust,' by MIKEL FLAMM and NGO KIM CUC, *Bangkok Post*, 23 February 1997

⁸³ Laura Bobak, "For Sale: The Innocence of Cambodia," *Ottawa Sun*, 24 October 1996

⁸⁴ "The Street of Little Flowers," rewritten from 'Children of the Dust,' by MIKEL FLAMM and NGO KIM CUC, *Bangkok Post*, 23 February 1997

3.3 Relation between Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation and Gender

Why women are especially experiencing human trafficking relatively higher than men? It is crucial to observe the relation between human trafficking and gender in Cambodian society. 'Men are gold; women are cloth'. This is a popular Cambodian saying. This means that once a white cloth flung into the mud can never be cleaned to regain its purity and whiteness. This means that once Cambodian women lose her virginity before marriage, a women reputation falls and be treated as a scrap of cloth whereas men are considered as gold. When gold is caught in the mud it is easy to clean it up and will regain its original shine. Likewise, men can clean their dirty behavior easily without receiving any prejudice. This Cambodian saying illustrates the patriarchal values of Cambodia society. They undervalue and degrade women if they lose their virginity. On the other hand, in case of Cambodian men, it is generous, natural and even encouraged to engage in sexual activities with many women without any social prejudice. Cambodia men believe that obtaining a virgin girl for sex will grant them extra health, luck and enjoy longevity. And there is another belief that if men are HIV positive and virgin girl will cure HIV/AIDS. Relations between sexual exploitation and gender can be explained by observing the gap between traditional attitudes toward women, sexuality and unequal treatment between son and daughter and traditional Khmer ideals.

3.3.1 Gap between Traditional Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Cambodia

"We men are the buyer, sex workers are goods, and the brothel owner is a vendor."

This is a quote from Cambodian sex buyer. He is totally degrading and cursing women and considers prostitution is not an act of exploitation. Then how can this happen? What is his fundamental value? Can he represent all Cambodian men?

Patriarchal social norms coupled with rigid sex roles for men and women are associated with vulnerability to prostitution and human trafficking.⁸⁵ Women and children are at high risk for trafficking because of sex inequality and the commoditization of children.⁸⁶ Violence is often perpetrated against women in their homes with relative impunity.⁸⁷ Prostituted women are additionally victimized by gangs and by police.⁸⁸ Traditional attitudes perpetuate the belief that men have a higher social status than women, both within Cambodian society and within the family. The *chbab srey*, a code for women, emphasizes proper behavior for young and adult women regarding their comportment, activities and sexuality.⁸⁹ It teaches women to serve and respect their husbands at all times.⁹⁰ Men have ultimate authority within their families, and women and children are expected to

⁸⁵ Duvvury & Knoess, 2005

⁸⁶ Walsh, 2007

⁸⁷ Zimmerman, 1994

⁸⁸ Bearup, 2003a; Grant, 2003; Jenkins et al., 2006; Surtees, 2007; O'Connell, 2001; Dyna, Sichan, & Cockroft, 2010

⁸⁹ Ledgerwood 1996

⁹⁰ Zimmerman, 1994; Walsh 2007

show deference, respect, and obedience.⁹¹

3.3.2 Unequal Treatment Between Son and Daughter

In terms of Cambodian patriarchal values women was brought up and taught to live and adapt to a specific social construction that classifies men as supreme and women as subordinate. Male domination and class oppression especially within the family structure is supported by social practice.⁹² According to Sustainable Development Department, (SD), Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Cambodia's population is unbalanced, 52.6% are female and 47.4% male and 21% of the population, or 2.2 million people, live in households headed by women. Among the farming population, over 65% are women and have dual responsibility for farm as well as household management. Women have on average 20% lower literacy rates than men and marketing of agricultural products is mainly done by women. Women contribute actively to household income through petty trade, wage, exchange labor and handicrafts and sometimes require or even allow their wives or daughters to work temporarily as prostitutes to pay back the money borrowed from the *meebon* (brothel-owner) through which the family can relieve their financial burden. Women who work as prostitutes recognize their role in providing financial support for their families. Their excessive work burden is usually invisible and women experience not only physical violence, but with sexual

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Patriarchal capitalism and the experience of Cambodian women become victims of sexual trafficking Samnang
4938050 SHHS/M

violence. Women's contribution as family labour is undervalued and never included in accounting as work.⁹³ Following is the interview from a girl that she agreed with her parents to work as a prostitute once her mother recommended her first. She had to work because her mother treated her differently with her brother. For the sake of her brother's school tuition, she had to self-sacrifice herself as a prostitute.

“My father did not have job and my mother worked as a cleaner. We did not have enough money to raise eleven children. My mother asked me to work because we had no money but did not ask my brothers to work outside. I agreed to work as a prostitute because that was the only way to help my parents. My mother came every time to take the money. I hate my mother now and when I have to meet my mother here (reintegration center), I always refuse meeting her. She only loves my brothers.”

3.3.3 Inconsistent with Traditional Khmer Ideals in terms of Commercial Sex

Articles dealing with sexual exploitation from a gender point of view⁹⁴ one of the causes mentioned are the '*systematic undervaluation of females in terms of "property"*' or ability to earn in the market. This indicates that is not just poverty due to decades of civil war nor social disorder but disjuncture between culture

⁹³ <http://www.fao.org/nr/nr-home/en/>

⁹⁴ WEDO, 1996, *Root Causes: A Gender Approach to Child Sexual Exploitation, World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*, Stockholm, p.12.

value keeping virginity and status of men and women, forcing daughters to the sex industry as well as discriminating them from sons. Cultural norms that perpetuate a lack of respect for women increase the likelihood of them being exploited.⁹⁵ In a Vigilance report on women trafficking and child prostitution, it is stated that "... in the context of this Cambodian culture, women are generally viewed as sex objects, and women are particularly taught to accept their roles as house wives, submissive to the law of the male world."⁹⁶ Although this is a generally held view, the role of cultural values regarding gender status and sexual exploitation are much more complicated.

However there seems to be contradiction to the so-called traditional Khmer ideals. Without dealing with Annuska Derks's idea of myths and realities of gender roles in Cambodia⁹⁷, we can know why the rapid growth of female prostitution and trafficking is not considered culturally problematic for Cambodians. Cambodia social phenomenon facing increase in sex industry, this is inconsistent with Khmer ideals. According to Khmer ideals a young woman needs to be protected and cannot leave her house too far without the company of her relatives. The Venerable Monichenda remarked on this: "In our society, we have to take care that our daughters to be good daughters. Generally a good and precious daughter, from the Khmer point of view, does not go far from home. As the Khmer saying goes 'Do

⁹⁵ Cambodia Women Crisis Center global report, 2005

⁹⁶ Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia, 1996, *Report on Sex Trafficking of Women and Children*, Phnom Penh, p.3.

⁹⁷ Derks, Annuska, 'Perspectives on Gender in Cambodia: Myths and Realities', in *Cambodia Report*, Nov-Dec 1996, Vol II, No. 3, Phnom Penh.

not keep a good dessert for tomorrow; do not allow a woman to go far'.... Our society gives value to virginity of women. But Khmer men love virgins and if parents do not allow their daughters to go to study far from home, we cannot blame them, because they know their daughters will lose their future if they lose their virginity." Thus there is a disjuncture between culture value and their real value in life.

Until now Cambodia has denied this issue and evaded answering this conflicting subject. Ledgerwood states that "on the one hand daughters are supposed to be protected; on the other hand, the teenage daughter must bicycle all the way to the city and sell her goods in order to support the family."⁹⁸ Poverty has driven women to be engaged in sex industry in order to support the family although it is considered as dishonorable behavior in cultural norms. Usually daughters have to move out and be separated with their family which is against the Khmer culture, as the young woman should not be far from her home and lose her virginity. Surprisingly there is a saying in Khmer: *koun proh cencem kmein baan kaa, koun srey touh ci'e sampheng sewchey kaa kut mdey dai*. This means a son does not feel responsible to take care of his parents, whereas a daughter, even when she works as a prostitute, will still think of her mother. As one prostitute explained:

“In general, for Khmer children, the sons do not take care of their families very much. The girls are mainly responsible to support their

⁹⁸ Ledgerwood, Judy, 1992, *Analysis of the Situation of Women in Cambodia: Research on Women in Khmer Society*, UNICEF, Cambodia, p. 5.

family. People think that for the boys, all responsibility for their family will be finished after he gets married. For the girls even if they become prostitutes, they will always take care of their family.”⁹⁹

Cambodians who believe in Buddhism, currently estimated to be the faith of 95% of the population, proclaim to associate with Buddhism and justifies the practice of prostitution in their society.¹⁰⁰ Yet the beliefs provide an ideology that justifies parental and village complicity in and denial of the prostitution of their daughters.¹⁰¹

Marjorie, Muecke says that Theravada Buddhism¹⁰² is related with prostitution through the concepts of *karma* and merit making. The law of *karma* means every action performed in life creates another reaction which in turn produces a new good counter action. Thus an endless chain of actions and reactions is produced which binds the living entity to his good and bad deeds.¹⁰³ In most of the Southeast Asian countries daughters express their gratitude and gains merit through providing financial assistance to the family. As such, proper daughters are expected to fulfill a cultural mandate¹⁰⁴ Thus meeting the demand of cultural mandates ironically daughters lose their virginity in sex industry which was sometimes deliberately planned by their parents. However Buddhist values and practices do not necessarily

⁹⁹ Trafficking of Cambodian Women and Children to Thailand IOM & Centre for Advanced Study

¹⁰⁰ Marjorie Muecke connects this 'cultural' obligation with Buddhism in the Thai context

¹⁰¹ Muecke, Marjorie, 1992, 'Mother Sold Food, Daughter Sells her Body: The Cultural Continuity of Prostitution', in *Soc. Sci. Med.*, No.7, p.891.

¹⁰² Theravada Buddhism is found in Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand China and Sri Lanka

¹⁰³ <http://www.yoga-philosophy.com/eng/karmalaw.htm>

¹⁰⁴ Muecke, Marjorie, 1992, 'Mother Sold Food, Daughter Sells her Body: The Cultural Continuity of Prostitution', in *Soc. Sci. Med.*, No.7, p.898.

comply with the interpretations of the 'academic' Buddhism regarding *karma*, merit and morality. Muecke's interpretation of the relationship between Buddhism and prostitution contradicts Buddhist morality regarding sexuality embodied in the five precepts. The five precepts consist of refraining from killing living creatures, taking what is not given, false speech, taking intoxicating drugs and liquors and finally refraining from sexual misconduct, in Sri Dhammananda. In fact Buddhist morality discourages the practice of prostitution.

According to an elderly *doun chii* (nun) in a pagoda in Battambang, province in Northwestern Cambodia, the power of *karma*, or the working of 'impersonal causation', directs one's life. Muecke explained, regarding the role of sons and daughters in the family, that it is true that "...when we are of old age, our daughter takes more care for us than our son. However, it depends also on our *karma*, the fruits of our deeds in the past." According to the head-*doun chii* one has to realize that:

"In Buddhism, we know that we do not need to be angry with someone else about what he or she did to us. If we encounter suffering, we cannot blame someone else. It is the power of our *karma*... I don't know clearly about the problem of trafficking of women for prostitution. This is also the power of *karma* which gives bad medicine to a woman which causes her to be sold... It is our *karma*, our actions in the past, that make us do bad things... It is our *karma* and even if we go away, we will still get it... That is why we

have to do good actions."¹⁰⁵

Thus the influence of *karma* can cause people to consider commercial sex is acceptable if it is based on taking care of their parents and supporting pagoda. The Venerable Monichenda noticed that it is the deed that is important:

"...Buddhism assures women that although they are prostitutes, they can construct a pagoda. And now there are many pagodas which were constructed with money from prostitutes. Buddha never prohibited prostitutes from using their money to construct a pagoda. I think that is not a wrong thing for these women to do."¹⁰⁶

This Buddhism perspective illustrates that not to involve in other people's immoral activities which allows the acceptance of someone's (good) intentions of giving, without moralizing about its source.¹⁰⁷ This stance, combined with a discrepancy between the ideals.

In sum, one of the root causes of human trafficking in Cambodia is poverty in a big picture. First of all, pervasive poverty has allowed human trafficking to flourish. It is imperative to analyze the continued human trafficking problems to examine effective potential remedies and developing recommendations. Post war affected

¹⁰⁵ Trafficking of Cambodian women and children to Thailand IOM & Centre for Advanced Study

¹⁰⁶ Trafficking of Cambodian women and children to Thailand IOM & Centre for Advanced Study

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

poverty and women were undervalued in the name of poverty. Women were undervalued by their parents as were as in Cambodian society which made them to experience human trafficking. In addition, in order to know why women have high possibility of being trafficked, relation between human trafficking for sexual exploitation and gender has been discussed. Second cause related with human trafficking failure of international and local NGOs' efforts in addressing trafficking. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

<Research Findings 2 – Cause of Human trafficking in Cambodia>

Chapter Four: Failure of International and Local NGOs' Efforts in Addressing Human Trafficking

Trafficking of women and children is a phenomenon which has received increased attention from non-governmental organizations, governments and the international community over the past few years. Nevertheless, activities and projects that these international safeguards are implementing are still at its beginning as we can see in the increasing number of prostitution in Cambodia. Then what is not performing well and why is this happening? Before answering these questions, it is necessary to understand the role of international community in the context of Cambodia both in the past and in modern society.

4.1 The Role of NGOs in the Context of Cambodia

Previously in Chapter two it covered UNTAC's act of brutality in the land of Cambodia. UNTAC's departure rapidly expanded the commercial sex market. This part will cover specifically what happened during 1990s in this particular land and the role of NGOs. Before we go it is imperative to think about the relationship between the government (state) and NGOs, between NGOs and the donors, and lastly between NGOs and the recipients. In this aspect we should think about the best relationship among these complicated liaisons and what kind of strategies should be used for long-term perspectives.

Cambodian government was longing for peace and stability so that signing on the Paris Agreement in 1991 was inevitable. According to Hughes, he said that in the 1990s, a momentum emerged behind the drive to international civil society promotion in Cambodia, which reflected both contemporary thinking in international development circles, and the interests of individual donors and agencies.¹⁰⁸ Not only the Cambodian government but also the NGOs themselves recognized their indispensable role to Cambodian society. NGOs themselves were well aware of this opportunity, thus taking the chance to “grab” Cambodian civil society, claiming it as their niche.¹⁰⁹ The first national election took place in 1993 under supervision of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia.(UNTAC)¹¹⁰ Thanks to UNTAC’s involvement it was easy for international safeguards to expand their areas in Cambodia without restrictions. This was a time of heightened international attention on the area, and the majority of these NGOs served as “implementing agencies for donor-funded activities”¹¹¹ Also this were a time that numerous international communities’ suddenly increased. In case of Phnom Penh, Cambodia’s capital, experienced the fastest boom of NGOs in the early 1990s and it is estimated that by 1996 at least 164 NGOs were working in Cambodia.¹¹² By 1999, estimates of international organizations range from 400 to 900 NGOs working throughout the country.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Hughes, 2003, p. 144

¹⁰⁹ Whaites, 2000, p. 126

¹¹⁰ <http://www.giz.de/themen/en/12934.htm>

¹¹¹ Curtis, 1998, p. 137

¹¹² Yonekura, 1996 in Hughes, 2000, p. 142

¹¹³ PONLOK, 1999 in Hughes, 2000, p. 142

Escalating number of NGOs has been the subject of discussion regarding their roles and direct and indirect involvement to Cambodian government. J. Pearce identifies four critical themes that come out of the debates about development and the politics of NGOs.¹¹⁴ These themes are: “NGOs and neo-liberalism; the roles and relationships of international NGOs and local NGOs; NGOs and the state; and theory, praxis and NGOs”.¹¹⁵

It has been argued that NGOs, while comprising a “third sector,” meaning a part of neither the private (business) nor the public (government) sector, serve to facilitate the spread of neoliberal ideals by providing a “safety net”¹¹⁶. Stephen Commins argues that the main forces shaping the world economy are transnational corporations, governments of large, developed countries and international institutions whose agendas are determined by those same countries such as big super power countries, and that NGOs merely play the role of “handing out meager comfort amidst harsh economic changes and complex political emergencies...”¹¹⁷ According to Commins, while many NGO workers are comfortable with the status quo, seeing themselves as occupiers of the moral high ground, the vast majority of them are involved in facilitating the economic violence that is being wrought on most of the world today.

Curtis argues that two factors led to the development of the intense international

¹¹⁴ J. Pearce 2000

¹¹⁵ J.Pearce, 2000, p. 19

¹¹⁶ J.Pearce, 2000, p. 21

¹¹⁷ J.Pearce, 2000, p. 70

interest in Cambodia and its development in the 1990s, the first being international guilt over what was allowed to occur in the country and the second being the country's status as “virgin territory for players of the 'aid game’”.¹¹⁸ According to Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC), Cambodian numerous international communities contributed their efforts to gather funding domestically and internationally from those who thought Cambodia as a profitable spot for development. As a result once NGO involves in Cambodia’s daily life supplying their basic needs, state loses responsibilities as well as people do not expect nor wish any further improvement in the current government and political system. Edwards and Hulme write, “NGOs have a long history of providing welfare services to poor people in countries where governments lacked the resources to ensure universal coverage in health and education; the difference is that now they are seen as the preferred channel for service provision in deliberate substitution for the state”.¹¹⁹

Some of the NGOs working in Phnom Penh simultaneously delivered food and healthcare to the poor while organizing people to demand certain policy changes and services of their government.¹²⁰ Afterwards Cambodian people who were receiving benefits from NGOs, started to think governments are much less efficient than NGOs or other private entities at providing social services. Since Cambodia government was not able to fulfill people’s needs in 1990s, they actually waited for

¹¹⁸ Ibid 1998, p. 72

¹¹⁹ Ibid 1997, p. 2

¹²⁰ Hughes, 2003

the hand of NGOs to cooperate. Cambodia government asked for the resource as well as social services to be fixed. Thus it became blur after the arrival of UNTAC between the Cambodian government role and NGOs because those who were providing welfare and controlling the country was not the state but the international organizations. Thus state and NGO were establishing a suspicious and unequal relationship. There was no mutual exchange but only the provider and the receiver. On one hand NGO performs to fit the state responsibility. However on the other hand it is sort of indirectly controlling the country without war.

Tight cooperation with international and domestic NGO plays a major role in shaping the ways in which NGO networks function in Cambodia. International NGOs were the center frequently actively participating for the support of Cambodia's battles. As a result Cambodia's past has left the nation irreparably damaged, both psychologically and socially,¹²¹ and made Cambodia society unable to pull themselves up by own bootstraps. Hughes writes that "many international analyses of Cambodian civil society took, as a starting point, the inadequacy of Cambodian efforts to engage in partnership, rather than questioning the possibility of genuine partnership in conditions characterized by a marked inequality in power".¹²² Curtis writes of paternalism on the part of the International NGOs that governed the entire NGO network, citing a Buddhist monk and head of a local NGO who "forcefully reminded international NGOs that they should not strive to

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Hughes, 2003, p. 147

create local organizations in their own image”.¹²³ In addition, the NGO Forum on Cambodia raised concerns that International NGOs purpose of not pure creation of indigenous minded organizations.¹²⁴

According to Hughes, back in 1990s the unequal money flow donations from international NGOs to local NGOs was developed from beginning of UNTAC, and is, therefore, now deeply embedded in the way money is moved through NGOs in Cambodia and persist until today. He said that “It was clear, from the emergence of these organizations, that it was international policies and practices that sustained the political space in which they operated, building an inequality into the relationship between international and local organizations from the very beginning”¹²⁵

As Cambodia’s case shows, when the donation issue has been on the table, politics are intervened directly or indirectly whether their implementation is fund-worthy or not. Goodhand and Chamberlain believe that one of the most important requirements to being considered 'fund-worthy' is to match agendas with the political goals of donors¹²⁶. It is easy to observe that official donors take advantage of NGOs as a means to siphon money into projects that support their own political agendas. In Commins’s research on the relationship with donors and NGOs, he figured out that there is no simple cause and effect relationship between receiving

¹²³ Curtis (1998) 1998, p. 136

¹²⁴ Curtis, 1998

¹²⁵ Hughes, 2003, p. 145

¹²⁶ Goodhand and Chamberlain 2000, p. 91

funding from an organization and not being able to criticize or contradict the policies of that organization. Commins added that “What is very apparent through working with the staff of both bilateral and multilateral agencies is that these are not monolithic structures and that, while NGO criticisms will vex some within a particular agency, the same criticisms will be welcomed by others within the same agency”.¹²⁷ Thus Commins argument is that ethical, theoretically-informed work on the part of the NGOs is possible, even within the current structure of funding.¹²⁸ Opinions, therefore, differ about how much, if any, reworking of the system and of people's attitudes it would take to begin to close the gap between theory and practice.¹²⁹

Last controversial issue is the fact that NGOs are feeling pressure by donor's expectation evaluating NGOs outcomes. Many donors have recently been convinced that local NGOs are better at reaching local people in many circumstances.¹³⁰ However, donors still want to see facts and figures about success rates, proof of accountability, and other signs of professional capacity in order to be convinced enough to put their money into an organization.¹³¹

In sum the Cambodia government was dependent of NGOs activity and striving for reform for their country. Thus international NGOs and locals utilized this

¹²⁷ Ibid 1997, p. 153

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Nongovernmental organizations and sex work in Cambodia: development perspectives and feminist agendas, Jessica Catherine Schmid

¹³⁰ Nongovernmental organizations and sex work in Cambodia: development perspectives and feminist agendas, Jessica Catherine Schmid

¹³¹ Ibid

opportunity and expanded their field creating a huge business market under the name of humanitarianism. The role of NGOs in the context of Cambodia was brutal in 1990s as we observed in UN peacekeepers cases and after that and until now NGOs are politically engaged in and NGOs are consciously looking at donor's side as well as fulfilling funders' expectations. Also there is an inequality in the relationship between international and local organizations which causes serious issues later on to each other. NGO made decisions based on the needs of funders rather than the needs of targeted beneficiaries. Moreover NGOs are considered as the preferred channel for service provider in deliberate substitution for the state. This actually does not assist preventing human trafficking since NGOs need to snobbishly adulate to donors, the donation is not always enough. As a result shortage of money, political intervention, and unequal relationship between international and local NGOs bring limitation to NGOs activities. The most serious issues is that once the NGO had contributed a huge amount of money to rescue one child, shortage of donation or political engagement make NGO to train the sexually abused female insufficiently so that most of the girls become degenerated and fall into sex industry again. Next part will discuss this re-trafficking issue in detail.

4.2 Re-trafficked after being reintegrated

AFESIP, Acting For Women in Distressing Situations, is one of the leading international safeguards (or NGOs) in Cambodia removing, rescuing and rehabilitating sex workers. This part will explain about the mission of AFESIP and their misjudgment of the Cambodia's current situation. Although most of the works

that AFESIP is performing is strategically planned and effective to Cambodian society, some parts were malfunctioning due to failure of NGOs efforts and approach in addressing trafficking which was discussed above. AFESIP will be used as an example here.

In terms of development perspective, neo-liberal assumptions are embedded in rehabilitation programming. AFESIP is staunchly opposed to the commercial sex industry. AFESIP's service programs include an HIV/AIDS outreach initiative for commercial sex workers. Many private and public international donors fund AFESIP, one significant donor being the U.S. Department of State.

The core of reintegration is to empower and look after survivors of trafficking. AFESIP like most of other international organizations in Cambodia provides appropriate training for sisters (in AFESIP they have to call each other sisters instead of friends) after being rescued. For example, in case of AFESIP they teach hairdressing, sewing, makeup, handicrafts, cook, Khmer, and English in order to help them to be independent during two years of life in the center.

Principal vocational skills training program includes sewing, hairdressing, and weaving. When the center and the sisters feel confident enough after learning the job skill, sisters enter into the society independently. Seemingly, independence and the ability to cope with life post-reintegration were also viewed as ways of

reducing the risk of re-trafficking.¹³²

Sewing course or hairdressing have six to seven months program which is enough to work as a garment factory worker or a hairstylist in Cambodia. For the weaving it takes extra months and there were only four students taking class compared with 20 to 30 students in sewing class and about 10 in hairdressing course. They also learn Khmer and English but this is only five hours a week (or less) and there is neither computer class nor management class. However vocational training time was held every day more than five hours. As it is listed in the website of AFESIP, it says what specific skills the women learn in each course.¹³³ When I met a girl who finished her training in AFESIP center she said that:

“When we first arrive in AFESIP center we have to choose sewing, weaving or hairdressing. I was interested in none of these classes. So I asked whether I can learn only English. But they said it is impossible. I learned sewing for entire one year with only few hours of English classes. After two years I was allowed to finish the vocational class so now I am taking three English classes a day. But the level is all different. All classes are too easy for me. I think I wasted two valuable years.”

Women’s Agenda for Change critiques these types of training programs for developing skills in areas where women cannot choose depending on their

¹³² Reframing development? Human trafficking prevention in Thailand and Cambodia

¹³³ “Vocational Skills Training”, 2009

preference or are not actually able to later find jobs. Even though AFESIP offers protected environments for victims, their training program is inefficient and ignores each person's preferences. It seems that the only viable job option following training would be in a garment factory or hairdresser, which is arguably less preferable to sex work. When I talked to one old sister who was staying in the AFESIP for five years she said that it is hard to be a worker or do business using their skills due to economic difficulties.

“When I finished my vocational training here I worked as a staff at the hair salon. I could not earn a lot of money. Also salon went to bankrupt so I lost my job. It is hard to find a job even though we have skills. And if they know our past they do not like to employ us. So I returned back to AFESIP center and now I am working as a babysitter. I earn twice as much as I eared before.” (Two sisters in the center have baby. When mothers go for vocational training she babysits their children.)

Prejudice also blocks their career path. Once the owner or customers hear about their unsavory scandal, they stop visiting the shop.

“I established a hair salon by myself after receiving training at AFESIP. I was the best student in the class room. But I did not know how to manage and do business. I met my village friend and

she knew I was being trafficked. She told to my customer so it was hard to run the business.”

“In order to facilitate reintegration, AFESIP provides each woman with a ‘business starting kit’ either in kind (stock for a micro-business) or in cash (through micro-credit)”.¹³⁴ The wording on the site suggests that these women were somehow predestined to run their own microenterprises, helping them to be a “rational economic woman”.¹³⁵ “New lives are shaped after a few months’ stay in one of AFESIP’s centers for vocational skills training. Such residents can finally become small-scale business women and run their own shops”.¹³⁶ AFESIP does provide financial assistance to those who run their business. AFESIP Cambodia’s main objective is not simply to provide short-term assistance to victims, but instead to ensure their long-term financial independence after reintegration.

According to the website it says ‘AFESIP’s psychological team provides ongoing support to all residents in its centers across the country beginning with an initial psychological assessment on arrival. Psychologists visit AFESIP centers on a regular basis offering essential services which aid residents through the challenging process of recovery and reintegration.’¹³⁷

AFESIP has carried out various programs and research studies on human

¹³⁴ AFESIP Cambodia Reintegration, 2009, para. 6

¹³⁵ Rankin, 2001

¹³⁶ AFESIP Cambodia Reintegration, 2009, para. 4, emphasis added

¹³⁷ AFESIP Cambodia Rehabilitation, 2009, para. 4

trafficking for sexual exploitation and also gained credibility.

However there is a high possibility of being trafficked again after certain period of reintegration in AFESIP. Once the center rescued this innocent sister, they have the full responsibility to rise, train, guard them. However more than 60% of sisters, who finish their vocational training in AFESIP, end up being trafficked or work as a prostitute *again*. And unfortunately this number is increasing.

A number of factors contributed to successful reintegration and job training and employment are considered vital in helping victims access to the various income options after going through the reintegration program. However, greater details must be thought through in enhancing the quality of job training and employment opportunities. The failure to provide sufficient job training might result in the failure of reintegration which leads to human trafficking once again.

Chapter Five:

Implications of this Research - Recommendations

So far we discovered the continuous human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia. According to the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime Article 6 states *State parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.* Preventing human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia is imperative to solve and need more attention internationally and domestically. In order to battle human trafficking several solutions and recommendations should be suggestion in an interactive process. Combating human trafficking should be on the basis of both long-term and short-term.

5.1 Long-term Recommendations

5.1.1 Economic Development

As mentioned earlier, poverty is one of the main reasons and motivations that led a number of innocent females to experience human trafficking. Therefore economic development is an urgent assignment to Cambodian society for poverty alleviation and alternative economic opportunities will contribute to reducing needs for income generation so that the undervaluing females in terms of poverty will be reduced.

5.1.2 Educational Levels

According to the Ministry of Planning, a child can be safe from illiteracy if he or she has completed at least till the fourth or fifth grade of their studies. Nevertheless, a higher education level is needed to ensure a better employment prospects in the future. As stipulated in the Cambodian government's National Strategy Plan (2006 - 2010), education is the main human resource development factor in helping to alleviate poverty and increase economic growth potential.

Education is an important means through which children, parents as well as educators can be equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to fulfill their potential and meet life's responsibilities.¹³⁸ Education will prevent girls being entrap into human trafficking teaching them the circumstances of commercial sex and other exploitative practices and this will help them to acknowledge their proper rights. Vocational education and training should be implemented depending both on the market and on their interest as well as attitude. In addition for those who are not enrolled in schools, international safeguards should provide a safety net for them not to fall into trafficking in persons continuously educating them.

5.1.3 Regional Cooperation

Women human trafficking should be a regional issue and action against commercial sex industry demands regional cooperation. Cambodian government,

¹³⁸ See also Education: A Force for Change, UNICEF, World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, Stockholm, 1996.

international and local organizations should establish their goal together to develop strategies with regard to the prevention of human trafficking. At the same time these cooperation among states, international, local organizations and other institutions should be evaluated and supervised each other on a regular basis. This will prevent any safeguards to fall into wrong direction for the girls who already experienced anguish.

5.2 Short-term Recommendations

Boosting economic situation, improving education level and cooperation among State and NGOs could be achieved in the long-term aspects.

Improving Cambodians awareness

Besides long term measures, immediate action could be held. Improving public awareness for preventing human trafficking will be the best method so that it should be based on strategic plans. Through school curricula, radio and televisions programs, poster campaigns, or propaganda will help changing people's awareness. Also the active participation of community members is necessary. Cambodians should discuss the dangers and seriousness of trafficking with special attention to vulnerable families or individuals within the community. In addition NGOs working on community development, human rights training, or other kinds of participatory development program can raise Cambodian awareness.

5.3 The Role of Republic of Korea

Cooperation from each NGO sectors and each nation should be the best solution in order to battle sexual exploitation in Cambodia in international level. From time to time, Korean tourists become number one in Cambodia, while thousand of Cambodian people come to South Korea every year in different aspects including tourism, business, education, labor work or marriage.¹³⁹ Since Republic of Korea tourists who are visiting Cambodia are highly participating as a member of human trafficking, it is hard to avoid the dishonor to Korea and eventually it will affect bilateral relationship in the future. South Korean males who are joining the sex industry rate are dramatically increasing in Cambodia.

Besides this negative image, on the contrary, South Korea is becoming one of the top three developing partners of Cambodia which also includes China and Japan. The bilateral relationship between Republic of Korea and the Kingdom of Cambodia was established for the first time in 1970, but due to intertwined political and security reasons, the relationship was broken for some years. However, starting from the second establishment of bilateral diplomatic relation between the two nations in 1997, Kingdom of Cambodia and Republic of Korea have become two countries whose diplomatic relations developed dramatically in a very short time span.¹⁴⁰ Not only bilateral diplomatic relation but also Korean wave is spreading into that country. South Korea has been cultivating cultural relationship with

¹³⁹ <http://blog.aseankorea.org/archives/1403>

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

Cambodia. Impressed by the economic success of South Korea over the past decades, Korea is using an effective exercise of “soft” power to seduce many young Cambodians utilizing Korean culture.¹⁴¹ Thus in order to avoid disgracefulness to Cambodia regarding bilateral relations it is necessary to implement some actions about Korean sex tourists.

Travelling for the purpose of sex exploitation is considered as sex tourism. Sex tourism is no longer exclusively categorized as Western male visiting developing countries. Many developed countries such as Asian males are using developing nation’s local commercial sex markets and some venues are known as famous for selling and buying sex in Southeast Asia for instance, Pattaya in Thailand and Siem Reap in Cambodia. Approximately 90% of male tourists are there to enjoy the sex paradise.

As a result a civic group has urged the South Korean government to come up with countermeasures against an increasing number of Korean male who are engaged in international sex market. The Seoul-based Naeil Women’s Center for Youth said that there are even some Korean men who participated in sexual intercourse with underage prostitutes in Southeast Asia countries. Thus Philippine, Thailand and Cambodian government has urged the Korean government to take firm action against soliciting prostitution

¹⁴¹ <http://www.economist.com/node/21547865>

In 2004, the number of Korean travelers was 12.7 percent or 128,423, the largest number in the total tourist population visiting Cambodia. There is a possibility that a mounting number of Korean tourists in Cambodia might contribute to boosting the sex industry and human trafficking, especially threatening children who are vulnerable to sexual exploitation. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism has offered educational programs for Korean tourists and agencies to prevent sex tourism especially in Southeast Asian countries.

Surprisingly South Korea is among the 53% of countries which have made some progress to stop human trafficking of children and young people. The Government of South Korea has made some important efforts to combat child trafficking, sexual exploitation sex tourism, especially by improving general awareness of the problem and developing support services such as specialized hotlines and shelters. However, the current legal framework is not yet in line with international standards and preventive measures remain inadequate.¹⁴²

Korean government should actively participate in preventing sex tourism and human trafficking issues with a myriad of NGOs and publish annually report reporting Korean male sex tourists. Also in order to boost public awareness propagating anti-trafficking is necessary. Law enforcement efforts against human trafficking should be continued on national level and conduct numerous anti-trafficking awareness campaigns to the public.

¹⁴² Progress towards stopping sex trafficking of children and young people in South Korea

Chapter Six: Conclusion

When I read International Justice of Mission (IJM) action plan for anti-sex trafficking in 2008 it was the first time to know about human trafficking in Cambodia. My first visit to Cambodia in 2009 awakened my heart and caught my interest in this field. Even though there are a number of international organizations, local NGOs, and institutions working for Cambodia human trafficking, still preventing human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia is obstructed.

Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen said earlier "Cambodia has been heaven for NGOs for too long," he said in a speech broadcast on national radio on September 26, adding that he had given up hope of reading any positive reports written by international or local NGOs.¹⁴³ Hun Sen's government's relationship with NGOs and international aid agencies has often been fractious, epitomized by its tumultuous interactions with the environmental watchdog Global Witness over its consistent accusations of high-level government links to illegal logging, and with the UK-based rights lobby Amnesty International for its criticism of state-sponsored forced evictions across the country."¹⁴⁴ If Hun Sen starts to expel all international safeguards, there will be no safety net for human trafficking. Therefore it will make not a heaven for NGOs but for heaven for trafficking in persons. Thus it is significantly imperative to analyze and study about human trafficking issues in Cambodia at this very moment to relieve the suffocating

¹⁴³ http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JK14Ae02.html

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

innocent girls.

Therefore there should be a research and analysis regarding human trafficking in Cambodia. The root causes of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia are specified into two reasons. First it is poverty caused by post war due to Khmer Rouge's genocidal regime.

Second reason for causing is the failure of international and local NGOs efforts in addressing human trafficking issues. Therefore not only on national but also is international level implications should be discussed. Long term measures are recommended such as economic development to fight against poverty, improvement in education level to make awareness of this serious situation as well as cooperation with regional to induce better result. For the short term recommendations, improving Cambodian awareness about human trafficking is pivotal.

These recommendations could not prevent human trafficking issues suddenly. Recognizing the problem and issuing this issue itself to the world, for example to South Korea, will be a big step to prevent further human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Cambodia.

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Abstract (Korean)

캄보디아의 人身賣買: 現地 人身賣買 調査 및 原因 分析

초 록

본 논문은 캄보디아 여성 및 아동 성 매매 인신매매 퇴치를 위한 다양한 조치가 이뤄지고 있음에도 불구하고 계속적으로 이어지고 있는 인신매매의 현황과 이유 분석에 초점을 맞추고 있다. 실제 캄보디아 인신매매 퇴치를 위한 대규모 자금, 캠페인, 그리고 국제단체 프로젝트가 이뤄지고 있다. 허나 이러한 인신매매 근절을 위한 계획들이 캄보디아 내 성 매매 문제를 타파하기 위해 과연 충분히 효과적이며 효율적인지 짚어본다. 현재 다양한 비영리단체, 국제기구 및 법안과 정책 등 인신매매 근절을 위한 국가 차원의 다양한 노력에도 불구하고 왜 캄보디아 내 성 매매업이 활황 중인지 본 논문을 통해 짚어본다.

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Appendix1- Introduction of AFESIP



AFESIP exists to combat trafficking in women and children for sex slavery; to care for and rehabilitate those rescued from sex slavery; to provide occupational skills and to reintegrate those rescued into the community in a sustainable and innovative manner.

combat the causes and effects of trafficking and sex slavery through outreach work in AIDS prevention; through advocacy and campaigning; through representation and participation in women's issues at national, regional and international forums.

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