



The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project

A Chab Dai Study on (Re-)integration: Researching the Lifecycle of Sexual Exploitation & Trafficking in Cambodia

End of Year Progress Report 2011

Compiled by Glenn & Siobhan Miles



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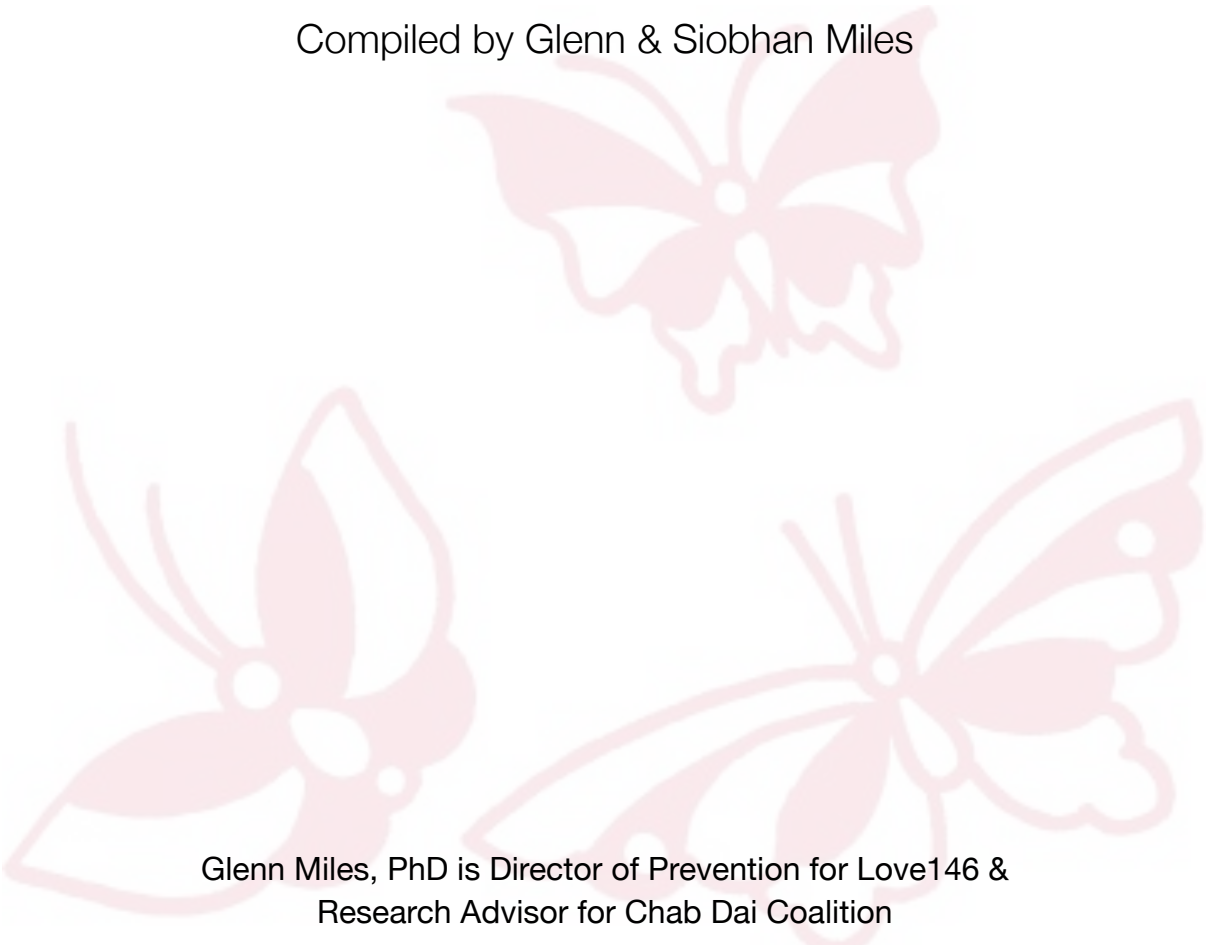
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Researching the Lifecycle of Survivors of Sexual
Exploitation and Trafficking

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Mr. Orng Long Heng, Research Administrator

Ms. Heang Sophal, Research Assistant

Ms. Lim Vanntheary, Research Assistant

Mr. Tem Sareivuth, Technical Consultant



February 2012

Colleagues,

Every year of this ten year research is critical in bringing us one step closer to understanding to the voices of those survivors participating in this research and appreciating better our role in their healing and empowerment.

To empower them not just to become survivors but to be an inspiration and defender in their families, communities and society at large.

Healing begins with listening to the voices of those we seek to empower. How can we know of their plight unless we start to listen?

Understanding the challenges from their voices opens the door to empowerment and healing.

A longitudinal research has many unique outcomes as well as challenges. The foundations of both rely on commitment.

I am grateful to the dedication of all of those involved in this research whose commitment will enable us as practitioners and academics to more fully understand the complexity of the issues as well as our response.

My appreciation extends to our amazing research team whose perseverance and vision I have observed over the past two years as well as the participating partners in the program who work to bring healing and empowerment to their clients.

And last, but by no means least, the survivors themselves who are the true inspiration, who although have experienced trauma in their own lives, have shown a level of commitment that goes beyond expectation to enable their voices to empower and help others.

This research is dedicated to their stories and the lessons we need to learn from them.

Yours sincerely,

Helen Sworn
Founder and International Director
Chab Dai



Chab Dai Coalition

Christians Working Together to End Sexual Abuse and Trafficking

13th February, 2012

Colleagues,

It's very honor to share this first year report from our 10 year research plan of Butterfly Project, Chab Dai Coalition. This research would have not been possible without good collaboration from Chab Dai members and partners who are running shelter program.

This report is the first and fundamental for the journey of our reintegration research. The research team has been working hard in building relationship and getting approval from shelters. The first step is not an easy step the first year of this research is a good first step for this longitudinal research. This research is complicated and unique and it is worth doing it for its greater benefit for both the shelter program and the clients.

This research is not only the end result of finding at the last 10 years but it's also the process and at the end of each year each shelter in the research project will be able to learn and would be able to improve along the process too.

Chab Dai is always committed to raising the standard of care and protection where we have direct projects to support members. Butterfly Project is one of the great projects where it helps us and shelter programs to understand the issues better and would be able to response more effectively to clients' needs.

Nal Sitty

Coalition Director, Chab Dai Coalition

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ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Assistance Programs (In general; residential or community based)
CP	Community Program
DA	Declined Assistance
FGD	Focus group discussion
IDI	In-depth Interviews
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-governmental organization
RP	Residential Program
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

Please note: *Italics* used throughout the report are done for researcher's emphasis only.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the second end of year progress report for the *Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project, a Chab Dai Study on (Re-)integration: Researching the Lifecycle of Sexual Exploitation & Trafficking in Cambodia*. The purpose of this report is to communicate progress and findings for 2011. In order to obtain as large a sample size as possible, recruitment of participants was kept open until December of this year. The sample size grew accordingly at each field visit. In the end, the final sample size was higher than the number who completed surveys at each of the field visits, as we wanted to ensure those who gave consent had time to consider their decision, and thus did not need to participate until the next field visit.

During 2011, the majority of study participants were still in their respective assistance programs (APs), whether residential (RP) or community programs (CPs). Some participants had (re-)integrated into the community; and a small portion, after being assessed by an AP as sexually exploited, decided to 'decline assistance' (DA). For next year's analysis, a larger and more representative number of participants will be analyzed, however we still feel this year's smaller (but still reasonable) sample sizes can provide rich data for analysis. We will begin doing significant statistical analysis with next year's larger population.

The overriding objective of the Butterfly Longitudinal Research is to better understand, from the participants' perspectives, what the (re-)integration process is like for them over a ten-year period. Our purpose is to understand what makes them more resilient and what makes them more vulnerable, yet at this early point in the longitudinal study (year 2) such conclusions are not yet possible. We have used a mixed methods approach to enquire about the participants' current perceptions, views and experiences, and about their expectations for the futures. A small number of participants voluntarily described some of their experiences before their sexual exploitation. Thus far into the study, there appears to be links between physical, emotional, spiritual and financial insecurity among participants, thus increasing the potential of vulnerabilities and resilience (see Table 55 and Table 56).

PARTICIPANT PROFILES & CONTEXT

Study participants vary in age, gender, ethnicity, and their situational context. By the end of 2011, 43 percent of the participants were 18 years and older and the rest were children (under 18 years); 80 percent were females and 20 percent were males. Though the number of males is comparatively low (and therefore may not be representative), we still feel it important to include them as we believe there will be an increase in research and programs working with this group in the future. In addition, we believe the number of male participants is sufficiently high enough to make some comparisons between males and females.

The number of ethnic Cambodians was 65 percent with some ethnic Vietnamese (10%), Vietnamese-Khmer (8%), Chinese-Khmer (10%) and Thai-Khmer (3%). No participants described themselves as part of an ethnic tribal group.

Most participants were in residential programs (RPs) in 2011, and the majority of them lived with residential staff and fellow residents. Because most participating RPs are in the capital city and main provincial towns, the majority of participants have resided in these geographic areas of the country over the past year.

EMOTIONAL & PHYSICAL INTEGRITY

Close Relationships and Emotional Support

Participants expressed different views and experiences regarding their personal relationships and sense of emotional closeness. The majority responded that in general, they felt emotionally supported by their close relationships in the past year. Some participants in RPs expressed a sense of closeness with shelter staff and fellow residents, and others expressed that they *missed their families*. Some expressed both.

"I miss my home, siblings, grandmother, and parents. The answer is to discuss my feelings with the shelter staff."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Recommendation to APs in Strengthening Family Relationships

Although center-based relationships are important they are usually not long term or sustainable so it is important to keep connections to positive previous relationships, including family. In any case it is important in RPs to foster the participant's relationship and connection to their families, as these will provide support in (re-)integration and in finding supportive networks.

Dealing with the past abuse and exploitation that participants have experienced would logically seem critical to their sense of wellbeing, both in the present and in the future. How APs address this varies. Some appear to offer informal counseling support and others offer more formal and structured in-depth levels of counseling.

Some APs appear to offer practical advice rather than formal counseling to deal with past traumas. Some participants spoke about how formal or informal counseling has helped them deal with their past sexual exploitation and stigma. In light of participants' positive experiences, APs who do not currently have counseling might want to consider the value of this approach while also bearing in mind how it can be applied in their particular context.

"Now I know that there are good people and bad people in the world. After my bad experience I thought there were only bad people in the world, but now I know that there are both kinds. I think getting counseling is helping me to *learn to trust good people*."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I tell my story to the *counselor* at the community program and this helps me feel much better. Now I do not want to do Karaoke work anymore. I feel good about myself even if I cannot earn much money."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Some spoke about presenting a brave face despite their feelings.

"I pretend to be happy when I feel sad about my past experience."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Recommendation to APs and For Further Research about Emotional Support

APs may want to look at the different options available to providing emotional support to their clients. For some, it may be appropriate to provide one-on-one counseling but for others the use of group work, creative arts and utilizing sports and music to facilitate communication should be considered. In future years we hope to compare respondents who received counseling and those who did not to further determine if this service was perceived by participants as helpful or otherwise.

One participant said during informal interviews that promises were made to her about her (re-)integration follow-up in terms of social work visits and financial assistance, but these promises were not kept.

Recommendation to APs about (Re-)integration Promises

When clients are (re-)integrated, APs must keep their promises. Otherwise hard-earned faith in their promises could be lost. If social workers from programs cannot provide visits for any reason or the financial assistance offering has changed, for example, then every effort should be made to let clients know.

Experiences & Perceptions of Violence

Over half the participants who completed the questionnaire during the third field visit responded that over the past year, they had *witnessed* both emotional and physical violence, and over half responded they had *personally* experienced physical violence.

Recommendations to APs and for Further Research in Addressing Interpersonal Conflict

Discussion on violence should be incorporated into soft skills training by APs, including conflict resolution and possibly techniques of self-defense. In future years, we will compare those who have had counseling and those who have not in order to further determine if participants have perceived this service as helpful or otherwise. APs should be aware of NGOs who can assist in conflict resolution as well as how to access women's shelters if the violence they are experiencing is intolerable or not resolvable.

Research is also needed to determine whether participants are becoming violent or abusive themselves as a negative response to their experiences.

Some participants' descriptions and understanding of what constitutes exploitation indicated a high level of tolerance within exploitative situations.

Recommendations for Further Research about Participant Perceptions & Experiences of Exploitative Situations

There is a need for qualitative research exploring how participants view and understand 'exploitative situations': in work, inter-personal relationships, or other contexts.

Experiences & Perceptions of Stigma, Blame and Shame

Participants described a range of people involved in stigmatizing them, from intimate family members to peers and people in the wider society, such as teachers and neighbors. Participants described experiences of feeling excluded, gossiped about, blamed, made to feel ashamed, criticized, ridiculed and generally looked down upon. Teachers and fellow students discriminated and stigmatized some participants for being too old to study at particular grade levels and because they lived in RPs. Participants reported they felt they were being discriminated against by teachers and classmates 'blaming and shaming' them because they were in RPs and/or too old for their class year. For some, this discouraged them from further pursuing an education.

"Of course, the teachers and our classmates discriminate against us from the shelter, they say we are *too old* to go to school and so we feel *ashamed* when others say that we are too old to study at low grades."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Participant responses to discrimination and stigma vary. One participant spoke from her own self-reflection, concluding that the sexual exploitation she has experienced is not her fault no matter what other people say.

"But if we know in ourselves what happened to us was not our fault (sexual exploitation) and we *don't think about neighbors who blame us* and say untrue words about us, then we will not be too disappointed."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Meanwhile, other participants responded to the stigma against them by avoiding people who are negative towards them.

"We should hide in the shelter and wait until the problem we had in our past goes away, and as it goes we can forget about the people outside as they forget about us. So when we come out [of the shelter] we can know we are not the same even if society still says we are *bad*."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Recommendation to APs for Dealing with Stigma

The topic of how to address stigma is complex and can often feel overwhelming because it is pervasive and entrenched in society's views. It is important to highlight this concern as RPs have a duty to their clients to protect them and to help build up their self-esteem and preparedness for (re-)integration. One approach is to offer counseling and teach residents about how to cope and respond to discrimination. In addition, APs may want to consider speaking and advocating in schools where their clients attend, targeting both teacher and peers, to stop bullying behaviors and discrimination, perhaps by including specific training on this issue. When undertaking different forms of training, teachers and fellow students have an important role in supporting young people and challenging prejudice for any reason, i.e. previous exposure to sexual exploitation, ethnicity, age, etc.

Recommendation to APs for Dealing with 'Blame/Shame' and for Further Research

Some participants reported feeling 'blamed' and 'shamed' as children, prior to their exploitation or since. Further research is needed to understand participants' perceptions and experiences of this complex dynamic in order to inform APs in their counseling and healing process with clients. APs need to address these deep feelings in counseling and other therapies in order to help clients heal and move forward.

Participant Perceptions of What Society Accepts

Participants spoke about needing to improve their personal characters, educational levels and/or economic standing before Cambodian society would accept them. One participant attributed acceptance to 'fate'. Many APs are seeking to improve these issues, but there is also a need for society to be challenged about their own prejudices.

"I reckon I must try hard to work. When I have enough money I can buy new clothes and modern equipment. Then people around us will not look down on us."

In-depth Interview, Female who "Declined Assistance" (DA)

"My friend near my home who was the same like me (former sexually exploited/trafficked person, then later a Karaoke girl), was able to get married to a rich man and she had two children. Now people do not blame or gossip about her anymore. They say she is lucky and has a good fate because now she is rich. It seems like everyone likes her because she has a lot of money now. And she even stopped wearing the strong makeup and everyone praised her."

In-depth Interview, Female who "Declined Assistance" (DA)

Recommendations for Further Research about Society's Acceptance

Further qualitative research is needed about participants' perceptions of Cambodian society's conditions for social acceptance of people who have been sexually exploited and/or abused. Will social norms change over time? What do participants need to 'do' or 'say' or 'be' to change others' perceptions?

Peer influences

Regarding peer support and negative pressure, all participants responded they had never encouraged their peers or others to drink excessive alcohol or to use illegal drugs. None of them spoke about encouraging others to participate in sex work, although one participant described how a friend had encouraged her to try Karaoke work. Some males specifically spoke about the detrimental effects of negative peer pressure.

Recommendations to APs and Further Research about Peer Influences

In APs the focus tends to be on what adults do for children; however, adult care and input may only be available for a few hours a week. Thus, encouraging positive peer support, positive peer role models, and peer communication and negotiation skills may be more sustainable and have a greater positive impact. More research is needed into how this might be achieved.

General Health, Sexual Health & Sexual Activity

Regarding health, most participants expressed worry about experiencing illness and poor health because this would be detrimental to their ability to work, would drain their resources, and they would not necessarily be able to afford health care.

Thirty participants responded they had been sexually active in the past year. However, it is not clear how many of these were considered to be positive encounters and how many were compensated financially or in-kind. Interestingly, only four felt they had been exploited, and of these, three listed reasons to do with unfair financial compensation and one to do with feeling coerced. This leaves the question as to what is considered to be 'exploitive' by participants and whether they understand that non-financial exploitation e.g. emotional abuse, coercion, violence, is also considered abusive.

A high number of participants responded they 'sometimes' or 'never' used condoms, which for some would put them at high risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and other communicable diseases.

Recommendations to APs and for further research about Sexual Health and Sexual Activity

APs need to sensitively incorporate lessons about sexual health, positive intimate relationships, relationships, dealing with peer pressure, condom use, commitment and self esteem as well as information about STIs and how to prevent acquiring these illnesses. Further research is needed to understand better what participants understand and practice.

Recommendations about Sexual Harassment within APs

One participant spoke about feeling sexually harassed by a peer, but had not told assistance staff at that time. The assistance staff in this case has been subsequently informed, but this may be of wider concern than this particular client who admitted that it was happening to them. Programs need to be aware of sexual harassment and create an environment of understanding as to what it is and how one can respond to it. This is a topic which could be included into soft skills teaching and discussion.

Trust and Distrust of the Authorities

All males responded positively compared to a small percentage of females who responded negatively about their experiences with the police. Some participants felt frightened and frustrated in their dealings with the police during 'Karaoke raids'. From their perspective they felt they were treated as offenders rather than victims.

"I did nothing wrong but they caught me. I cursed the police. All the girls blamed the police. They kept us locked up for several days."

In-depth Interview, Female who "Declined Assistance" (DA)

Some participants spoke about being blamed and made fun of by teachers for their advanced age and because they live in RPs. (See earlier quote)

Recommendation to Professionals Working with Survivors, e.g. Teachers, Health Workers, Courts, Police

While in the long-term the Government should take responsibility for these occurrences, some NGOs have a mandate to provide training to professionals and civil servants outside of the NGO sphere.

Teachers, health workers and police should be trained to treat sexually exploited persons as victims in need of support, understanding, and respect; rather than as criminals in need of punishment, or as inherently 'bad' - as if they chose to do it or deserve to be treated badly. In order to reduce the stigma that some older participants experience in schools simply because they are older, APs may want to develop ways to get their clients 'up to speed' with accelerated learning initiatives, enabling them to enroll in the correct grade-for-age. Next year we plan to look at other relevant community members and assess whether participants experience discrimination from them e.g. health workers. APs play an important role in briefing and supporting participants through the court process. However the courts also need briefing, for example, in the way they use children as witnesses.

EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL & FINANCIAL INTEGRITY

Experiences & Perceptions of Education

Participants listed a number of reasons for obstacles they felt had challenged them in their pursuit of education, especially when they were younger. These obstacles included: lack of financial resources, time, having to repay debt, domestic violence and stigma.

The majority of participants in this study appear to lag behind expected educational levels in Cambodia. Most of those who are still in RPs are younger, so therefore have more time and support to increase their education level. In future years we would expect them to achieve higher than average grade levels. Most participants in all programs and even those who declined assistance appreciated the opportunity to study and expressed the desire to further their education level or pursue skills training. Sixty-seven percent of males and 43 percent females said they would like to attend university. A desire to do a skills training followed at 30 percent of females and 6 percent of males. Participants 18 years and older want to do practical skills based trainings.

Recommendation to APs about Education and Training

APs who have access to schools and non-formal programs should advocate with them about welcoming survivors and not discriminating against them.

According to our findings as to what further education or training participants would like to pursue, going to university was highest for both genders, followed by doing a skills training for females. APs may want to better understand individual participants educational aspirations. For bright students who want to attend university APs may need to consider the role they can play in supporting this, but also consider the long term financial implications in helping to make it possible. Young people should be guided to undertake courses and select institutions that are more likely to lead to a marketable job. On the other hand, APs may need to assess whether they are encouraging unrealistic goals for those who may be more educationally challenged.

Education & Training Needs to be Relevant

Cambodia has the youngest population of any country in Southeast Asia; and the cohort aged 15-30 years comprises 22 percent of the population. Overall, 7 percent of this group is unemployed and unemployment has reached at least 20 percent in Phnom Penh (Cambodia National Youth Employment Forum, 2011). As many as 300,000 people enter the labor market annually, and this number will soon reach 400,000 per annum (ibid). These numbers are not surprising given the national context. Long-term financial security is really only possible with

sustainable employment. (Re-)integration must include anticipating the economic impact that a returnee will have on a poor family and whether they are unable to contribute financially, becoming an economic burden.

Last year's study report found that girls in RPs were well aware of this and were concerned about returning home and adding to the family burden. Jobe (2010) emphasizes that livelihood options for trafficked and stigmatized young women in many communities are limited, and although vocational training may be available, high levels of unemployment and market saturation mean that young people are often left with few choices when it comes to supporting themselves and their families on their return. Hence, education and skills training need to be relevant to the Cambodian job market so participants can get good jobs upon (re-)integration.

Recommendations to APs, Donors, Corporate Sector, Government and Further Research About Skills Training and Job Market Demands

Given that APs are trying to be relevant to both their clients and job market demands, we recommend APs continue to assess the market for gaps and help their clients realistically think through what they want to do in light of this information.

In addition, NGOs must make a greater effort to explore potential locations to which they can refer their clients, as well as to recognize the potential for placement/employment in the corporate sector. Some APs work with creative social enterprise and others are beginning to work with the corporate sector, but the donor community needs to make more effort in encouraging these endeavors, particularly in the provinces outside of Phnom Penh. As the sustainability of international markets is questionable, industry involving local markets is more viable in the long-term.

Furthermore, it is important that the socially responsible business sector conduct its own research to keep abreast of gaps and needs in the market so as to design relevant vocational training programs.

Perceived Financial Responsibilities

Some participants voluntarily spoke about their historical and current sense of responsibility to help their families financially and resolve debt. For some, this sense of responsibility continues into the present even while they are in RPs where they are not working or living with family members.

"...then I found that my mother had a lot of difficulty *repaying debts* she owed, so I decided to help by *quitting school* when I was in Grade 7 so I could go to work and help my family."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I am not happy when my family calls me and tells me about the household's financial problems. I am so sad and *I don't know how to solve it...* "

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Interestingly, however, this tension is in conflict with the alternative views of participants, which found that parents should bear the responsibility to financially support their children, and that young children should not be obligated to help support their parents or repay debt. It will be interesting to see whether this deep sense of obligation is changing as youth culture changes over the next few years and/or whether it can truly be influenced by programs seeking to help children (re-)integrate and understand that familial obligations have limits.

Recommendations on Further Research Regarding Impact on Cultural Beliefs Regarding Gender Roles and Familial Obligation

Familial obligations strongly impact participants. These cultural perceptions of familial obligation and responsibility need further investigation to see whether the traditional beliefs and values persist and if this continues to impact their perceptions and experiences after the AP programs and beyond. It is also important to understand any links between shame and responsibility and the potential this has to further exploit survivors. This may be possible through further research that explores participant perspectives on related proverbs such as, “If the seed is not good, it won’t grow well even when planted in good soil” and “The offspring of ducks are still ducks” as well as the traditional poems describing rules of a women (Chbab Srey) and man (Chbab Pro). A precedent for this kind of exploration was done by Arensen (2002) for CRWRC.

It is highly likely in years to come that some participants in this study will migrate in search work.

Recommendations to APs & Researchers about Safe Migration

Discussions and lessons on safe migration should be incorporated into soft skills training while clients are still in APs about what safe migration entails and how to go about this process. This will help the client remain safe and avoid exploitative situations in the future. This is especially important in border areas and with communities who are seeking work in Thailand or Malaysia, for example.

More research is needed about why survivors migrate inside or outside of the country and the impact this has on them.

Most participants believed that even though their parents have debts, they were not any more likely to get into debt themselves when they grew up.

Recommendations to APs & Researchers about Money and Debt

Further research is needed to understand what participants mean by this viewpoint. Is it because they are moving away from the sense of fatalism of their parents and are more optimistic for their futures? Or is this something that changes as they get older? Are they in denial? Are they optimists? Are they able or not able to think ahead regarding potential difficulties they may face? Or are they thinking ahead and have plans as to how to prevent incurring financial difficulties like their parents? In the meantime, as already recommended, it is important programs address the topic of personal and family financial management.

Most programs offer ‘life skills’ classes and thus if not doing so already, it would be good to incorporate personal and family financial planning. An understanding of how to budget and save may help clients with debt prevention and resolution in the future, including opening and managing a bank account.

SPIRITUAL INTEGRITY

Spiritual & Religious Beliefs and the Future

With regard to spiritual and religious beliefs in the past year, 100% of males identified having spiritual beliefs, 94.4 percent identified themselves as Christian and 5.6 percent as Buddhist. Among female participants, 90.6 percent responded they had spiritual beliefs, with 75 percent identifying themselves as Christian and 25 percent identifying themselves as Buddhist. It is understood that while participants are in Christian shelters and community programs, participants may feel obligated to say they are Christians, but it will be interesting to see whether these beliefs survive the barrage of challenges of (re-)integration.

Participants varied in views and beliefs regarding their futures, ranging from a sense of fatalism, that change was not possible for them, to a sense of hope and expectation that change was possible and that they could improve their lives. Some even expressed a desire to be a role model and advocate for others like themselves who have experienced exploitation.

Recommendation to APs to Assess Individuals Case by Case

While there are some common experiences and viewpoints among participants in the study, they are also complex individuals who have been affected and responded in their own unique ways. Participants expressed different hopes and aspirations for their lives, demonstrating that tailored and individualized care and consideration on the part of the AP is essential.

Recommendations to APs for Dealing with Fatalism

APs should consider ways to analyze the impact of fatalism on the way clients think and behave. For instance, discussion about fatalism could be incorporated into counseling, teaching on soft skills, and conversation about spirituality. It is understood that for the majority of Christian organizations in the study, the Christian faith actively promotes the concept that change in the present is possible.

ECOLOGICAL INTEGRITY & TAILORED INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES

As participants (re-)integrate, more research is needed to provide information about the context in which they are living, and to determine the impact their context has on them. Although such research will likely provide information about areas over which APs have limited control (e.g. poverty, culture, Government), it is still important to understand where the limitations exist. Regardless, APs need to assess individuals case-by-case and develop a tailored individual response with regular reviews of each individual's care plan. Follow-up should be thought through and based on the individual's needs and circumstances with the goal of helping the individual reach their potential, heal, and (re-)integrate.

Gender Differences

Males in our study were all under the age of 18 years whereas the females ranged from under 12 to 18+ years of age. All the males are from one RP, in contrast to the females who are from a more varied context.

Males and females had similar perspectives about responsibilities, including agreement that parents should be responsible to support their underaged children and that children should not be responsible to support their parents or help to repay debt. Both genders strongly disagreed with the statement that parents can expect their children to do sex work if they have debts to be repaid. They also had similar views that children over the age of 18 should be responsible to help support their parents. Both genders agreed that sons over 18 should support parents more than daughters.

Males and females differed in their views about the statement: *Sons under 18 years should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters under 18 years of age*. More males "agreed" whereas more females "disagreed". Males expressed a much higher desire to pursue university education compared to females and less of a desire to pursue skills training compared to females. Age needs to be factored in here as well, because it was older females, by-and-large, who wanted to pursue skills training.

More males than females felt they would not have debt problems like their parents. Most males were naive about condom use but this is probably because the sample was of younger boys. Males specifically spoke about the potential detrimental effects of negative peer pressure and their desire for good relationships with their peers in the RP. In focus group discussions, boys spoke about negative peer pressure leading to substance misuse, quitting school, and increased risk taking behaviors. In addition, males talked more about the importance of respecting and obeying authority figures than did women.

Recommendation to Donors, Government, NGOs and Researchers

There needs to be more programs tailored to understanding needs of males who have been sexually exploited and more research exploring how to support them.

Recommendations to APs

As part of soft skill training, APs need to address skills about discerning which authority figures they need to respect and why. They need to discuss strategies on how to negotiate and resolve negative peer pressure and their relationships in the RP. With increasing age, clients need more knowledge about appropriate sexual behaviors, including condom use.

Declining Assistance

Recommendations for Further Research as to Why Some Participants Refused Assistance

There is a need for qualitative research regarding why some participants refuse assistance when offered in the assessment center, and the effect this decision has/is having on their lives. We want to know, from their perspective, their ideas about what type of assistance they would have preferred, if any. Later in the study, we hope to compare those who have declined assistance with their peers who have participated in APs.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The purpose of this study is to ultimately understand more about the lives of people who have been sexually exploited in the long-term, long after they have left their respective RPs and CPs. Therefore, we feel privileged and excited to follow the lives of the participants in our study, starting from their time in APs and through their (re-)integration back into Cambodian society and beyond. We feel convinced this longitudinal approach will provide useful data about (re-)integration that can be of use to APs and all interested stakeholders who seek to help improve the lives of those who have been sexually exploited in Cambodia.

We have now completed the second year of this longitudinal study. The first year was preliminary and was primarily about introducing the concept to stakeholders, and developing the overall design and questionnaire survey instrument through focus group work. This second year has primarily been about establishing relationships and agreements with APs in order to have access to potential participants. As of December 2011 we had signed Memorandums of Understanding with 12 APs. As reflected in the changing sample sizes per field visit, it took most of 2011 to establish the sample size of 125 participants who fit within inclusion criteria. Though the sample size earlier in the year was not representative, it still provides rich data about the experiences and views of participants in the study. In the coming years we will work hard to maintain this sample, however we realize this might be a challenge.

Over the coming years we expect to adapt this research to relevant issues as they arise and develop. We plan to adapt the quantitative survey tools in order to focus on a variety of qualitative methods where appropriate and possible.

Our approach is to understand the participants' views and experiences from three angles: First, we plan to evaluate and monitor participants' present circumstances and views. Second, we plan to ask participants to look back and reflect upon their experiences and previous views. Third, we plan to examine what participants anticipate, expect and hope for the future.

DISCOURSE REGARDING DEFINITIONS

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The debate and lack of consensus on the definition of human trafficking reported prior to 2000 (Derks 1997; Caoutte 1998) resulted in the finalization of an internationally recognized definition as defined by the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (UN Trafficking Protocol). The following definition has been used in most research reports appearing after 2001, and it is the definition used for this study:

“...the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the 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, 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 labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

TRAFFICKING OF CHILDREN

According to the UN Trafficking Protocol, trafficking of children, unlike that of adults, does not require force, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability. Any recruitment or movement of a child into exploitation is considered “trafficking in persons.” A child is defined as being a person under 18 years of age. This distinction is based on the principle that children cannot be equated with adults (Lim 1998).

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Debates surrounding the definition of “sexual exploitation” are complex. Some suggest that persons involved in prostitution are “sexually exploited” while others describe this activity as a person’s “work”. To a certain extent, debates surrounding terminology can be resolved by reference to the text of the UN Trafficking Protocol, which refers to the “exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation” rather than equating “exploitation” with all forms of prostitution (Article 3(a)). This is the definition we use in our research. The reality, however, of why participants stay or return to an exploitive situation is complicated and we expect we may have participants who will return to exploitation. We hope to follow participants in order to understand their experiences and views, regardless of whether they see certain situations as exploitative or not.

“Child sexual exploitation” is when a child (under the age of 18) is involved in a situation or a relationship where they are being used sexually, and the child, or a third party, receives something for this activity, such as money, gifts, affection or favors - e.g. alcohol, food or shelter. There are thought to be three main related forms of sexual exploitation: prostitution, pornography and trafficking for sexual purposes. Child sex tourism and child marriage may also be described as forms of sexual exploitation. In this research we are interested in trafficking for the purposes of prostitution, the movement of children from one place to another, within a country or across a border, for the purposes of prostitution; and the exploitation of children through prostitution.

(RE-)INTEGRATION

While there are currently no universally accepted definition(s) of ‘integration’ or ‘(re-)integration’ (COMMIT, 2010), the discussion on a common definition of (re-)integration has evolved over time within various contexts:

2001

The United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) defines (re-)integration as “the process of inclusion and re-building relationships within a community in the country of origin at four levels: physical, socio-economic, socio-political and cultural.”

2005

The Asia Foundation’s ‘(Re-)integration Assistance for Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia - A Review (Arenson and Quinn, September 2005) highlighted the need for a globally accepted definition of (re-)integration. In their review, they found most stakeholders defined both (re-)integration and the primary goal of (re-)integration as clients returning home to their families.

2006

Lisborg, (2006) in ‘Rethinking (Re-)integration’ suggests including ‘assisting persons to gain autonomy/control of their lives’ in the definition and goal of (re-)integration. Based on this logic “human trafficking” refers to a situation where a person loses autonomy and control of his/her own situation and ends up exploited for someone else’s profit.

The (re-)integration process referred to here is not just about permanently returning back home but about being socially and economically empowered to make better, informed decisions, and to become a healthy productive member of society. In many cases, (re-)integration involves the return of a victim to his/her family and area of origin, but it can also involve integration into a new community, or even a new country, depending on the needs of the victim and the available opportunities. A central aspect of (re-)integration should be to promote self-reliance, resiliency and to empower, encourage and equip returned victims of trafficking to improve their situation based on their personal skills and aspirations.

Also in 2006

While not agreeing on a common definition of (re-)integration, participants in the inter-agency forum on (re-)integration 'Developing Effective Strategies for (Re-)integration of Trafficked Persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region' (2006) agreed that (re-)integration is a process that: 1) Facilitates recovery of trafficking survivors as they re-enter and adjust to life in society, preferably in their home communities (World Vision); and 2) Supports trafficking victims in regaining their sense of wellbeing, their capacity to live in dignity, and be productive members of society (Save the Children UK).

2009

According to Camacho and Trinidad (2009) "(re-)integration" is the successful recovery of a woman's autonomy in making decisions about her family, work, place of residence, education and legal recourse. The main objective of (re-)integration should be to promote self-reliance and resiliency, and to empower, encourage and equip returnees to improve their own situation, based on their skills and aspirations.

2010

In 'Monitoring Anti-Trafficking Re/Integration Programs: A Manual' (Surtees, 2010), successful (re-)integration is defined in the *Trafficking Victims Re/Integration Program* (TVRP) as:

"Recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. This includes settlement in a stable and safe environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical wellbeing, and opportunities for personal, social and economic development, and access to social and emotional support. It may involve returning to one's family and/or community of origin; it may also involve integration in a new community and even in a new country. TVRP criteria for determining if an individual has been successfully (re-)integrated includes: 1) safe and affordable accommodation, 2) legal status, 3) professional and employment opportunities, 4) education and training opportunities, 5) security and safety, 6) healthy social environment (including anti-discrimination and anti-marginalization), 7) social wellbeing and positive interpersonal relations, 8) economic wellbeing/viability, 9) physical wellbeing, 10) mental wellbeing, 11) access to services and opportunities, 12) motivation and commitment to re/integration process, 13) legal issues and court proceedings, and 14) wellbeing of secondary beneficiaries."

The 2nd Annual Practitioner's Forum on the Re-integration of Victims of Trafficking Towards Good Practice (9-11 August 2010, Phnom Penh) put forward the similar concept that (re-)integration is a part of the overall recovery process, and the recovery process itself should be preparing the victim/survivor to (re-)integration. This process of (re-)integration should involve building individuals' skills, confidence, relationships, support systems and livelihood.

(RE-)INTEGRATION ASSISTANCE

The provision of comprehensive programs designed to (re-)integrate victims of trafficking into society. This includes actively preventing stigmatization; providing job training, legal assistance and health care; and by taking measures to cooperate with NGOs to provide for the social, medical, and psychological care of victims and survivors (Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings, 2001).

DECLINED ASSISTANCE

An objective of this study is to understand what effects the different types of assistance programs (APs) have had on participants as they (re-)integrate over the coming years. We grouped participants as they initially came into the student into categories: 'residential', 'community' and/or '*declined assistance*'.

'VICTIM' VS. 'SURVIVOR'

From a human rights perspective, the term "victim" is important because it designates and recognizes the violation experienced by an individual, and the responsibility for redress. Thus, "victim of trafficking" and "trafficking victim" refer to a person who qualifies as a victim of trafficking according to Article 3 of the UN trafficking protocol.

The term “victim” implies powerlessness and constructs an identity around an individual’s victimization, “a stagnant view locked in time” according to Lloyd (n.d.), founder and director of Girls Education Mentoring Services (GEMS). If the purpose of (re-)integration is to *empower* the individual then the use of empowering language and terminology is critical. In accordance with this view, The Asia Foundation, while hosting a consultation on the launch of their (re-)integration research in Cambodia (November 2005), recommended the term “survivor” rather than “victim” as a term that should be used by donors and service providers.

AGENCY

Much of the literature, especially on women and children trafficked for sexual exploitation, portrays them as lacking *agency*. Conducting trafficking research has the potential to empower victims/survivors, and researchers need to consider the level of agency participants have in the research process (Gozdziak, 2008); this also means considering those who do not accept assistance and why (Brunovski and Surtees 2010).

PUSH FACTORS, FACILITATING FACTORS & PULL FACTORS

Rushing’s (cited in Derks et. al. 2006) conceptual framework to explain the dynamics of trafficking in Vietnam includes useful descriptions of ‘push factors, facilitating factors and pull factors’ of trafficking and unsafe migration. In the context of this study, these descriptions are relevant to factors associated with repeat trafficking, repeat unsafe migration, and repeat sexual exploitation.

Push Factors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| - Poverty | - Lack of employment opportunities in rural areas |
| - Debt | - Number of siblings |
| - Loss of land | - Family breakdown/violence |
| - Natural disaster | - Values/attitudes regarding filial piety |
| - No/limited access to education | |

Facilitating Factors

- | | |
|---|--|
| - Social networks | - Proximity to urban/border areas, and to transportation/roads |
| - History of migration in the village | - Lack of knowledge about journey, destination, and working conditions |
| - Acceptability of migration within the community | |

Pull Factors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| - Labor demand | - Aspirations for lifestyle, independence, urban experiences |
| - Recruitment practices | - Opportunity to earn income to help family |
| - Misunderstanding of job offers | |
| - Peer example, encouragement | |
| - Lure of perceived easy money | |

INTRODUCTION

This is the second end of year progress report for The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project, A Chab Dai Study on (Re-)integration: Researching the Lifecycle of Sexual Exploitation & Trafficking in Cambodia.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this report is to communicate our progress and findings for 2011. An important point to consider while reading this report is that during this year we kept the study open to new participants from January 2011 until December 2011. We did this in order to obtain as large a sample size as possible. Therefore, the sample size increases throughout the study with each progressive field visit. Another point to bear in mind while reading is for this initial year of the study, the majority of participants were still in their respective residential (RP) and community programs (CP), only a few had already (re-)integrated, and a small portion had decided to 'decline assistance' (DA).

BACKGROUND

Chab Dai, which means "joining hands" in Khmer (Cambodian), was founded in Cambodia in 2005 with the aim of bringing an end to trafficking and sexual exploitation through coalition building, community prevention, advocacy and research.

For over 10 years Chab Dai coalition members, local and international government bodies, local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other national networks have been working to address sexual exploitation and trafficking in Cambodia. Among existing assessment and assistance programs there has been a growing desire to find out what becomes of victims and survivors in the long term, as they (re-)integrate, and into the future. As a learning community, one of Chab Dai's objectives is to administer specific research studies for the purpose of increasing knowledge and raising the capacity of caregivers addressing issues of sexual abuse, exploitation and trafficking. The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project is part of this intention.

RESEARCH TOPIC

The concern of this research is to describe the experiences and views of victims/survivors of sexual exploitation and trafficking in Cambodia, exploring what it is like for them to (re-)integrate into Cambodian society. This study hopes to describe their prospective journeys over the next ten years by primarily exploring how the participants understand and make sense of their experiences. It is hoped this information will be of use to key stakeholders involved in (re-)integration, and result in an increased understanding on how to prepare victim/survivors for (re-)integration.

OBJECTIVES

Overall, this research seeks to:

- Explore and describe the prospective (re-)integration experiences of participating survivors using a mixed methods approach.
- Look *forward* in order to understand what participants expect and hope for their futures; look *back* to explore what participants did and did not find helpful in their (re-)integration process; and to explore what participants' lives are like in the *present*.
- Explore and describe factors participants perceive as increasing risk and vulnerability; and perceived factors which encourage resilience and wellbeing.
- Elicit participants' views as to what they consider important and of priority in their lives, and how they themselves define 'successful' recovery and (re-)integration.
- Prospectively follow the participants' course over a period of ten years - from the time of assessment and/or assistance experiences through their (re-)integration into Cambodian society.

More specifically, the study's main research questions are as follows:

General

- What are participants' individual concerns, fears, hopes and future aspirations over the next 10 years?
- What are the typical socio-economic backgrounds of the participants in this study, and how do they feel this affects their (re-)integration experience over time?

Education

- What are the education levels of participants and how do they feel this affects their (re-)integration experience over time?
- What skills do participants have/acquire and how do they feel this affects their (re-)integration experiences?

Relationships

- What is the nature of the participants' intimate and wider relationships, and how do they feel these relationships affect their (re-)integration experience over time?
- Do participants feel they experience stigma and social exclusion, and what effect do they feel this has on their (re-)integration experience over time?
- What are participant experiences and perceptions of violence and how does this affect their (re-)integration experience over time?

Employment

- What types of employment do participants engage in, and how do they perceive this affects them over time?

Money and Debt

- What are participants' experiences and views on financial matters and how does this affect their (re-)integration experiences over time?
- What are participants' views on debt and how does this affect their (re-)integration experience over time?

Assisted and Non-assisted Experiences and Perceptions

- What do participants experience in preparation for (re-)integration while in assistance programs and how do they feel this affects them?
 - Education
 - Skills training
 - Physical support
 - Emotional support
 - Spiritual support
 - Life skills support
 - Family assessment
- What are participants' views on their experiences regarding receiving assistance?
- What do participants experience upon leaving the assistance programs in the short-term and long-term, and how do they feel this impacts their (re-)integration experiences?
- What (if any) suggestions do participants have for improving the quality and effectiveness of assistance programs?
- What do participants feel would improve (re-)integration assistance?
- When, why and how do participants decline assistance and what effect do they feel this has on their (re-)integration?
- What are participants' views regarding not receiving assistance after their assessment and how has this affected them?
- In what ways and how does the (re-)integration experience of participants' differ between those who are assisted, those who are not assisted, and those who choose not to receive assistance?

Physical/Emotional Wellbeing

- How do participants perceive their physical wellbeing and how does this affect their (re-)integration experiences over time?
- What are the experiences of participants in relation to risk taking behaviors and how do they perceive this affects their (re-)integration experiences over time?
- How do participants perceive their emotional wellbeing and how does this affect their (re-)integration experience over time?

Health Practices and Beliefs

- What are participants' experiences and behaviors in regard to their sexual activity, practices and perceptions, and how does this affect them in the long term?
- What are participants' experiences in relation to seeking health care and how do they perceive this affects their (re-)integration experience?

- What are participants' experiences and perceptions with child bearing and family planning, and how does this affect them in the long term?

Experiences and Perceptions with Authorities and Legal System

- What are participants experiences and perceptions in regard to dealing with authority figures, and how are these affected by their (re-)integration experiences?
- What are participants' experiences and perceptions of the legal system and process, and how does this affect their (re-)integration experience?

Experiences and Perceptions of Spirituality

- What are participants' experiences and perceptions of spirituality, and how does this affect their (re-)integration experience?

RESEARCH PROCESS

The process of this study is based on the needs of the NGO community, and how the information we gather evolves over time. Some new topics may be added and others may cease to have relevance.

Those working with survivors directly often say the information survivors are willing to share is like an onion – it contains many layers – over time as the relationship deepens, the depth of information also becomes deeper and richer. The researchers are finding this to be true as well – the survivors open up more as the relationship of trust builds.

Much of the study results thus far will not be a surprise to those working with survivors because they will have heard it before, perhaps often, but it does provide empirical evidence available to policy and programming that may not have been there before. However, as survivors open up more, we expect to find even more information and perhaps a few surprises.

METHODOLOGY & DESIGN

PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS

In order to have access to potential participants for this study we developed Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with interested and willing assistance/assessment programs (APs) working with individuals who have been trafficked or sexually exploited. The process of establishing mutually agreeable MOUs with partners took a number of months starting in the preliminary phase of 2010, all the way through to the conclusion of the second year in December 2011. By this time, we had signed MOUs with 11 assistance programs, and one assessment center where most children and adults are assessed before being referred to a partner assistance program, or back into the community.

As part of the MOU agreement with partner APs, the research team is given access to potential participants in their programs who meet the study's inclusion criteria, providing the opportunity to enquire about when and to where participants have referred, moved and/or (re-)integrated. The research team strictly abides to highly ethical child protection and research standards.

PARTICIPANTS

Increasing Sample Size

An explanation is required to explain the increasing sample size per field visit throughout 2011 as compared to actual numbers of participants who completed survey questionnaire interviews.

Upon embarking on the longitudinal phase of this research in early 2011 the research team wanted to have a reasonably large sample of participants. This is because 'attrition' of such participants over the coming years will likely be one of our biggest challenges. Thus, throughout the past year recruitment of participants was kept open until December 2011 in order to obtain as large a sample size as possible. The sample size grew accordingly at each field visit.

As part of each field visit, the research team introduced and explained the research to potential participants who were not yet part of the study. The focus of this meeting was to allow each person ample time to consider whether or not he/she wanted to join the study. For those who decided to join the study we then had them sign consent and provide us with their contact information. This group *did not do* a survey at this initial field visit because we felt the explanation and consent process needed ample time. At a subsequent field visit several months later, those who previously provided consent joined with other study participants to complete the scheduled questionnaire survey.

The second part of each field visit was spent with participants who had previously consented and joined the study at an earlier field visit. These participants completed the questionnaire survey interview scheduled for that field visit; and, in addition, some were involved in In-depth Interviews and focus groups. Thus, over 2011 our sample size grew at each field visit. We have now closed the study beginning January 2012 and the number of participants next year will correspond with numbers who complete the survey questionnaires.

In order to understand the findings in 2011, it is important to note that each field visit represents the number of participants who *completed the survey questionnaire interview* at that particular field visit, and not the total (higher) number representing *consenting* participants in the study up to that point in time. In next year's analysis the larger, more representative, number of participants can be analyzed. With this said, however, this year's smaller (but still reasonable) sample sizes still provide rich data for analysis. We will begin doing additional significant statistical analysis with next year's larger population.

Throughout year 2 of the study (2011), the total sample size increased from 57 to 125 total participants:

- **Field visit #1:** Total 57 (7 Male, 50 Female)
- **Field visit #2:** Total 76 (18 Male, 58 Female, 2 Missing Females); Actual number participants *completing the survey*: 74.
- **Field visit #3:** Total 103 (19 Males, 84 Females, 5 Missing Females); Actual number participants *completing the survey*: 71.
- **Field visit #4:** Total 125 (22 Males, 103 Females, 1 Missing Male, 11 Missing Females); Actual number participants *completing the survey*: 91.

The research team was able to invite 100% of partner AP clients to be potential participants. As will be noted in the findings and demographics, during 2011 the vast majority of participants are still in their respective APs. Our intention is to follow them while in these programs for as long as they participate or reside there, and then to continue following them through and beyond the (re-)integration process.

INCLUSION CRITERIA

To participate in the study, potential participants must have:

- Experience of sexual exploitation and/or trafficking for sexual purpose, regardless of whether the participant also has any additional experiences of exploitation, trafficking for labor, sexual assault, domestic violence, etc.
- Plans to (re-)integrate to one of 14 (out of 23) specific geographic areas included in the study. If we find, in the future, that 5% or more of our participants have relocated to a geographic area outside of these 14 provinces, we will extend the geographic region to include them in the study. In 2011, the 14 provinces included in the study criteria were: Banteay Mean Chey, Battambang, Kompong Cham, Kompong Chhang, Kompong Thom, Kampot, Kandal, Phnom Penh, Prey Vihear, Prey Veng, Pursat, Siem Riep, Takeo and Oddar Meanchey.



Provincial map of Cambodia

Limitations for inclusion were *not* placed in relation to age, sex or ethnicity/nationality. In addition, there were no limitations as to whether the participant was considered “assisted” or whether they ended up refusing assistance (for whatever purpose). The definition for this latter group over the remainder of the report is referred to as “declined assistance” (DA).

METHODS

This research is based on a mixed methods approach.

The research team sought to assess the overall descriptive ‘what’ questions regarding participants’ experiences and perceptions through several quantitative questionnaires. We used a three-part questionnaire survey tool we had developed in the preliminary year, which was administered in face-to-face interviews over four different sessions over the year. The general topic areas covered by the questionnaire included socio-economic issues, education and training issues, psychosocial and spiritual issues, and health and relationship issues, including that of stigma and discrimination.

Qualitative methods were used to explore questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’. Methods included in this process were limited Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); In-depth Interviews (IDI); informal interviews before and after times when

the team was visiting them in their respective programs and communities; activities such as drawing and games; and observation of the participants in their contexts. Open-ended questions included in the quantitative surveys explored a number of the 'how' and 'why' questions as well.

Face-to face survey questionnaires were conducted in many settings, including in residential centers, community programs, participants' homes if they invited us, in private rooms in restaurants, on outings to parks and national heritage sites, etc. In each location we were careful to assess and ensure the setting was private and confidential, and that all of us were anonymous.

As discussed previously, the team initially conducted some FGDs in residential programs, however we later decided this method was better suited in the community. Among the 'declined-assistance' (DA) population most participants asked us to arrange outings to parks and national sites for their research location. We found them happy to meet together much like a peer support group. We found they generally seemed to enjoy doing FGDs. With the younger participants in the residential programs we found they enjoyed games and activities such as '10 Seeds', drawing, singing, and doing lots of puzzles together over conversations.

We had many adventures on the road, including: getting caught in major flooding - both on the road and in our guesthouse; trekking up difficult paths; sometimes getting a bit lost in some of remote places where participants lived, and traveling in vehicles (cars and tuk-tuks) which at times broke down etc. We felt all of these challenges only helped us to better understand the participants' context, a bit more about some of the challenges they faced, and it added to the sense of journey we find ourselves to be on while participating in this study!

LESSONS LEARNED & CHALLENGES FACED

Practical Logistics

Maintaining contact with participants who are geographically located across Cambodia is obviously critical to this study and as we anticipated it would require much effort on our part to maintain an accurate database with each participant's current contact details. We feel it is critical to our study that those currently living in the community have access to a phone. For those without any access to a phone, we provided them with a mobile phone.

Increased Sample Size

As previously discussed, we left the study open to new participants during the whole of 2011 in order to acquire a bigger sample. Throughout the year, there were four field visits and as anticipated, the sample size changed each time.

For Field Visit #1 we had a sample of 57, by Field Visit #2 the total sample was 76, but two participants were inaccessible or had just signed consent from Field Visit #1, so the sample was 74. By Field Visit #3 there was a total of 103 participants in the study, but 32 participants were inaccessible or had just signed consent so the actual sample for this visit was 71. By Field Visit #4 the sample was 125 but the actual sample of those participating in the survey for this visit was 91 because 34 were inaccessible or had just signed consent.

In the future we will try to determine the various reasons why participants might not be accessible so we can try to anticipate the ways in which to get around it. Some reasons are unavoidable, e.g. funeral and sickness, but others may be improved by adjusting the way we contact them or plan to meet them. Obviously, we hope we can get as many participants as possible at each meeting so we can make comparisons. While our current final sample size of 125 participants will give us information about these particular participants, we are cautious to generalize our findings to the general population in Cambodia, or to all people who have (re-)integrated following sexual exploitation and trafficking. Also, we bear in mind that the actual numbers of sexual exploitation and trafficking as a whole are only estimates, as no research has been able to determine this figure (Laczko and Gozdzak, 2005).

Sample Representativeness

Brunovski and Surtees (2010) encourage researchers interested in the experiences of people who have been sexually exploited and trafficked to access participants more broadly rather than just those from assistance programs so as to gain greater representativeness of this population. While all of our participants we have had access to come from our 11 partnering assistance programs and 1 assessment centre, the range of models and services vary greatly. Each individual program works with a wide range of clients, and their approaches range from residential to community-based methods. We hope this variety and range will provide valuable information in regard to participants' (re-)integration experiences. In addition, some participants who consented to be our study while they were in the assessment centre then decided to forgo any further assistance, but then still wanted to carry on in the study. This group is referred to within the study as those who 'declined assistance' (DA).

Related to representativeness is the fact we have been able to include a very small cohort of 'boys' who fit the study's inclusion criteria. Hilton (2008) and Miles and Blanch (2011) who conducted early exploratory research on the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of boys and young men in Cambodia highlighted the need for more research on 'boys'. Indeed when we first began designing this study in 2009 we did not have access to programs working with boys who had been sexually exploited. However, since our preliminary phase, a program specifically addressing sexual exploitation of boys has been initiated and developed. We are fortunate to have been able to partner with this particular project and thus have been able to invite males into the study. We recognize this sample cannot and will not be representative of 'boys' in Cambodia in the larger sense, but nevertheless their inclusion will provide some information about the small number of boys who have been 'rescued' to this point and their (re-)integration experiences over the long term.

We recognize that the relative number of participants who, after their assessment in the assessment center, opted to 'decline further assistance' is a small number in comparison to the majority of participants who *are* receiving assistance. While we are conscious that DA participants do not necessarily represent the experiences of 'declined assistance' people more largely, our hope is this sample will provide some insights to how and why people in this situation have declined assistance. This group also functions to some extent as what might be described as a control group of those who have not received assistance, in comparison to those who have. Their ages do tend to be older than those in the RPs though not necessarily much different from those in CPs.

Rigorous Field Visit Schedule and Large Geographic Area

This past year the research team did four field visits over the course of the year and has realized the need to reduce the number of visits for subsequent years to three. We decided on this change because this year we found we needed more time to actually do the field research across the provinces, and for processing data and analysis. In addition, we found coordinating our field visits with the particular schedules of our partnering organizations and national holidays a challenge as large blocks of time became unavailable.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Participants' Trust

We have found through maintaining frequent contact with participants, the participants' trust in us has steadily increased. We see this as a great advantage, as over the visits we feel they have opened up and have shared more information about themselves they otherwise might not have. We have noticed over time that participants appear much more relaxed with us. In addition, participants have generally wanted to meet with us even when not particularly convenient for them. During initial field visits, participants 18 years old and older appeared to be wearing their nicest clothes, complete with makeup and hair being done, to later in the year tending to dress more informally without extensive makeup or hair.

A major potential disadvantage of the participants increased trust and familiarity with us is their potential expectation that our staff will help them through difficulties and crises. We anticipated this might occur and have thus developed a referral network we can refer participants to when needs arise. In addition, this year the research assistants completed a short course in counseling skills, and we have ensured they have access to supervision.

Access to Participants

We recognize the large geographic area as a necessary feature of the study, but had not anticipated physical challenges such as flooding, national holidays, and differing shelter schedules, all of which affect our access to participants in the study.

In addition, we found some 'gatekeepers' of APs to be understandably 'protective' sometimes requiring much effort and flexibility on our part to accommodate their concerns in order to maintain access to the participants.

Selective Biases of Gatekeepers

Within our design, we asked APs to allow all potential participants who fit our inclusion criteria to be allowed to attend the invitation and explanation field sessions. As far as we know this was done and we are confident we have a cross section from these particular programs. In the case of one CP, the managers selected who could come to our invitation sessions based on our inclusion criteria, but we cannot determine whether there was potential bias as to whom they chose. We were able to increase their particular sample size from 10-15 participants, but a larger and/or more random selection process would have disturbed the work schedule of the community program, so we were unable to do it.

Appropriateness of Focus Group Discussion Topics

Related to the above concern, we found that focus group discussions (FGDs) work better for those in the community and with those who have (re-)integrated, as opposed to those still in more residential based programs. We recognized that for some participants in RPs they appeared to be reluctant to say anything critical or negative about their programs while still residing there. This reluctance has the potential to affect the information we receive for the period of time they are in the program. Therefore, we have decided not to do any further FGDs in the residential programs; and instead will focus more on activities such as games and drawing.

Diligence in Maintaining Confidentiality

Diligently maintaining confidentiality has meant we needed to be flexible and a bit creative in the various settings where we found ourselves. In the shelter programs (RPs) this meant finding private or enclosed areas. In the community where neighbors were close and privacy was not the norm, this posed an even greater challenge. With one particular (re-)integrated participant we decided to forgo the interview because the close proximity of her extended family and neighbors meant we could not ensure a confidential interview. This particular participant lived in the middle of a very flooded area and hence there was very limited space on dry land. We hope this will change by the next visit.

Accuracy in Translation

Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Cambodian (Khmer) language. With Vietnamese participants, we used a Vietnamese translator who was fluent in Khmer, Vietnamese and English. Tapes were made of all interviews and all tapes were transcribed into Khmer and English, and then cross-checked so as to ensure accuracy of translation.

ETHICS

The research team fully recognizes we are working with a vulnerable group, including children.

While conducting all research activities, the team abides by *Ethical Guidelines for Reaching Children and Vulnerable People* (Ennew, 2010) and “Human Rights in Counter Trafficking Research and Programming” (UNAIP, 2008).

In addition, we abide by Chab Dai’s Child Protection Policy, and Media & Communications Policy.

In the preliminary year of the study, we sought and received endorsement from the Royal Government of Cambodia Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSVY) Department of Child Wellbeing. Upon completing the final sampling frame in December 2011, we applied to the National Ethics Committee of the Royal Government of Cambodia Ministry of Health and are currently waiting for their endorsement.

We have made informal contact with an academic Advisory Committee of 11 academics from related fields including trafficking, (re-)integration, child rights, participation, and ethics with whom we regularly communicate for input and feedback on issues related to the project.

Finally, we have put together a collection of resources and information to provide to participants should they ask for available services in their geographic areas. This includes information on available psychological support, physical health support, education and skills training, as well as employment opportunities.

Informed Consent

Each participant has agreed (with signed consent) to take part in the research, after being informed of and understanding the following:

- The research aims;
- The research methods and processes;
- The research topic;
- What the data will be used for;
- That participants can withdraw from the research at any time;
- That participants who have withdrawn can return to the research at any time

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

The relationship between partnering APs have been negotiated through use of Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs), essentially covering the following areas:

- The relationship is not a formal legal entity;

- Neither the partner, nor Chab Dai Coalition, has any authority to act as an agent on behalf of the other (nor is either liable for the acts or omissions of the others, and the employees of one shall not be deemed to be employees of the other for any purpose);
- The partnership is based on mutual respect and information sharing, and is not taken for granted.

Chab Dai Coalition agrees to: Provide an annual report and specific feedback to each partner; and to conduct the research ethically and safely.

Partners agree to: Permit access to information related to their clients, to permit access to participants, and to inform the research team when a participant leaves their program.

Child Protection: If in course of the research, Chab Dai is informed by a participating client of a possible breach of Chab Dai's and/or the assistant program's child protection policy, Chab Dai will inform partner managers, and the partner will investigate the concerns of Chab Dai according to the partner's child protection policy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The focus of literature review for this end of year report will focus on aspects of ‘participatory measures’ and ‘wellbeing’ in respect to this study. The review of literature will begin with a brief overview of some of the (re-)integration research recently done in the region and internationally.

OVERVIEW OF (RE-)INTEGRATION RESEARCH

In her ‘working paper’ for the series entitled “What do we know about ...” Cody (2010) summarized, consolidated and highlighted key research findings from the current available research on (re-)integration. Some of the key findings related to (re-)integration highlighted by Cody include the areas discussed in sub-sections below.

‘Home’ may have changed and is no longer familiar

Both Surtees (2007) and Reimer, et. al (2007) state survivors of trafficking returning home to Europe or Cambodia who had been away for a long time, were uncertain of their prospects and ability to lead a safe, stable and healthy life due to changes at home and in their communities.

Risks and risk factors that led to the exploitation in the first place

Studies by Estes and Weimer (2001) and Gragg et. al (2007) based in North America and Mexico; ECPAT (2010) based in New Zealand; Reimer et. al (2007) in Cambodia, and last year’s research progress report for this project (Miles and Miles, 2010) found that for a number of children who have been sexually exploited or trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, their living situation may have been plagued by poverty, domestic violence, alcoholism and debt prior to their experiences of exploitation.

In 2009 the International Labor Organization (ILO) conducted research in the Philippines and Thailand looking at individual (re-)integration experiences and challenges of migrants who survived exploitive situations abroad, including that of trafficking for sexual exploitation. They found through In-depth Interviews with 59 returned adult women referred to them through assistance agencies that the ‘push’ factors which originally lead to their unsafe migration and trafficking were the same pressures faced they then faced upon (re-)integration. These factors included pressures due to family responsibilities, general and specific economic needs, repayment of debts, a lack of adequate job options closer to home, and a desire for higher perceived social status and respect gained through increased affluence they thought could be achieved by migrating.

A recognized limitation was that most of their participants had returned many years earlier, so exact memories of specific events and experiences were more clouded, but because most had received counseling through the assistance programs and had already told their story numerous times, these stories were still used to relay their experiences.

Jobe (2010), in discussing evidence on re-trafficking from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) database, concluded that young people may be more vulnerable to trafficking and re-trafficking when support systems, which they depend on more than adults, are weak and the situations they return to are inadequate and unstable. Jobe then highlights one case of a young trafficked girl who was re-trafficked into sexual exploitation for a second time due to returning to an inadequate, high-risk, and unstable environment. Victims of trafficking are frequently re-trafficked within two years or less of having exited a trafficking situation. Studies report rates of re-trafficking from 11% to as high as 50% (Jobe, 2010).

Stigma

Across the globe, children and young people have reported they often face stigma and exclusion due to their involvement, or perceived involvement in sexual exploitation. Studies by Simkhada (2008), Chaulagai (2009), and Richardson, Poudel and Laurie (2009) identify stigma as a continuing problem for returning girls in South Asia, namely in Nepal. Bolton et. al (2008), Reimer et. al (2007), and last year’s findings for this study (Miles and Miles, 2010) in Cambodia similarly found that stigma from the community can be a major barrier to (re-)integration and source of anxiety to those who are, or anticipate being stigmatized. Reports suggest this discrimination is displayed through rejection by family, former friends, and community members who, for example, refuse to buy food from a girl’s market stall, ridicule her, throw rocks at her, or don’t invite her to community events.

Gjermeni et. al (2008) based in Eastern Europe comments that in male-dominated societies there is little understanding of trafficking, or the view that women and girls are ‘victims’ rather than ‘prostitutes’. Derks (1998) based in Cambodia found that in addition to the victim being stigmatized for the sexual exploitation, the family and

even community are stigmatized as well. Derks also commented that receiving support led to increased attention on the individual and family, and that such attention could also lead to gossip and jealousy, negatively impacting the (re-)integration process.

In contrast to these views, Rende-Taylor (2005) and Montgomery (2007) in discussing girls' experiences of involvement in commercial 'sex work' note that in some rural areas in Northern Thailand there is little social stigma involved.

In Cambodia, service providers have spoken of warmer receptions for girls that come home with money, goods or skills to allow them to earn a living, lessening the stigma and rejection (Derks, 1998; Arensen et. al, 2004; and Reimer et. al, 2007). Surtees (2007) has suggested that assistance organizations could consider helping survivors purchase small gifts for their family members when returning home, which may help ease some of the negative associations of returning home empty-handed.

(Re-)integration monitoring and follow-up

Arenson and Quinn (2005) in Cambodia found that if the child's home was near their assistance agency, staff would carry out follow-up visits. If children lived too far away, once they (re-)integrated they were referred to a National Reintegration Office who would then follow up with them monthly for a year at best. Reimer et. al (2007), also in Cambodia, found children returning to remote and rural areas were more limited in their options when it came to accessing education, healthcare and other support services. Lack of infrastructure and access also means it may be hard to follow up and monitor how these children are progressing. Authors recommended that follow-up be thought through and based on the individual child's needs and circumstances.

In the Philippines, Velazco (2011) aimed to explore what it takes for (re-)integration to be successful, based on the perceptions of the relevant populations, and for the survivor to be protected from being trafficked again. In order to measure a comprehensive set of indicators of successful (re-)integration from the viewpoints of children, family and community, they asked questions that caused respondents to use concrete, abstract, and deductive and inductive modes of thinking.

The research team interviewed equal numbers of respondents comprised of 55 (re-)integrated survivors and 55 of their significant others (family members, etc.) in Mindanao, Philippines to answer one of the three different forms of questions:

- What do you think are the factors that contribute to a successful (re-)integration of a trafficked child with his/her family, or the community where he/she came from?
- Do you know of any child who has been trafficked but was later reunited with his/her family? What were the needs of the child and which were or weren't provided? Write needs that were given on the left column of the paper and needs that were not given on the right column.
- Think of a child who has been successfully reunited with his/her family. Why do you say that the reunion is successful?

Results of the study revealed that respondents desired common tangible needs such as food, shelter, clothing and reuniting with their families. Other responses focused on intangibles, such as acceptance, respect, love, personality development; value development of both the child and the family, peace of mind, etc. Respondents expressed the need for justice, the need to be asked first if they wanted to immediately be (re-)integrated with their families, the need to be brought to church, or the need to be understood and not stigmatized by people because of their past exploitation. Respondents also gave specific ideas on what it means for the child to feel secure and free, and to be empowered, even to the point of being able to face the perpetrators.

The results of the field-testing in Mindanao reveal there is a need to improve (re-)integration assistance given to (re-)integrated girls in this region. The respondents generally do not perceive their (re-)integration to be very successful because the mean item score of 1.96 reflects the fact that "(re-)integration assistance given ranged from 'not at all' given to given 'to a little extent'."

Velazco recommends this instrument be used both as an evaluation tool and as a guide by NGOs, as well as government agencies working toward the (re-)integration of their clients, and wanting to determine whether their efforts have been effective, from the perspective of the affected populations

"Successful" (Re-)integration

In 2006, Chenda examined the (re-)integration experiences of 17 Cambodian children who were former victims of labor trafficking (as opposed to sexual exploitation) in Thailand. All the participants interviewed had successfully

reunited and were living with their families. This research sought to explore the factors enabling them to remain in their families after (re-)integration. Three factors they found important for 'success' included 1) parents' love towards them, 2) absence of a family intention to send them back to Thailand, and 3) the child's own personal intention to pursue education or to build upon skills they had acquired.

Cody (2011), and Reimer et. al (2007), both recommended longitudinal studies in order "to gain a longer term understanding of what the (re-)integration process involves, what the girls experience, and how the girls lives evolve over time" (Reimer 2007). The Butterfly Research on (Re-)integration intends to do this by essentially looking at the wellbeing of its participants. Similarly, this call for longitudinal studies to ethically follow-up young people and assess the long-term outcomes for survivors of sexual exploitation and trafficking is also a recommendation by Cody (2011).

'WELLBEING' AND PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES

This next section will briefly introduce the concept of 'wellbeing' and how it relates to participatory research approaches with children. This is of interest to this study because our sample has a fair proportion of children and we intend to use participatory approaches in years to come. 'Wellbeing' is generally used within research literature as an over-arching concept regarding the quality of people's lives (Rees et. al, 2005). It can be seen as an umbrella term, under which there are many domains engaging competing paradigms measurements tying together a number of previously separate research traditions. According to Michaelson, et. al (2009) it is "best thought of as a dynamic process, emerging from the way in which people interact with the world around them."

Child Rights as related to 'Wellbeing'

In relation to children, 'wellbeing' can be understood as: "the realization of children's rights and the fulfillment of the opportunity for every child to be all she or he can be in the light of a child's abilities, potential and skills" (Bradshaw et. al, 2007, 135).

Camfield et. al (2010) explain wellbeing as being central to the realization of children's rights, as set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). The articles relating to 'wellbeing' include Article 3 for interpreting 'best interests'; Article 27 describing "...the child's mental, spiritual, moral, and social development" as used [on provision of an adequate standard of living], and Article 32 on protecting children from harmful work. Other articles in the UNCRC can also be seen as promoting 'wellbeing', for example, Article 24 (on rights to health), Articles 28 and 29 (on rights to education), Article 31 (on rights to play and recreation), and Articles 5 and 18 (on responsibilities of parents).

Contexts of Poverty & Violence

In relation to the wellbeing of people living in countries where poverty and violence are prevalent, Camfield et. al (2010) propose making this rights-based definition more specific, for example, "realizing the right to live free from want and violence, and to experience wellbeing now, as well as in the future" (399). Camfield et.. al also argue that people require 'material security' (e.g. sufficient resources to meet their needs) and 'relational security' (e.g. strong and supportive personal relationships).

By measuring wellbeing, relationships, values, aspirations, material and cultural resources become the focus of enquiry, and diversity and inequality can be assessed (Camfield et. al, 2010). There is a strong rights-based argument for studying the effect of adversities such as sexual exploitation on wellbeing, with regard to both present and future lives as being in a child's 'best interests' (Article 3, UNCRC). Many researchers investigating child wellbeing in developing countries have chosen to focus on what can be termed 'psycho-social wellbeing', thereby acknowledging that "children are fundamentally social beings, for whose mental and emotional health, it is vital to enjoy positive connections with others, a sense of consistency, continuity and reciprocity in relationships" (Hart, 2004, 24).

Woodhead (2004) identifies the following five dimensions of psychosocial wellbeing as being particularly important: cognitive abilities and cultural competencies (e.g. intelligence, communication skills); personal security, social integration and social competence (e.g. secure attachments, social confidence); personal identity and valuation (e.g. self-concept, self-esteem); sense of personal agency (e.g. self-efficacy, positive outlook); and emotional and somatic expressions of wellbeing (e.g. stress levels, general health).

While measures of material wellbeing (e.g. access to sufficient resources) are important, the primary focus of this study is predominantly on measuring aspects of wellbeing that essentially require asking the participants questions about how they view and perceive a number of dimensions of their lives, particularly in relation to their (re-)integration experience.

Participatory Approaches

Generally, participatory approaches largely have their roots in liberation theology; Friereian pedagogy and analytical tools (Freire, 1970); and development works such as participatory rural appraisal methods (Chambers, 1997). A core tenet of participatory approaches is the generation of knowledge (rather than the extraction of knowledge) (Jayakaran, 2011) through a merging of academic with local knowledge to provide oppressed people with tools for analyzing their own life situations. Typically, participatory approaches have been used in research with vulnerable and oppressed populations such as women and marginalized groups. Thus, for those who have been sexually exploited and trafficked, participatory approaches can be useful and applicable.

With regards to children, under international law children have the right to be consulted in all decisions concerning their lives. Most countries have signed up to the UNCRC, in which, according to Article 12, it is a basic right of children to be able to express their views. Hence child participation involves encouraging and enabling children to make their views known on issues that affect them (UNICEF, 2003). Stephenson et. al (2004) advise children be asked to give their opinions about all matters affecting them, taking into account age and maturity of the child. NGOs, which often use participatory approaches with children who have been sexually exploited, include such organizations as ECPAT, which has promoted child and youth participation to combat child sexual exploitation in most regions where they work around the world (ECPAT 2007; Upadhyay, 2007).

As general understanding, appreciation, and commitment to the 'wellbeing' of children through the perspective of child rights increased during the 1990s, so too increased the use of participatory research approaches to assess, monitor and evaluate children's lives, viewpoints and experiences. (Ennew and Boyden, 1997; James and Prout, 1997).

There is an ethical argument that for the 'best interests' of the child to be determined, the child must be heard directly (Hammarberg, 2008) and there are some areas of children's lives (e.g. relationships and feelings) that necessarily rely on subjective assessments (Ben-Arieh, 2005). Research by Fattore et. al (2007) suggests some children as young as seven have sufficient understanding of the concept of wellbeing to be able to engage in such research, and White and Pettit (2007) note participatory methods help to draw out 'culture, location and social group-specific understandings' of the dimensions of wellbeing. De Berry, et. al go on to argue the context we need to consider "is people's personal experiences, relationships, values, culture and understandings" (2003, 1) so by asking children and young people what wellbeing means to them, their responses help determine valid means of measurement.

The participatory approach is particularly useful with children and people with low literacy as it uses visuals such as drawing and verbal methods such as focus group discussions, and the '10 seed approach' which are well suited for research.

According to Armstrong et. al (2004) who developed a number of subjective participatory measures of wellbeing for a pilot study in Sri Lanka with children in a highly war-torn, and politically unstable environment, concluded participatory monitoring and evaluation processes should involve:

- A basis in local understanding, in full accordance with local culture and values and current political circumstances.
- Involvement of children fully as participants based upon the recognition that their perspectives are liable to differ from those of adults.
- An experience, which provides valuable and enjoyable experiences for children, enhancing their psychosocial wellbeing and promoting peer group relationships.
- Anticipation of differences of power and perspective between adults and children and between children themselves.
- Encouragement to identify of solutions as well as problems and challenges.
- In no way compromise the wellbeing, social standing and safety of child participants and local agency staff.
- Enable the direct enhancement of programs.

Understanding 'wellbeing' from participatory approaches

The Children's Society used participatory approaches with children and young people in the UK to gain an understanding of what wellbeing meant to them. They used a preliminary survey to ask 8,000 young people aged 14 to 16 two questions in particular: 1) What do you think are the most important things that make a good life for young people? and 2) What things do you think stops young people having a good life?

Responses to these questions were analyzed and it was found that children most often cited the following factors as being important to their wellbeing: family, friends, leisure, school, education and learning, behavior, the local environment, community, money, attitudes and health. Several cross-cutting themes were also found to emerge and many young people made comments about the quality of their relationships with others. Within these comments there was a strong focus on four topics – *love/care*, *support*, *fair treatment* and *respect*. The other cross-cutting themes related to safety and stability and to a sense of freedom or autonomy.

This approach taken by the Children's Society in developing these questions to assess child wellbeing is similar to the approach used in the *Wellbeing Exercise* developed by Armstrong et. al (2004), described above. However, the Children's Society asked children what they thought helped and hindered children having a good life, whereas the *Wellbeing Exercise* asked children to think of a child they know is doing well in life, and describe what indicates that they are doing well. Despite this subtle difference, both approaches listened to children's views of what constitutes their wellbeing (in their culture) to develop ways of measuring wellbeing according to their responses.

The Butterfly research study used participatory approaches with a number of children from assistance programs in order to develop the survey questionnaire tools now being used in the study. We held a number of focus groups with a range of representative children to gain their views of what areas of their lives and experiences they felt were important and should be included on the questionnaires.

POTENTIAL METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES & LIMITATIONS FOR THIS STUDY

Before concluding, it is worth noting that despite its growing popularity and credibility, the research team is conscious and aware of some methodological issues and potential limitations when using subjective measures of wellbeing. The fact that responses given to subjective questions can sometimes be susceptible to factors such as a person's mood at the time of answering a question means researchers often rely on large sample sizes to balance out extraneous factors. However, at the same time, the sample size for this study is not large, and therefore the researchers are conscious of the need to think carefully about how to reduce such error, perhaps encouraging participants to think carefully when making subjective judgments about their wellbeing. This will be especially important in order to avoid the possible effect of responses to the same questions changing over time as a function of the amount of thought participants give the question, rather than actual changes in their lives or effects of the assistance they are receiving. The survey instruments include some objective questions regarding education, employment, household income and physical health, because most researchers would argue that including these in any assessment of wellbeing is beneficial.

It is also important to recognize that although participatory research tries to give children and young people a 'true voice', the research setting itself and the children's interactions with the researcher can still affect the data provided by the children (Ennew and Beazley, 2006). For example, any inclinations the researcher may have about how certain areas of a child's life affect their wellbeing could, if not concealed, be picked up on by the children who may in turn start reflecting these thoughts in their own responses. Therefore, the research team is conscious to make every effort to ensure bias produced by the researcher's questions or the setting itself is minimized. Interestingly, Armstrong et. al (2004) argue that "well-supported participation by children in assessing the intervention and reviewing project aims and objectives can not only enhance the work itself but yield direct benefits in terms of building their confidence and capacity and improving their relationships with peers and others". This presents a situation whereby the effect of participation may have a direct effect on what is being measured (changes in child wellbeing over time) in an unintended (albeit positive) way. This requires further consideration and debate.

Finally, there are a number of ethical issues particular to participatory research of this nature that need to be considered. In particular it is worth noting that researchers have to be careful using approaches which may lead to the participant mentioning problems in their lives that the researcher is not able to help with. At minimum, the researchers need to foresee as much as possible what problems may arise and make sure appropriate signposting/referrals can be provided. An ECPAT report (Upadhyay, 2007) explains the clear responsibility that children's participation in this kind of research entails (e.g. addressing the consequences and follow-ups) and Armstrong et. al (2004) suggest researchers engage in ongoing dialogue with relevant AP staff to share data gathered and reflect on what this means in practice for their clients. In line with this ethical concern, we have developed a referral system.

Bringing together (re-)integration, participation and wellbeing

By measuring changes in wellbeing via repeated implementation of a longitudinal survey, the indicators identified by the participants themselves will help reveal more information about the lifecycle of victim/survivors of child sexual exploitation. In terms of monitoring and evaluating the interventions used by the assistance programs, participants' subjective evaluations of their psycho-social wellbeing might be important outcome and mediating factors. That is,

measuring the effect that the different interventions had on participants' wellbeing (as an outcome) is one valid line of enquiry, as is measuring the effect that participants' wellbeing had, for example, on their ability to find employment (a mediating factor) or (re-)integrate into the community.

MAIN FINDINGS

PARTICIPANT SAMPLE

Before reading the findings below, it is important to understand the number of participants changed at each field visit. As you would expect this number usually increased as the sample increased over the year, except that between Field Visit 2 and Field Visit 3 the sample number slightly decreased. This was because some of those from Field Visit 2 were not available, or had not yet signed consent. The field visit number (# 1-4) represents the order in which the field visits were conducted #1 being the first visit and #4 being the last visit in 2011.

The actual number of participants listed are those who completed the survey at that particular field visit rather than the total number of consenting participants up to that point in time. By the end of the year we had 125 participants but there were a large number of these who had only completed the un-pressured consent process up to that point. In next years analysis and progress report, these samples will be combined so that a larger more representative number of participants can be analyzed.

(See Methodology: Participants)

Field Visit	Total Participants	Participants by Gender	# Surveyed
1	57	7 Males, 50 Females	57
2	76	18 Males, 58 Females, 2 Missing Females	74
3	103	19 Males, 84 Females, 5 Missing Females	71
4	125	22 Males, 103 Females, 1 Missing Male, 11 Missing Females	91

TABLE 1:
Number of Study Participants Over 4 Field Visits in 2011

PARTICIPANT PROFILES

Age

The participants' ages were determined by asking each participant their age, which was then confirmed with their respective assistance programs' records. By field visit #3, 43 percent of participants were 18 years and older compared to 57 percent of participants who were under 18 years of age.

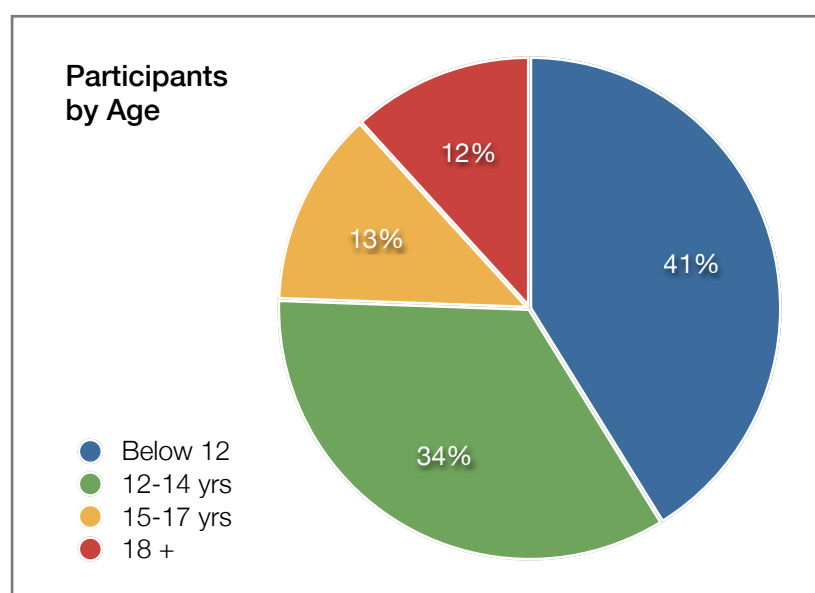


TABLE 2:
Participants by Age Group
n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Gender

Approximately 80 percent of participants were female, and 20 percent were male by the 4th field visit.

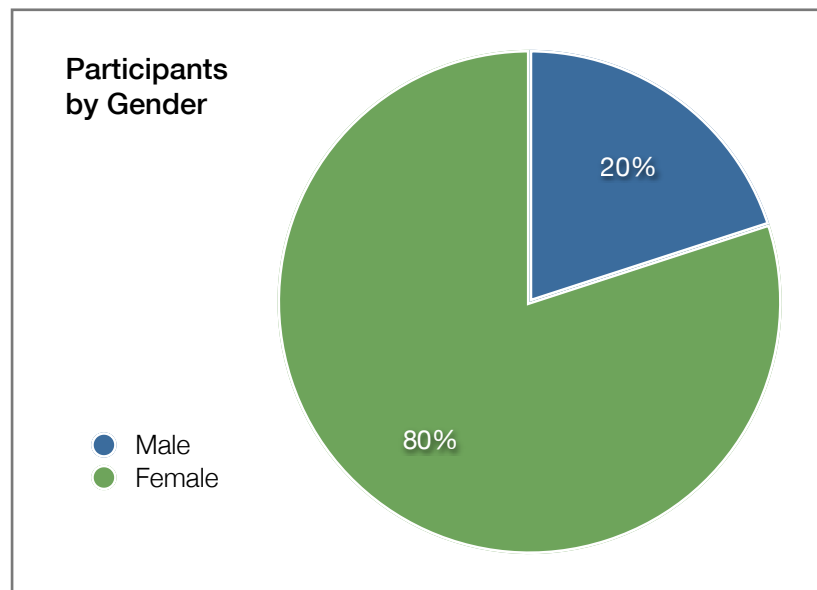


TABLE 3:

Participants by Gender

n = 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

Ethnicity

The number of ethnic Cambodians was 65% with some Vietnamese (10%), Vietnamese-Khmer (8%), Chinese Khmer (10%) and Thai-Khmer (3%). No participants described themselves as from an ethnic tribal group.

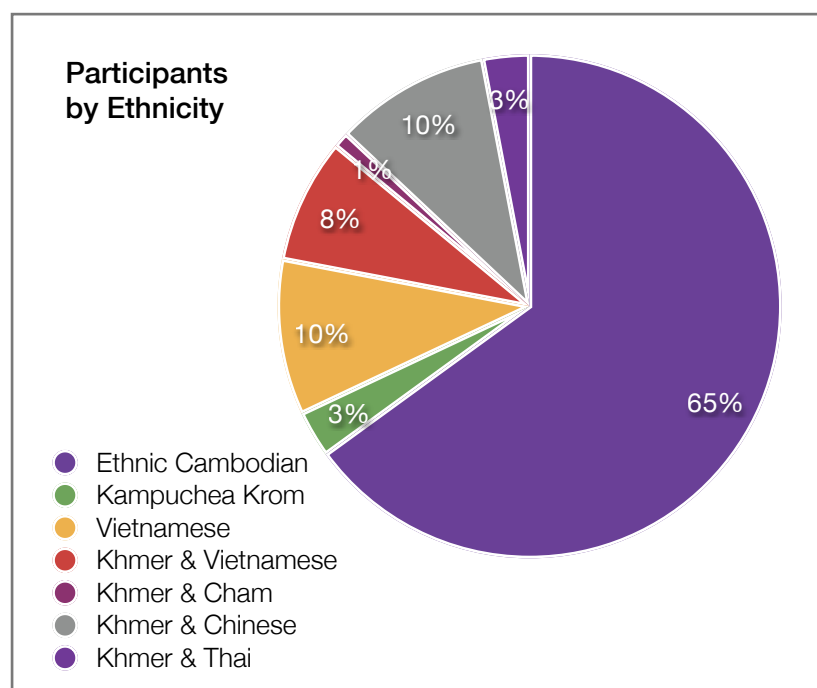


TABLE 4:

Participants by Ethnicity

n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Participants by Type of Assistance

This graph highlights the fact that during this first year of study, most participants were in residential programs compared to those in community programs or those who chose to “decline assistance.”

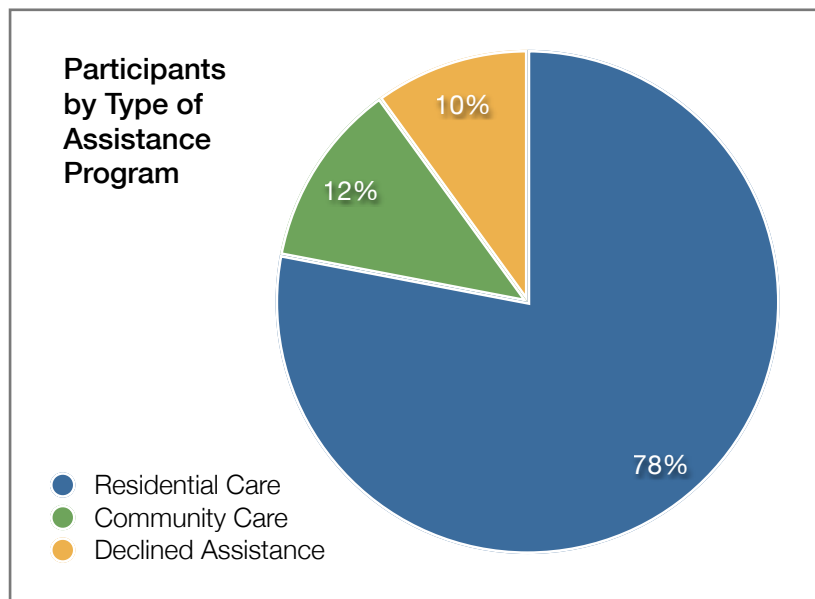


TABLE 5:
Participants by Type of Assistance Program

n = 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

Residency

With Whom Participants Reside

Not surprisingly, because the majority of participants were in RPs during 2011, the majority (60%) lived with ‘shelter staff’ ‘house parents’ and RP peers. How long participants have resided in RPs would logically determine how long they have lived with shelter staff and other residents. Even for those participants who ‘declined assistance’ they would have been in a residential assessment center from a few weeks to several months before being able to return to their communities. There were no participants from CPs until Field Visit #4.

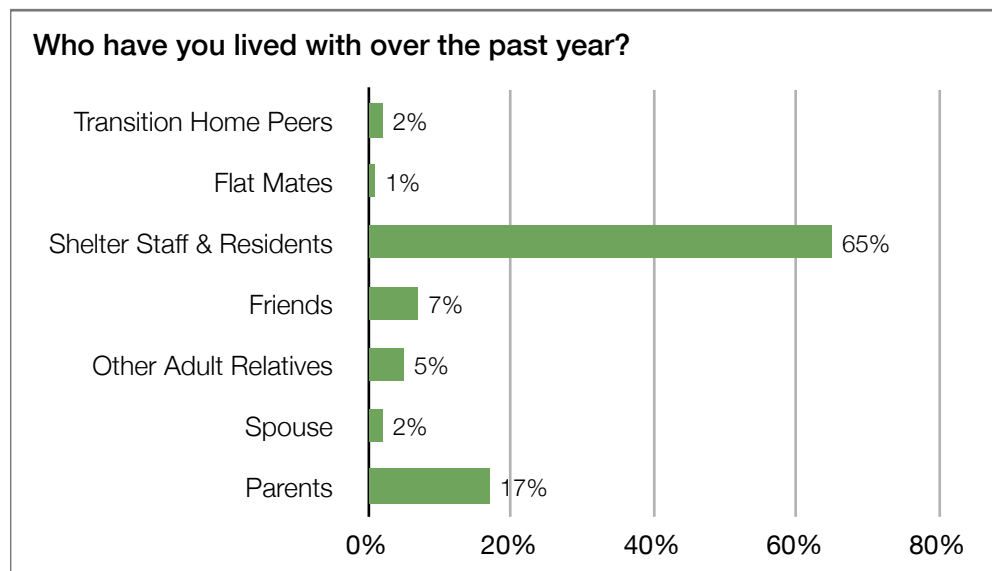


TABLE 6a:
Who Participants Have Lived With in Past Year

n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Where Participants Reside

The majority of participants live in the capital city or main provincial towns, which is as expected because this is usually where the RPs are located. There were no participants in CPs until Field Visit #4.

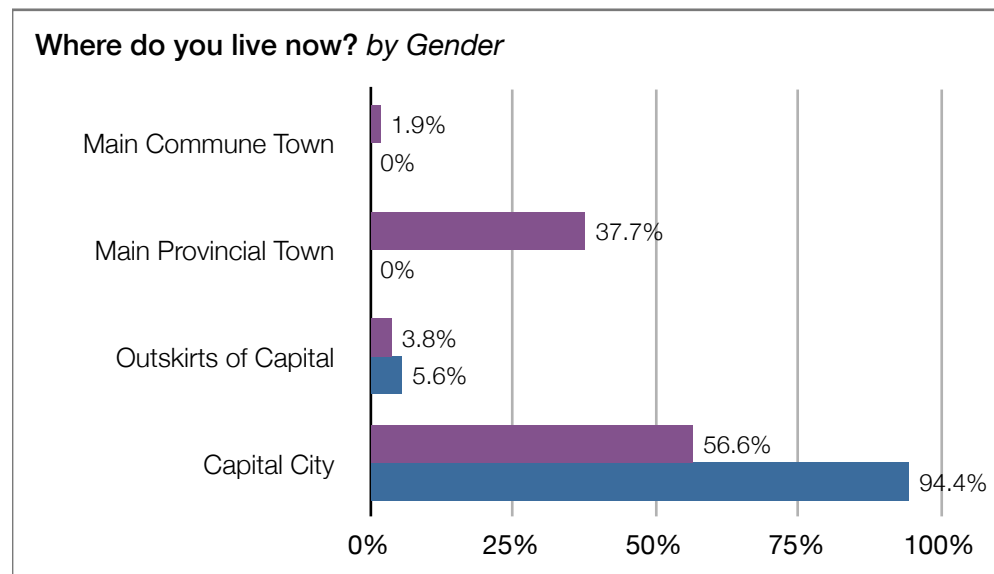


TABLE 6b:

*Where
Participants
Live Now, by
Gender*

*n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

Whether Participants Moved Residence

Twenty-seven participants out of the 74 who answered the survey at Field Visit #2 said they had moved residence in the past year. During In-depth Interviews, participants' responses as to why they had moved in the past year varied.

Participants who moved *in* to a shelter (RP) explained:

"My mother wanted me to stay in the shelter."

1 Female, 12-14 years old

"I was sexually abused."

5 Males and 3 Females, from under 12 to 17 years old

"Sex trafficking again and again."

1 Female

"Police crackdown on Karaoke place and then they put me into the shelter."

3 Females between ages 15-18+ years

"Because I was sexually exploited"

1 Male, 15-17 years old

Participants who moved *out* of the shelter described:

"Because my court case finished, so then I could move back home."

2 Females, 18 years and older

"I found a job outside of the shelter, so I moved out."

2 Females, between ages of 15-18+ years

A participant who moved *between* shelters described:

"I changed from one organization to another."
1 Male, 12-14 years old

Participants who moved *within their communities* said:

"Due to my family shortage I moved to live with my relatives."
1 Male, 12-14 years old

"To find a job opportunity."
3 Females, Between ages 15-18+ years

"I didn't want to stay at my family home anymore."
1 Female, 15-17 years old

"Due to poor security at my house where I lived, I had to move."
1 Female, 18+ years old

"I moved house to be closer to my work place."
1 Female, 18+ years old

"Because the previous house I lived in was too small."
1 Female, 18+ years old

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Perceptions of Main Responsibilities

These graphs represent participants' perceptions of their main responsibilities in the past year. Participants were free to choose/list as many responsibilities they felt applied to them. They could also choose to say they didn't have any responsibilities, hence each participant could potentially and usually did have more than one responsibility on a daily basis. Male participants listed 6 main responsibilities compared to the female participants who listed 12 main responsibilities.

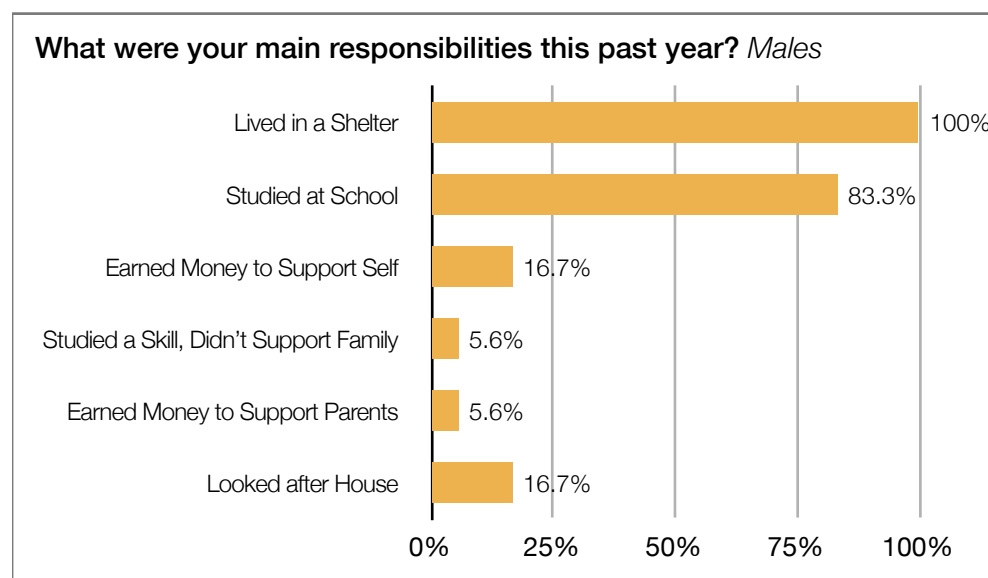


TABLE 7a:
Males' Perceived Main Responsibilities
Could choose more than one answer.
n = 18 of 74 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #2

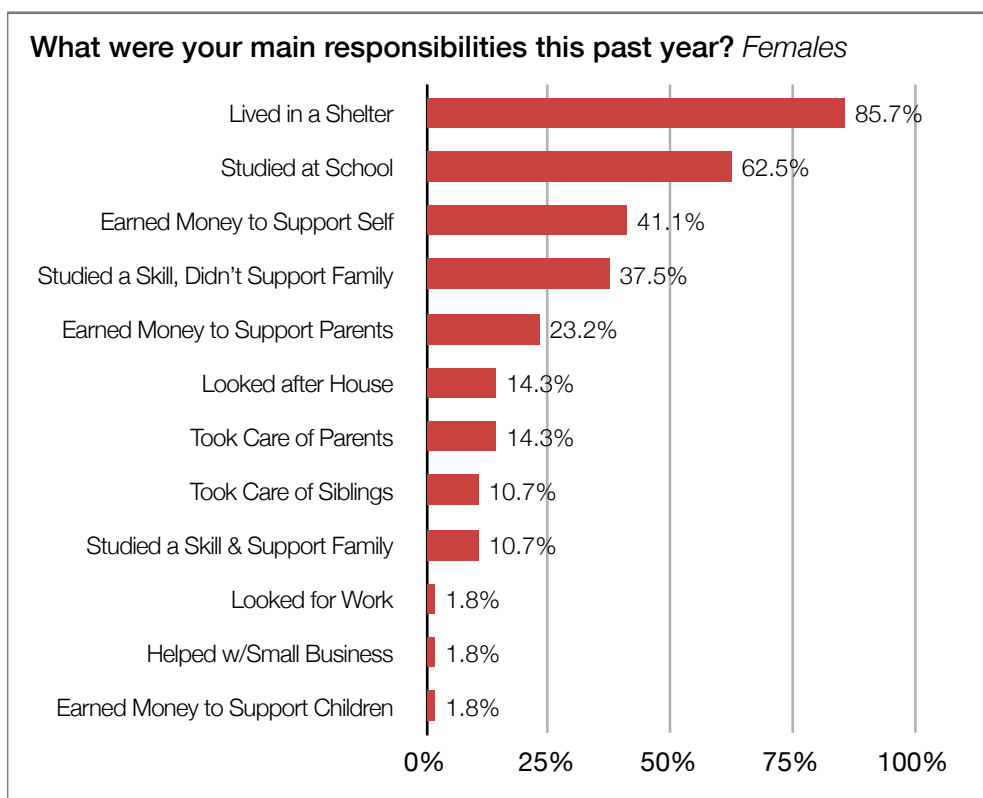


TABLE 7b:
Females'
Perceived
Main
Responsibilities

Could choose
more than one
answer.

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Perceptions of Responsibility to Family Members

'Children under 18 should help support their families financially'

Males 'strongly disagree' with this statement at 27.8 percent compared to females at 33.9 percent. Males 'disagree' at 33.3 percent compared to females at 21.4 percent. Males 'strongly agree' at 22.0 percent compared to female at 10.7 percent. No males 'agree' compared to female at 10.7 percent. Therefore, overall both genders disagreed that children should help support their parents, which is in contrast to participants' stories about their situation prior to sexual exploitation and trafficking.

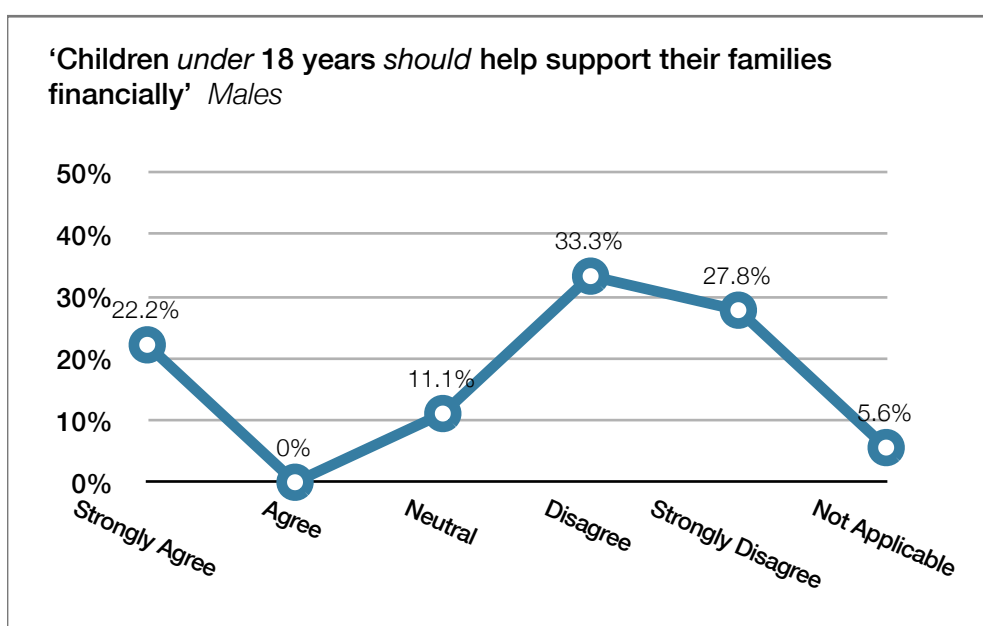


TABLE 8a:
Males'
Perception of
Children <18
Supporting
the Family

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Children under 18 years should help support their families financially' Females

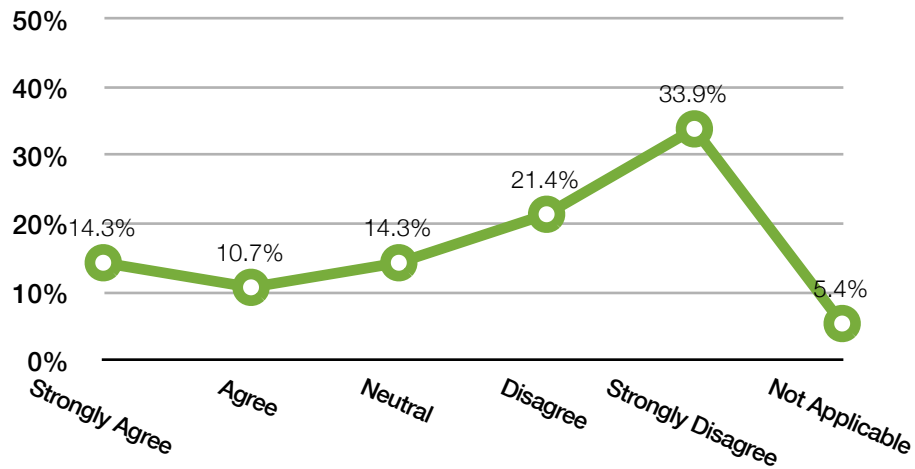


TABLE 8b:
Females'
Perception of
Children <18
Supporting
the Family

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Children over 18 should help support their families financially'

Males 'strongly agree' at 83.3 percent compared to females at 67.9 percent. Males 'agree' at 16.7 percent and females at 21.4 percent; 7.1 percent females 'nether agree/disagree'. This contrasts with their views about children under age 18 supporting their parents.

'Children over 18 years should help support their families financially' Males

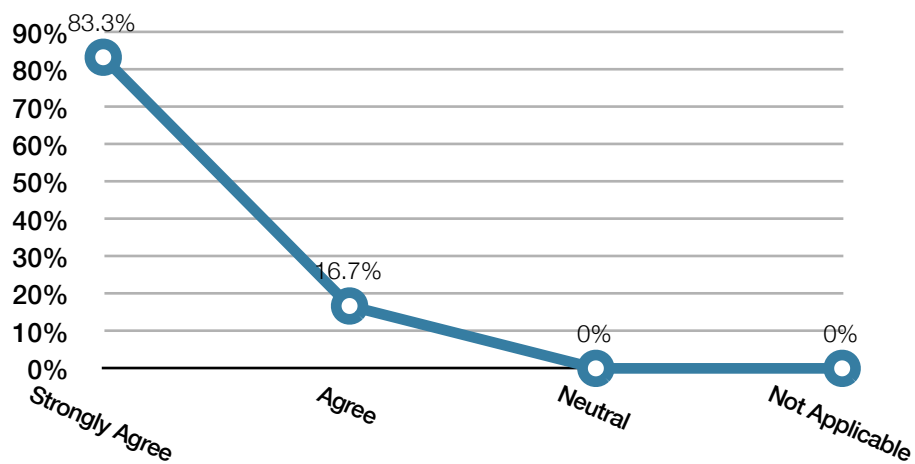


TABLE 8c:
Males'
Perception of
Children >18
Supporting
the Family

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Children over 18 years should help support their families financially' Females

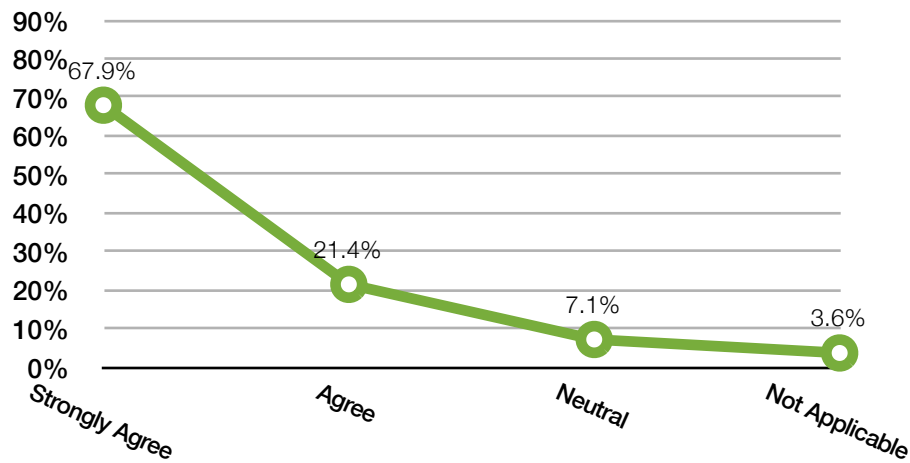


TABLE 8d:
Females'
Perception of
Children >18
Supporting
the Family

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Children under 18 should financially support their families to repay debt'

Similar to views on children under age 18 helping to support their parents, more participants disagreed with the statement that children under age 18 should help their families *repay debt*. It appears that the older the child is, the more they disagree with this statement, though the 15-17 year old group 'strongly disagrees' the most at 47.1 percent. Males and females 'strongly disagree' at 33.3 percent and 37.5 percent; males and females 'disagree' at 22.2 percent and 14.3 percent; males and females 'strongly agree' at 16.7 percent and 10.7 percent and males and females 'agree' at 22.2 percent and 8.9 percent.

'Children under 18 years should financially support their families to repay debt. By age group

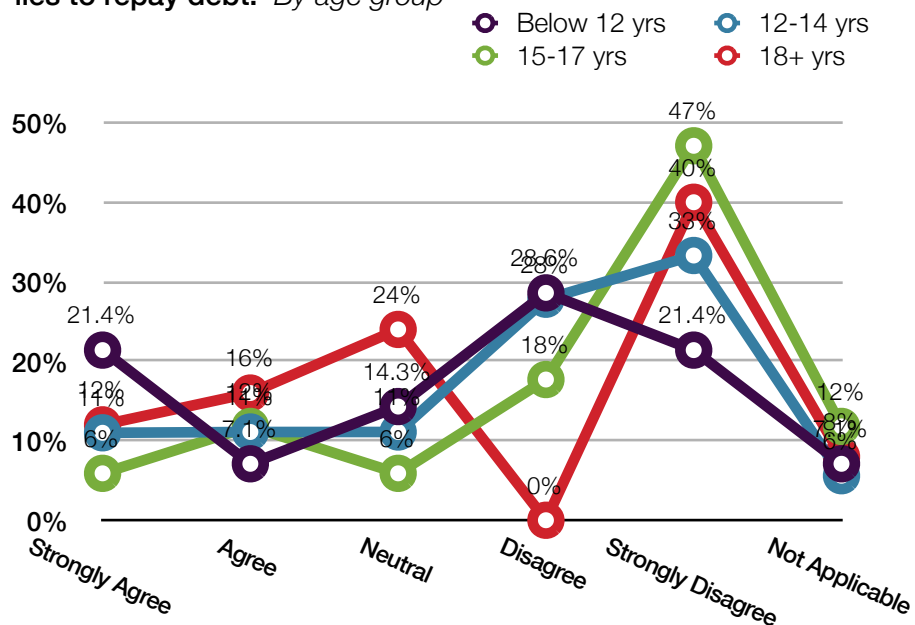


TABLE 8e:
Perception of
Children <18
Supporting
the Family to
Repay Debt by
Age Group

n = 74 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Children under 18 years should financially support their families to repay debt' Males

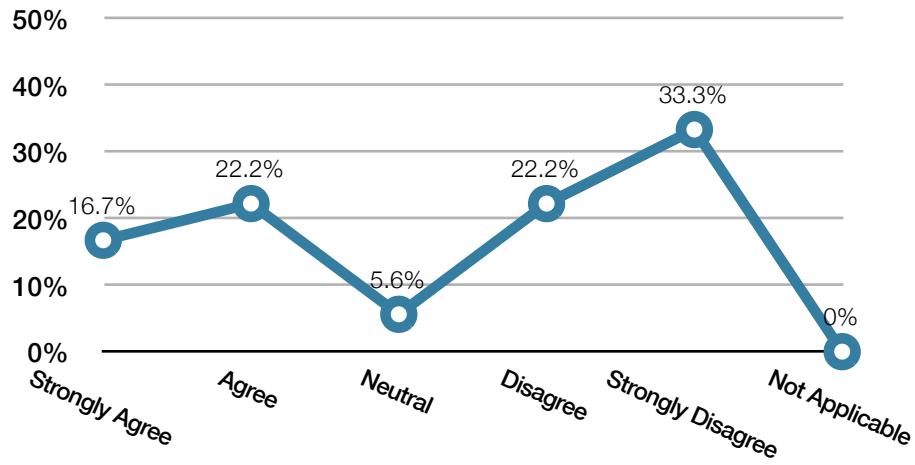


TABLE 8f:
Males'
Perception of
Children <18
Supporting
the Family to
Repay Debt

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Children under 18 years should financially support their families to repay debt' Females

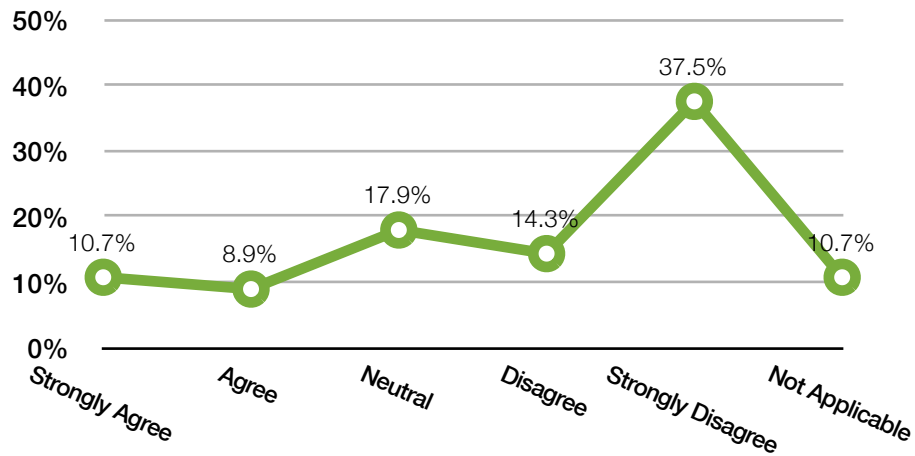


TABLE 8g:
Females'
Perception of
Children <18
Supporting
the Family to
Repay Debt

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Daughters under 18 should have more responsibility to support their families than sons under 18'

Males at 11.1 percent compared to females at 14.3 percent 'strongly agree' with this statement, and no males 'agree' compared to females who 'agree' at 19.6 percent. This is compared to 38.9 percent males at 38.9 percent and to 32.1 percent females at 32.1 percent who 'strongly disagree'; and males at 38.9 percent and females at 12.5 percent who 'disagreed'. It appears more males than females 'strongly disagree/disagree' with the statement overall.

'Daughters under 18 years old should have more responsibility to support their families than sons under 18 years' Males

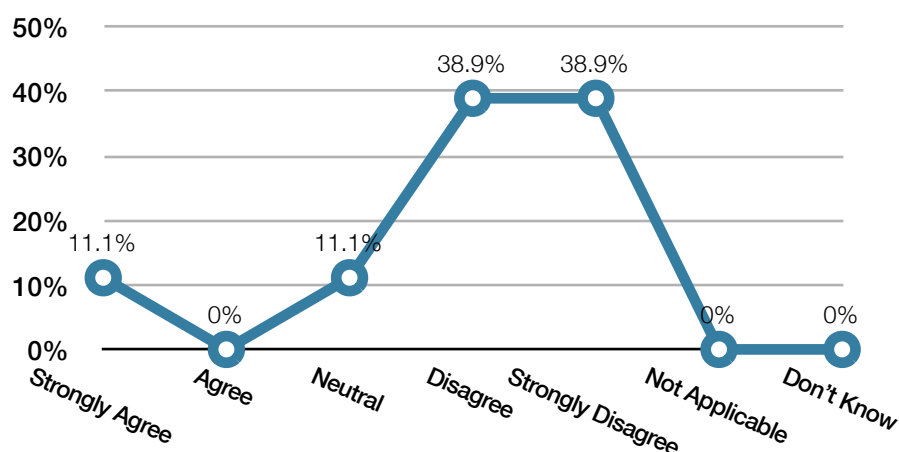


TABLE 8h:
Males'
Perception of
Daughters'
Responsibility
<18 years

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Daughters under 18 years old should have more responsibility to support their families than sons under 18 years' Females

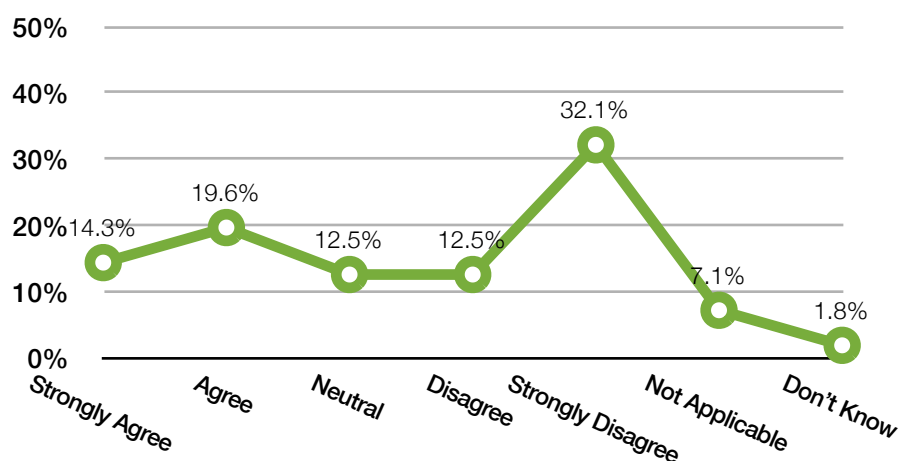


TABLE 8i:
Females'
Perception of
Daughters'
Responsibility
<18 years

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Daughters over 18 should have more responsibility to support their families than sons over 18'

It appears more males generally 'disagree' with this statement as compared to more females who generally 'agree' with the statement. Males were 'strongly disagreed' at 38.9 percent compared to females at 16.1 percent; and males at 11.1 percent and females at 16.1 percent who 'disagree'. Males at 16.7 percent compared to females at 26.8 percent 'strongly agree', males at 22.2 percent and females at 21.4 percent 'agree'. Males at 5.6 percent compared to females at 10.7 percent 'not applicable', males at 5.6 percent and females at 7.1 percent 'strongly disagree', males at 0 percent and females at 1.8 percent 'don't know'.

'Daughters over 18 years old should have more responsibility to support their families than sons over 18 years' Males

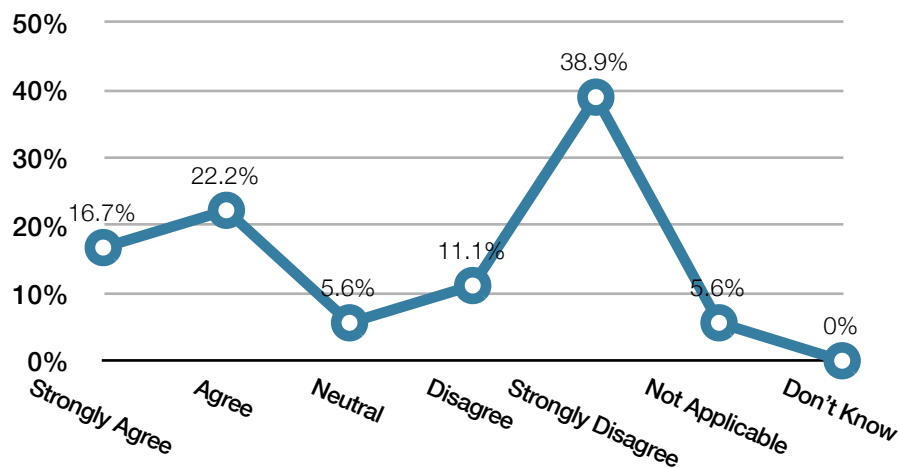


TABLE 8j:
Males'
Perception of
Daughters'
Responsibility
>18 years

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Daughters over 18 years old should have more responsibility to support their families than sons over 18 years' Females

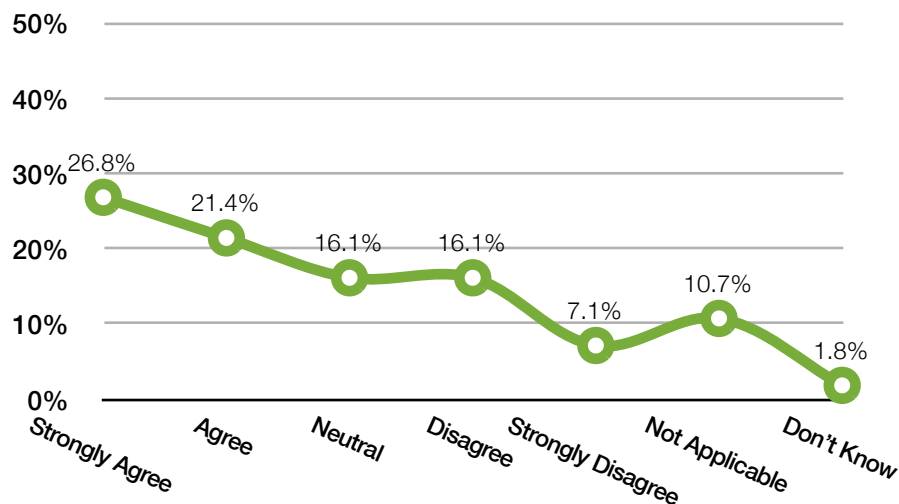


TABLE 8k:
Females'
Perception of
Daughters'
Responsibility
>18 years

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Sons under 18 should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters under 18'

In contrast to the statement that underage daughters should have *more* responsibility to support their parents, more females disagreed as compared to more males who agreed. It is unclear whether this reflects the experiences of the participants. Males at 22.2 percent compared to females at 5.4 percent who 'strongly agree'; and males at 33.3 percent compared to females at 12.5 percent who 'agree'. 16.7 percent males at 16.7 and 30.4 percent females at 30.4 percent who 'strongly disagree', and males at 16.7 percent and females at 14.3 percent who 'disagree'. During their In-depth Interviews all the male participants had helped to support their parents financially while under the age of 18 years.

'Sons under 18 years old should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters under 18 years' Males

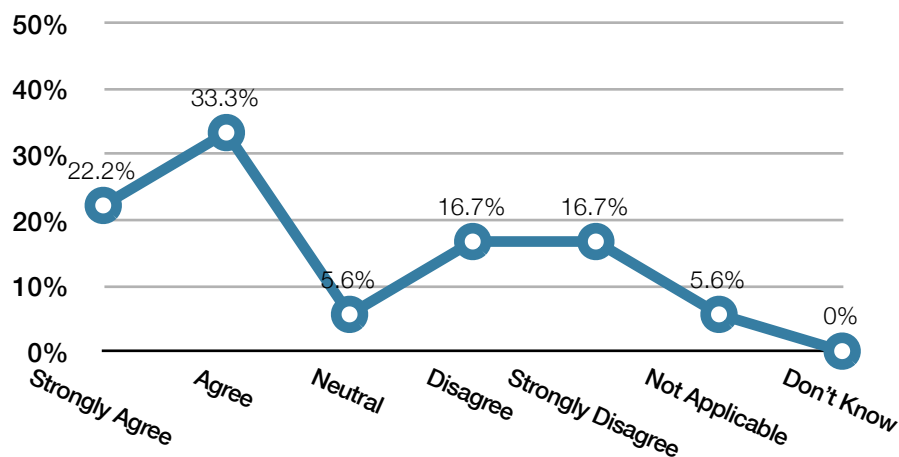


TABLE 8l:
Males'
Perception of
Sons'
Responsibility
<18 years

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Sons under 18 years old should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters under 18 years' Females

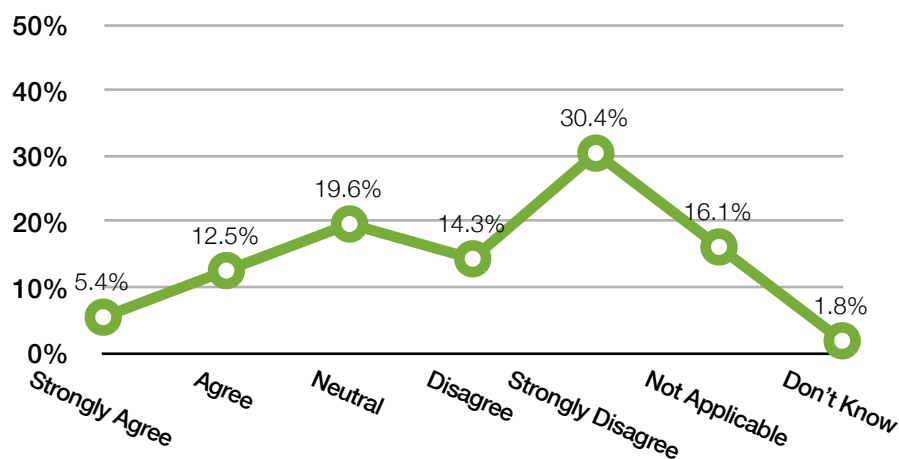


TABLE 8m:
Females' of
Perception
Sons'
Responsibility
<18 years

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Sons over 18 should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters over 18'

Both genders tend to agree with this statement, males more so than females. 50.0 percent males at 50.0 percent and 37.5 percent females at 37.5 percent who 'strongly agree', and males at 27.8 percent and females at 25.0 percent who 'agree'.

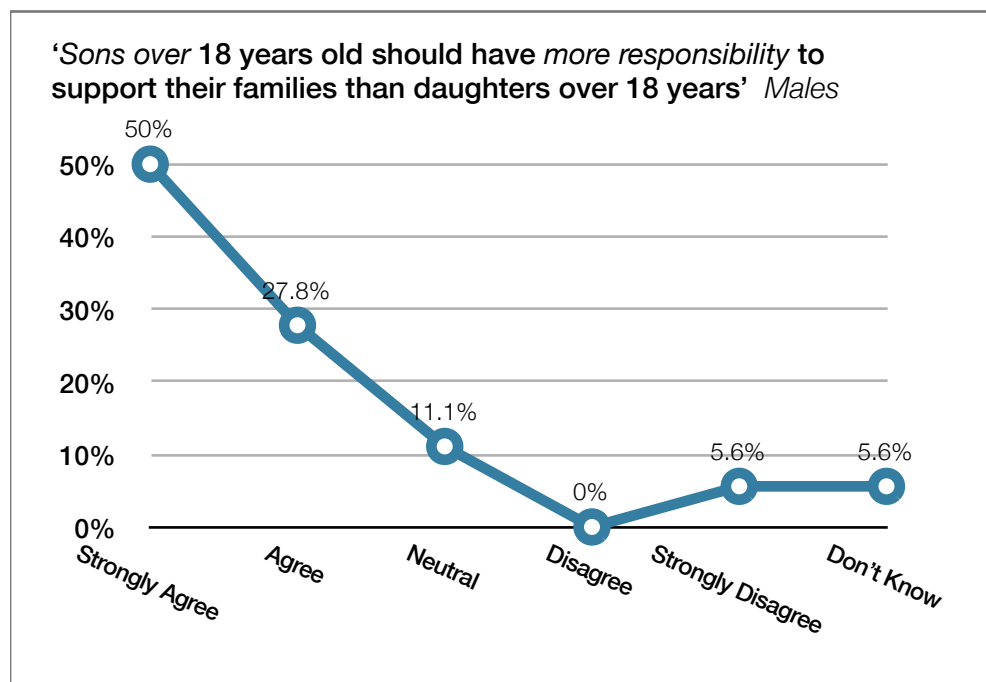


TABLE 8n:
Males'
Perception of
Sons'
Responsibility
>18 years

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

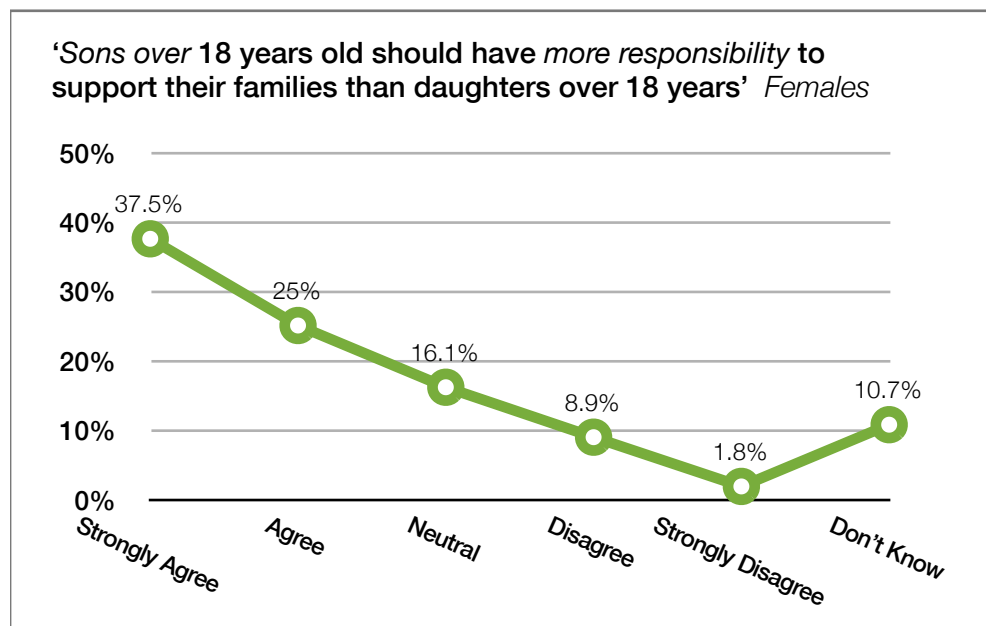


TABLE 8o:
Females'
Perception of
Daughters'
Responsibility
>18 years

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

In your opinion, at what age should a child start helping support his/her family?

The mean for when a child should start helping to support his/her family appears to be 18 years for all ages, both genders and type of assistance program. The 12-14 year olds, 18 years and older, 'declined assistance', and females rated the highest maximum age at 25. Whereas the 12-14 year olds, 'declined assistance' and males ranked the age of 8 years as the minimum age a child should be responsible to support their parents. This mean of 18 years appears to contrast with the actual experiences of those participants whom we conducted In-depth Interviews, as they actually of helped support their families when they were under 18 years of age.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PARENTAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Participants were invited to say how much they agreed or disagreed on the following statements.

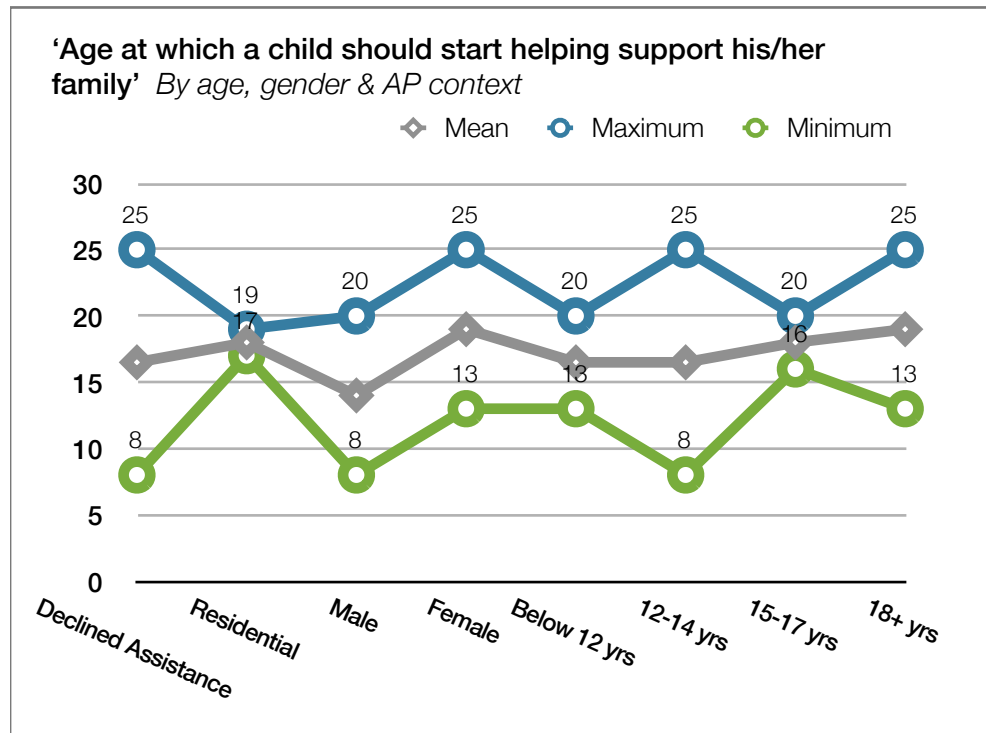


TABLE 9a:
Age Child Should Start Supporting Family, by age, gender & AP

n = 74 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #2

'Parents should financially support their children (under age 18)'

Males at 61.1 percent and females at 64.3 percent responded they 'strongly agree' with this statement; and males at 22.2 percent and females at 16.1 percent responded 'agree'. The question does not make clear as to whether participants see their parents as fully or partially responsible to support their children.

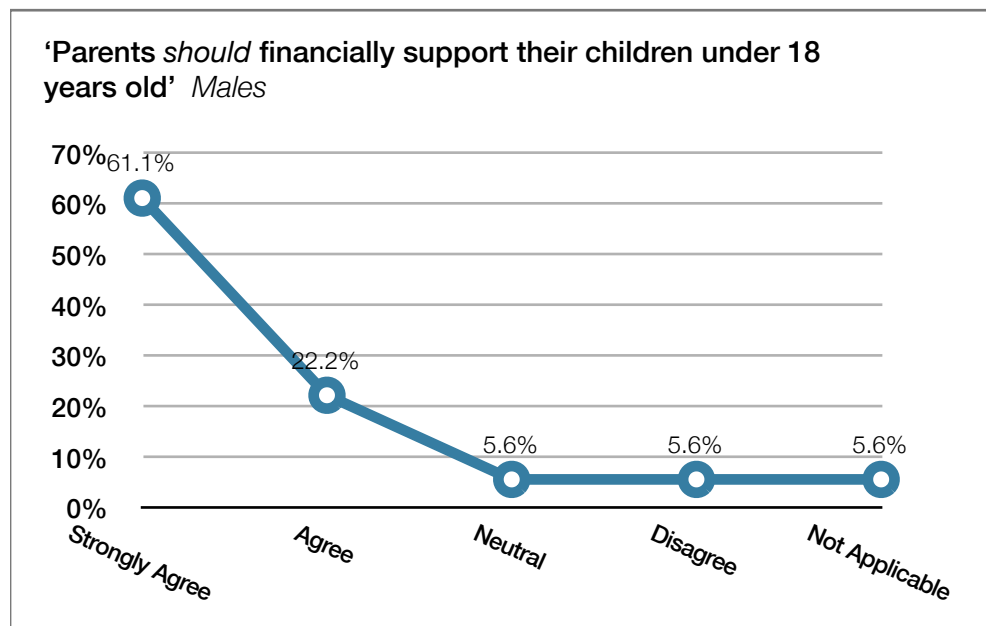


TABLE 9b:
Financial Responsibility of Parents for Children <18, Males

n = 18 of 74 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #2

'Parents should financially support their children under 18 years old' Females

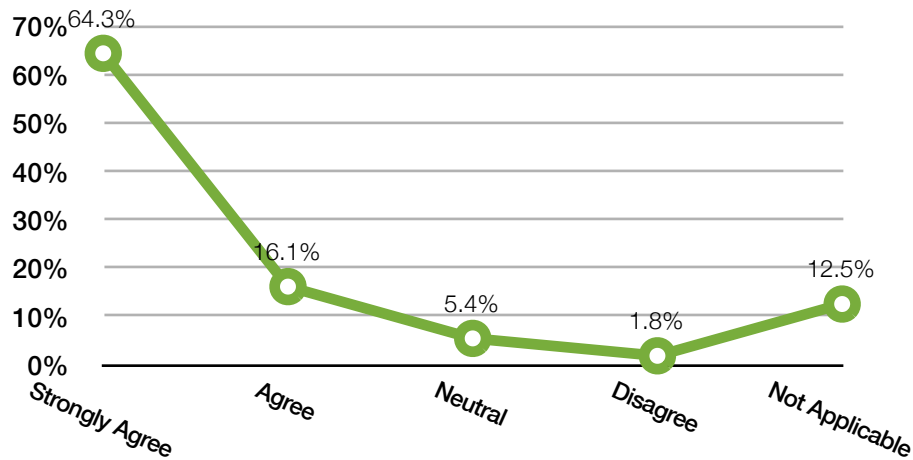


TABLE 9c: F
Financial
Responsibility
of Parents for
Children <18,
Females

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS

'Parents who are in debt can expect their children to do sex work.'

Across all age categories participants responded highest for 'strongly disagree'. Males at 94.4 percent and females at 71.45 participants 'strongly disagreed'. No males agreed with this statement as compared to females who responded at 1.8 percent 'agrees' and 1.8 percent 'strongly agrees'. Also noted is the fact no males responded 'neither agree/disagree' as compared to females who responded at 8.9 percent.

'Parents who are in debt can expect their children to do sex work.' By age group

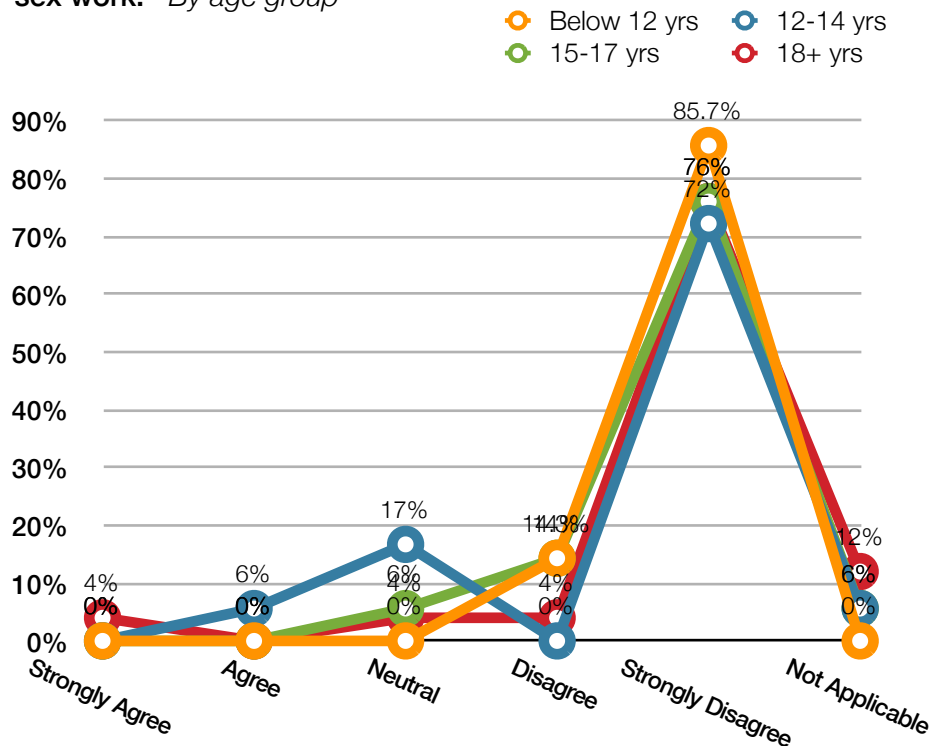


TABLE 10a:
Perception of
Parental
Expectation to
do Sex Work
to Help Cover
Debt, by Age
Group

n = 74 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Parents who are in debt can expect their children to do sex work.' *Males*

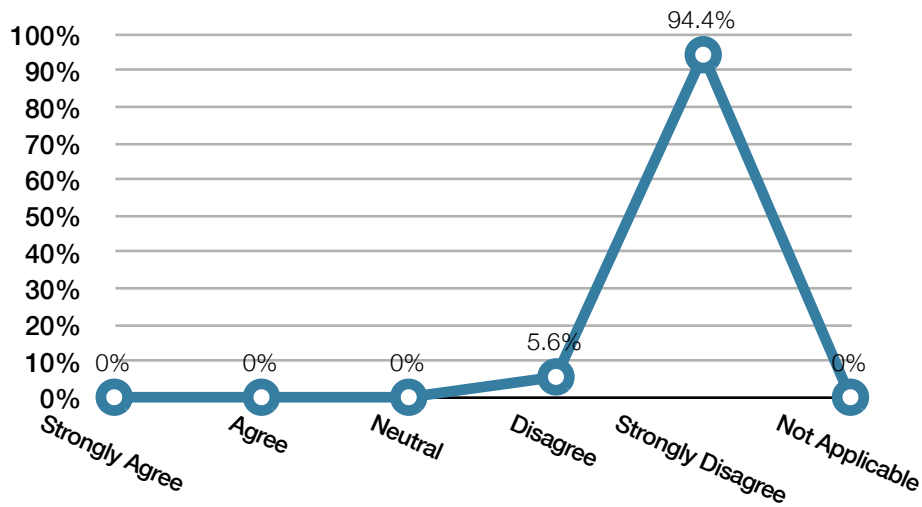


TABLE 10b:
Males'
Perception of
Parental
Expectation to
do Sex Work
to Help Cover
Debt

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'Parents who are in debt can expect their children to do sex work.' *Females*

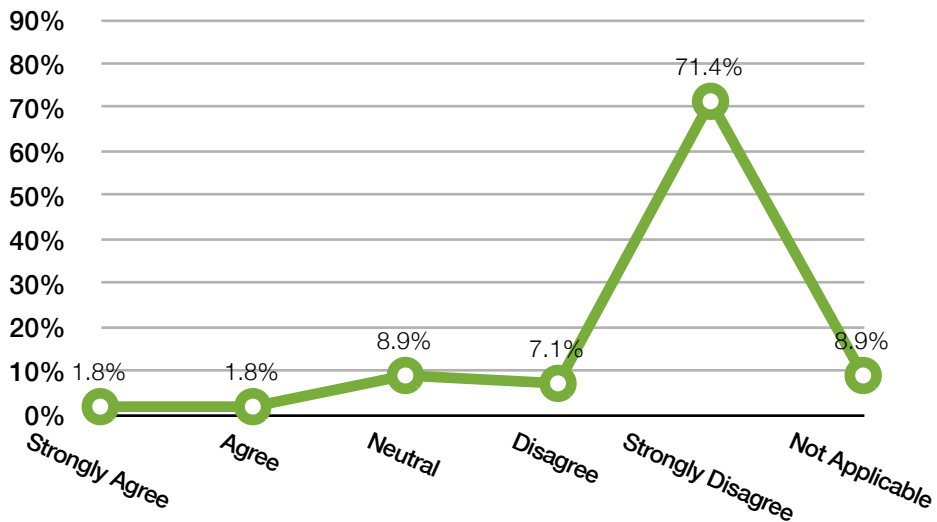


TABLE 10c:
Females'
Perception of
Parental
Expectation to
do Sex Work
to Help Cover
Debt

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PARENTS' & PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATIONS

'If parents have debt, their children will have debts when they become adults'

Males at 50 percent and females at 26.8 percent responded 'strongly disagree', and males at 16.7 percent and females at 19.6 percent responded 'disagree'. The higher response of 'strongly disagree' by males as compared to females is interesting as we will follow their responses over time, particularly as to how they feel with their own future children.

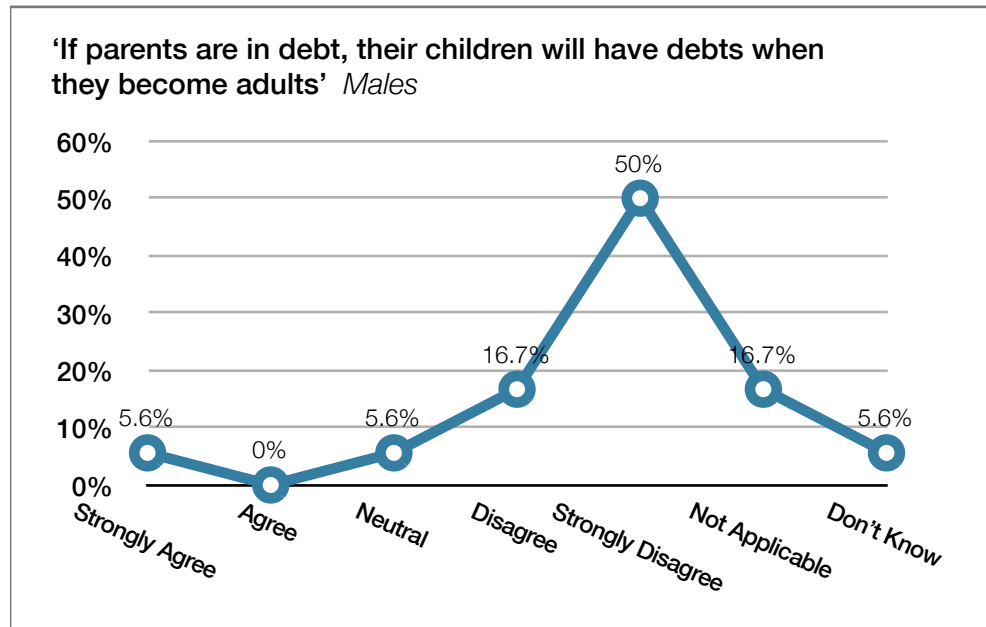


TABLE 11a:
Males'
Perception of
Parental Debt
Being Passed
to Children

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

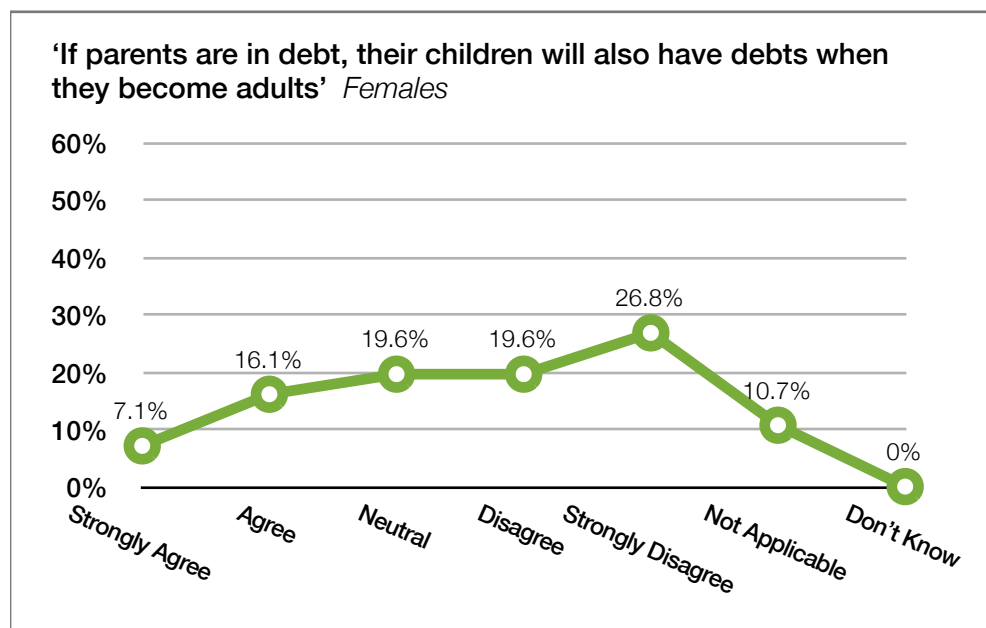


TABLE 11b:
Females'
Perception of
Parental Debt
Being Passed
to Children

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

EXPERIENCES OF FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE PAST

For some participants there appeared to be an expectation by their parents and families that they contribute financially to the family.

Some participants described how they earned money in order to give it to their parents:

"When I lived at home with my parents I gave all the money I earned in the factory to my mother."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

I went with my friend to sell books in the market. I thought I could earn money this way to help support my parents. I gave *all my earnings* to my parents."

In-depth Interview, Participant in RP

One participant described how his mother shamed him in front of their neighbors because he did not want to give her his earnings. He knew she would use it to gamble.

"Of course I want to give my mother money because we were poor, but I knew she would use the money to gamble in card games. I didn't want her to do this because she always lost our money. But if I didn't give her the money I had earned she would shame me in front of the neighbors and tell them I was a bad son."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

Some participants, in their desire to help their families financially, ended up in precarious situations.

"My father was a tuk-tuk taxi driver and my mother stayed at home to look after my younger brothers. I knew we did not have enough money so I sold books in the market to help them. I did this until a bad man hurt me."

In-depth Interview, Participant in RP

"When I was 18 years old, I agreed to marry a foreigner and move to his country for \$300 so I could give this money to my mother. It was a very bad marriage, my mother-in-law hated me and I could not speak the language. At first when I got there they liked me and then I found a job and sent my money back to Cambodia to my mother. Then they started not to like me. My mother in law would blame me and put limits on me. I had to give her ½ my salary. If I did not do this she would not allow me to sleep in their house. My husband only followed his mother he did not help me. My mother-in-law was very angry when I borrowed money to go to my mother's funeral in Cambodia. After my mother died I decided to divorce because I had no more purpose for this marriage. My purpose for marriage had been to earn money for my mother. I feel very sad about this experience."

In-depth Interview. Female in AP

One participant from a residential program explained why a close friend of hers had returned to sex work. The explanation of why she returned to sex work was to help support her family and it appears to have been emotionally very costly to her.

"I don't know how much she earned as a sex work but I know having sex with men was breaking her heart. Her only goal was to get enough money to support her parents."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

One participant described her desire to help her family and her decision to do sex work. It is unclear what expectations and pressures she felt in making this decision and what other options there might have been at the time. It appears her parents didn't try to prevent or stop her from doing this work.

"At the time in my family we didn't catch any fish, and we had no money for food. I wanted to help my parents and siblings have food to eat so then I decided to work as a sex worker to earn money for my parents. My parents did not stop me."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

One participant spoke about her sense of responsibility to support her siblings who are currently in prison.

"I work everyday and need to send some money to my younger siblings who are in prison. They call me and tell me they have nothing to eat and moreover they get sick so I need to send them money. No one else supports them, only I do since both my parents died. My older sister is married and has her own family so she doesn't care for our younger siblings. I'm still single so it is up to me to earn money and support my younger siblings. I feel this is my responsibility toward my siblings since my parents died."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

CONCERNS ABOUT CURRENT FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Several DA participants spoke about their constant worry about getting enough money to meet their daily needs.

"Now I am worried about my expenses every day."

Focus Group Discussion, Female who DA

"I also worried about my expenses because my daily income is lower than expending each day."

Focus Group Discussion, Female who DA

"Every month, when I get my salary I notice that my money goes to every corner. I rarely save money from my salary."

Focus Group Discussion, Female who DA

One participant who (re-) integrated this past year spoke about her disappointment and stress with the AP because she had been promised a financial (re-)integration package along with regular follow-up visits with their social worker, but this had not occurred. *Informal Interview, Female, (Re-)integrated from AP*

Participants appeared to have a strong sense of responsibility and genuine concern to ensure their parents and families have enough to survive, even while they live apart from them in residential programs.

"Sometimes we are happy but sometimes we are sad. Mostly, I think a lot about my family because I live here alone, before I lived with my family, so I always think about does my family have something to eat or not? Or what are they doing? I don't know what are they thinking about?"

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I have good food here (in the residential program) so I think about my family, does my mother has something to eat or not? If I live at my house, I feel happy with my family even I have only salt or Prohoc (fermented fish) to eat, but here I have good food so I think about my family."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I am not happy when my family calls me and tell about household's financial problems. I am so sad and I don't know how to solve it. The solution is that I talk about these problems with the staffs in shelter."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I need to have a lot of money to support my family. I need to earn it or the shelter needs to help me get the money for my family."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

"I want to support my family in the present time even while I am in the shelter."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

One participant incurred personal debt to help others, which she is still repaying.

"I am single so I need to earn money to support myself and my brothers and to pay back the bank. I borrowed money to pay for my father's hospital treatment and then his funeral costs. I pay the bank back every month and I earn about \$60.00 so I do not have any extra money."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

Close Relationships Over the Last Year

Over the past year, have you had someone in your life you feel you can trust?

Across all ages most participants responded they had someone in their life they could trust. Bearing in mind that the majority are still in residential programs and community programs it will be interesting to follow participants as they (re-)integrate.

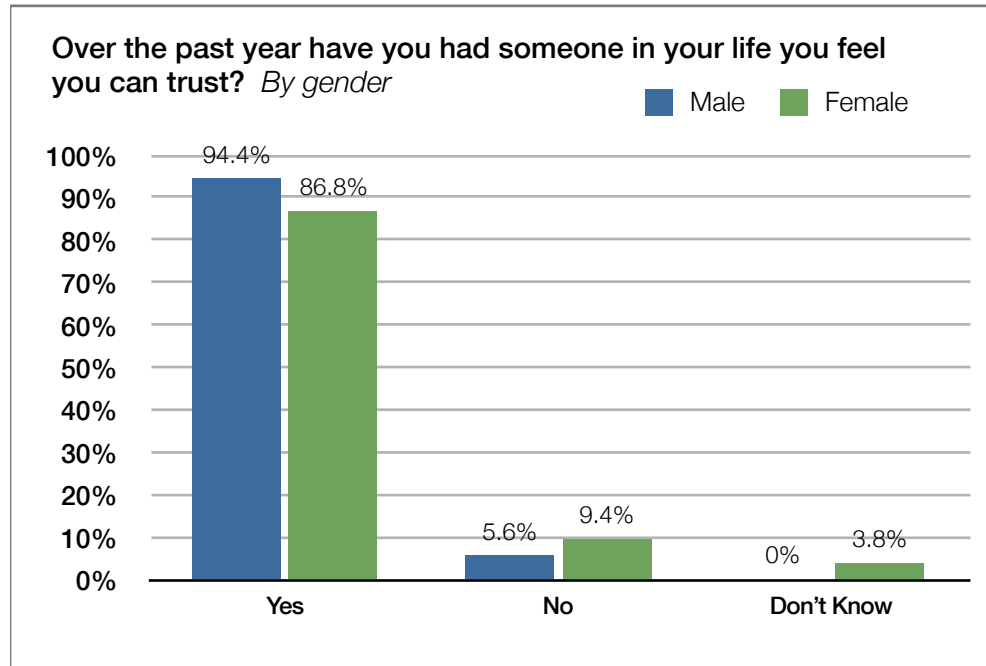


TABLE 12a:
Trusting
Relationships
by Gender

n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

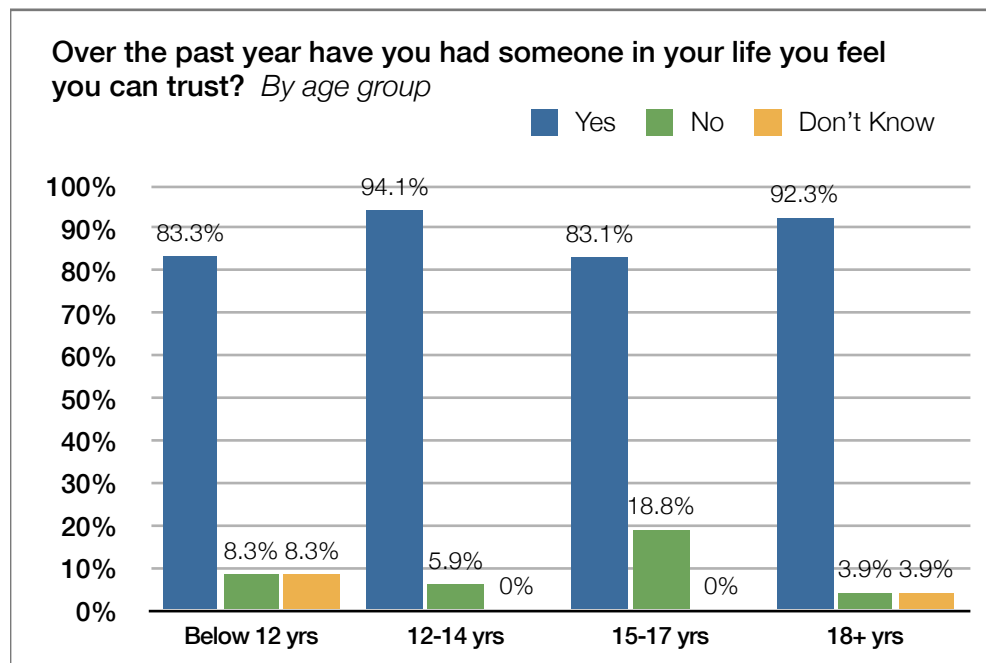


TABLE 12b:
Trusting
Relationships
by Age Group

n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

What is your intimate relationship status?

Five females in the 18+ age group were either married or in a partnership. This was out of the 71 participants who answered survey questions at field visit #3.

Views on Close Relationships in Terms of Emotional Support

'I feel generally supported emotionally by my close relationships'

The majority in both gender groups ranked they 'strongly agreed' with this statement. However, fewer females than males felt emotionally supported overall. In this question we did not define what we meant by close relationship, but left it to the participant to determine.

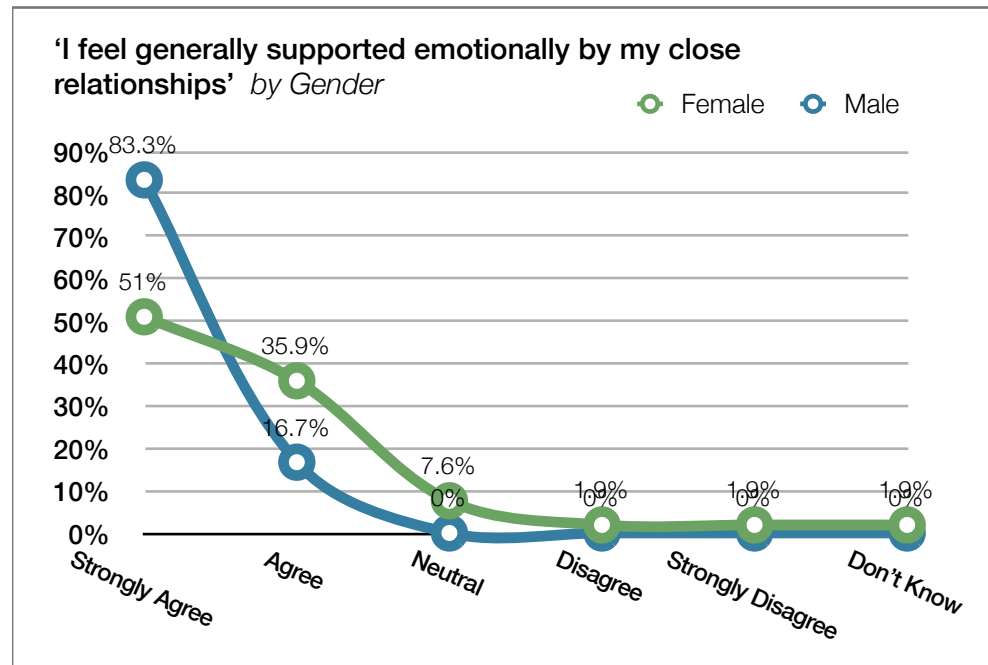


TABLE 13:

Emotional Support by Close Relationships

n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Perspectives About Emotionally *Close* Family Relationships

One participant spoke about his longing to return home to his mother.

"I really miss and love my mother and I want to go home and live with her again. I love my siblings too and I miss them."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

Perspectives about Emotionally *Distant* Family Relationships

Some participants spoke about being orphaned or losing one parent as children. One participant spoke about feeling emotionally distant from her father. Her mother had died when she was young and she could not remember what she looked like.

"My mother died when I was small and my dad brought me to live with the relatives and they never let me return to my father until I was an adult. I never saw my father and I don't remember my mother's face. When I met my dad as teenager I didn't have a good relationship with him. I felt my dad did not love me and *he did not want to take care of me*. Of course he had no love for me because by then he had his second wife. I didn't want to live with them. I ran away from him back to my relatives."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Perspectives About *Other* Emotionally Supportive Relationships

Some participants said they felt they had close and supportive relationships with people in their assistance programs. This includes staff and their peers.

"My 'parents' in the shelter love me and give me good advice. I feel close to them because they want me to have a good future. They are 'parents' to me."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I share my problems with her shelter counselor), and then I feel better, and my stress is reduced."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"I have a friend in the shelter and my friend always encourages me when I faced with hard situations. I was nervous when I had an examination, and my friend told me, I shouldn't worry, I should read the book and memorize the lesson at night and, my friend encouraged me. She helped me to pass the exam."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

One participant spoke about how being in the assessment center with other girls helped her have time to appreciate her former co-workers.

"I think at the time (in police detention and then the assessment centre) I felt most love for my Karaoke friends I worked with. I realized when we worked together we didn't know each other well because we were busy with work and had no time to talk to each other. When we lived in the assessment centre together we had time to talk with each other. We share with each other so we understood and knew each other more. I feel we are still close friends together even after leaving the program."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

What Male Participants Want in their Relationships

Family Relationships

In focus group discussion, 23 males were asked to speak about what they desired from their families. They spoke mainly about needing to be loved, accepted, and forgiven of past problems and mistakes by their families.

"I want to have a lovely family where there is love and where there is unity, joy, and peace. I want my family to love and forgive each other."

"I need love and forgiveness from my parents and siblings."

"I need parents to show me love and warmth..."

Focus Group Discussion, Males in RP

Peer Relationships

In the same focus group described above, males spoke about wanting peaceful relationships with each other in their residential program.

"I dislike older boys who speak a bad word or unacceptable word to me."

"I don't like fighting each other and I don't like the older boy fighting the small boy."

"I don't like people fighting each other because of remote control for TV."

"I want people who live in shelter to love each other more."

"Especially, I want the older boy to forgive the small boy's mistake."

Focus Group Discussion, Males in RP

VIOLENCE WITHIN PARTICIPANTS' HOUSEHOLDS

Have you *witnessed emotional* violence toward *others* in your household over the past year?

Of 71 participants who answered the survey at Field Visit #3, 46 said they had witnessed emotional violence.

Have you *witnessed physical* violence toward *others* in your household over the past year?

Of 71 participants who answered the survey at Field Visit #3, 47 said they had witnessed physical violence in the previous year, and 70% considered it serious.

Have you *experienced emotional* violence in your household over the past year?

Of 71 participants who answered the survey at Field Visit #3, 47 said they had experienced emotional violence in the previous year.

Have you *experienced physical* violence in your household over the past year?

Of 71 participants who answered the survey at Field Visit #3, 48 said they had personally experienced physical violence. Twenty-eight (28) percent of males and 20 percent of females considered the physical violence to be serious.

If you have experienced violence (emotional or physical), did you know where to get help?

100% of males knew where to get help, compared to only 71% of females. In addition, by age group, younger children were more confident than those over age 18.

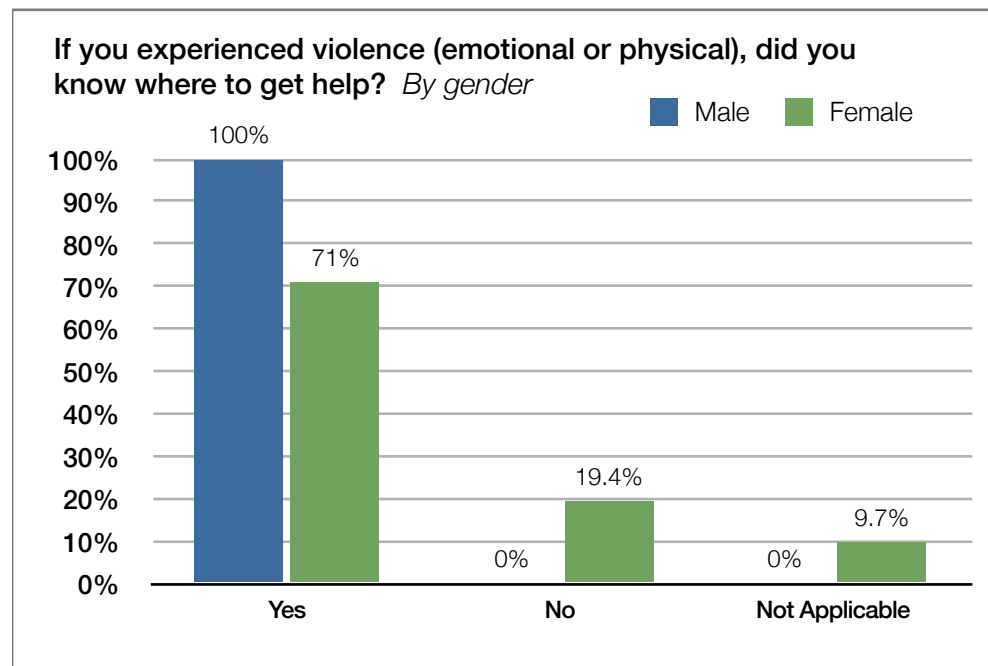


TABLE 14a:
Know Where
to Get Help
for Violence,
by Gender

n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

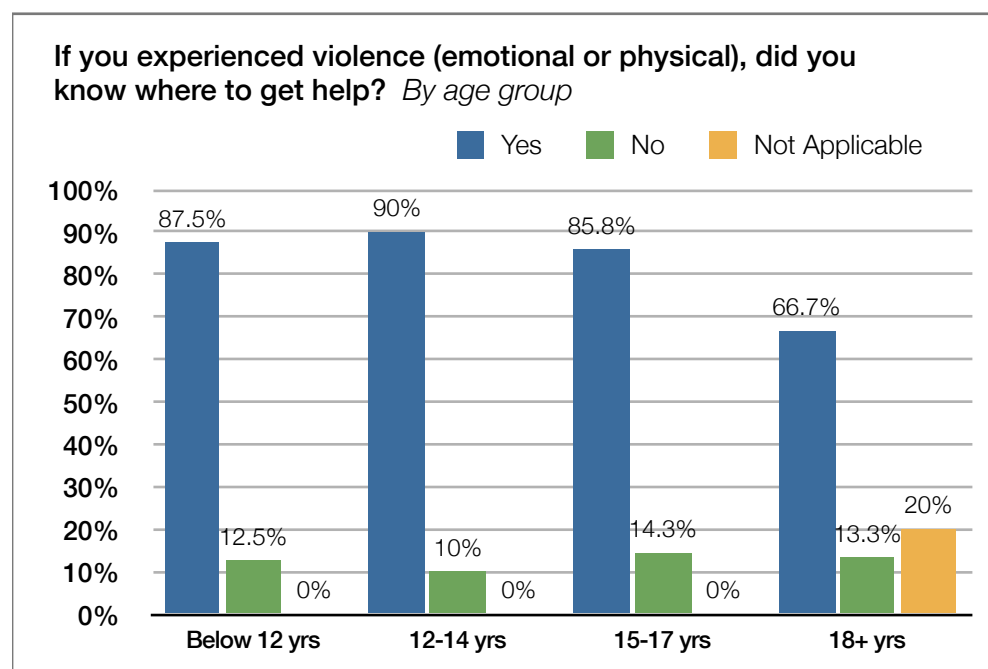


TABLE 14b:
Know Where
to Get Help
for Violence,
by Age Group

n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

Effect of Previously Experiencing Violence in the Family

Some of the participants described how they had witnessed and/or experienced violence over the years within their households.

One participant explained that the violence her brothers inflicted upon their family was because they were poor.

"Because we were poor and never had enough money my brothers stole, and then used drugs and then were violent against us and others. Because they did this they went to prison for many years."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

One participant explained the violence against his father by 'gangsters' resulted in their family becoming poor.

"My father sold drugs and then he was killed by gangsters. The gangsters killed him for all his money. My mother and all us children were really sad. Then we became poor."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE COMMUNITY

Personal Relationship with the Community

How have relationships changed with the community?

When asked how they felt relationships between themselves and people in the community (outside of the shelter) had changed compared to the same time last year, more females felt relations with the community were "better than last year" as compared to more males who felt relations were "worse than last year." It's important to bear in mind that most of the females and all of the males were in residential care at the time of this question. It's interesting to note that elsewhere in the qualitative In-depth Interviews some participants spoke about feeling they were discriminated against in the schools because they lived in the shelter and had very low education.

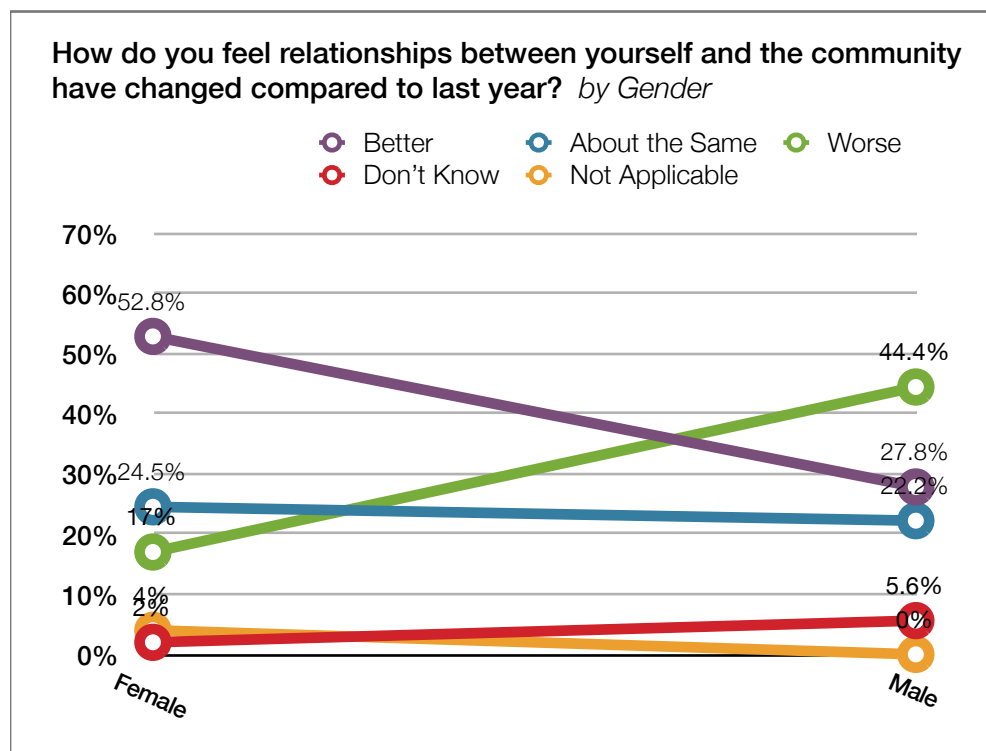


TABLE 15:
Relationship with the Community, by Gender

n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Do you feel accepted by the community?

When asked whether they felt generally accepted by the community (outside the RP) all chose generally positive responses of 'I feel accepted by everyone' or 'I feel accepted by some people.' None of the participants chose that they did not feel accepted by anyone. In future years additional qualitative methods will be used to explore who participants consider to be people in their communities, and why they feel accepted or not accepted by them.

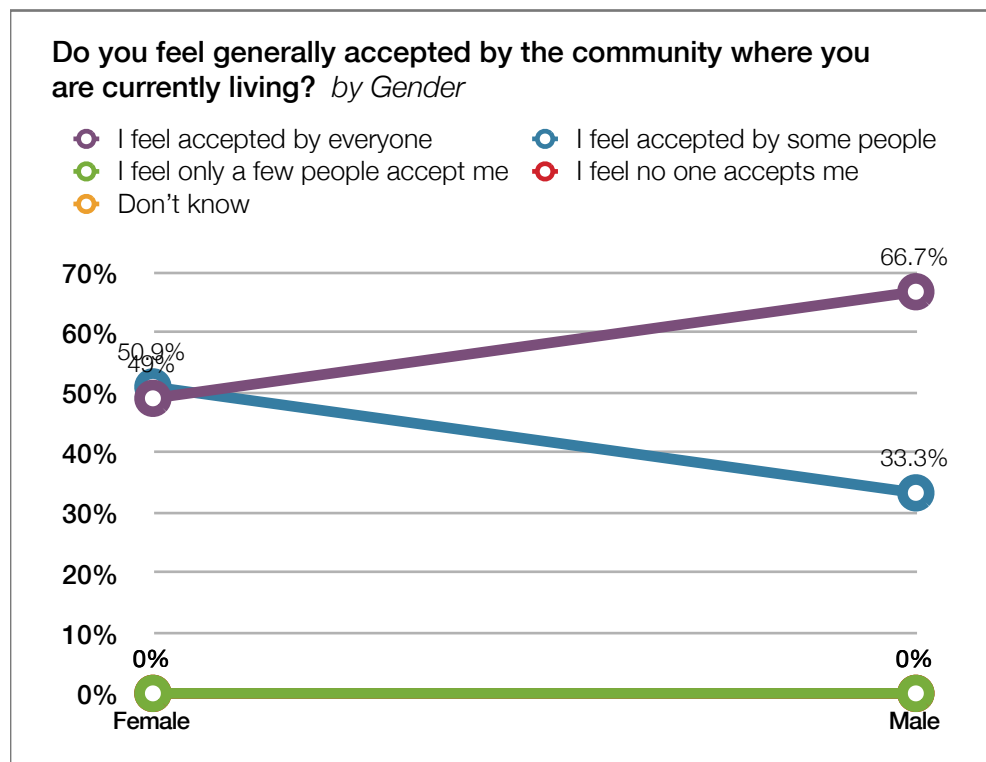


TABLE 16:
Acceptance by the Community, by Gender

n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

General Discrimination by Cambodian Society

In regard to participant perceptions about the level of prejudice and discrimination by Cambodian society against those who have been sexually exploited, approximately the same numbers of males and females ranked '5' and '10'. Nearly 25 percent of the participants responded '0'. (0 = No Discrimination to 10 = Extreme Prejudice/Discrimination)

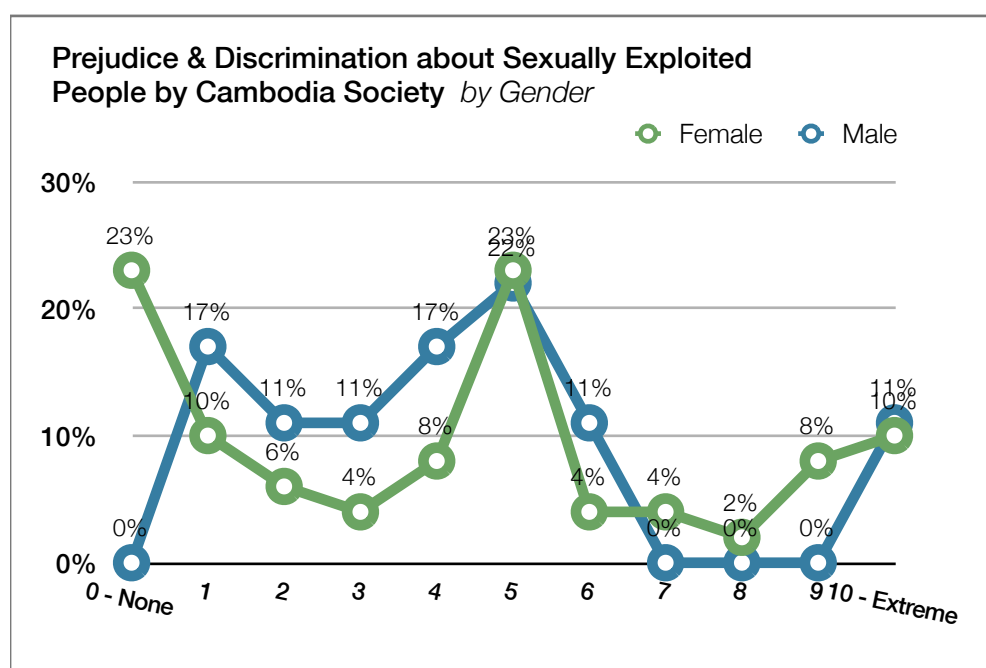


TABLE 17:
Perceptions of Prejudice & Discrimination by Cambodia Society, by Gender

n = 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Perception of Society's Rejection or Acceptance

In an In-depth Interview one participant spoke about a peer of hers, who because, in her perspective, was able to marry 'well' (i.e. a rich man), had 'made it', or redeemed herself to Cambodian society's opinion. She linked the change in society's opinion from rejection to acceptance of her friend as due to good fate.

"My friend near my home who was the same like me (former sexually exploited/trafficked person then later a then Karaoke girl), was able to get married to a rich man and she had two children. Now people do not blame or gossip about her anymore. They say she is lucky and has a good fate because now she is rich. It seems like everyone likes her because she has a lot of money now. And she even stopped wearing the strong make up and everyone praised her."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Experiences of Discrimination

32 participants out of 71 who answered the survey during Field Visit #3 stated they had experienced discrimination in the past year. As participants increased in age so did their experience of discrimination. However, the 15-17 age group rated 'yes' the highest among the age groups. This is the time when most of the residential participants are in outside schools, and perhaps at this age society place cultural expectations on them regarding gender expectations and sexual standards. Males and females responded similarly.

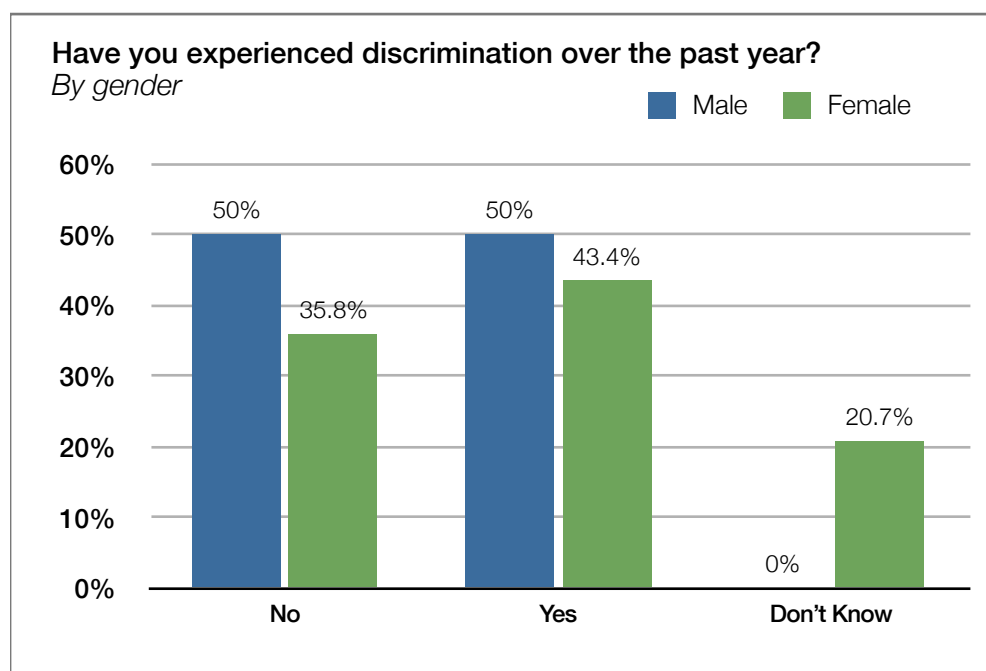


TABLE 18a:
*Experiences of
Discrimination,
by Gender*

*n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

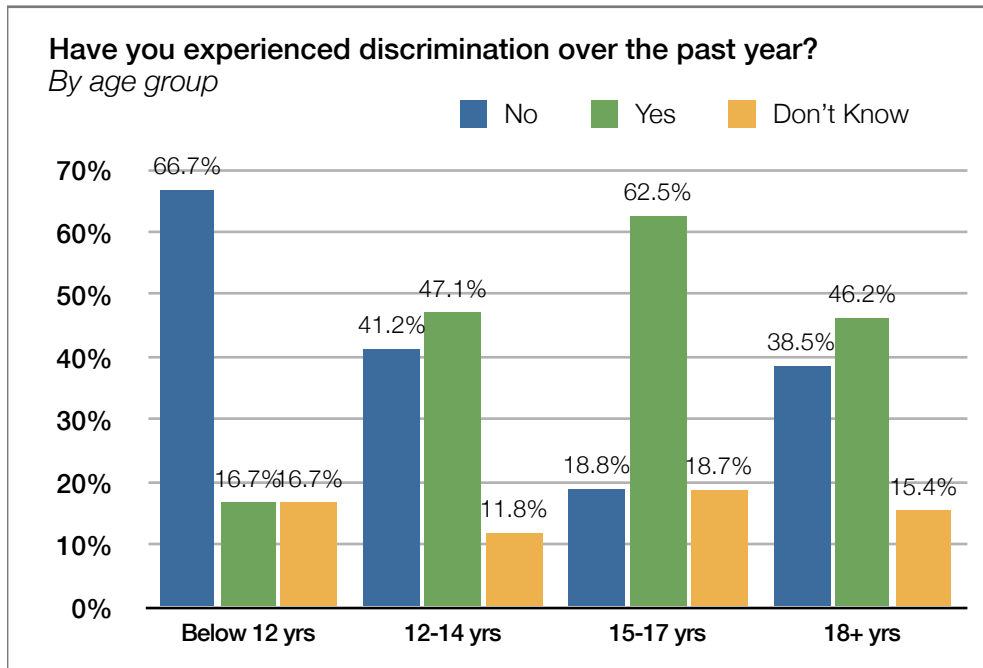


TABLE 18b:
Experiences of
Discrimination,
by Age

n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

Perceptions Regarding Why Participants Were Discriminated

Thirty-two of 71 participants who answered the survey at Field Visit #3 responded why they had been discriminated against in the past year. They could answer with as many reasons they felt applied to them. The answers they gave are as follows:

Reason	# Participants
"Ethnicity"	3
"I was poor"	2
"My religion"	1
"I was not clever"	1
"Interpersonal conflicts"	3
"My behavior was offensive to others"	4
"People did not like my attitude"	3
"My past experiences of sexual exploitation"	2
"I lived in a shelter"	3
"I don't know"	10

TABLE 19:
Perceived
Reasons for
Discrimination

n = 32 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3
Who Said They
Experienced
Discrimination in
Past Year

Perceptions About Stigma

Who Stigmatizes and Why

When asked who stigmatizes them and why, 32 of 71 participants who answered the survey at Field Visit #3 described why they had been discriminated against in the past year. They could answer with as many reasons they felt applied to them. The answers they gave are as follows:

"For my older sister I'm not sure what she feels and think about me, but in my mind I'm afraid of my brother-in-law who looks down on me, even now. He knows my past life in sex work and I don't know if he ever told my sister. He blames looks and me down on me most of the time. Whenever he has a problem with my sister he blames me for being a prostitute. Whenever he says this then I walk away from him. I don't want to hear what he says about me."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

"It's bad when my family gossip to others about my past."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

Fellow residents in residential programs avoid each other for behaviors deemed by participants not acceptable to fellow residential residents.

"When I first moved into the shelter everyone did not like me because I disobeyed the house parents, I kicked and shouted and broke doors. I threw things around. I hit the tables and chairs. I made everyone unhappy. When I did this they (the residents) all avoided being with me."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

People in the wider community discriminate against participants as well, including people at schools and in their neighborhood.

Some participants spoke about being discriminated against because of their age by people in the school system.

"I wanted to study at the public school but I dared not to go to school because I was taunted by young people outside. They said we girls in shelter are too old to be studying in the lower grades."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"Of course, we are discriminated against, because we are too old to go to school. We feel ashamed when others say that we are too old to study at lower grades. Although we should be studying in grade 10 or 11 for our age, we feel so ashamed at being with younger children. But we have to struggle for our future

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

One participant spoke about being discriminated against by her neighbors because she was divorced and poor, and how this negative discrimination towards her affected her.

"After I divorced and returned to Cambodia the neighbors look down on me because of my failed marriage and because I returned poor. I had no money at all. Before I married I was a virgin and I hated the Karaoke girls and then after my divorce I didn't care anymore. I thought I should work as a Karaoke girl because I was no longer a virgin and everyone already blamed me because I was divorced. My friend said, 'Why do you stay at home? Come and work with me and we can get good tips for sex work in the Karaoke places. We can earn \$10-\$20 each night.' I decided to do sex work because I was divorced and because the neighbors already looked down on me. I already felt so ashamed by my neighbors for my divorce and because I was poor I decided to add to my shame by going to work in Karaoke."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Two participants spoke about being discriminated against by others because of their past involvement in sex work and sexual exploitation.

"They blame us for our past."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I am a girl and worked at night but they (neighbors and wider community) said my job was bad. They (neighbors and wider community) said 'the girls who work at night are not good'. Before I worked at the Karaoke place, I had a good relationship with my neighbors but when they found out I was working at Karaoke they stopped being friends with me and stopped treating me respectfully.."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"The difficulty we face is from the people who discriminate against us, people who blame us and tell others not to be friendly to us and not to relate to us. They blame us for our past."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Participants' Response to Stigma

Participant responses to discrimination and stigma vary.

One participant spoke about her own self-reflection, coming to the conclusion that the sexual exploitation she had experienced was not her fault, no matter what other people say.

"But if we know in ourselves what happened to us was not our fault (sexual exploitation) and we don't think about neighbors who blame us and say untrue words about us, then we will not be too disappointed."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Two participants respond to stigma by avoiding people who are negative towards them.

"We should hide in the shelter and wait until the problem we had in our past goes away, and as it goes we can forget about the people out side as they forget about us. So when we come out (of the shelter) we can know we are not the same even if society still says we are bad."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I'm not happy when people who blame me for my past. When they blame me like this I run away to cry in my bedroom."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Perspectives About Society's Responses and Conditions for Acceptance

Participants' perceptions of what they thought society expects of them to be accepted varied. Many perspectives mainly had to do with their own character and behaviors, and having material wealth.

Two participants spoke about improving their personal character.

"Every day, they (the shelter staff) want us to improve our attitudes and behaviors. They want to see us reading the book after we come back from school, and they want us to be punctual. I know they want us to improve our character. Good character will make people outside the shelter accept us." [Laugh]

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"Our shelter teaches us about self-improvement of our characters and behaviors, and how to understand our feelings."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

One participant seeks to improve her economic standing in the future.

"I reckon I must try hard to work. When I have enough money I can buy new clothes and modern equipment. Then people around us will not look down on us."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

In a focus group with males, we asked them what they would need to emotionally take from the shelter when they left that would help them to be accepted and not discriminated against by wider Cambodian society. They spoke about their need to have good characters so society would accept them.

"We need to take responsibility for our wrong doings."
 "I need to respect my elders and obey parents."
 "I must be obedient to my teachers"
 "A boy needs to be kind and do acts of charity for others."
 "We need to be brave and loving boys."

Focus Group Discussion, Males in RP

EXPERIENCES & PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION

Current Education

Level of Education

The majority of participants in this study have low educational backgrounds and have lagged behind standard Cambodian educational levels. In Cambodia by age 12 children should have completed Grade 6, by age 15 they should have completed Grade 9 and by age 18 they should have completed High School Grade 12. Based on gender, males appear to peak at Grade 1 and then at Grade 4, and females peak at Grade 2, then at Grade 4, and then Grade 6. No one in the sample at this time (Field Work #2) had completed high school, which for those under 18 years is expected. All the residential programs in this study include some form of academic study in either public schools or private institutions and some programs offer 'catch up school' enabling participants to potentially complete more than one grade per year. For participants under 18 years of age in residential programs, such opportunities make the potential to 'catch up' more possible.

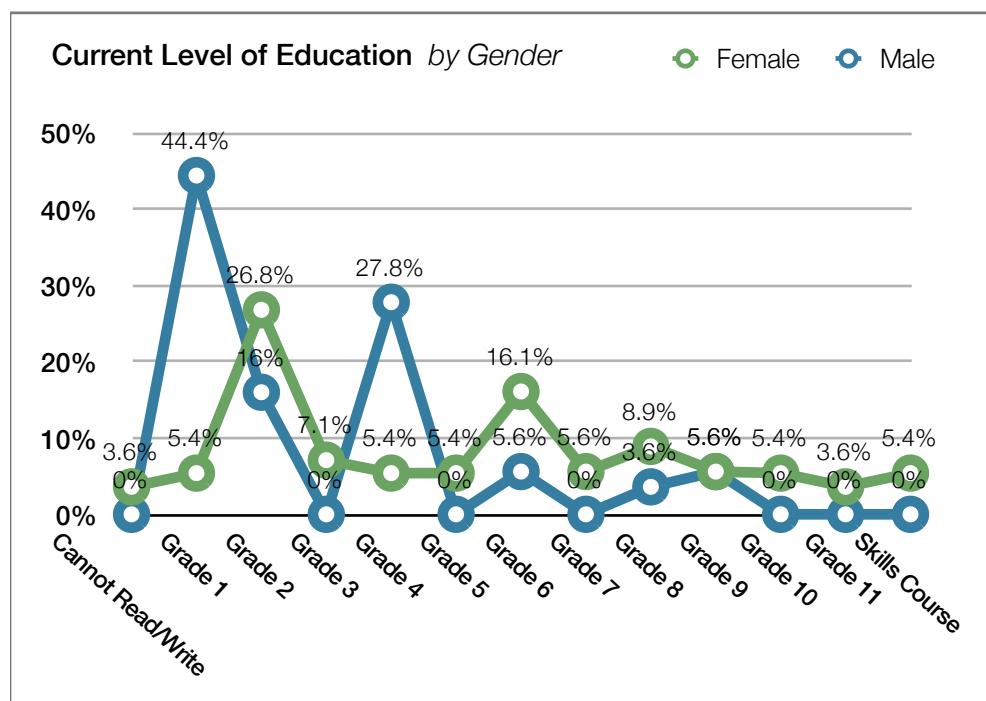


TABLE 20:
 Current Level
 of Education,
 by Gender

n = 74 Surveyed
 Participants at
 Field Visit #2

Future Education

Desire for Future Study

When asked if they could study further, what they would study, the most common response among both genders was they wanted to attend university (males at 67 percent and females at 43 percent). Doing a skills training followed, with 30% of females, but only 6% of males.

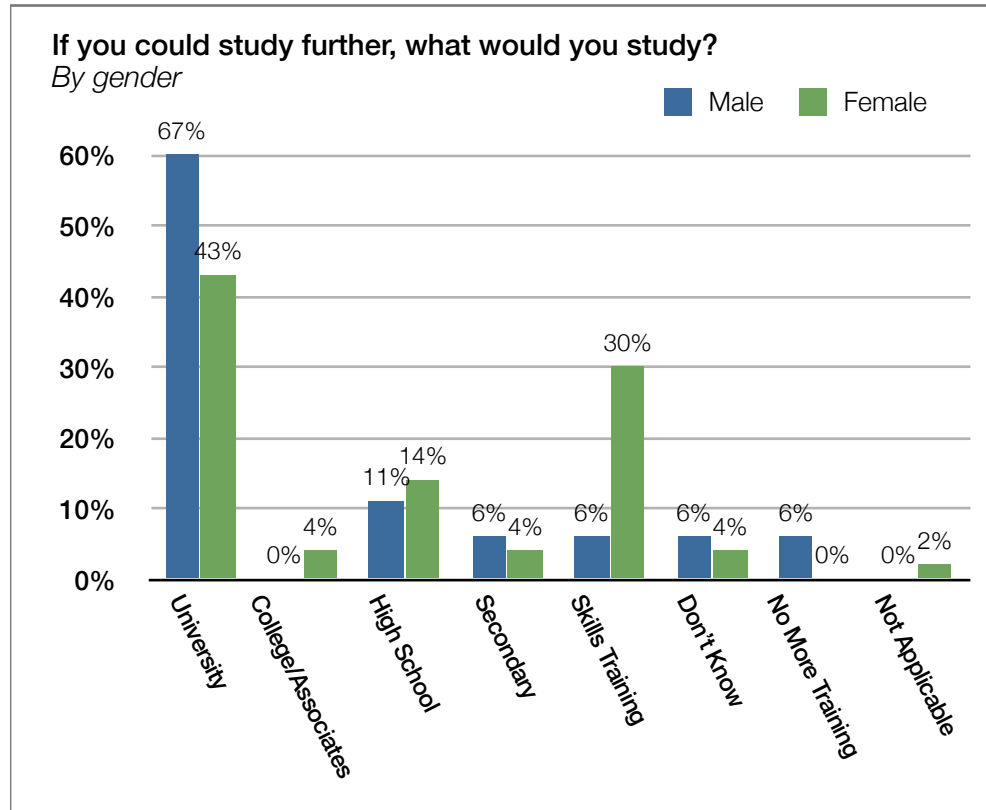


TABLE 21:
Desire for
Future Study,
by Gender

n = 74 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

What specific training or study would you personally like to pursue?

Study Topic
Finish Grade School
Finish High School (Grade 12)
Attend University - But haven't decided specialization/major
Study information technology
Study management
Study social work
Go to law school
Go to medical school
Study auto/motorcycle repair

TABLE 22a:
Desired
Future Study
Topic, Males

n = 18 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Study Topic
Finish High School (Grade 12)
Attend University - But haven't decided specialization/major
Go to medical school
Study information technology
Study management
Study small business
Study dance
Train to be a chef
Train to be a hairdresser
Train in beauty/wedding skills

TABLE 22b:
Desired Future
Study Topic,
Females

n = 56 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Education in Cambodia

What Education Should be Made Available

When asked what study and/or training should be available to people in Cambodia who are their age, 28 percent of female participants said they thought “beauty wedding” skills training was needed, followed by 20 percent who said “sewing”, 16 percent who said they didn’t know, and 8 percent who said “computer skills” and “tertiary education”. Overall, it appears the majority of 18 year olds think *skills based training* should be available to people their age.

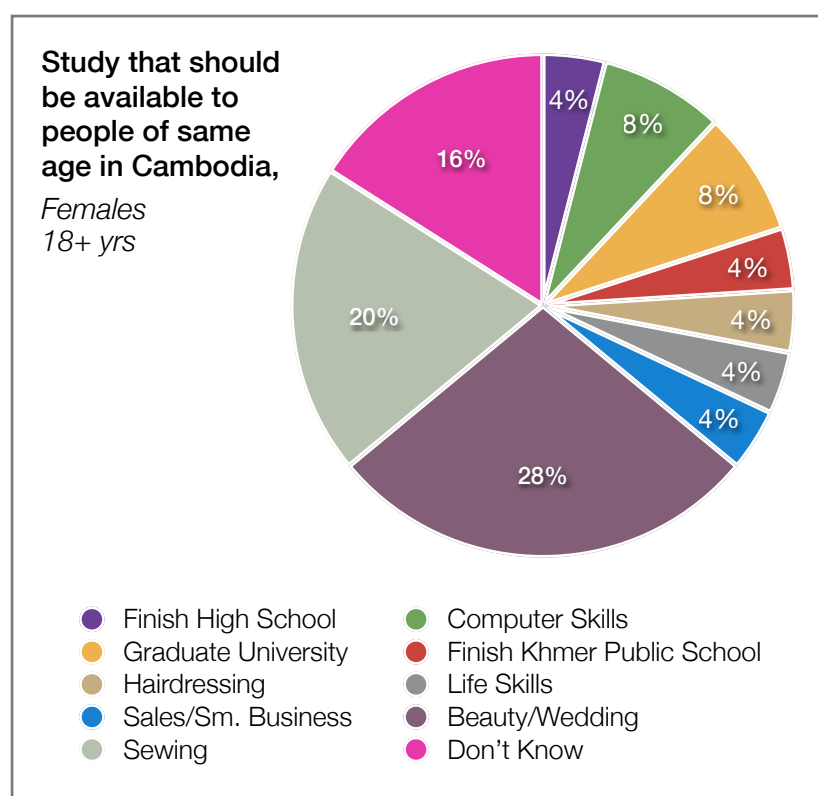


TABLE 23:
Study that Should
be Available for
Age Group,
According to
Females 18+ yrs

n = 74 Surveyed
Participants at Field
Visit #2

Obstacles to Education

When asked what obstacles impeded people their age from studying and training in Cambodia (open-ended), participants listed several obstacles.

Obstacles	# Participants
Distance to School	2 Males, 3 Females
Not Enough Money	1 Male, 12 Females
Not Enough Time to Study	2 Males, 1 Female
Family Responsibilities	8 Females
Not Qualified	1 Male, 1 Female
Don't Know and/or Other Reasons	1 Male, 4 Females

TABLE 24:

*Perceived
Obstacles to
Education*

*n = 74 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2*

Overall, participants described a number of situations as to why they think children stop studying, or why they themselves stopped studying and have not pursued training.

Poverty

Some participants spoke about poverty; its negative effects on education and the sense that this cycle and situation of poverty will never change for the poor in Cambodia.

"I feel people who live in the country side and work the rice fields try very hard to support their children by selling rice. They try to get enough money to send their children to school but they cannot earn enough to feed or to send their kids to school. Also they live far from the school and cannot afford getting to the school."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

The rich in Cambodia are rich because they were born rich and they will stay rich because they can educate their children and they have everything. The poor in Cambodia like me are poor because we are born that way and we have no hope of a good future because we don't have money to educate our children or improve. The poor stay poor in Cambodia. I feel pity for poor people in Cambodia like myself.

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Some participants attributed their families' general financial poverty and lack of sufficient funds as reasons for stopping their education. Though officially education in Cambodia is free, in reality the daily rate to study in the countryside ranges from several hundred to 2,000 riel (US\$0.50) per day.

"My family, and my house were very small, and my family didn't have enough money to send me to school so I stopped going to school when I was very young."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

One participant who had 'declined assistance' spoke about wanting to pursue skills training but she couldn't afford the training. She is one of the participants who had declined assistance, which might have offered an opportunity to receive affordable skills training. In future years we will explore further why such participants have 'declined assistance' and the potential training opportunities some assistance programs can provide.

"For myself I want to learn a skill so I can get a good job to support myself and my family. But I don't have any money to study a skill."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

The context of 'financial poverty' of the family appears to be associated with participants stopping their education as children, usually in order to help their families.

"When I studied I learned very little, only to a low grade because at the time my family situation was not good and we all needed to help with selling in the market. So when I was very young I quit school to help my family sells things."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"When I was small I studied up to Grade 3 in Vietnamese language. After that time I stopped going to school to help my parents do fishing. Our family was poor and I needed to help earn money too."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female in RP

"At the time my family situation was poor and that was the reason that made me stop school. I stayed home to help my family's work. I quit school since I was small to help my family earn money."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Enough Time

"Yes, the girls have a lot of free time when they live in the shelter. They didn't have enough time to go to school when they were lived with their families because they must help take care of their families and earn money. In the shelter they can go to school and get some skills training."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Debt

Two participants spoke about their need to help their families repay family debt as another reason for leaving school prematurely.

"My family financial condition was difficult, and my mother started to build and repair our house because when it rained it was leaking a lot and this made living there very difficult. To repair the roof cost \$6000 so my mother borrowed \$3000. I stopped studying to work in the factory after this because we were all worried how we would repay this loan of \$3000.

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"Before when I was studying my family life was difficult...My mother sold fruit in the market, but we were always poor....then I found that my mother had a lot of difficulty repaying debts she owed, so I decided to help by quitting school when I was in Grade 7 so I could go to work and help my family."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female in RP

Violence & Abuse

Two participants spoke about sexual abuse and violence in their extended families as reasons why they had left school prematurely.

"When I was very young I lived with my dad's uncle and I studied in Grade 1. After he (my uncle) beat me I ran away when I was 8 years old and went to another province and stayed with my auntie, and when I went to the school there I messed up by losing my school book bag, so after that I stopped studying and just stayed home and cleaned my relative's house."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

After my step father raped me when I was small I ran away and lived in the forest and never went back to school. I was about 7 years old."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Views About Education & Training Opportunities

Appreciation

Some participants (and what children said of their parents) appear to have an appreciation of the educational / training opportunities offered to them in the residential programs:

"In the centre if we want to study we can study, and if we want to learn a skill we can learn a skill and I like this..."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"What I like most in the shelter is the opportunity to study. When the teachers teach me and give me homework I like to complete it, but before when I first came to the shelter I didn't obey the teachers when they gave me good advice. I rebelled against them, but later on I understood that they wanted me to be a good person and to be educated. They wanted my future to be good and not bad. When I visited my mother she told me to obey my teachers and study hard for her."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I think what is *most important* for me is learning my specific skill. I have to finish the sewing training and I need the shelter to help me finish

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Deferred Gratification

"I need knowledge. When I have knowledge I can support myself and my family as well."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

"I want to study mathematics, chemistry and physics. I can then get a good job to support my family."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

"I need to study because I want to be an engineer in the future. because engineering is a good job. I will earn enough to live and be successful."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

Learning Social Skills

"We also need a teacher to educate us to be good citizens for Cambodia."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

Some participants spoke about their desire to return home but parents and the shelter managers desired for him to continue pursuing academics.

"I want to leave the shelter and go home because I really miss my mom, but the shelter manager wants me to finish to at least Grade 6. My mother wants me to stay and continue with the education. The shelter manager said after I complete Grade 6, I can go home and the shelter program will give me a chance to continue studying in my hometown. I want to do this."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

"...When I visited my mother she told me to obey my teachers and study hard for her."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Decrease in Vulnerability

Other participants appeared to have good comprehension of the importance of education as a means by which to decrease their vulnerabilities and increase their opportunities.

"I know studying is good for me. When I have knowledge I can improve my life in the future when I leave the shelter."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I want to learn to read and write so I can get a better job in the future. When I was a small child I wanted to be a teacher but I had to stop school very young so I know nothing so how would I ever teach!"

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"We must study to one day have a good job. When we are illiterate we don't fit into society because we cannot find a good job or make good friends. Poor people always believe the people who cheat them and take advantage of them like the trafficker and the gangster."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I want to learn to read Khmer so no one will cheat me anymore."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Connections Between Education & Life Skills

Some participants feel the training offered in the shelters helps them acquire 'life skills' and helped them to reflect upon their lives. In future years we would like to explore further what they mean by life skills and reflection.

"Our shelter is good because they teach us skills such as jewelry making and life skills. Overall, they teach us how to understand self-improvement and our feelings."

Focus Group Discussion, Female who DA

Connections Between Education & Relationships

Some participants emphasized how relationships in their assistance programs help them to learn more social skills. In future years we would like to explore more about this.

"I like the house parents here (in the shelter) who advised us to follow good ways and respect older people and people higher than me in my society. This makes me happy to stay in the shelter."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I like people who live here and my friends that talk with me. I like studying and getting advice from our house parents."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Connections Between Education & Stigma

Some participants spoke about their experiences of stigma and discrimination due to their low educational levels.

"Some girls here (in residential program) really want to go to school but feel hurt and discouraged because the teachers and other students on the outside discriminate and mock us. They tell us we are too old to study in Grade 1 or 2."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

One participant gave a positive response about persevering despite the challenges.

"I don't like to go to public school. I am not good at Khmer language, but I am good at English language. Of course, the teachers and our classmates discriminate against us from the shelter, they say we are too old to go to school and so we feel ashamed when others say that we are too old to study at low grades. In fact, we should study in grade 10 or 11 for our age and we feel so ashamed in the public schools but we have to struggle for our future."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Another participant appeared to have given up trying to learn.

"I am illiterate. My brother told me to study but how can I do this? My brother laughs at me. Everyone will curse and blame me because I am an adult and cannot read or write. Now I have given up trying to learn to read and write."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

EMPLOYMENT

Work Experiences Over Past Year

Whether Participants Worked

When asked if they had worked over the previous year, most participants of both genders said they hadn't.

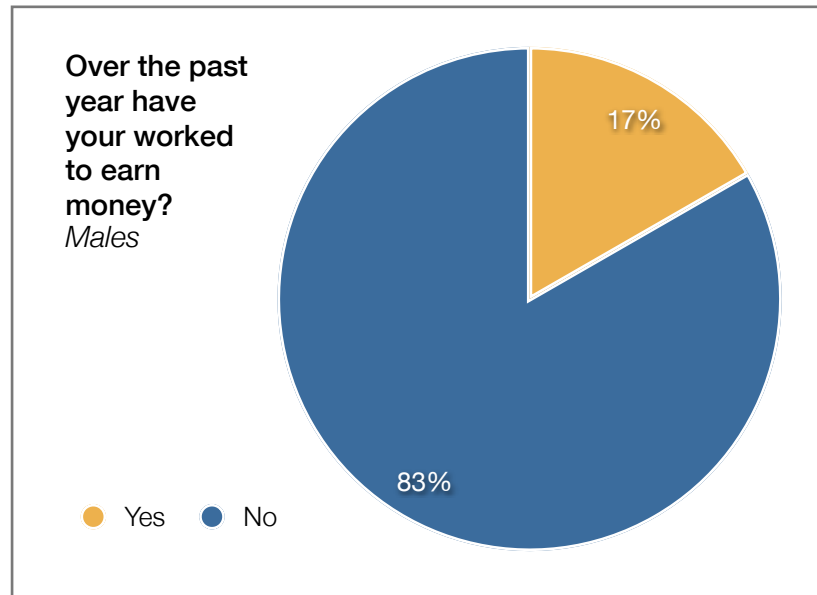


TABLE 25a:
*Whether Worked
Over Past Year,
Males*

*n = 18 Males
Surveyed at Field
Visit #2*

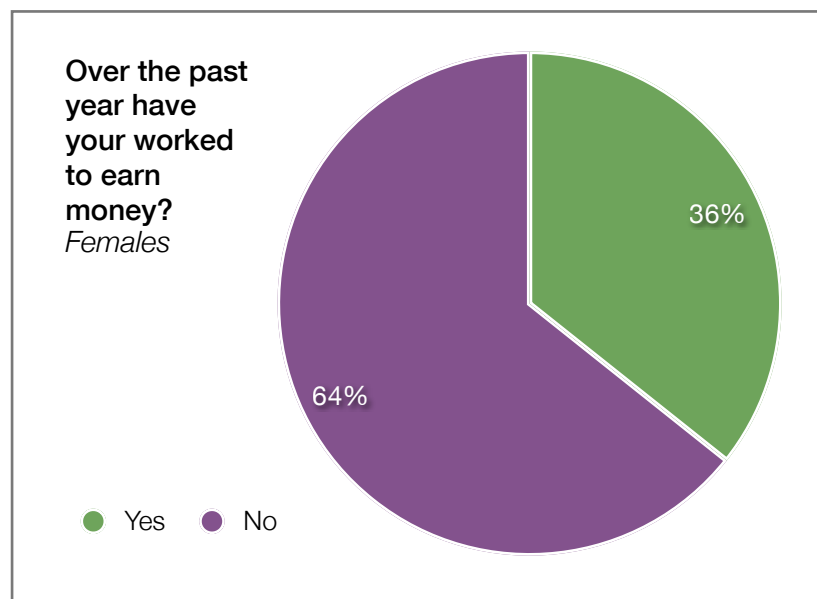


TABLE 25b:
*Whether Worked
Over Past Year,
Females*

*n = 54 Females
Surveyed at Field
Visit #2*

Main Types of Work

Twenty-three of 74 survey participants during Field Visit #2 responded they had worked in the past year (open ended). They listed skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled types of employment.

These included:

Semi-Skilled / Skilled	
Looking After People	Aftercare Assistant (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Carer at Childcare Center (Female, 15-17 yrs)
Making Clothes	Tailor (Female, 18+ yrs)
Semi-Skilled	
Hotel/Guesthouse Work	Hostess in hotel (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Maid in a guest house (Female, 18+ yrs)
Food Service	Waitress in restaurant (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Cake maker in bakery shop (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Cake seller on the street (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Grocery seller in supermarket (Female, 18+ yrs)
Beauty/Hair	Receptionist and Hair-washer at salon (18+ yrs)
Unskilled	
Entertainment	Setting up Snooker/Pool (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Karaoke worker (Female, 15-17 yrs; 18+ yrs)
	Sex worker (Female, 15-17 yrs)
Hard Labor	Rubber plantation worker (Female, 18+ yrs)
	Fishing (Male, 15-17 yrs)
	Scavenger for recycling (Male, 12-14 yrs; 15-17 yrs)

TABLE 26:
Types of Work
Experience
Over Past Year

n = 23 of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Hours Worked Per Week

According to age group, participants 18 years and older worked 41- 84 hours per week. The 12-17 year old group worked 41-50 hours per week. The younger aged 12-17 participants worked 9-20 hours per week.

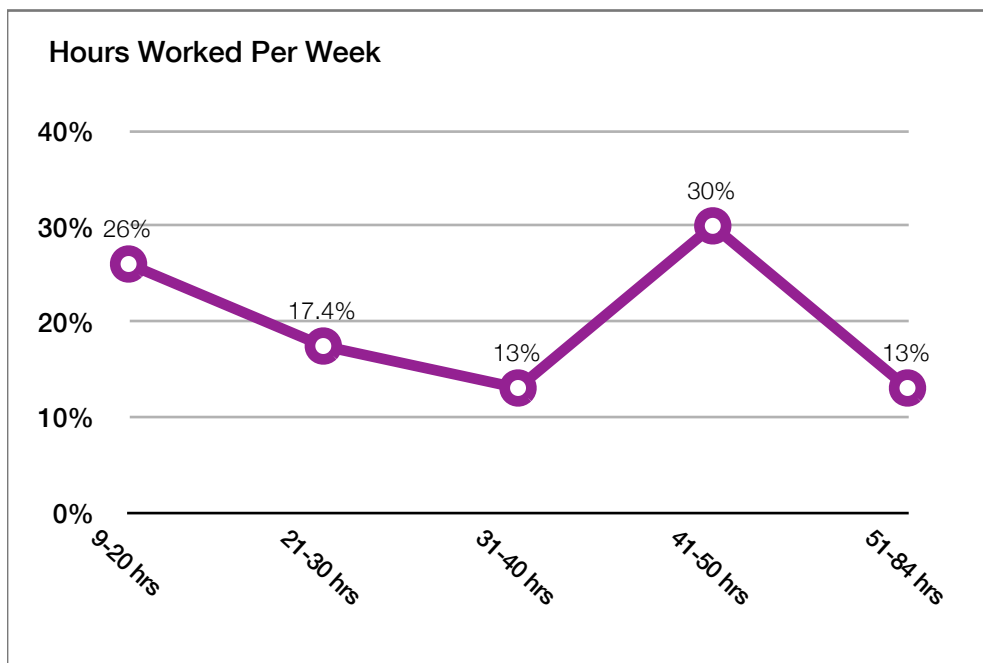


TABLE 27a:
Hours Worked
Per Week

n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

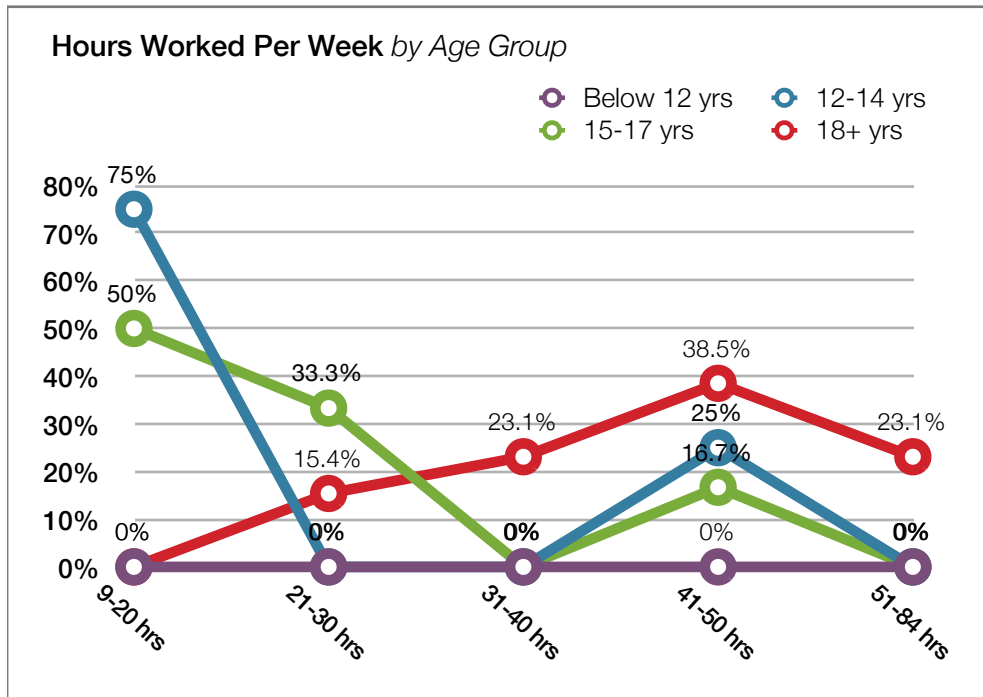


TABLE 27b:
Hours Worked
Per Week, by
Age Group

n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Perceptions About Employment in Past Year

In the next section, one should bear in mind the types of jobs participants listed, and the hours worked. The participants were presented with statements about their jobs, and were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement.

'I wanted to keep working at my main job'

More participants 'strongly disagreed' than any other view. Combining 'strongly disagrees' and 'disagree' approximately 53 percent have a negative view as to wanting to continue work in their main job. In future years we would like to explore why they have answered this way.

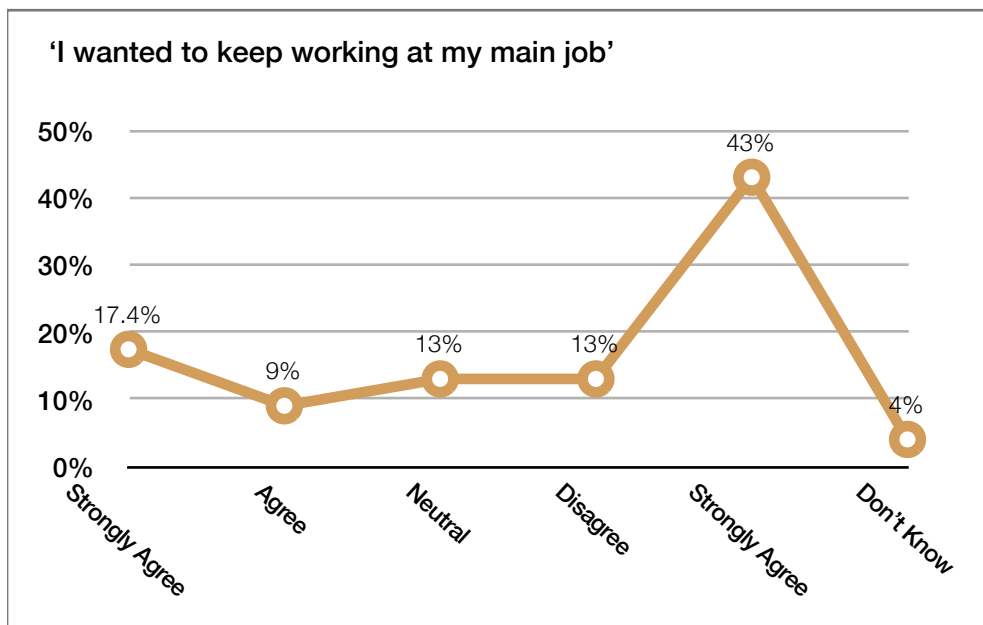


TABLE 28:
Whether
Participants
Wanted to
Continue
Work

n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'I earned enough money through my job to meet my financial responsibilities'

Interestingly, slightly more participants 'neither agree/disagreed' compared to similar numbers for the other categories. In future years it will be interesting to correlate the participant's job with their answer regarding expense responsibilities.

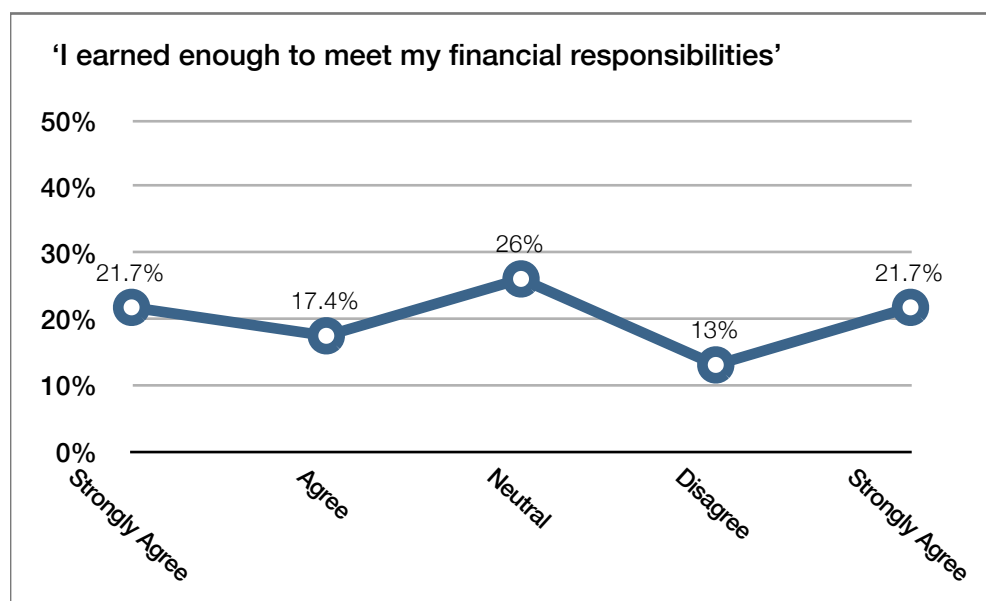


TABLE 29:
Whether
Participants
Earned
Enough to
Meet Financial
Responsibilities

n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'I enjoyed my main job'

More participants 'agreed' with this statement compared to those who 'strongly disagreed' and who 'neither agreed/disagreed'. In future years we hope to explore why participants responded this way in light of their work. Will this change over time?

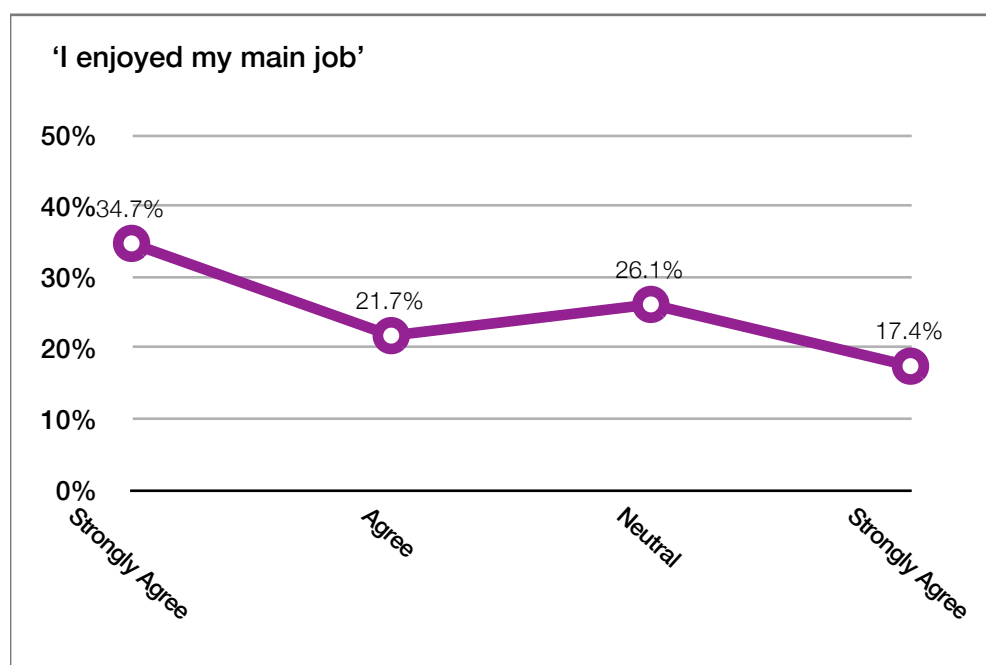


TABLE 30:
Whether
Participants
Enjoyed Their
Main Job

n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

'My job made me feel good about myself'

Bearing in mind the types of jobs participants listed, 61 percent said their main job made them feel good about themselves compared to 17 percent who disagreed. In future years we would like to understand why they said this in light of their particular work.

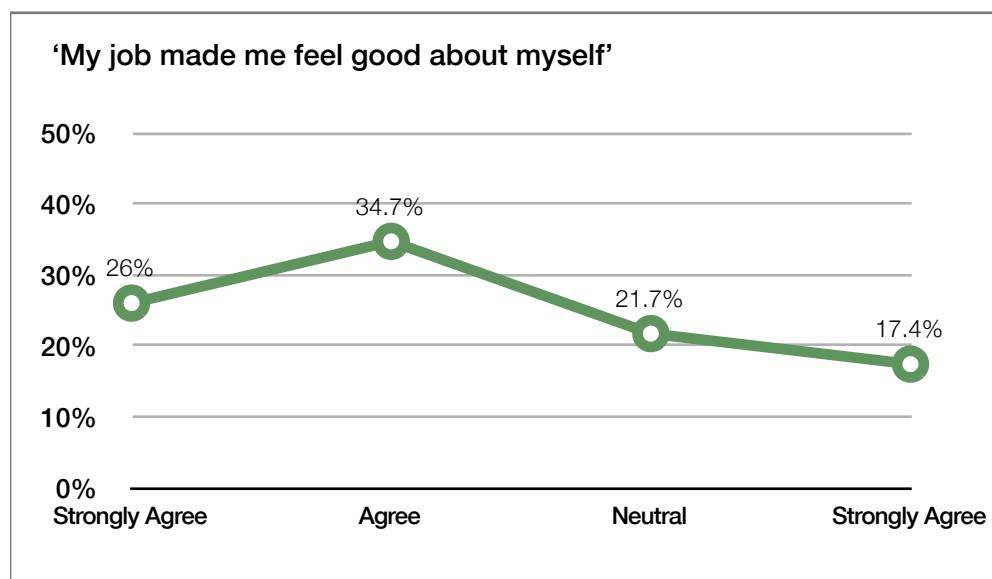


TABLE 31:
*Whether
Participants'
Jobs Made
Them Feel
Good About
Themselves*

*n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2*

'I felt exploited in my job'

More participants ranked 'strongly disagree' than any other statement. In future years we would like to understand why they answered as they did. We will also need to explore for those in particular who feel they are being exploited, their understanding of what exploitation means to them.

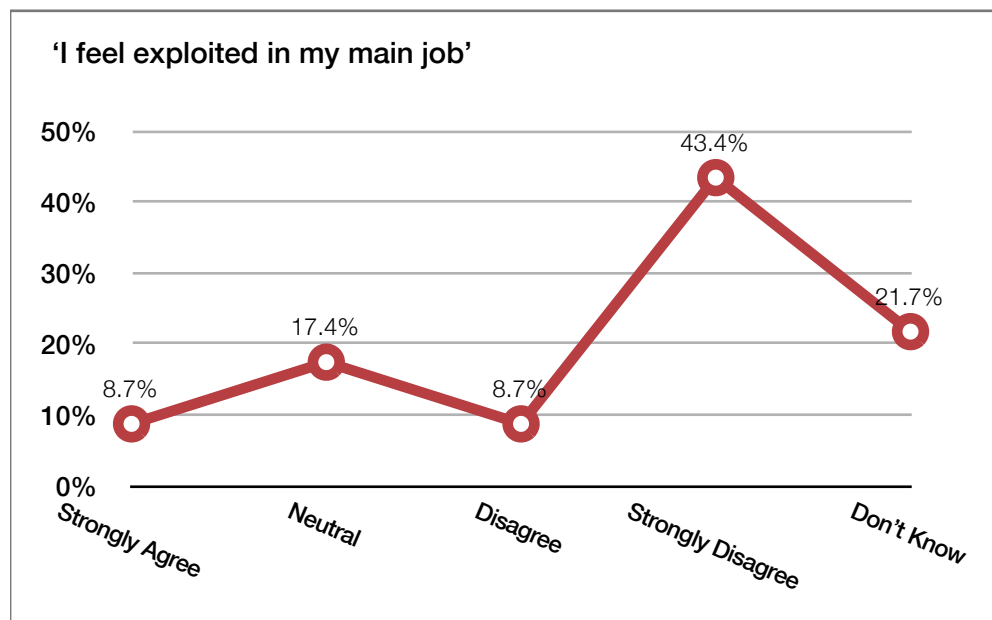


TABLE 32:
*Whether
Participants
Felt Exploited
in Their Jobs*

*n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2*

'My main job made me feel afraid'

A total of 56 percent - over half of the participants - disagree with this statement compared to 22 percent who agree. In future years we would like to explore why they have answered as such, i.e. what aspects of their jobs make them feel at ease and what aspects make them feel afraid and why.

Additional Employment

Additional Work to Main Job

When the 23 of 74 participants who said they had jobs were asked whether they had additional work outside of their main job, three females said they had worked additional jobs.

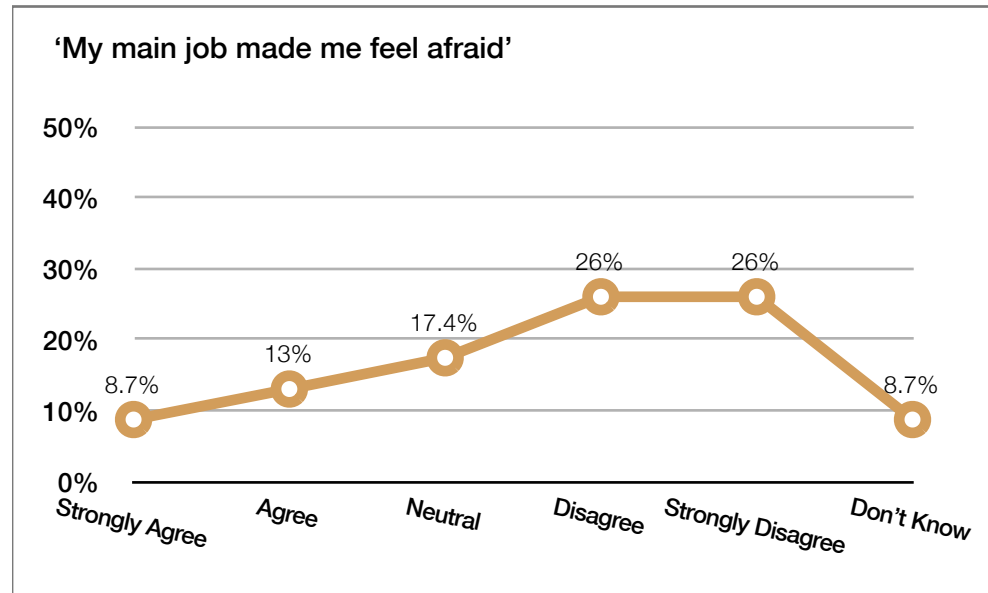


TABLE 33:
Whether
Participants
Felt Their Job
Made Them
Afraid

n = 23 who
Worked of 74
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Additional Job	Participant(s)
Fishmonger	1 Female, 15-17 yrs
Sex Worker	1 Female, 18+ yrs
Karaoke	1 Female, 18+ yrs

TABLE 34a:
Additional
Jobs Worked

When asked what they *thought* about their additional employment:

"I wanted to keep working at my additional employment"	
Strongly Disagree	1
Disagree	1
Neutral	1
"I enjoyed my additional work"	
Neutral	2
Disagree	1
"I felt exploited in my additional employment"	
Strongly Agree	1 (Sex Work)
Neutral	1 (Karaoke)
Don't Know	1 (Fishmonger)
"My additional employment made me feel afraid"	
Strongly Agree	1
Strongly Disagree	1
Don't Know	1 (Fishmonger)

TABLE 34b:
Feelings
About
Additional
Employment

n = 3 Who Had
Add'l Jobs, of
23 Who Worked,
and 74 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #2

Perceptions and Experiences of Past and Present Employment

Safety

"Working in a beer garden is dangerous for the girls because the men are not good! The girl is not safe in this job."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"When I go to and from work at night I am afraid someone will rape me."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"When I did sex work I felt afraid of the customers and sometimes the boss of the karaoke place. I also feared the police would come and then they did."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

One participant described how she was gradually induced into sex work, which potentially reduced her fear and sense of peer pressure leading to possible feelings that she lacked a choice.

"At first I asked them to allow me to work as one who just serve ice and wine to the customer, but after a while the boss did not accept me only doing this. They told me to do sex work and earn more money with the tips. I felt afraid but I did it because I needed the money."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Views About 'Sex Work' (Commercial Sexual Exploitation) and Survival

Some participants spoke generally about the plight of poor girls and women who do sex work because other work does not pay sufficiently to survive.

"My friend returned to sex work. She said she did because she could only find work on other people's farms and could only earn 10000R per day and that was not enough to survive. She said she could earn more money doing sex work. I think she can earn money now but when she get old and if she gets HIV her life will not end good."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I get angry when I see girls have to do sex work to help their families survive. This work is common in my village and the girls only do this work to help her family to survive."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

One participant spoke about her own experience in sex work. For her, her salary was so low she could only survive by doing sex work paid in the form of tips.

"My salary is not enough to survive so I tried to find a job which provided allowed me to earn through 'tips'. 'Tips' means having sex with the customers, so this was not easy for me."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Working Conditions

Two participants spoke about the long hours they worked in two jobs and the tiring effect this had on them. One participant says she needed to work two jobs in order to survive.

"I used to work at two restaurants. The first job started from 6 am and finished at 4 p.m. Then the second job started at 4.30 p.m and went until 2 a.m. I had to stop working at one restaurant 3 months ago because I got very tired. When I worked two jobs I had no energy and I was very tired all the time. But I had to do this because I needed money to survive."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

For me, I used to work at two places. In my second job I worked as a bed preparation worker at nighttime. I was very tired because I didn't get enough sleep. The boss usually blamed me because my energy started to go down. Working in two places was not good for my health

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

PERCEPTIONS & EXPERIENCES OF HEALTH & ILLNESS

Emotional Health

Emotional Health Compared to Last Year

When asked how they have felt emotionally over the past three months as compared to the same time last year, more males and females responded overall that they felt 'better' emotionally than this time last year. Based on participant age groups, more participants under 12 years age and more 12-14 year olds responded they felt better compared to the other categories. More 15-17 year olds felt worse than the previous year.

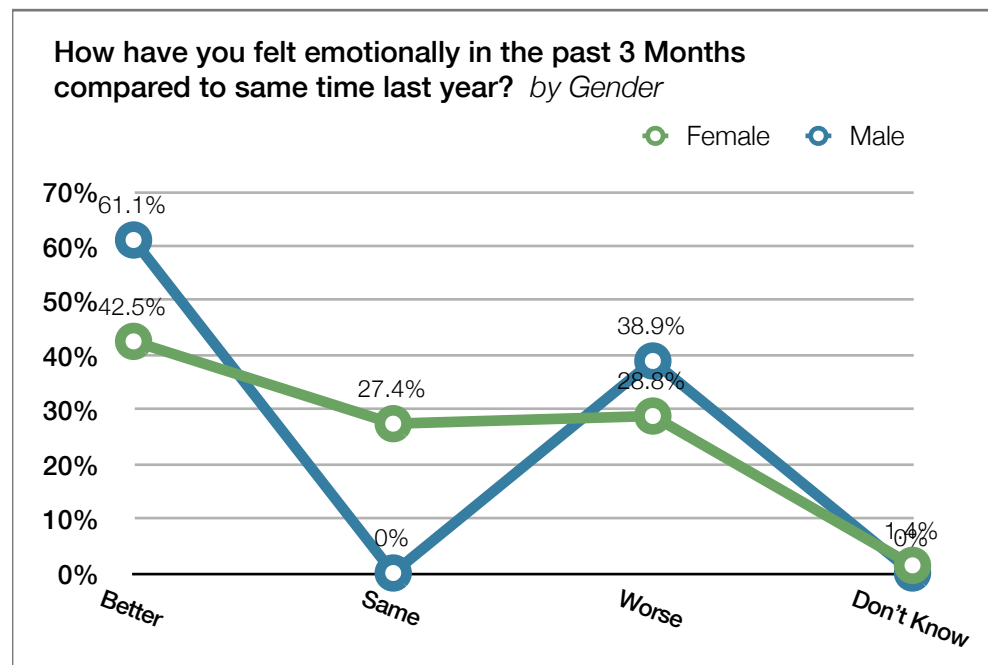


TABLE 35a:
Emotional Health As Compared to Last Year

n = 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

How have you felt emotionally in the past 3 Months compared to same time last year? *by Age Group*

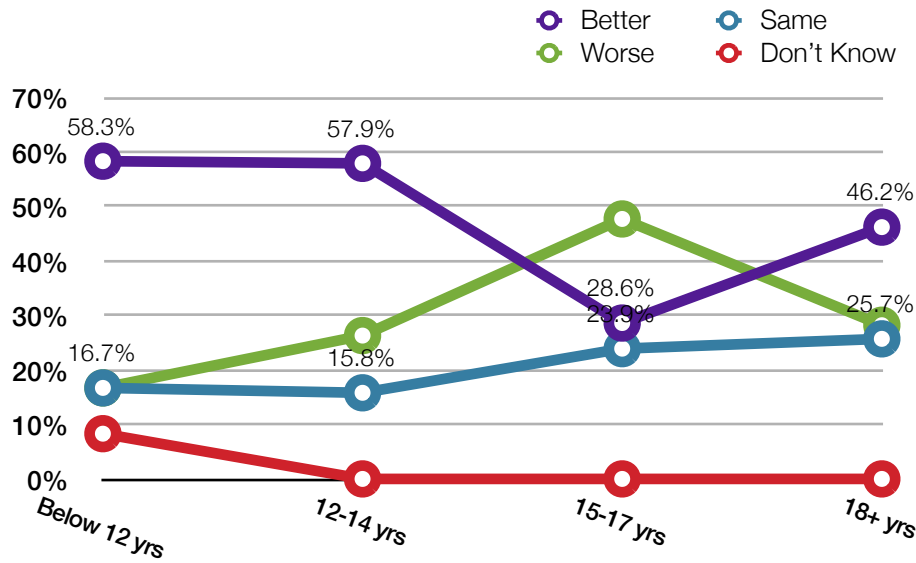


TABLE 35b:
Emotional
Health As
Compared to
Last Year

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Current Feelings (Happy/Sad)

More males responded they felt happier compared to more females who responded both 'happy and sad equally' and 'sadder'.

How have you felt? (Happy/Sad) *by Gender*

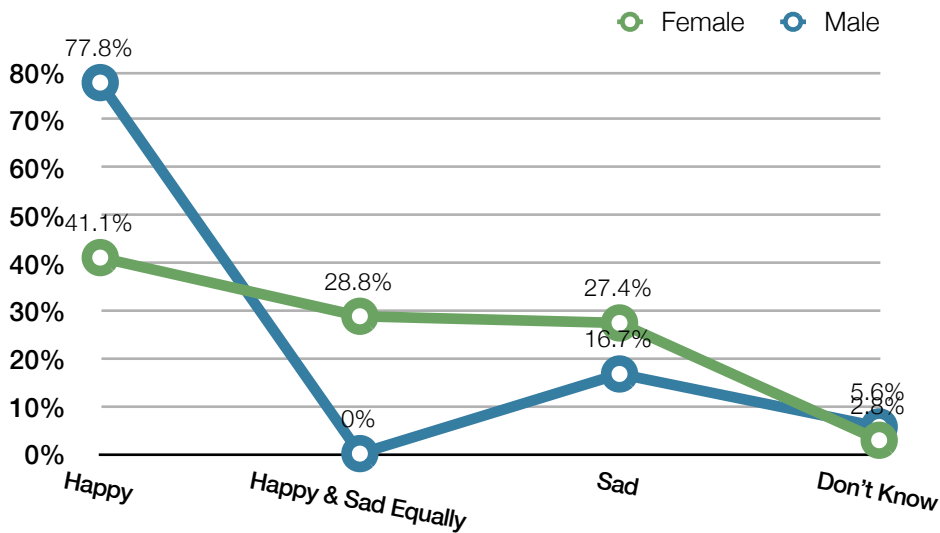


TABLE 36a:
Participants'
Feelings
(Happy or
Sad), by
Gender

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

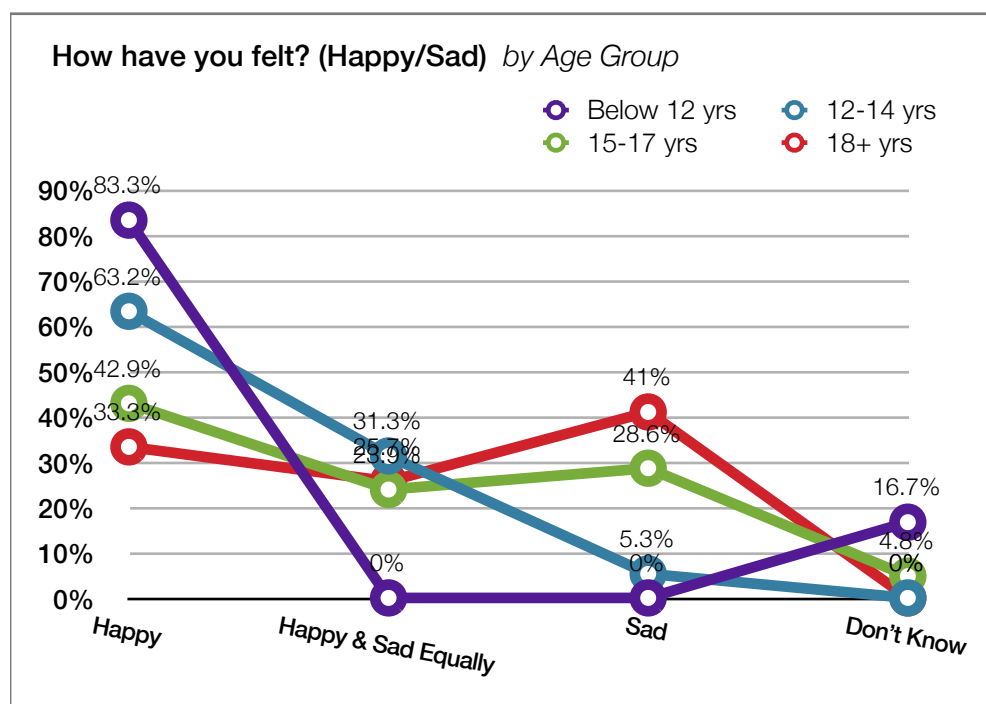


TABLE 36b:
Participants'
Feelings
(Happy or
Sad), by Age
Group

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Perceptions of Emotional Health

Some participants experience a lot of ongoing emotional distress with their significant relationships.

One participant spoke about an ongoing situation with her mother where she felt the only solution to her relationship troubles was to earn enough money before returning home.

"My mother is always angry with me and she used to ask me to come back to live at home. She blamed me because I delayed too long. Now she tells me not to come back. This makes me angry and sad with her. I think one day I will come back but I will need to make a lot of money first. I don't want her to mock me because I 'left home poor and returned poor.'"

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Participant's appeared to deal with painful memories of their sexual exploitation in different ways. Some by intentionally not thinking about their past experiences, and some appeared to focus on the positive and encouraging support from particular people presently involved in their lives. Others said receiving counseling and telling their stories was very helpful. Still others said they pretended to act happy when they actually felt sad.

I do not think about my past problems anymore. I try to forget my past and try to follow the advice I get from people who are helping me to have a good future. I focus on the people who care for me and take care of me and this helps me to reflect on my life and not think about my past problems. I try to become a new person and one-day society will accept me back. I don't listen to people who say mean things to me because of my past. My shelter 'parents' tell me to not focus on them but to focus on the people who care for me

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I tell my story to the counselor at the community program and this helps me feel much better. Now I do not want to do Karaoke work anymore. I feel good about myself even if I can not earn much money."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

"Now I know that there are good people and bad people in the world. After my bad experience I thought there were only bad people in the world but now I know that there are both kinds. I think getting counseling is helping me to learn to trust good people."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I pretend to be happy when I feel sad about my past experience."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Participants spoke a lot about the emotional support they receive from their respective APs, and others.

"I have problems that make me unhappy but staff in the shelter help me."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I miss my home, siblings, grandmother, and parents. The solution is to discuss with shelter's staff."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"They [shelter staff] encourage us when we are sad."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"They [shelter staff] show sympathy to us and grieve with us."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I have noticed that some people around me feel sorry for me. They show sympathy for me. Those people are kind. They are a good listeners."

Focus Group Discussion, Female who DA

"When I have a problem. I discuss it with the shelter staff."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"We have warm acceptance here (the shelter) and this makes me feel better."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"We have friends to play with in the shelter. We have [residential] mother to give us advice when we are sad. Our sadness is released when we share to them."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Medication

Whether Taking Medication

More males and females responded 'no' to having to need to take medicine in the past year. As the participants' ages increased so did a positive response, but still overall most participants said they were not taking medication.

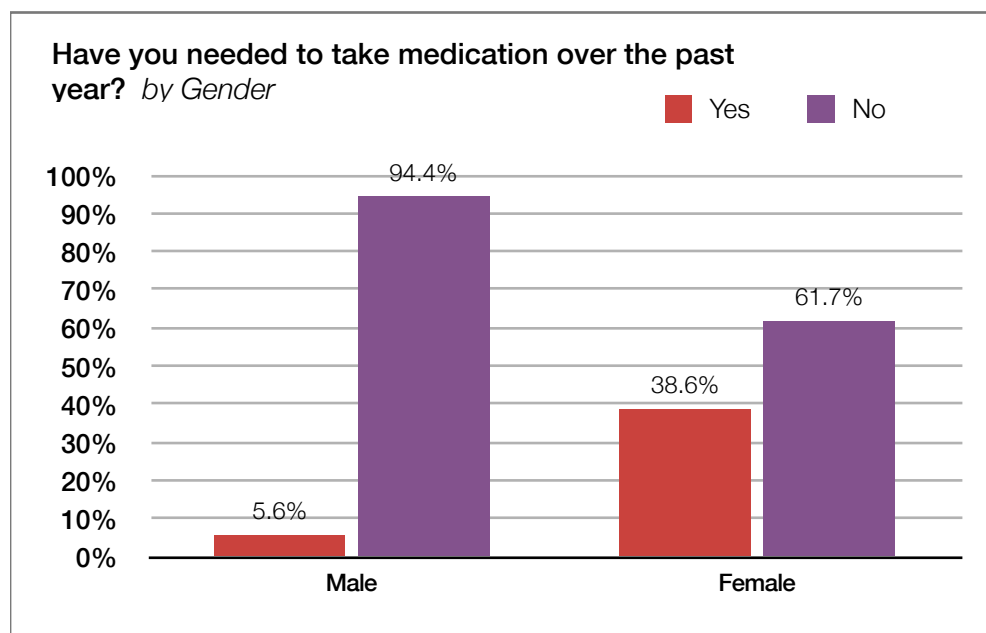


TABLE 37a:
Medication
Usage Over
Past Year, by
Gender

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

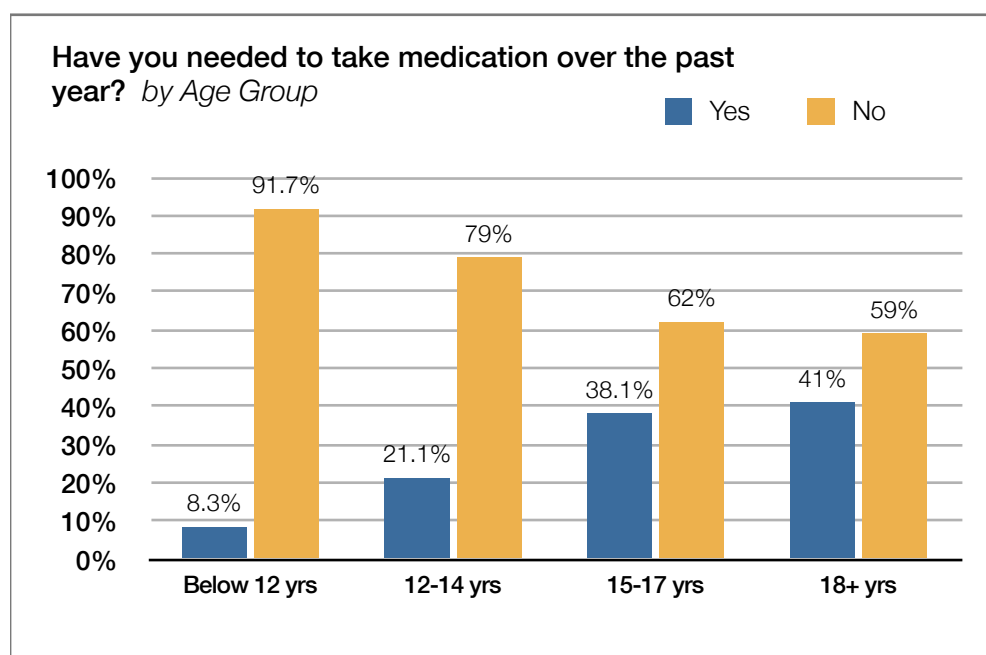


TABLE 37b:
Medication
Usage Over
Past Year, by
Age Group

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Physical Health

Physical Health Compared to Last Year

When asked how they felt their physical health had been during the past three months as compared to last year, more males and females responded 'better' than worse or 'the same', with more males than females saying 'better'. More participants under 12 years responded 'worse' than other age groups, compared to more 12-14 year old who responded 'better'.

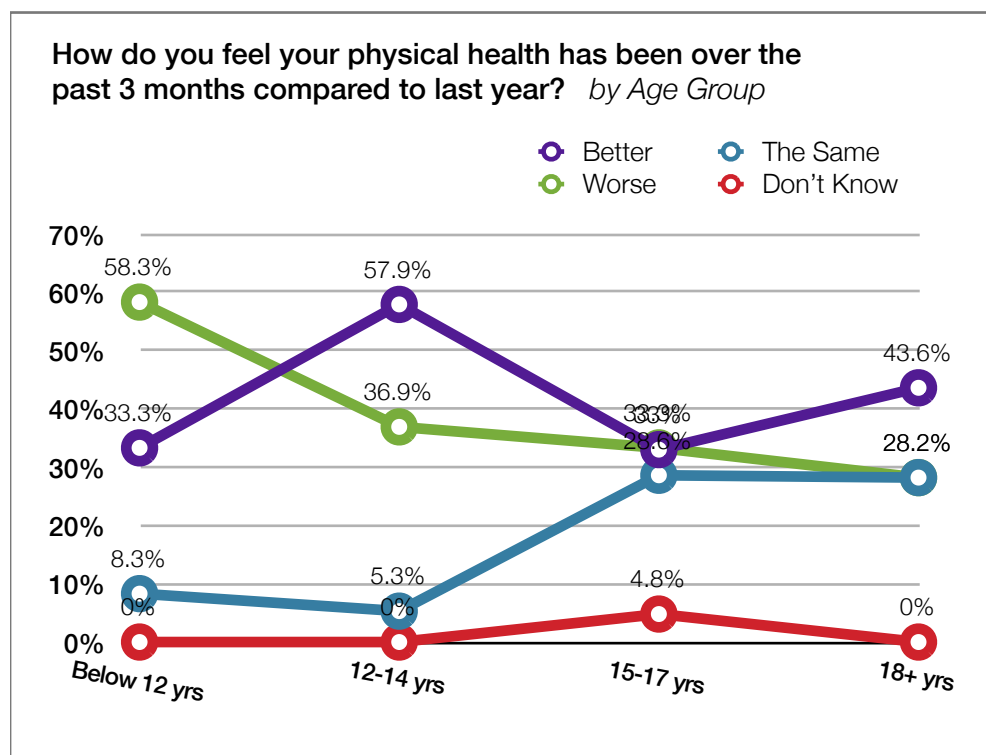


TABLE 38a:
Physical Health Compared to Last Year, by Age Group

n = 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

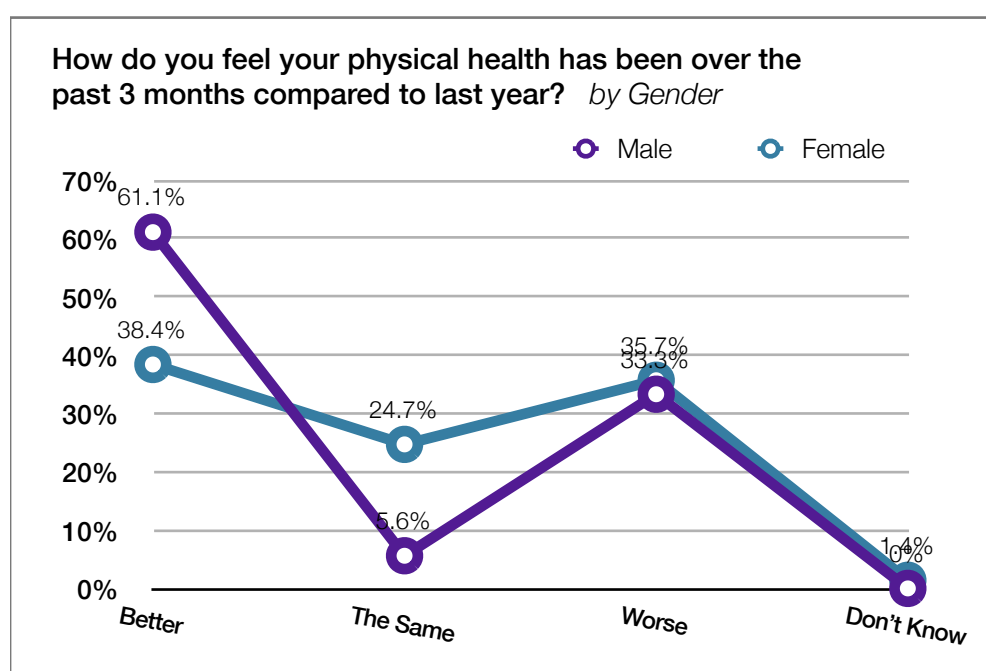


TABLE 38b:
Physical Health Compared to Last Year, by Gender

n = 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

Perspectives of Health in Past, in Present and in the Future

Ill health of the participant or that of their families appears to be connected to fear and the experience of decreased earnings, inability to work, increased worry, stress and debt in the past, present and future.

Present

"I feel frustrated because I can not see my free organization's nurse every time I am sick. I don't want to go to an outside clinic doctor because doing this will take away time to earn money. Also I have to pay for the outside doctor, which I cannot afford. I have felt sick for two weeks now but I cannot get treatment. I don't like the lottery system to see the nurse. I think everyone who is sick should be able to get medical care."

In-depth Interview, Female in AP

"My biggest worry right now is what to do when I get sick. When I get sick I cannot work and I lack money and become even poorer. I don't have anyone to help me. I don't like to tell people about my personal problems like this"

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Past and Present

"My sister has a husband so whenever she is sick her husband takes care of her but for me when I get sick no one looks after me and the money I have been able to save is all spent on treating my illness."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

"My father drank alcohol everyday and he kept taking the medicines too and when these mixed with each it caused stomachache and then he vomited blood. The doctors told me he had liver cancer. I spent all the money I had. I took out a loan on our family home and borrowed money from my neighbors for his treatments and when he was put in the hospital. He got better for a while, then sick again and the doctors would not treat further as I had no more money, and then he died. I am paying off this debt."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

PEER PRESSURE & SUBSTANCE MISUSE

While we don't doubt participants' answers, over the long term it is hoped that trust will continue to grow between the research team and participants, and they will feel free to truthfully answer questions of a sensitive nature.

Substance Misuse

Peers Using Illegal Drugs

When asked about peers and others who have used prohibitive drugs or pressured them to use prohibited drugs, 11 female participants said they know of peers and others who have used prohibited drugs over the past year; and 11 female participants said peers and others have encouraged them to use prohibited drugs (n=91, during Field Visit #4).

Related to potential substance misuse are the positive and negative effects of peer pressure and the influence of others on participants' lives in general:

"He will meet bad friends who will persuade him to sniff glue and he will become a drug addicted person."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

"He will skip school with his bad friends who drink and do drugs and people will fight him. He will follow them and have many problems and unhappiness."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

Pressuring Others

All 91 participants denied encouraging peers or others to use prohibited drugs at any time in the past year.

Prohibited Drug Use by Participants

3 female participants said they had used prohibited drugs in the past year. Of these 3 participants, 2 said they felt "addicted" to using drugs in the past year. Of these 2 participants who felt addicted, 1 said she knew how to get assistance. 1 female participant received assistance for drug use, and 1 said she has not stopped using drugs (n=91 during Field Visit #4).

Alcohol Misuse by Peers

22 females and 13 males said they *knew of peers and others* getting drunk in the past year. All female and male participants denied pressuring others to use alcohol over the past year (n=91 during Field Visit #4).

Alcohol Misuse by Participants

It appears that with increasing age, participants reported drinking more excessive amounts of alcohol in the past year, though for all age groups more respondent responded 'no' than 'yes'.

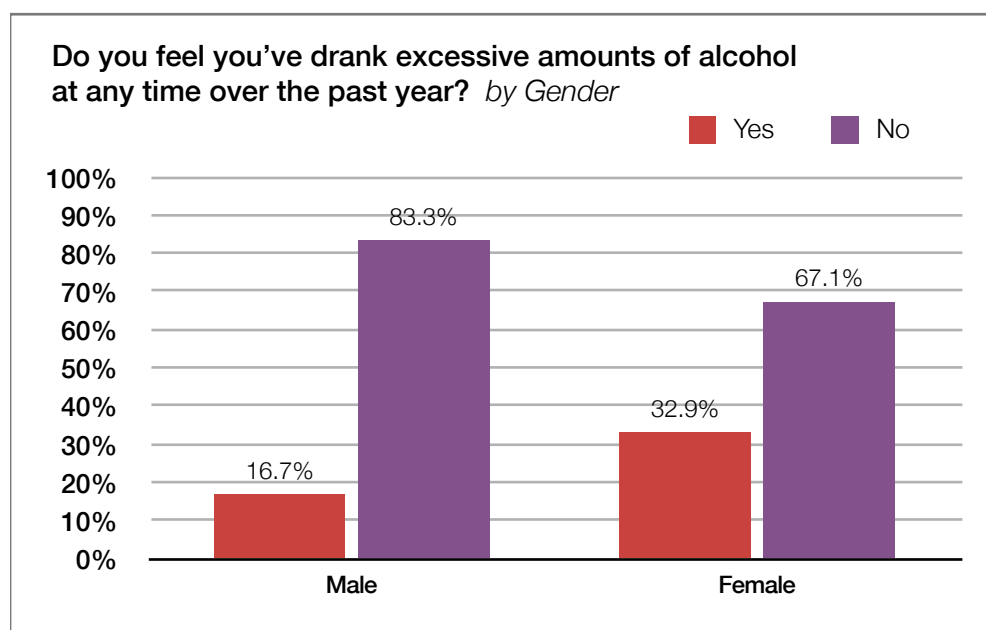


TABLE 39a:
Excessive
Alcohol Use
Over Past
Year, by
Gender

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Do you feel you've drank excessive amounts of alcohol at any time over the past year? by Age Group

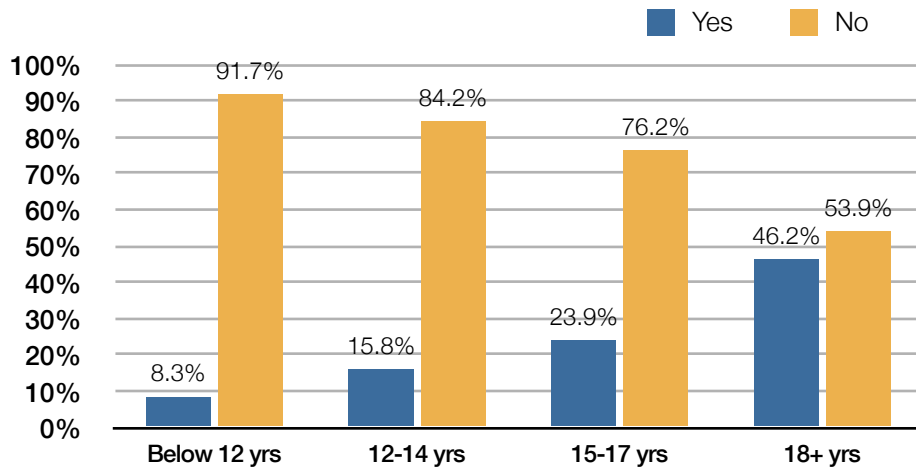


TABLE 39b:

Excessive Alcohol Use Over Past Year, by Age Group

n = 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

When asked if participants had felt addicted to drinking alcohol at any time over the past year, 4 female participants out of 27 who responded they drank excessively (see above) perceived themselves as having an addiction to alcohol over the past year. No participants appeared to know where to get assistance to assist with alcohol addiction.

Perspectives and Experiences of Alcohol Misuse

Participants varied in how they drank alcohol and why.

One participant said she drank alone when she was feeling lonely and appeared to use it as a way of coping.

"Sometimes I drink alcohol by myself at home at night. I drink alcohol when I am worried and lonely."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Another participant spoke about how she avoided people she considered a bad influence with regards to alcohol consumption.

"I try not to follow friends who go the bad way of drinking too much alcohol and not respecting our elders."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

SEXUAL ACTIVITY

Sexual Activity in Past Year

When asked about sexual activity over the past year, 30 female participants responded they had been sexually active (n=91 of surveyed participants at Field Visit #4).

Pressure to Have Sex

Of the 30 female participants who were sexually active in the past year, 11 participants over the age of 12 said they had felt pressured to have sex when they didn't want to do it. In future years, we will find out more about the context of these experiences.

Number of Sexual Partners

Out of 91 participants interviewed during Field Visit #4, 7 female participants said they had been sexually active with more than 1 partner over the past year.

# Sexual Partners	# Participants
2 sexual partners	1 Female
9 sexual partners	2 Females
90 sexual partners	1 Female
Did Not Want to Answer	1 Female
Did Not Know	2 Females

TABLE 40:
No. of Sexual
Partners Over
Past Year

n = 91 who
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Whether Sexual Partners Are Active with Others

When asked, whether to their knowledge, whether their sexual partner(s) have been sexually active with other people, those under 12 or between 15-17 years old said they didn't know, compared to 50 percent of 12-14 year olds who said either yes or no. 22 percent of those 18+ years old said yes, but had the highest negative response at 55.6 percent. With younger aged participants, it is presumable their sexual activity was before entrance into the AP.

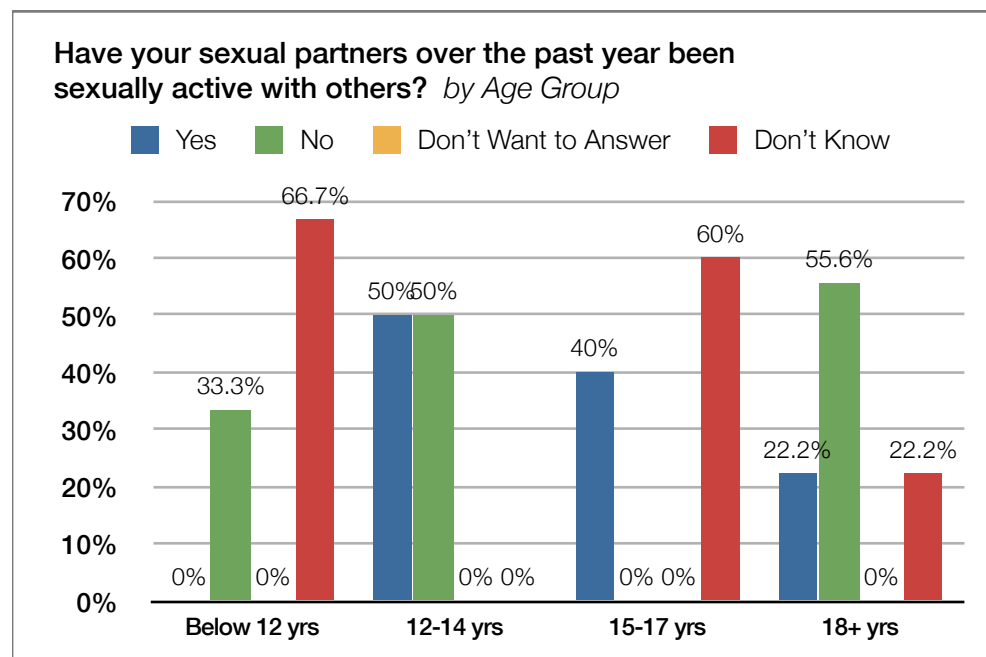


TABLE 41a:
Sexual Partner
Activity

n = 30
Participants
Who Reported
Sexual Activity,
out of 91
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Whether Sexual Partners are Active with Other Sexually Exploited Partners

When asked, whether to the participants' knowledge, their sexual partners have been sexually active with other partners who are sexually exploited (involved in sex work), over half responded 'yes' and the rest responded they didn't know, which means that the possibility of 'yes' is higher than recorded.

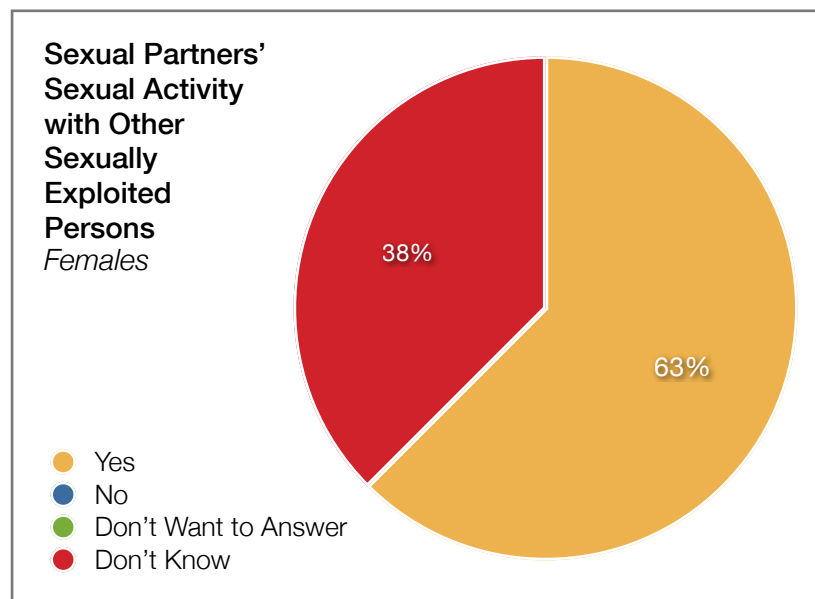


TABLE 41b:
Sexual Partner Activity w/Other Sexually Exploited Persons

*n = 30 of 91
Surveyed at Field Visit #4*

Perspectives about Sexual Exploitation

About Own Sexual Exploitation

Of the 7 participants who responded they had been sexually active with more than one partner in the past year:

4 participants said they had been paid for sex;

1 participant said they had not received any payment for sex;

1 participant said they did not want to answer the question;

1 participant said they "did not know" if they had received money for sex (perhaps due to the pimp/boss handling the money?).

Of the 4 who responded they had been paid for sex, 3 said they *felt they had been sexually exploited*.

A total of 3 participants who felt they had been sexually exploited gave these reasons:

"The broker who finds clients for me takes some of my money when I have sex with the clients."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"My boss took half of my earnings after I had sex with the client."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"My boss forced me to have sex with the clients."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Perceptions and Experiences of Sexual Harassment

One participant shared about her experience of sexual pressure and harassment over the past year:

"I feel sad because one girl seems to like me sexually and I don't feel the same way. The other girls know my problem with her but they do not help make her stop pressuring me."
Informal Interview, Female in AP

When asked if they felt they had been sexually assaulted (raped) in the past year, the 18+ years age group and those under 12 gave the most negative responses compared to the 12-14 year olds who provided the most positive responses. Presumably, this is before entry into the assistance programs.

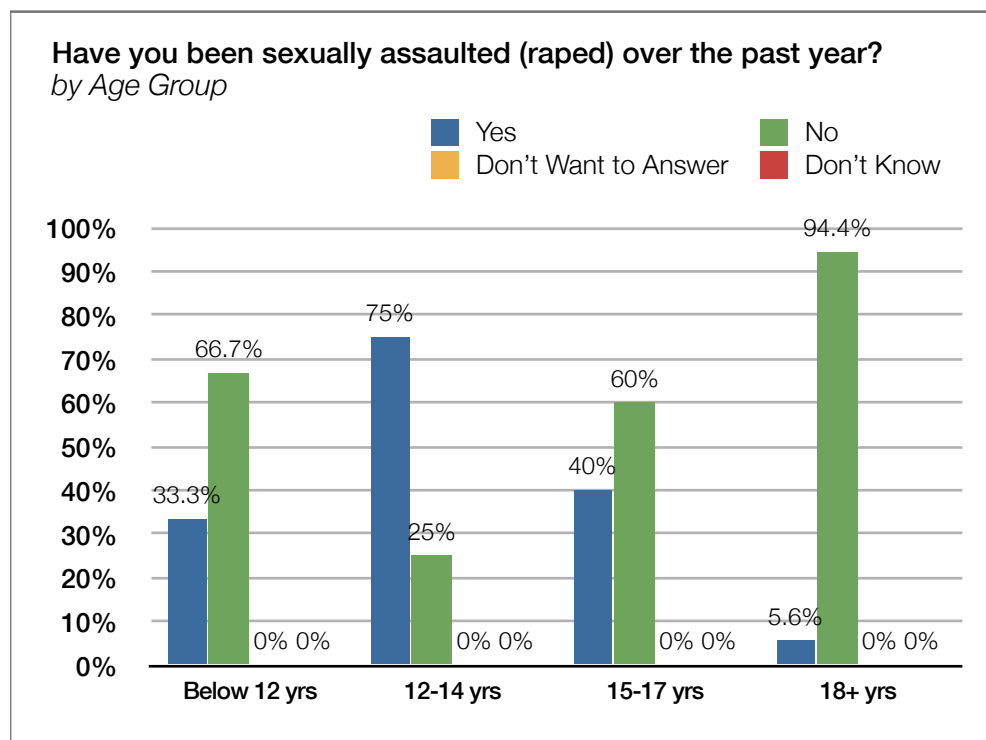


TABLE 42:
Experiences with Sexual Assault

n = 30
Participants Who Reported Sexual Activity, out of 91 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #4

SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED INFECTIONS (STIS)

Knowledge about STIs

Out of 91 participants who answered survey questions at Field Visit #4, 77 knew what STIs were (15 males and 62 females).

For the next set of questions this group of 77 participants, and an additional 6 participants were asked about STI prevention.

54 participants said they knew how to prevent STIs from spreading (8 males, 46 females)

58 participants said they knew where to go to get assistance for STI treatment (13 males, 35 females).

Experiences with STIs

STI Testing & Treatment

When asked if they had been tested for STIs in the last year, more participants said no. However, nearly a third to half in each age group had testing. In the assessment center and some of the residential centers, STI testing is part of their initial intake assessment.

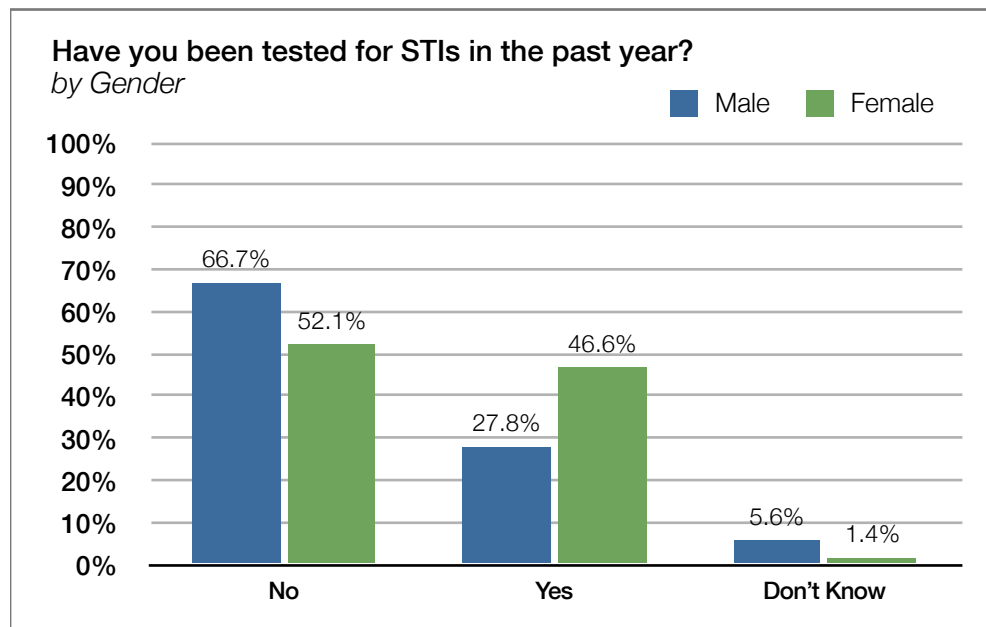


TABLE 43a:
STI Testing
Over Past
Year, by
Gender

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

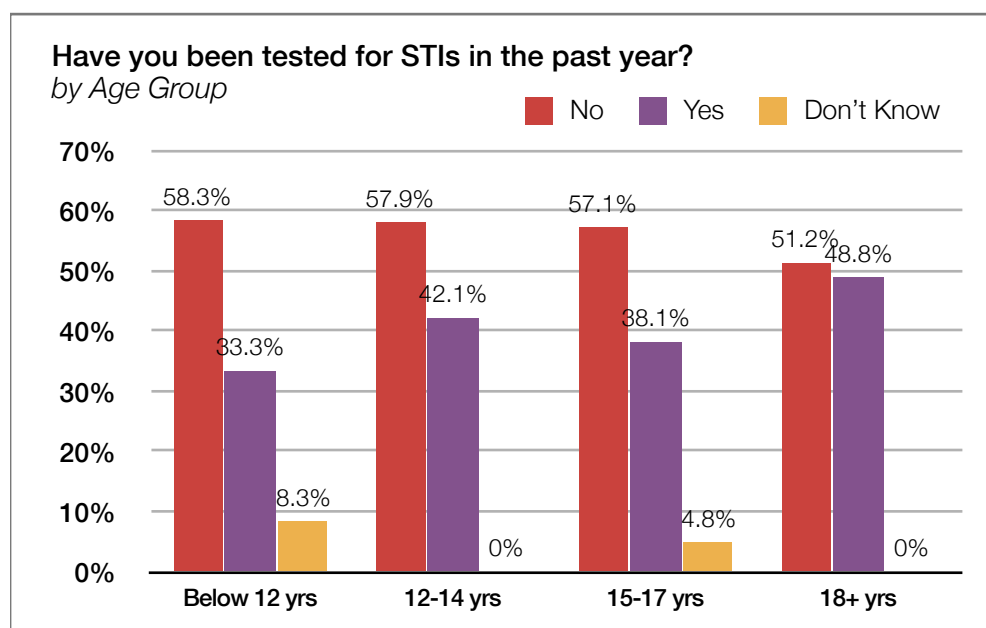


TABLE 43b:
STI Testing
Over Past
Year, by Age
Group

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

When asked if participants had been treated for STIs in the last year, 7 females said they had been treated.

STI Prevention

Knowledge on STI Prevention

As participants' ages increase, so does their knowledge of how to prevent STIs from spreading.

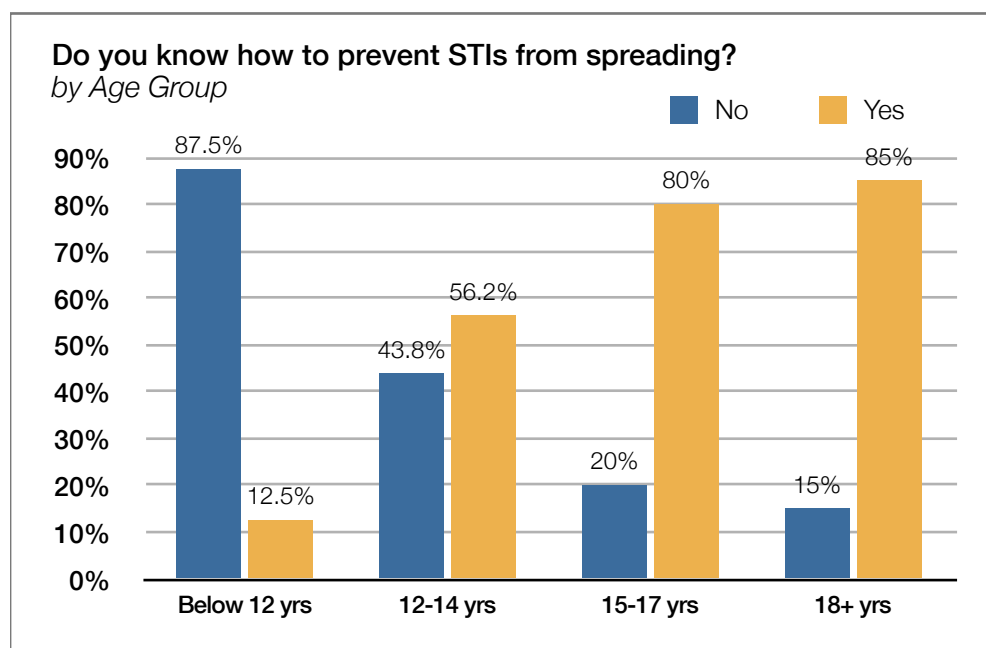


TABLE 44a:
Knowledge
About STI
Prevention, by
Age Group

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Perspectives and Experiences Regarding Condom Use

When asked about condom use, more participants said they “never” used condoms, followed by “sometimes”.

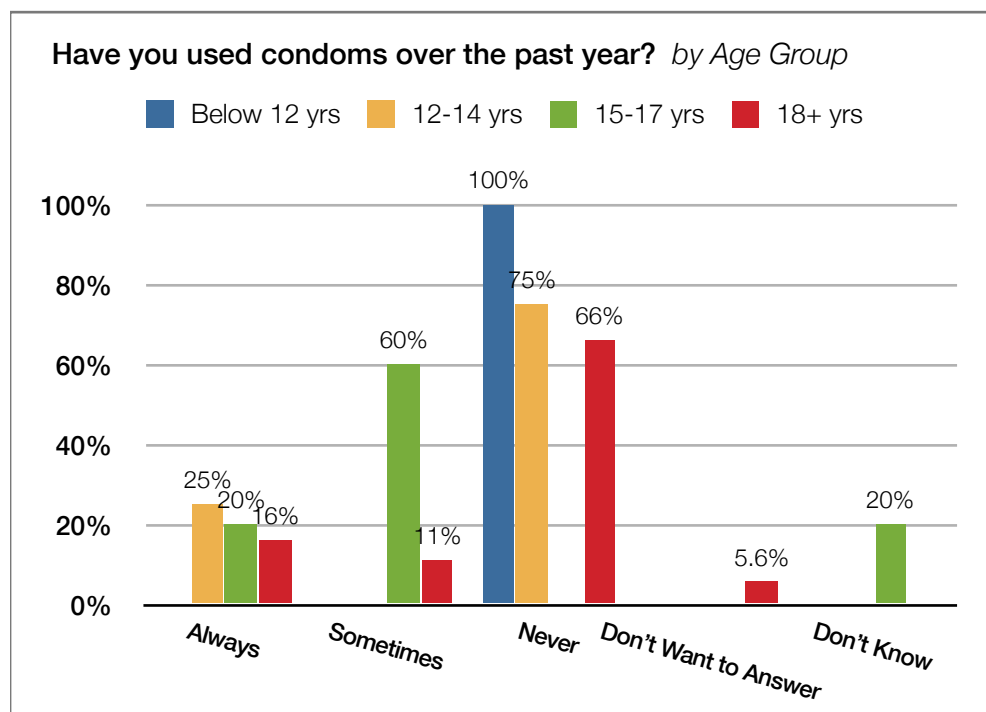


TABLE 44b:
Participants'
Condom Use
Over Past
Year, by Age
Group

n = 30 Sexually
Active
Participants of
91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

One participant spoke about feeling pressured by customers willing to pay extra money for sex without a condom as a reason she did not use condoms.

"Sometime we served them (customers in Karaoke places) beer and they say they need us to sleep with them and they give us extra money for sex. Often they forced us to have sex without a condom. I wanted them to wear condom but they refused and they offered to pay us extra if we did not use the condom. So I always agreed to no condom if they pay me more."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Knowledge on Seeking STI Treatment

As participants' ages increase, so does their knowledge of where to get assistance to treat STIs.

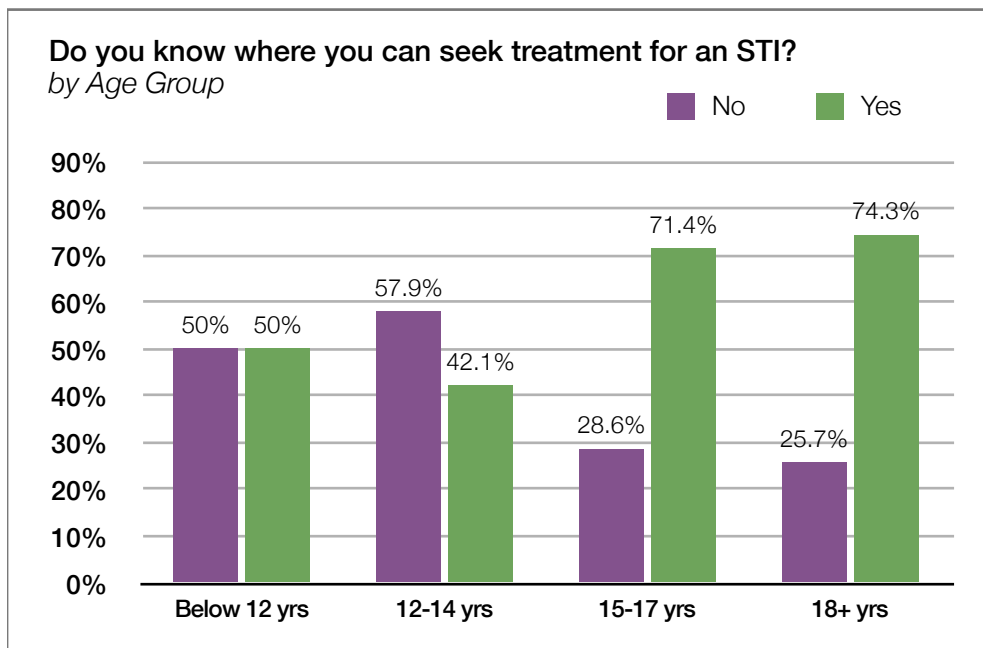


TABLE 45:
Knowledge of
STI Treatment
Assistance, by
Age Group

n = 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

OBSTETRICS

Number of Previous Pregnancies

Female participants were asked about their obstetric history, and number of previous pregnancies. All data under this category was collected during Field Visit #4 (n=91).

# Pregnancies	# Participants
1 pregnancy	8 Females
4 pregnancies	4 Females
5 pregnancies	3 Females
6 pregnancies	1 Female
# Pregnancies	# Participants by Age
Has been pregnant	15 Females, 15-18 years
1 pregnancy	1 Female, 12-14 years

TABLE 46a:
Obstetric
History:
Number of
Pregnancies

Number of Living Children

Living Children	# Participants
1 living child	7 Females
2 living children	3 Females
3 living children	1 Female

TABLE 46b:
*Living
Children*

Obstetric Complications

Complication	# Participants
Still births	2 Females
Ectopic pregnancy	1 Female
Miscarriage	5 Females

TABLE 46c:
*Obstetric
Complications*

Obstetric Procedures

Procedure	# Participants
Abortion	9 Females
Cesarean Section	1 Female

TABLE 46d:
*Obstetric
Procedures*

Family Planning

Family Planning	# Participants
Do not want to get pregnant in coming year	41 Females
Want to get pregnant in coming year	5 Females
Did not want to answer	2 Females
Undecided	14 Females

TABLE 46e:
*Family
Planning*

Knowledge About Pregnancy Assistance

Of the 5 participants who want to get pregnant in the coming year, 4 participants said they do *not* know where to get assistance if they were to become pregnant.

General Knowledge About Contraception

When asked whether they knew how to prevent getting pregnant, 39 participants said they did, whereas 11 participants said they did not.

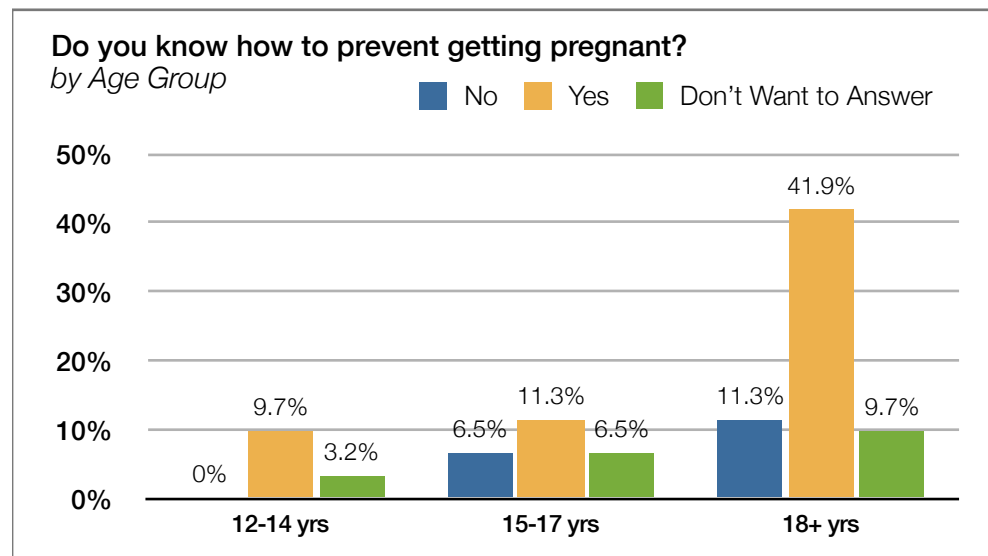


TABLE 47a:
Knowledge
About
Contraception,
by Age Group

n = 62
Menstruating
Females out of
91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

Contraception Use (Other than Condoms)

When asked about contraception use (other than condoms), the 18+ year old age group varied in their responses. Regardless of age or gender, “never” was the most common response.

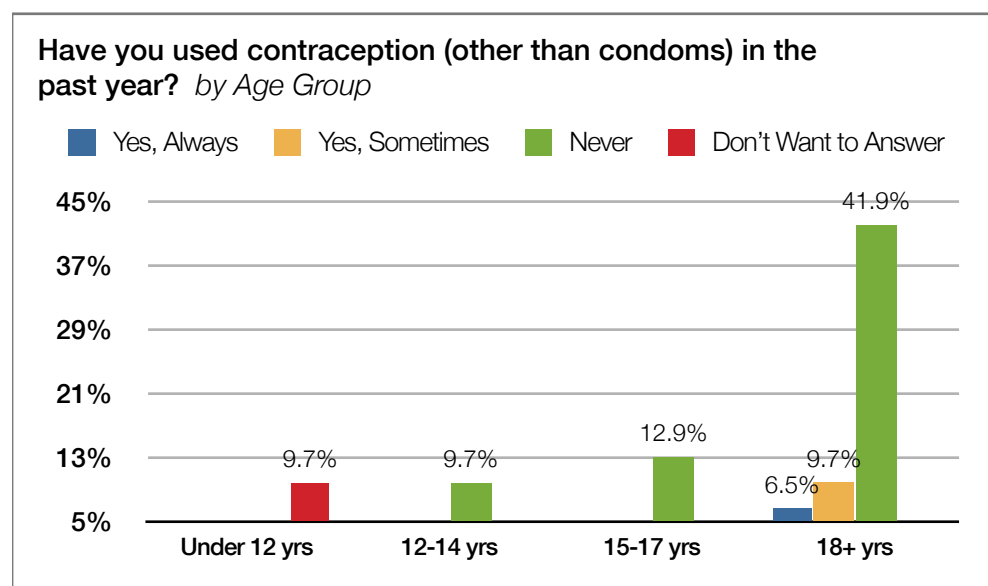


TABLE 47b:
Contraception
Use (Other
than
Condoms), by
Female Age
Group

n = 31 Sexually
Active
Menstruating
Females who
Want to Prevent
Pregnancy, out
of 91 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #4

AUTHORITIES & LEGAL SERVICES

Dealings with Authorities

Helpfulness of Authorities

When asked whether dealings with authorities over the past year were helpful, all males responded positively, and only a small percentage of females responded negatively.

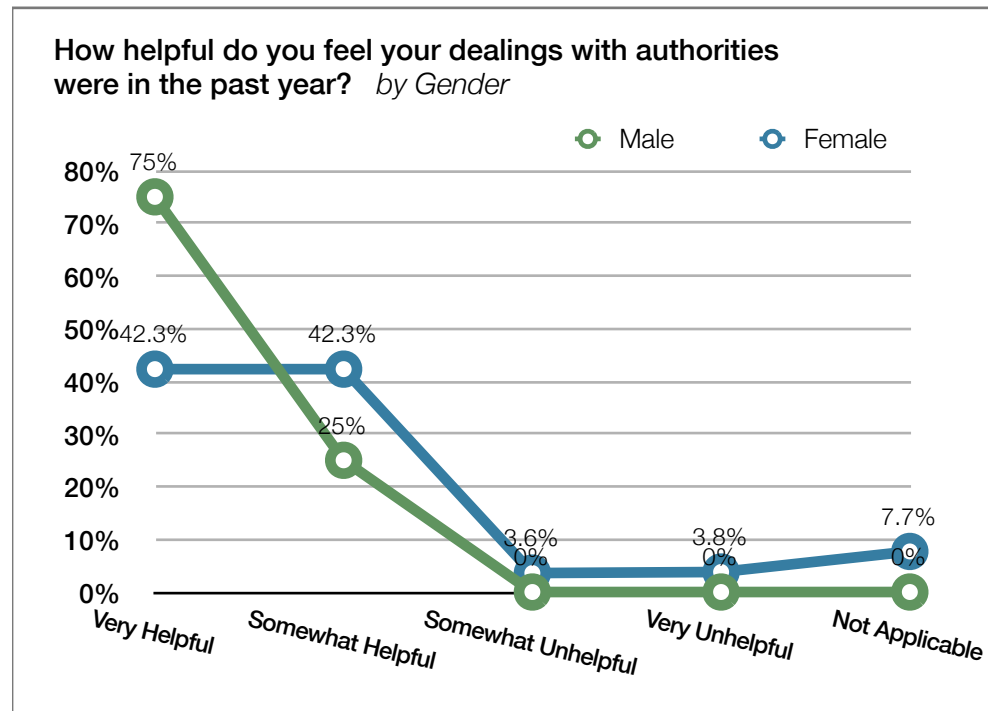


TABLE 48:
*Helpfulness of
Authorities, by
Gender*

*n = 34 of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

Perceptions of Experiences with Authorities

Some participants felt frightened and frustrated in their dealings with the police during 'Karaoke raids'. From their perspective, they felt like they were treated as offenders rather than victims.

"...I kept asking the police, 'why did you catch me' and police said, 'we caught you to ask you some questions...' . They said they would let us go free' in a short time' I cried and wondered why and what was happening to me. I did nothing wrong but they caught me. I cursed the police. All the girls blamed the police. They kept us locked up for several days. Then the police sent us to a centre. I was so angry even though I could tell the centre mothers were kind to us. They try to get us to eat but I just cried and shouted at them. After two or three days the centre allowed us to contact our families. Since the police caught us our families did not know where we were.

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"I worked in the Karaoke parlor and then the police came and caught me and sent me to an organization. I felt so afraid of the police. Now I am afraid to help support my family because if I do sex work the police may catch me again. The police make us poorer because they make it so I can't work."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

Legal Services

Knowledge of Legal Services

According to gender, approximately one third of males and one third of females knew who to contact for legal advice.

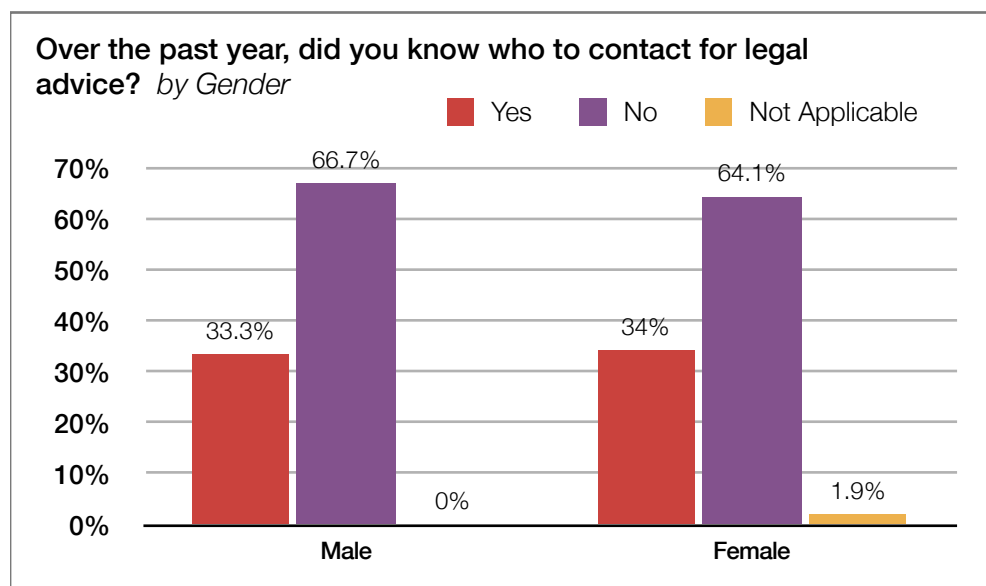


TABLE 49a:
Knowledge of
Legal Services,
by Gender

n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

Who Participants Contacted for Legal Advice

When asked who they contacted for legal support and/or advice over the past year, 100 percent of males had contact with a lawyer, in contrast to females who contacted a range of people for advice.

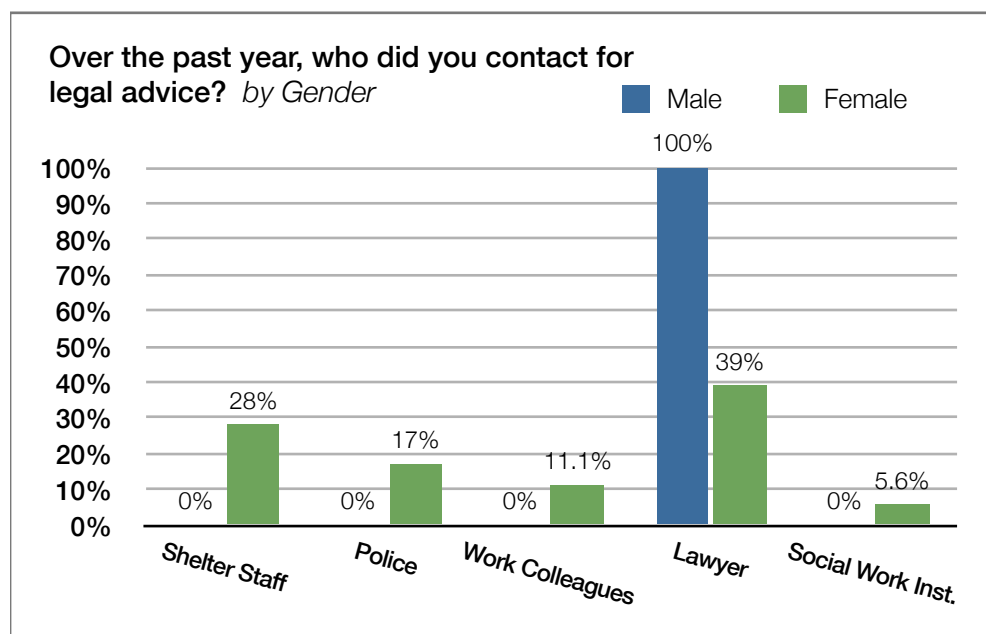


TABLE 49b:
Who
Participants
Contacted for
Legal Advice,
by Gender

n = 24 of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

Perceptions of Court Process & Outcomes

Participant experiences and perceptions of the court process and court outcomes varied.

Anticipation of Going to Court

"I am facing going to the court and this makes me feel afraid."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Ongoing & Closed Cases

Ongoing cases are often stressful for participants.

"I feel very angry the bad men who hurt me are not punished yet. I want my court case to be finished but I don't know when this will happen. I ask my shelter mother about this but she does not know. She tells me it takes a long time."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

The actual verdict of the court upon completion of a court case appears to affect how participants feel about their experience.

One participant was happy with the end result, saying she felt 'safe'

"I now feel more safe because my court case has finished and the bad people are in prison."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Another participant felt disappointed because the perpetrators were not punished for their crimes against her.

"The people who did bad things to me did not get any punishment. This makes me feel sad and angry."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

EXPERIENCES & PERSPECTIVES OF SPIRITUALITY

Spiritual Beliefs

Participants' Spiritual Beliefs Over the Past Year

100 percent of the males and over 90 percent of females across all age groups said they held spiritual beliefs in the past year. All the males are in a Christian faith based residential program, and most, but not all, of the females are in programs with a Christian faith-based background.

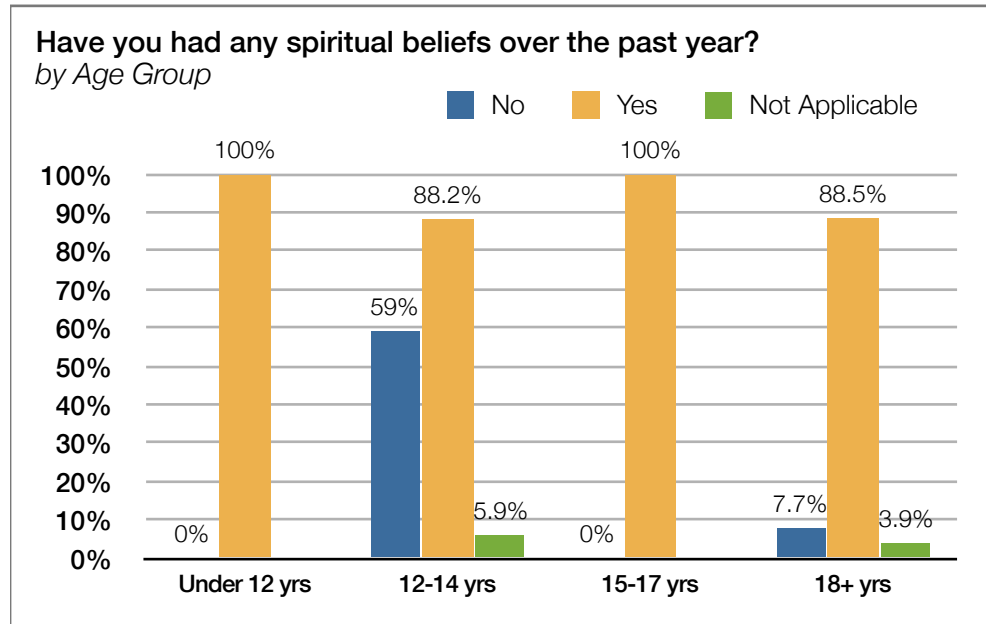


TABLE 50a:
*Spiritual Beliefs
Over Past
Year, by Age
Group*

*n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

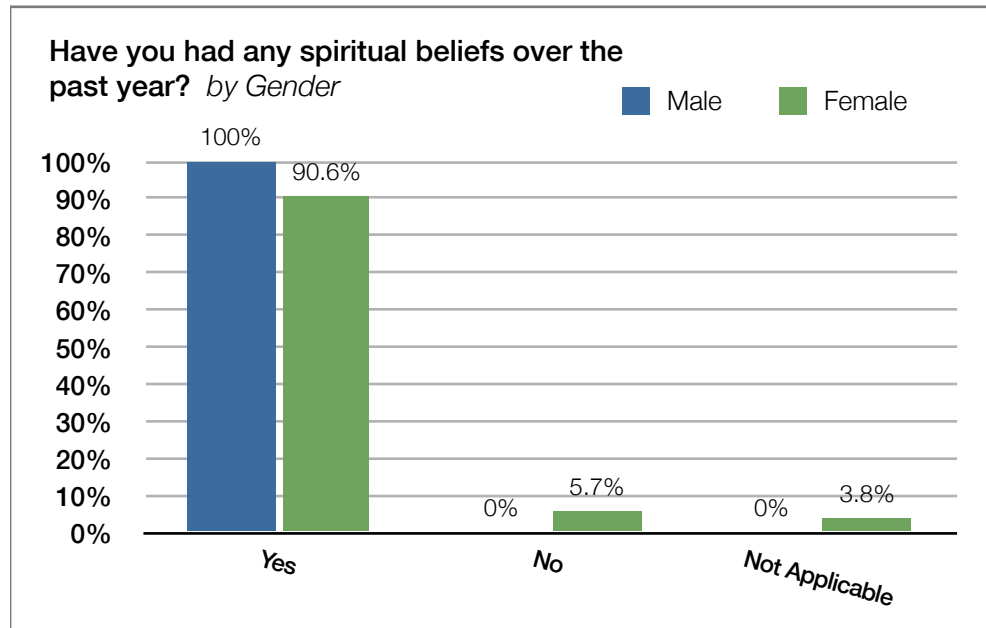


TABLE 50b:
*Spiritual Beliefs
Over Past
Year, by
Gender*

*n = 71 Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

Whether Spiritual Beliefs Have Changed

When asked whether their spiritual beliefs have *changed* over the past year, more participants responded 'no' than 'yes'. In the future, we hope to find out more about whether this reflects the program they are in, or whether these were beliefs they held prior to entering their respective AP.

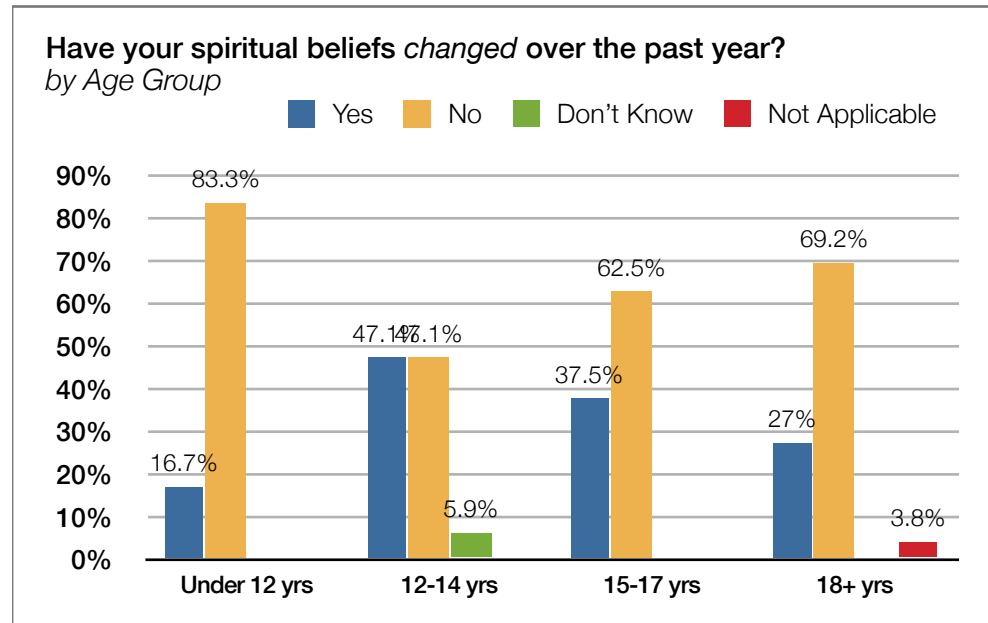


TABLE 51a:
Spiritual Belief Changes Over Past Year, by Age Group

n = 66
Participants Who Had Spiritual Beliefs in the Past Year, Out of 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

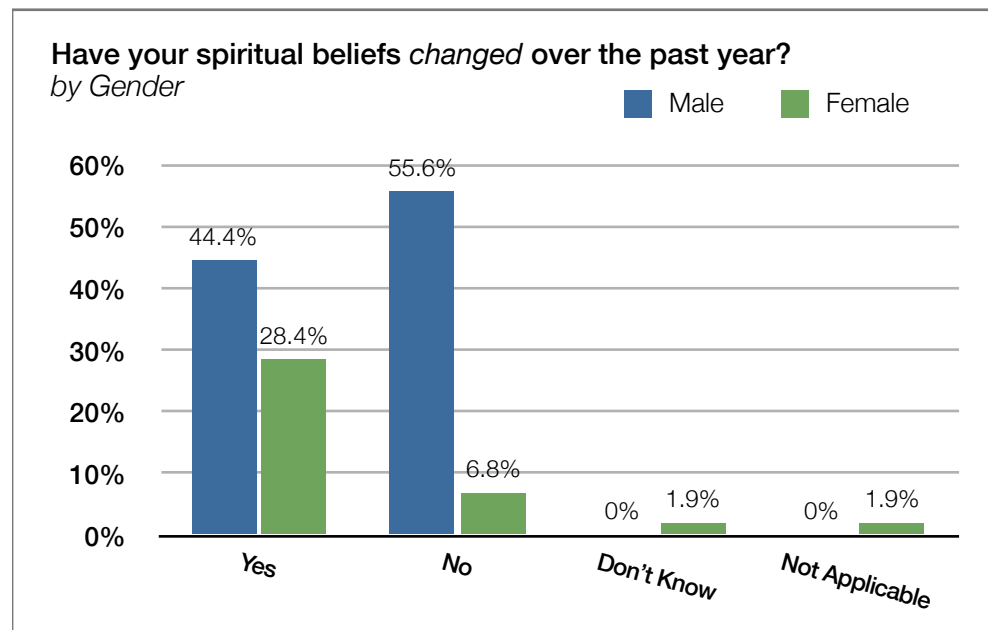


TABLE 51b:
Spiritual Belief Changes Over Past Year, by Gender

n = 66
Participants Who Had Spiritual Beliefs in the Past Year, Out of 71 Surveyed Participants at Field Visit #3

Spiritual Practice

Participants' Spiritual Practices

More participants responded saying they were 'Christian' which is not surprising as many of the APs are of Christian faith backgrounds or philosophies.

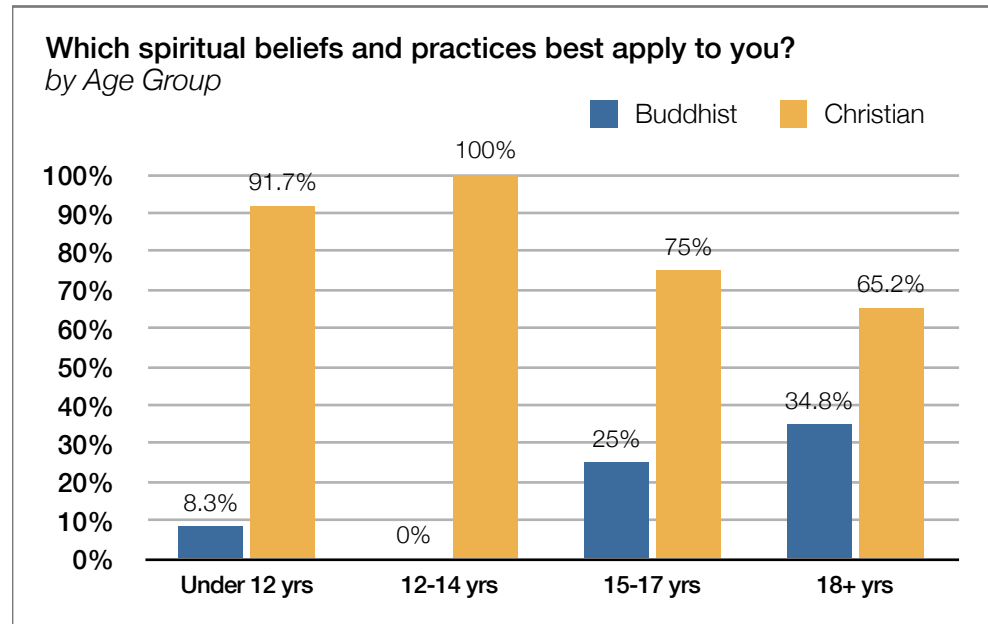


TABLE 52a:
*Spiritual Beliefs
& Practices, by
Age Group*

*n = 66
Participants
Who Had
Spiritual Beliefs
in the Past Year,
Out of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

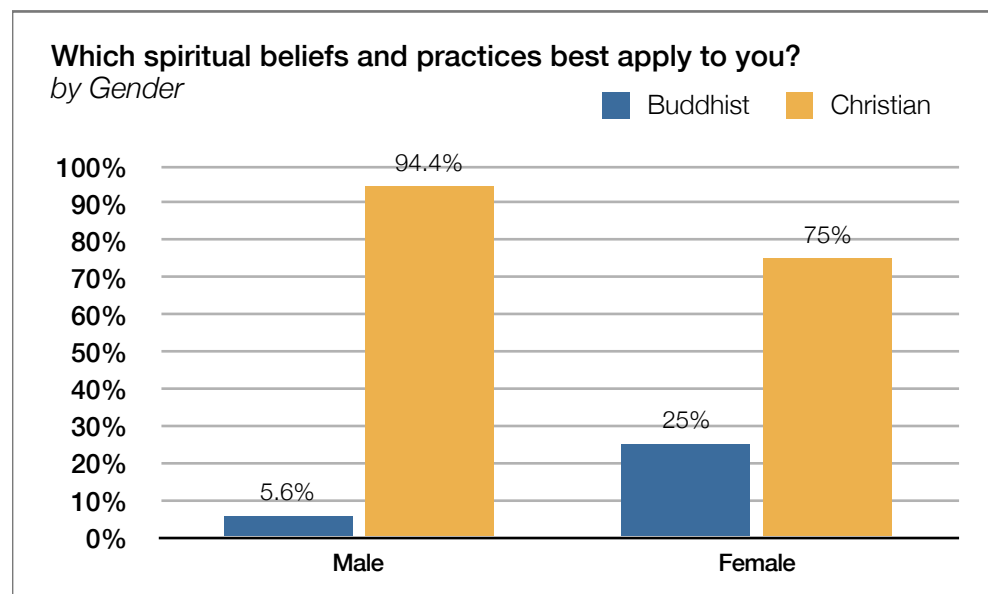


TABLE 52b:
*Spiritual Beliefs
& Practices, by
Gender*

*n = 66
Participants
Who Had
Spiritual Beliefs
in the Past Year,
Out of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3*

Importance of Spiritual Beliefs

Across all ages and according to both genders participants generally responded that their spiritual beliefs were 'important' to 'very important'.

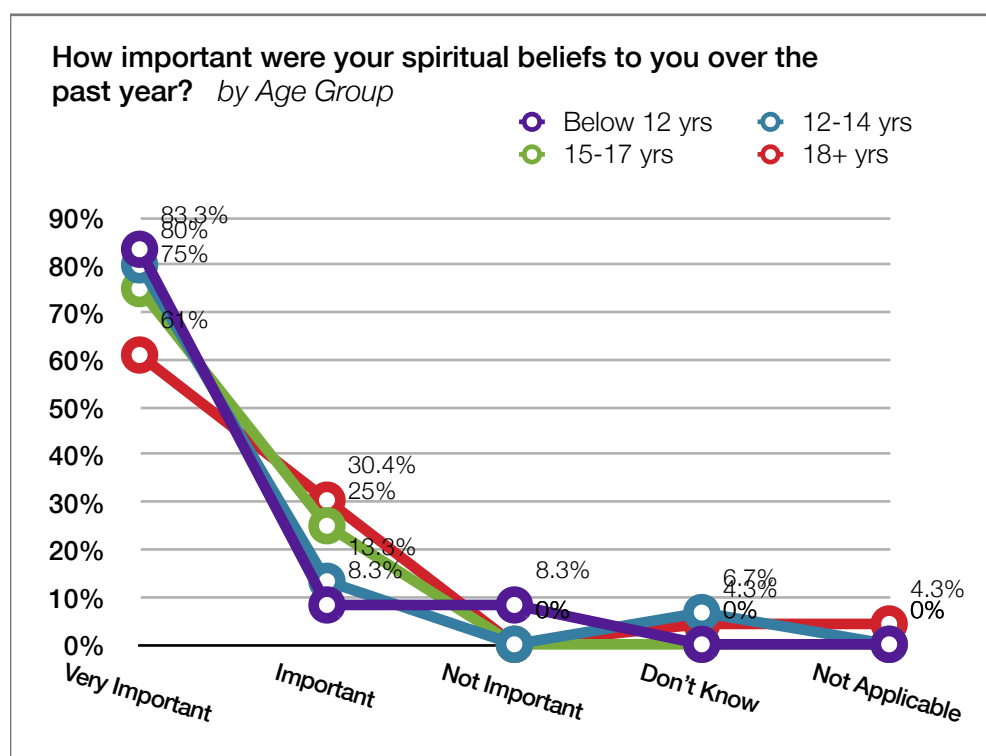


TABLE 53a:
Importance of
Spiritual
Beliefs, by
Age Group

n = 66
Participants
Who Had
Spiritual Beliefs
in the Past Year,
Out of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

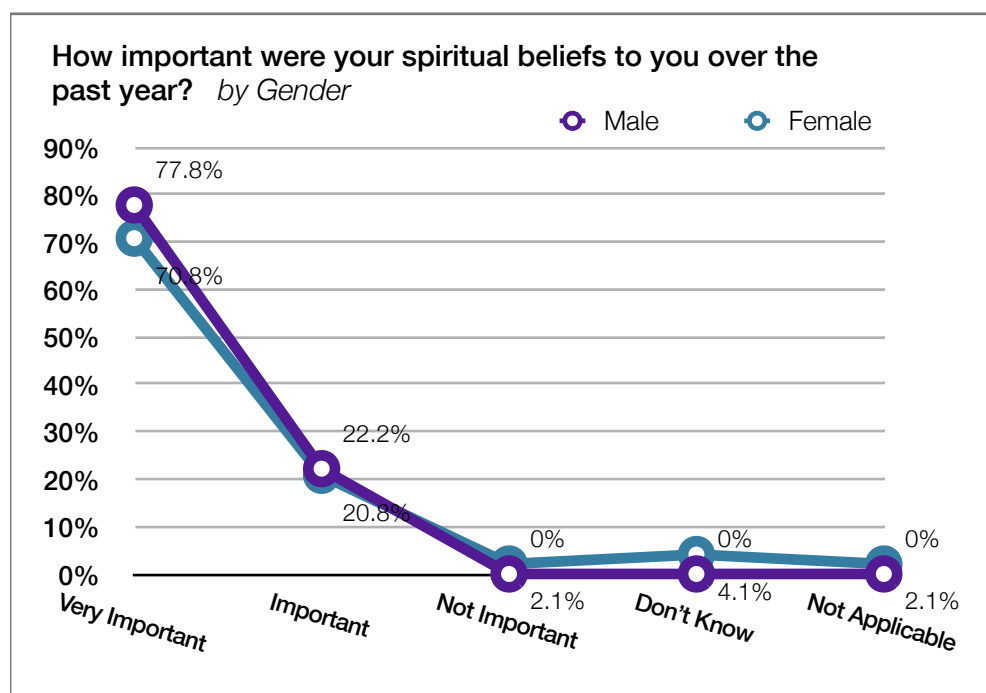


TABLE 53b:
Importance of
Spiritual
Beliefs, by
Gender

n = 66
Participants
Who Had
Spiritual Beliefs
in the Past Year,
Out of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

Frequency of Spiritual Practice

Across all age groups more participants responded they practice their spiritual beliefs on a daily basis. From this data we cannot tell if this was partly due to their respective programs or otherwise. It will be interesting to follow the participants over the years through their (re-)integration experiences to see how their spiritual practices may change and/or develop.

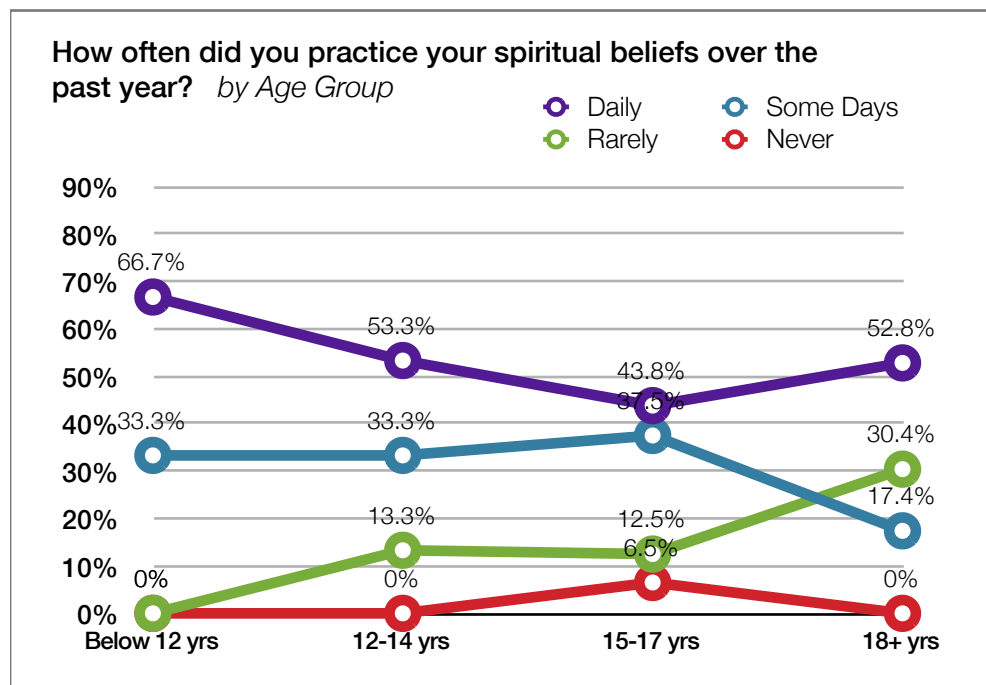


TABLE 54a:
Frequency of
Spiritual
Practices, by
Age Group

n = 66
Participants
Who Had
Spiritual Beliefs
in the Past Year,
Out of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

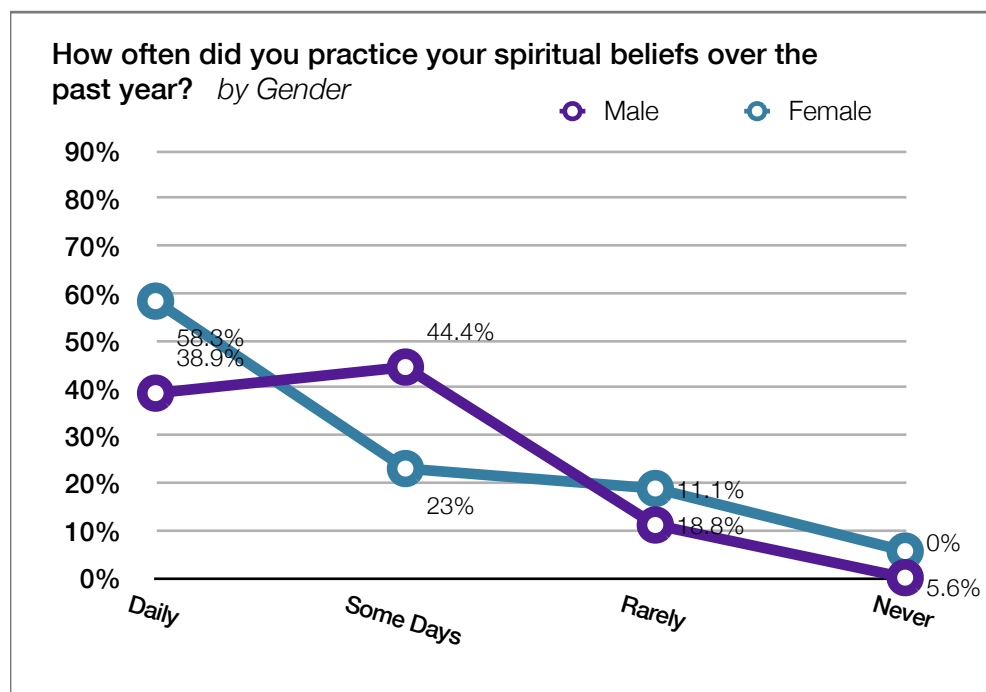


TABLE 54b:
Frequency of
Spiritual
Practices, by
Gender

n = 66
Participants
Who Had
Spiritual Beliefs
in the Past Year,
Out of 71
Surveyed
Participants at
Field Visit #3

Perspectives on Spiritual Beliefs & Practices

Nearly all of the assistance programs in this study are Christian and faith-based in some form or another.

One participant felt free to be any faith while in the assistance program because, though they informed her about Christianity, she did not feel any pressure by them to have the same faith.

"In the community program they tell us about Christian belief but we are free to join and decide. We have no pressure. Some people are Christian and some are Buddhist. We don't feel pressured to be either. I am Buddhist."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Some participants appeared to use religion to explain a sense of fatalism about their lives and injustice.

"I never think about why some people are rich and some are poor. It is God who gives us our lives; we can do nothing to change. Even if I wanted to improve I cannot because it is God who makes my family and me poor and the way we are. Sometimes this makes me feel angry but then I think there is nothing I can do to change our lives."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

One participant spoke about how her family life has improved since her husband started attending a Christian fellowship. She attributes the improved change in his behavior to the support and encouragement he has received in the church.

"Since my husband has started attending Christian church he has stopped drinking too much alcohol and now he does not beat me. I like going to church with him, it has helped us as a family."

Informal Interview, Female who DA

CASE SUMMARIES

Vietnamese Female Participant who 'Declined Assistance'

She described herself and her family. "I was born here in Cambodia but my parents came from Vietnam. In total there are nine people in my family, which includes my mother and father, and my six younger siblings."

She described their family livelihood and their subsistence way of living. "My dad is a fisherman and all my younger siblings help our mother to sell the fish he catches. Some siblings also help my father to fish. When we work in fishing we earn enough for one day of living, and there is never money left for the next day. This is normal for us."

She spoke about her education. "When I was small I studied up to Grade 3 in Vietnamese language then I got bored with school and my parents needed me to help them fish, so I quit school."

She spoke about her entry into sex work. "Since that time I have helped my parents' work in fishing but then over the last few months I wanted to try sex work because I saw other girls in my neighborhood earn more money this way. I did sex work for only one week in the Karaoke place. Nobody forced me to work like this and I could stop if I wanted to. I worked from 5 o'clock pm to 2 or 3am and I had five or six customers each night. I did Karaoke work because at that time we could not catch any fish because of the flooding. My parents didn't ask me to do this but when I told them they did not stop me either. I gave all the money I made to them."

She spoke about what she thought about her neighbors and their judgment of her. "I don't care what neighbors think about me, let them hate me or let them like me if they want to. Many girls, at least 20 to 30 in my neighborhood, work in Karaoke places."

She described her experience with the police. "After one week in the Karaoke place the police came and caught me. I felt so afraid. Now I am very worried when my father can't catch any fish because we have no money. We cannot buy rice to survive. I am afraid of the police so I don't want to do Karaoke any more to help my parents."

She described her sense of hopelessness about the future. "I don't think about tomorrow or next year. I have no plans and no hopes. I don't have any goals for my future. My family and I will always be poor. We will never be like the rich people. Dreaming to be rich is useless. Our lives will never improve. God has given us this life, so what can we do? I have nothing more to say."

Female Participant in Community Program

"I am the second oldest. I have one older sister who is married and three younger brothers. My mother died and my father died."

She started by talking about her responsibilities. "I pay back the bank, and I work everyday and need to send some money to my younger siblings. Two of my younger siblings are in prison. They call me and tell me they have nothing to eat and they have gotten sick so I need to send them money. I am the only one who supports them, because my older sister is married and has her own family to support. I'm single so I need to earn money to support my younger brothers and myself, and I have pay back the bank. My sister and her husband don't earn much money. They sew kids' shorts to sell at home so they don't have enough money to help, and they can only earn enough money to feed their kids. They can't help support our younger brothers. So only I can support them." She compared her family to that of her brother-in-law in the way they help watch each other. "I look at to my brother in-law's family. They help their siblings, and whenever their family is faced with a problem they help each other. And I when compare this with my family, we don't help each other."

She explained why her younger brothers were in prison. "Before my parents died my brothers were sent to prison because they stole from the neighbors and our own family. They were violent and hurt people." She explained their behavior was because they were a poor family. "Because we were poor and did not have enough money, so they stole people's things and they used drugs. They were bad because they stole all things in our house then after that they stole other people's things."

She explained why she left school to help her mother. "When we were young we went to school but stopped because we did not have enough money. We only learned a little. I went until Grade 7 then stopped to help my mother. She had debts to pay because my brothers had stolen some things. I wanted to help her sell fruit in the market."

"Before, when I was young, my family had a lot of difficulties. My mother used to sell jackfruit at the market and after school I went to help my mother sell. I also helped by cooking for my younger siblings before they went to school. Then I found that my mother had difficulties and owed a lot of debt to some people because my brothers stole something. So I quit going to school to help her sell in the market. My mother told me to continue studying, but I wanted to help her pay the debts. I helped her for 2 years in the market."

She explained how she married a foreigner when she turned 18 to help support her mother. "Then I married a foreign man. At first I didn't want to get married but a broker came and told my mother that if I married the foreigner and went to live in his country I could help send money to my family. My mother replied that she dared not force me to go, so she asked me if I wanted to go or not. I wanted to go to get the money but I was afraid to separate from my mother. But my neighbor said their daughter married a foreign man and sent them a lot of money. When I heard about their daughter I wanted to go too because my mother owed a lot of money to some people."

She explained how she did not have a good relationship with her mother-in-law. "At first when I got there I had no job, no money, so they loved and liked me. But when I went out to work and saved money to send to my mother, they didn't like me. They said, 'Everyday you work and then you send money to your mother in Cambodia but nowadays whose rice do you eat? Who do you live with?' My mother-in-law blamed me like that and then she put limits on me. I had to give her half of my salary every month. I tried to tell her I only wanted to give her a third of my salary every month because I worked so hard but she didn't agree with me. She said she needed half my wages or she would not allow me to sleep in their house."

She explained why she divorced her husband. "After two years my mother died in a motor accident, so I had no more purpose for the marriage. I decided to divorce him because my mother was dead. My mother-in-law hated me and complained a lot when I went to my mother's funeral and borrowed money to help pay for it. I was not happy in that marriage."

She explains how her neighbors stigmatized her for returning divorced and poor, and the effect this stigma had on her. "I returned to Cambodia and all the neighbors looked down on me because I was divorced and I had no money. They despised me so much. They looked down on me and they said I came back to Cambodia because my husband didn't love me. They didn't know about the difficulty I had experienced. They made me feel ashamed, so I

decided to add more shame by going to work at the Karaoke place. Before I was married I used to look down upon the sex workers as bad girls. Then I became one too. Since they already looked down on me, I decided to make them look down more by going to work in Karaoke.”

She describes what she earned and did in her Karaoke job. “I earned about U\$60 a months but I could earn more in tips. Sometimes we served customers beer and they said they would give us extra money if we slept with them. So I slept with them even if I did not have a good feeling about them. When we were alone in the rooms some customers would force us not to use condoms and some would pay extra if we didn’t use condoms.”

She then described about her father’s illness and the way they were treated because they were poor. “The doctors didn’t care for us. But if we were rich they would be good to us. If the patient is rich then the doctor checks and cares allot. So when my dad almost died I called the doctor but they didn’t care much, they just looked at him and said my dad would die. That’s all they said to us. Then he vomited blood and stopped breathing. He passed away... Before he died I borrowed money to pay for his treatment. Now I am still paying off this debt.”

She described how she stopped working in Karaoke and started working at the community program.” Then I met a friend of mine who had been my classmate when we were young. She asked me when I had come back from the foreign country. And I told her that I came back a long time already, and that I worked at the karaoke place. I told her I could make a lot of money there. And she said ‘Are you crazy to go to work such that job?’ Then she told me that she knew of a community organization but the salary was low, and they pay once a week. I still thought about working as a karaoke girl to make a lot more money. But she told me if I went to work with the community organization, the salary would increase. So I decided to try it because I had been feeling very tired and ill at the Karaoke place. I was getting thinner, I hardly ate, and I drank a lot of beer with the customers.

“Now I don’t work at the Karaoke place. Through the program I earn a salary and even though not as much as before I don’t want to ever go back to Karaoke work. The program has a counselor and I like talking to her. She helps me with all my sad feelings. And now my neighbors don’t criticize or look down on me anymore because they see I have a good job and I don’t go out at night. Sometimes I buy and drink alcohol at my house by myself when I feel sad. My biggest worry is about getting sick and not being able to earn money. My older sister is poor and never helps me. She never helps my younger brothers either. Only I do. My brother-in-law still hates me and says I am a bad person. He must know I was sex worker before. When he says these things about me I walk away from him. I can tell the counselor these things which helps a lot.”

She spoke about her hopes to get married. “I have told him that I’m an orphan, and that my house is too small - I didn’t tell him that I was a prostitute, I just told him that I’m a widow. I dared not tell him about my background because I feel ashamed about my past. I hope one day to get married. I am very old now so maybe I won’t. When I did have a boyfriend last year, he broke it off because his mother did not like me. I want a family to accept me as I am because I cannot change my past.”

Female Participant in Assistance Program

She started by describing her goals. “My biggest goal and dream is to finish my skills training course. The shelter is helping me and will help me start a business when I leave.”

She described her early experiences in the shelter. “When I first came to the shelter I was very angry and very bad to everyone. I kicked in a lot of doors. After a while I changed because they help me to look back. I realized the shelter wanted to help me have a good future. Now I respect the shelter rules and I have friends. I love the shelter mothers.”

She explained about her biological family, her education and sexual exploitation. “My grandmother and father have visited me. Since I was small I never lived with my parents because my mother died before I could remember her and my father sent me to live with relatives who did not love me. Sometimes they beat me for small mistakes. I was their servant and I stopped going to school at Grade 5 because I lost my book bag and my auntie blamed me. Then another auntie took me away and sold me to a taxi driver and I was in a brothel for a few years.”

She spoke about her relationship with her grandmother and father. “I got freed and came here. My grandma loves me and visits sometimes. I don’t feel any love towards my father because we are not close to each other. He has a second wife and new family. I plan to start a new life after my time in the shelter.”

PERSPECTIVES ABOUT THE FUTURE

Participants varied in their outlook about the future.

Desire to Gain Profitable Skills

"I don't know what I want to be in the future or what skill I need so that I can one day support my husband and children. I need a skill so I have money to feed them. I think about this and hope one day I can save enough money to open a shop to support myself and I hope I will be proud of myself then."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Anxiety & Pessimism About Future Work in Karaoke

"Nowadays I worry a lot about my future, I think and think but I cannot solve how I will make more money. I am illiterate so what good job can I do. I know nothing useful so what can I do? I want to find a job that will make more money than Karaoke. After a while my body will be too old for Karaoke and then what else can I do?"

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"If a Karaoke girl keeps working like she does then her future will not be good."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

'Change is Possible'

"Children who had the bad experiences like me should try to study hard, respect their parents and not cause trouble to others, then they will become a rich person one day. If they don't study hard they will stay poor and will have to scavenge or do slave work."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

One participant wants to be an example and role model to help others.

"If I get success as I wish, I will not forget the help I received from my shelter 'mother' and 'father' in the shelter and from the older sisters in the shelter. Sometimes I think that if I become a tailor I will return to the shelter to teach the girls about what I know and have learned. I want to help other children who are like me and give them ideas and hopes and the kind of care that I received."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

No Apparent Hope for the Future

"I don't hope or want anything. I just want to live with my parents and 7 siblings as we have always lived. Dreams are useless and cannot come true. My life will stay like it is. We will always be poor."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

Future in 10 Years

In focus group discussion with males in a residential program, we asked how they viewed their personal futures in 10 years time. They were asked to draw a picture of themselves 10 years into the future and then describe their picture to the group.

Prominent themes from these pictures and explanations included being financially successful in well paid work so they could support their families. Some described financial success as owning a car or a motorbike, owning a house and being well enough off to have leisure time from work. Others described more modest signs of wealth but all wanted enough income to contribute to their families. Others described maintaining relationships with their friends from the shelter and arranging reunions. Lastly a number spoke about being involved in a church and continuing to have faith in God saying that God would help them.

DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

The overriding objective of this 10-year longitudinal research project is to understand participants' perspectives on their experience of (re-)integration. We want to understand factors that contribute to resilience and to vulnerability. Most research provides a single snapshot of a particular issue. Longitudinal mixed-methods research is different in that it allows for adaptation according to changes in the context, stakeholder priorities, and/or unusual research findings. In this regard, it is more like a comprehensive photo album showing change over time, providing more of a comprehensive overview than a single photograph is able to provide.

This research project will gradually reveal as much as the participants are willing to share about their lives as they (re-)integrate. We have begun by asking a broad range of questions covering multiple aspects of their lives. Over the years this wide approach may take us in un and new directions; when this happens we plan to adapt and follow these leads. The following discussion covers the wide range of questions we asked this past year and our analysis of what we have found thus far along the journey. It then considers what additional questions we might want to address in coming years.

PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Gender

Of the 125 participants in the study at the end of 2011, 80 percent are female and 20 percent are male. The preliminary phase of this study in 2010 did not include male participants because during that period we did not have access to programs working with males. Since the preliminary phase of this research, a residential program (RP) specifically addressing sexual exploitation of males has joined the study. This provides this study with the opportunity to begin amassing information about a hitherto neglected population.

The research team asserts that although its sample size is small and thus not necessarily representative of females or males who have experienced sexual exploitation and trafficking in Cambodia, it is still reflective of these particular participants' experiences and the participants do come from a wide range of programs. Also, it is likely that in future more care and research initiatives will focus on males who have been sexually exploited (see Hilton, 2008; Miles & Blanch, 2011); thus our study will provide a good core that others can later build upon.

Ethnicity

The majority of participants considered themselves 'ethnic Cambodian' (65 %) with some Vietnamese (10%), Vietnamese-Khmer (8%), Chinese-Khmer (10%) and Thai-Khmer (3%). No participants described themselves as indigenous ethnic minorities. Interestingly, while interviewing participants as to their ethnicity 16 females wanted to make their dual ethnicities both clear, and on record. From this data we cannot generalize the proportion of ethnicity within the general population of those who have been sexually exploited and trafficked, but only provide data for those in our study.

Context

In this research, 'context' refers to: a) the type of assistance program (AP) that participants were in during this past year; b) who they lived with; and c) their geographic location. For this year, because most of the participants were in RPs, the majority lived with residential staff and fellow residents. Also, because most of the RPs are in the capital city and main provincial towns, the majority of them have resided in major urban centers (as opposed to provincial location).

Twenty-seven (27) participants who completed the survey interview during Field visit #3 said they had moved their place of residence in the past year.

Of those who said they changed their context, some moved into APs as a direct result of sexual exploitation:

"I was put into a shelter because I was sexually exploited."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"The police cracked down on the Karaoke place where I worked and then put me into the shelter."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I was repeatedly trafficked for sexual exploitation."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I was sexually abused."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Moving, whether out of a residential program, or between or within communities, can lead to decreased security and employment:

"Due to poor security at my house where I lived, I had to move."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"Because my court case finished, so then I could move back home."

In-depth Interview, Female who was previously in RP

"I moved house to be closer to my work place."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"I found a job outside of the shelter, so I moved out."

In-depth Interview, Female who was previously in RP

In addition to the trauma of exploitation, moving locations (sometimes more than twice in a year) is likely to add to a person's stress. In future years we will explore frequency, location and In-Depth reasons and experiences of why participants move/change residence locations and the impact this has on them. We hypothesize that at the point of (re-)integration, many will migrate to wherever employment is available or to where their families live, but this needs verification.

PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES OF VULNERABILITY

We aim through this longitudinal study to contribute to understanding about what factors are linked and associated with resilience and vulnerability for survivors of sexual abuse who (re-)integrate into community in Cambodia. At this early point in the study, we have enquired about participant perceptions and experiences, and about their expectations for future. A small number of participants spontaneously described their status before sexual exploitation, revealing a number of linked themes which appear to have made them vulnerable to exploitation in the past (i.e. the exploitation which brought them into their AP) and thus may cause them to continue to be vulnerable in future.

There appear to be links between physical, emotional, spiritual and financial insecurity increasing participants' vulnerabilities (see Table 23 below). However, as the research and participants move away from RPs and into communities it will also be important to look at environmental factors that may influence their (re-)integration experiences.

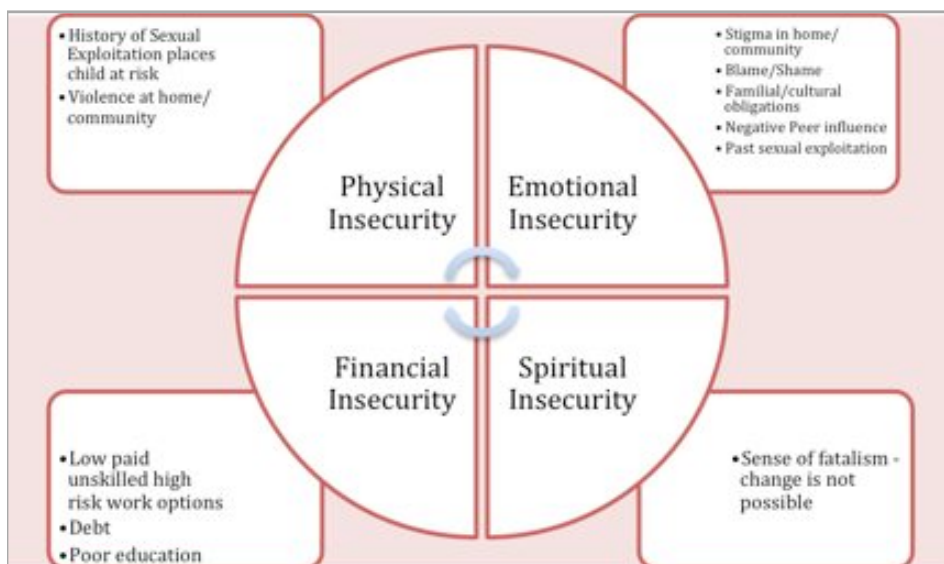


TABLE 55: Links between Physical, Emotional, Spiritual and Financial Insecurity

PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES & PERCEPTIONS OF RESPONSIBILITIES

In this context of poverty, which may include family debt, participants described their general sense of obligation and responsibility to help their families financially, even if this involved risk or detriment to themselves personally.

Experiences of Responsibility in the Past Year

During 2010-2011 the majority of participants were still in APs and most were required to attend school and/or a training program. However, 5.6 percent of male and 23.2 percent of female participants responded they did earn money to support their parents, suggesting that these participants were not in a shelter at the time of interview or had entered/left a RP during the year. Even though those participants (when they were in the APs) were not in position to earn money to support their parents, they still expressed an obligation and desire to do so and felt bad that they could not provide for their families.

Balance Between Time in School and Time Working

The number of hours that ten participants worked per week in the past year might be considered excessive in other contexts (41- 84 hours per week). In addition, 75 percent of the 12-14 years olds and 50 percent of the 15-17 years olds worked from 9 to 20 hours per week, which may be considered a lot when, in theory, they should be focusing on their education and have a legal obligation to attend school. In Cambodia, typically, children in the primary years attend class about four hours per day and for some it can be up to seven hours per day if the education is available, and they can afford the costs involved in school supplies, daily fees and money not earned. In the future, when participants have (re-)integrated, we would like to explore their feelings about the number of hours they work or go to school per week, whether they feel it is too much, too little or appropriate.

Earlier Experiences of Responsibilities, Obligations and Work Prior to Exploitation

During In-depth Interviews some participants voluntarily spoke about their experiences prior to exploitation; notable is their strong sense of responsibility to help their families financially and to resolve debt.

"I went with my friend to sell books for a foreign man. I thought I could earn money this way to help support my parents. I gave all my earnings to my parents."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"When I lived at home with my parents I gave all the money I earned in the factory to my mother."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

One participant spoke of his mother's expectation of him to give her the money he'd earned even though he felt this was unwise as he knew that some of the money he earned to support his family went to pay for his mother's gambling instead.

"Of course I wanted to give my mother money because we were poor, but I knew she would use the money to *gamble* in card games. I didn't want her to do this because she always *lost our money*. But if I didn't give her the money I had earned she would *shame me* in front of the neighbors and tell them I was a bad child."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

These descriptions provide evidence of the burden that family obligation puts on children, and points to the importance of helping survivors to understand such obligation to their parents must have psychological, socio-cultural and perhaps even legal limits (appealing to a human rights perspective) and to consider ways participants might be able to challenge these feelings when they (re-)integrate.

Participants' Present Sense of Responsibility and Obligation

Participants appear to continue to have a sense of responsibility for their parents and families welfare, even when they are no longer living with their families and are not in a position to financially support them. This sense of obligation may be related to feeling family/cultural expectations and pressure, or perhaps due to a sense of guilt about being better off materially, when their families generally continue in poverty. It may explain why some participants refused assistance. We want to explore this dynamic in the future.

"I have good food here [in the RP] so I think about my family, *does my mother have something to eat or not?* If I live at my house, I feel happy with my family even if I have only salt or 'prohok' (fermented fish) to eat, but here I have good food so I think about my family."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I am not happy when my family calls me and tell about household's financial problems. I am so sad and *I don't know how to solve it...* "

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I need to have a lot of money to support my family. *I need to earn it* or the shelter needs to *help me get the money for my family.*"

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

These statements again emphasize an often unrealistic level of obligation, but for many survivors they will need support to understand their boundaries and when they can and cannot help their parents.

Participants' Views & Experiences about Who Should Be Financially Responsible

The qualitative findings about participants' early work experiences and their sense of concern in the present for their family's welfare appear to contradict their stated views that parents should bear primary responsibility to financially support their children, and that young children should not be required to help support their parents or repay debt.

Males "strongly disagreed" at 33.3 percent, and "disagreed" at 22.2 percent compared to females who "strongly disagreed" at 37.8 percent and 'disagreed at 14.3 percent' with the statement:

Children under the age of 18 years should help support their families financially

Males "strongly agreed" at 22.2 percent, and females "strongly agreed" at 14.3 percent, and "agreed" 10.7 percent. In future years we would like to unpack this more to find out what they mean by these views, which appear to contrast with some of their experiences.

Similar to their views on children under age 18 helping to support their parents, more participants disagreed with the statement:

Children under the age of 18 years should financially support their families to repay debt"

More than half of males disagreed: 33.3% "strongly disagreed" and 22.2% "disagreed", and slightly few females disagreed: (37%) "strongly disagreed";(14.3%) "disagreed"). This is in contrast to males who "strongly agreed" at

16.7 percent and “agreed” at 22.2 percent, and females who “strongly agreed” at 10.7 percent and “agreed” at 8.9 percent. We would like to explore this in future years why and what they mean by agreeing with this statement.

Regarding the statement,

Children over 18 years of age being responsible to support their parents

all the participants essentially agreed that this should be the case. Males “strongly agreed” at 83.3 percent and “agreed” at 16.7 percent, and females “strongly agreed” at 67.9 percent and “agreed” at 21.4 percent, with 7.1 percent ‘neither agreeing or disagreeing’ and 3.6 percent who responded ‘not applicable’.

Participants’ felt that a child should start helping to support his/her family when they are 18 years of age. This was the same for all participants, regardless of age, gender, and context.

When the child becomes an adult, especially if their education/skills are low, the range of adequately paying jobs in Cambodia is likely to be limited. One participant described her experience of marrying a foreigner when she was 18 years old, so she could give her mother money. However, It appears to have been emotionally costly for her. Even though she is 18 years of age this sense of obligation still appears to be influential in her life.

“When I was 18 years old, I agreed to *marry a foreigner* and move to his country for \$300 so I could give this money to my mother. I was able to send her money every few months. After my mother died I decided to divorce him because I had no further purpose for this marriage. *My purpose for the marriage had been to earn money for my mother.* I feel very sad about this experience.”

In-depth Interview, Female in AP

Interestingly, the deep sense of obligation that many feel contrasts with what the majority say they believe – that children should not feel obligated.

Comparing Daughter with Son Obligations

Who Should Have More Responsibility Toward Their Parents?

The question posed to participants as to who should have more responsibility toward their parents did not explicitly or necessarily refer to financial support; rather it was intended to be broader and less defined. What ‘support’ actually means to participants will need to be further explored in coming years.

Daughters Less than 18 Years of Age

Overall more males than females *disagreed* with the statement:

Daughters under the age of 18 years should have more responsibility than sons under 18 years of age to support their families

Males “strongly disagreed” at 38.9 percent and females “strongly disagreed” at 32.1 percent, and “disagreed” at 12.5 percent. In contrast, males’ “strongly agreed” at 11.1 percent and females “strongly agreed” at 14.3 percent and “agreed” at 19.6 percent. Males “neither agreed nor disagreed” at 11.1 percent and females at 12.5 percent.

Daughters Over 18 Years of Age

Males “strongly disagreed” at 38.9 percent and “disagreed” at 11.1 percent with the statement:

Daughters over the age of 18 years should have more responsibility to support their families than sons over the age of 18 years

This is compared to females who “strongly disagreed” at 7.1 percent and “disagreed” at 16.1 percent. Inversely males “strongly agreed” at 16.7 percent and “agreed” at 22.2 percent, and females “strongly agreed” at 26.8 percent and “agreed” at 21.4 percent. We find this comparison indicative of prevailing gender norms in Cambodia and will explore it further in years to come.

Sons Less than 18 Years of Age

More females “disagreed” as compared to more males, who “agreed” with the statement,

Sons under the age of 18 years should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters under the age of 18 years

Females “strongly disagreed” at 30.4 percent and “disagreed” at 14.3 percent, “strongly agreed” at 5.4 percent and “disagreed” at 12.5 percent compared to males who “strongly disagreed” at 16.7 percent, “disagreed” at 16.7 percent, “strongly agreed” at 22.2 percent, and “agreed” at 33.3 percent.

This perhaps reflects the experiences of the participants. It will be important to follow their views and experiences over the coming years as this may impact the next generation.

Sons Over 18 years of Age

Both genders tend to agree with the statement:

Sons over 18 years of age should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters over 18 years of age

Males “strongly agreed” at 50 percent and “agreed” at 27.8 percent, and females “strongly agreed” at 37.5 percent and “agree” at 25.0 percent.

In gathering preliminary data last year it appeared that the girls felt the boys had less responsibility for their families. However, research conducted this year appears to demonstrate that boys (at least in the study) feel they should be responsible. For both genders, this sense of responsibility increases with age. In contrast to this finding, participants’ own experiences were that they were responsible for providing finances for their families.

Parental Expectations for Children Involved in Sex Work

Across all age categories participants responded highest for “strongly disagreed” with the statement:

Parents who are in debt can expect their children to do sex work

However, in contrast to this expressed view, one participant described her experience of helping to support her parents through sex work. It is unclear whether her parents were in debt, or whether they explicitly wanted her to do this or pressured her, but it appears they did not discourage, nor try to prevent her from involvement in sex work. It does appear to reflect the desperate poverty of their situation.

“I wanted to help my parents and siblings have food to eat so then I decided to work as a sex worker to earn money for my parents. My parents did not stop me.”

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Perhaps it represents a similar dynamic found by Taylor (2005) and Montgomery (2007) in two rural contexts in neighboring Thailand, in which the family’s survival is paramount and involvement in the sex trade allows some young girls to fulfill this duty to provide and support her family. However it will also be important to determine from participants in the future whether materialism rather than poverty is the reason some of them were sold.

The same participant described one of her friend who, in a sense, sacrificed her own emotional wellbeing by working as a sex worker; for the sake of supporting her parents.

“I don’t know how much she earned as a sex worker but I know having sex with men was breaking her heart. Her only goal was to get enough money to support her parents.”

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Cultural perceptions of obligation and responsibility are prevalent. Further investigation is necessary to see whether the traditional beliefs and values continue to impact their perceptions and experiences in the future. This may be possible through further research asking participants to comment on relevant proverbs such as, “If the seed is not good, it won’t grow well even when planted in good soil” or “The offspring of ducks are still ducks” as well as the traditional poems describing rules of a women (Chbab Srey) and man (Chbab Pro).

EXPERIENCE & PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION

Though, the majority of participants in this study appear to lag behind educational levels in Cambodia, the participants in residential programs who are still at school are potentially in a position to increase their educational level with support from the program and so in future years we would expect them to achieve higher than average grade levels. In the meantime the participants gave a number of explanations for these challenges:

Obstacles to Education

Lack of Time and Financial Resources

One explanation for limited school attendance was families lacked sufficient financial resources for children to attend school; some children needed to work to contribute to family income, and others who stay at home perhaps had the responsibilities of looking after younger siblings or simply just staying at home. Linked with this lack of financial resources, children experienced lack of time to study as they were occupied caring for their families. Immediate family survival and needs appears to take priority over their education.

"When I studied I learned very little, only to a low grade because at the time my family situation was not good and we all needed to help with selling in the market. So when I was small I quit school to help my family sells things."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"When I was small I studied up to Grade 3 in Vietnamese language. After that time I stopped going to school to help my parents do fishing. Our family was poor and I needed to help earn money too."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

"At the time my family situation was poor and that was the reason that made me stop school. I stayed home to help my family's work. I quit school since I was small to help my family earn money."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"They didn't have enough time to go to school when they were living with their families because they had to help take care of their families and earn money..."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Having to Repay Debt

Helping to repay debt is viewed as an obstacle to education. The level of awareness participants had of their family's financial difficulties appears high.

"I stopped studying to work in the factory after this because we were all worried how we would repay this loan of \$3,000 US dollars."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"....Then I found that my mother had a lot of difficulty repaying debts she owed, so I decided to help by quitting school when I was in Grade 7 so I could go to work and help my family."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Impact of Sexual and Domestic Violence on Education

Another obstacle one participant identified was how sexual violence halted her education.

"After my step father raped me when I was small I ran away and lived in the forest and never went back to school. I was about 7 years old."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Family security was identified as important, and from the preliminary survey described in last year's report (Miles and Miles, 2010) most RPs saw this as an important area to monitor and address if needed. Similarly *Action Pour Les Enfants* (APLE) (Keane, 2006) conducted research with street children who had been sexually exploited, and a common theme they found was that domestic violence were major stressors in their family environments.

More research is needed on the intensity of violence that survivors experience in the home and in the community and the impact this has on their (re-)integration. Also, the effects alcohol and drugs has on this.

Stigma

Stigma is a topic in itself, but it is important to particularly note its negative impact on education. Some participants have given up pursuing further education because they have been made to feel ashamed and discouraged by people who stigmatize them for being "old" and still studying.

"Some girls here [in the residential program] really want to go to school but feel hurt and discouraged because the teachers and other students on the outside discriminate and mock us. They tell us we are too old to study in Grade 1 or 2."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Anyone who is different is potentially stigmatized, such as being considered to be too old for their class. Teachers and peer students need to be educated about this.

Positive Views of Education

To Get a Good Job

Participants expressed their comprehension of the importance of an education, knowing it decreases vulnerability and increases opportunities.

"We must study to one day have a good job. When we are illiterate we don't fit into society because we cannot find a good job or make good friends. Poor people always believe the people who cheat them and take advantage of them like the trafficker and the gangster."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I want to learn to read Khmer so no one will cheat me anymore."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

One participant who had 'declined assistance' and consequently was not able to access any educational or training opportunities at the time, still felt learning to read and write would be important to her future if she had access to it.

"For myself I want to learn a skill so I can get a good job to support myself and my family. But I don't have any money to study a skill."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Other comments reflected the participants' values placed on learning:

"What I like most in the shelter is the *opportunity* to study. I think what is most important for me is learning my specific skill..."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

I think what is *most important* for me is learning my specific skill...."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"When I have knowledge I *can improve my life in the future* when I leave the shelter."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Many of the participants spoke about their own and their families' appreciation for the opportunities they have had to study and train while in the RPs. In addition, a participant who had DA and consequently was not able to access any educational or training opportunities at the time felt learning to read and write important to her future.

"In the centre if we want to study we can study, and if we want to learn a skill we can learn a skill and I like this..."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"What I like most in the shelter is the *opportunity to study*. ...When I visited my mother she told me to obey my teachers and study hard for her."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I think what is *most important for me is learning my specific skill*..."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"When I have knowledge I *can improve my life in the future* when I leave the shelter."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Similar to our findings, Reimer et. al's (2007) work in Cambodia found that both girls in RPs and their parents wanted their children to remain in the shelters, as the level of education was seen as superior than what was on offer at home. In addition, children were likely to be contributing to the family through work if household income was low, further limiting their chance of continuing education. Last year's progress report (Miles and Miles, 2010) found that girls in Cambodia who were in shelters and getting an education were worried that going home would mean an end to their studies.

One participant in an RP expressed his desire to be with his family and forgo the educational opportunity, but his mother and the residential manager have asked him to carry on in the program for a while longer. The question then becomes whether, from the participant's perspective, is he feeling coerced or persuaded. Yet, the fact the RP will sponsor the child in his studies at home demonstrates the program's willingness to tailor to the individual needs of their clients.

"I want to leave the shelter and go home because I really miss my mom, but *the shelter manger wants me to finish* to at least Grade 6. My mother wants me to stay and continue with the education. The shelter manager said after I complete Grade 6, I can go home and the shelter program will give me a chance to continue studying in my hometown. I want to do this."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

Study and Training in the Future

With regard to participants' desires for further education and training: 67 percent of males and 43 percent of females responded they wanted to attend university. If this is true, APs may want to consider this as something they should work toward enabling to happen. This is undoubtedly a big commitment, likely over a long period of time and needs to be carefully assessed whether appropriate, possible or realistic.

Following 'attending university', 30 percent of females compared to only 6 percent males responded they wanted to do skills training. Participants under 18 years appeared to want both academic and skills training, whereas those 18 and older appear to focus to a greater extent on skill/practical trainings.

In Cambodia overall, skills continue to be a major issue with only 1.4 percent of the 19-22 year-old Cambodians enrolled in tertiary education. Many are ill equipped and lack the basic numeracy, language and computer literacy skills that private enterprises need their staff to possess. Skill mismatch - between that which young people have acquired in school, and that which labor industries expect from them is therefore a very serious issue facing youth of Cambodia, and contributes towards their unsatisfactory labor market outcomes. An absence of decent work options pushes youth toward vulnerable employment, under-employment and labor migration (Cambodia National Youth Employment Forum, 2011).

"I like teachers here (shelter parents) who advised us to follow good ways, respect older people and people higher than me in my society."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

Participants expressed different views and had different experiences regarding their close relationships, and the sense or lack of sense of emotional closeness. When asked about the statement:

I feel generally supported emotionally by my close relationships over the past year.

Males "strongly agreed" at 83.3 percent, and 'somewhat agreed' at 16.7 percent. Females 'strongly agreed' at 51 percent and 'somewhat agreed' at 16.7 percent.

In this question we did not define what we meant by close relationship or with whom, but left it to the participant to determine.

A number of participants explained how they felt emotionally close to their residential 'parents', counselors, and peers. For some, they are able to deal with their past experiences of abuse and exploitation through counseling.

"My [shelter] 'parents' in the shelter love me and give me good advice. I feel close to them because they want me to have a good future. They are 'parents' to me."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I have friend [peer] in the shelter and my friend always encourages me when I am faced with hard situations. I was nervous when I had a [school] exam, and my friend told me, I shouldn't worry, I should read the book and memorize the lesson at night and, my friend encouraged me. She helped me to pass the exam."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"We [peers] share with each other so we understood and knew each other more. I feel we are still close friends together even after leaving the [residential] program"

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

One participant spoke about how he missed his mother while in the residential program but for her sake, and that of his education he stayed in the RP. Another participant spoke about the emotional distance and rejection she felt from her father after her mother died.

"I really miss and love my mother and I want to go home and live with her again. I love my siblings too and I miss them."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

"My mother died when I was small and my dad brought me to live with the relatives and they never let me return to my father, until I was an adult. When I met my dad as a teenager I didn't have a good relationship with him. I felt my dad did not love me and he did not want to take care of me."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

The participants in the male focus group said they desire love, acceptance, and forgiveness for past problems and mistakes from their families. Does this then mean they have yet to experience this with their families? What are these past 'mistakes' that they feel responsible for and who determines that they need forgiveness? This needs further exploration.

"I want to have a lovely family where there is love and where there is unity, joy, and peace. I want my family to love and forgive each other."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

"I need love and forgiveness from my parents and siblings."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

"I need parents to show me love and warmth..."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

Whilst it may be better to hear that participants feel emotionally connected rather than distant to their residential/shelter 'parents', the process of separation in these intense relationships may be challenging because some may feel an unhealthy attachment to the 'parent'. Also the 'parent' may feel threatened by the biological parents and vice versa which could lead to parental visits not being allowed or being sabotaged in some way.

Efforts to strengthen relationships within families will become more important as participants (re-)integrate into their family relationships again. In the coming years we hope to understand more about how participants see this process and how it varies from place to place.

Participants Experiences and Perceptions of Emotional Support

Dealing with past abuse and exploitation that participants have experienced would logically seem critical to their sense of wellbeing for their present and future lives. However, how APs address this varies, with some who appear to offer informal counseling support, and others who offer more formal, structured, and In-Depth levels of counseling. Some APs appear to offer practical advice rather than any counseling to deal with past traumas. Some participants spoke about how formal or informal counseling has helped them deal with their past sexual exploitation and stigma. Some spoke of preferring to 'hide away in the shelter' away from people who 'blame them' for their past experiences, in the hope that the situation will resolve itself. Based on these findings, we ask: Is counseling cultural? Are there other ways to deal with past traumas?

Formal Counseling

Some participants are able to deal with their past experiences of abuse and exploitation through counseling.

"I share my problems with her shelter counselor, and then *I feel better*, and my stress is reduced."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"I tell my story to the counselor at the community program and this helps me feel much better. Now *I do not want to do Karaoke work anymore. I feel good about myself* even if I can not earn much money."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

"Now I know that *there are good people and bad people* in the world. After my bad experience I thought there were only bad people in the world but now I know that there are both kinds. I think getting counseling is helping me to *learn to trust good people*."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Informal Support

"When I have a problem, I will discuss with shelter's staff."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

How will participants cope without support? Compared with preliminary findings last year among participants in focus groups (Miles and Miles, 2010), this year a number of participants expressed their anxiety about envisioning feeling lonely and isolated when they left the shelters, because they would not have anyone who could counsel them like they did in the RP.

"We have *warm acceptance here* [the shelter] and this makes me feel better."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"I have problems that *make me unhappy* but staff in the *shelter help me*."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

Are all these statements accurate, or is there a tendency to say what they think we want to hear? Although the research team should be cautious about taking everything at face value, the care participants have received appears to be truly valued. However, over time, as participants leave their respective RPs and (re-)integrate, they will be more objectively able to comment on what they find helpful or otherwise.

"I miss my home, siblings, grandmother, and parents. The answer is to *discuss my feelings with the shelter staff*."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"They [shelter staff] *encourage us* when we are sad."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"They [shelter staff] show *sympathy* to us and *grieve* with us."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

"We have *friends for playing together* here, we have [shelter] 'mother' to give advice when we are sad, they *release our sadness* when we share to them."

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

The importance of recognizing, encouraging and supporting peer support and friendships is significant here. Counseling, whether formal or informal may only be available a few hours a day event when participants are in the program, but for the rest of the day, peer support may be more significant.

Emotional Support from their Peers in the Community

"I have noticed that some people around me *feel sorry for me*. They show *sympathy* for me. Those people are *kind*. They are a good listeners."

Focus Group Discussion, Female who DA

However, this participant says she feels unhappy, but has to wear a mask.

"I pretend to be happy when I feel sad about my past experience."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Other participants said they have received advice from their counselors to ignore their past and focus on the future as a way to be accepted back into society.

"I do not think about my past problems anymore. I try to forget my past and try to follow the advice I get from people who are helping me to have a good future. *I focus on the people who care for me* and take care of me and this helps me to... *not think about my past problems*. I try to become a new person and *one-day society will accept me back*. I don't listen to people who say mean things to me because of my past. My shelter 'parents' tell me to not focus on the mean people but to focus on the people who care for me."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

It appears this approach means the participant does not deal with her past traumatic experiences. How this will impact her in the future will be important to follow.

Derks (1998) found that in addition to ignoring past traumas, some may decide to keep the exploitation a secret or may agree with his or her family to cover up what has really happened. While this may be beneficial in minimizing stigma, it may lead to a 'life-long' burden for survivors. They may constantly be in fear of their secret coming out and destroying the new life they have built for themselves. Bjerkman (2005) notes that such a burden can cause more damage than good in the long-term.

EXPERIENCES & PERCEPTIONS ABOUT EMOTIONAL & PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

In the past year, of the 71 participants who responded at Field Visit # 3:

- 46 participants said they had witnessed emotional violence (64.8 percent)
- 47 participants said they had witnessed physical violence (66.2 percent)
- 47 participants said they had experienced emotional violence (64.8 percent)
- 48 said they had experienced physical violence (67.6 percent)

Twenty eight percent males and 20 percent females considered the physical violence they had experienced to be serious. The research team did not define physical violence or emotional violence, nor at what level and under what circumstances they would consider it serious. With regards to getting help and assistance in case they needed to deal with violence, 100 percent of the males and 71 percent of females responded they 'knew where to get help'. In the future it will be interesting to explore what participants mean by *help*, and what this meant to them when dealing with violence. In the future, we plan to distinguish between emotional and physical violence.

In a national Cambodian survey of violence involving children by Miles (2008) of 1,314 children over 81.7% of children said they had witnessed other children being physically punished by adults, and 43.2% said they had experienced it themselves. This research also indicated that most children who experienced physical punishment at home said that they had experienced at least one other type of violence (physical punishment in schools, sexual abuse, bullying or had been sold). This appears to be consistent with the theory that some children experience a 'learned helplessness' which makes them vulnerable to other kinds of violence. This leads us to consider whether witnessing and/or experiencing violence is a risk factor for future exploitation, or whether the support they have received can help to ameliorate this.

EXPERIENCES & PERCEPTIONS OF STIGMA OR ACCEPTANCE

Who Does the 'Stigmatizing'?

Participants described a range of people who stigmatized them, from intimate family members, to peers and people in the wider society such as teachers and neighbors. Participants described experiences of feeling excluded, gossiped about, blamed, made to feel ashamed, criticized, ridiculed and generally looked down upon.

This is similar to Bolton et. al (2008) who conducted a qualitative study involving 65 formerly trafficked girls living in several residential centers in Cambodia in which they found that the most frequently described problem was rejection by former friends, the community, society, and family.

What are Participants Stigmatized For?

In regards to participant perceptions about the level of prejudice and discrimination by Cambodian society against people who have been sexually exploited, approximately the same numbers of males and females ranked between '5' and '10' on a scale of 0-10, zero meaning no discrimination and 10 meaning extreme stigma. Although nearly 25 percent of the participants responded '0' this means that 75 percent experienced some other level of stigma.

Why are People Stigmatized?

Participants explained a number of reasons they thought they had personally been stigmatized including: people disapproving of some of their behaviors and attitudes, participants' personal 'failings', participants' past experiences of sexual exploitation, participants' advanced age in comparison to their low education levels and literacy, and participants' general poverty.

Fifty percent of males and 43 percent of females responded they felt they had been discriminated against in the past year and they rated 'ethnicity', 'poverty', 'religion' and 'not being clever' as the main reasons. These figures are fascinating given that 65% of all respondents were Khmer (the majority in Cambodia), yet more than half of respondents feel they are discriminated against for ethnicity. As participant age increased, so too did their experience of discrimination; overall the 15-17-age group rated 'yes' the highest amongst the age groups. This is the time when most of the residential participants are attending schools outside the shelter, and perhaps it is particularly at this age that society imposes cultural expectations regarding gender expectations and sexual standards. Interestingly, both males and females responded similarly.

The following are examples of why participants said they were being discriminated against and made to feel 'ashamed':

Age “Too old” in School

“I wanted to study at the public school but I dared not to go to school because I was *taunted* by young people outside. They said we were *too old* to study.”

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

“Of course, we are *discriminated* against, because we are *too old* to go to school. We feel *ashamed* when others say that we are too old to study at lower grades.”

Focus Group Discussion, Female in RP

“Of course, the teachers and our classmates discriminate against us from the shelter, they say we are too old to go to school and so we feel *ashamed* when others say that we are too old to study at low grades.”

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

This theme of being made to feel ‘ashamed’ for being too old is disturbing and needs further research.

History in ‘Sex Work’

“I’m afraid of my brother-in-law who *looks down on me*, even now. He knows my past life in sex work ... He *blames and looks down on me* most of the time.”

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

“My family *gossip* to others about my past.”

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

“They [neighbors and wider community] said ‘the girls who work at night are not good’. Before I worked at the Karaoke place, I had a good relationship with my neighbors but when they found out I was working at Karaoke *they stopped being friends with me and stopped treating me respectfully*.”

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

“The difficulty we face is from the people who discriminate against us, people who blame us and tell others *not to be friendly to us* and not to relate to us. They *blame us* for our past.

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

In last year’s progress report (Miles and Miles, 2010) we noted that a number of girls involved in focus groups expressed anxiety over stigma and prejudice because of their past experiences. These girls did, however, feel that some of this discrimination may be alleviated by gaining a good education, supporting themselves and their family, having their own children and being able to send them to school. This theme of being ‘blamed’ is concerning and needs further research.

“Being divorced” (and Poor) in the Past

One participant spoke about being discriminated against by her neighbors because she was divorced and poor.

“After I divorced and returned to Cambodia the neighbors looked down on me because of my *failed marriage* and because I *returned poor*. I had no money and all.”

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Anti-Social Behavior in Residential Programs

While the participant below describes people in her RP as not liking her because of her behavior, one has to ask whether her initial behavior in the RP was a result of her dealing/reacting to trauma prior to entering the program.

"When I first moved into the shelter everyone *did not like me* because I disobeyed the house parents, I kicked and *shouted and broke doors*. I threw things around. I hit the tables and chairs. I *made everyone unhappy*. When I did this they (the residents) all avoided being with me."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Effects and Responses to Stigma of Participants

Stigma's effect on participants includes feeling shamed and blamed, and these feelings can reinforce society's negative views. One participant who felt looked down upon by her neighbors for being 'divorced' and poor reacted by getting involved in sex work.

"I decided to do sex work because I was divorced and because the neighbors already *looked down on me*. I already felt so ashamed by my neighbors for my divorce and because I was poor I decided to *add to my shame* by going to work in Karaoke."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

This experience begs the question whether any of the participant's neighbors who judged her had understood her story and context.

Overall, participants appeared to respond to stigma in different ways.

Positive Responses to Stigma

Not accepting blame

This included some participants who, upon reflection about their past experiences, were able to come to the conclusion that the sexual exploitation was not their fault despite society's blame upon them.

"But if we know in ourselves what happened to us was not our fault (sexual exploitation) and we *don't think about neighbors who blame us* and say untrue words about us, then we will not be too disappointed."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

For APs helping clients come to terms with the sexual exploitation they have experienced, it seems appropriate to help them to deal with self-blame as an important part of the healing process

Proactive Belief in Changing their Future

Some participants felt it was within their ability by their personal efforts to change society's opinion about them. Most felt if they were able to support themselves financially and were no longer viewed as poor, then society would accept them.

"I reckon I must try hard to work. *When I have enough money I can buy new clothes and modern equipment. Then people around us will not look down on us.*"

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Improved Personal Character Traits

"Good character will make people outside the shelter accept us." [Laugh]

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

Negative Responses to Stigma

Other participants describe the need to hide, and while a shelter does provide a place of retreat, it may not be helpful for a resident to 'forget' their past but instead work to process it with assistance.

"We should *hide* in the shelter and wait until the problem we had in our past goes away, and as it goes we can forget about the people out side as they forget about us..."

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

"I'm not happy when people who blame me for my past. When they *blame me like this I run away to cry in my bedroom.*

In-depth Interview, Female in RP

To blame someone is to imply the fault was theirs, thus the question to ask is 'who' is blaming this particular child? Family, peers, staff in schools, staff in the home, or others; and why?

Alternative/Neutral Response to Stigma

Acquiring Money

Another participant spoke about how society no longer looked down upon a friend of hers who had also been sexually exploited. She appeared to attribute society's acceptance to her friend's 'good fate' whose fortunes changed by marrying a rich man. This shows that money and material success is highly valued in Cambodian society, even for one who was formerly stigmatized because of her involvement in sexual exploitation.

"About my friend who was the same like me (former sexually exploited/ trafficked person then later a Karaoke girl), she got married to a rich man and had two children and now people do not blame or gossip about her anymore. Now they say she is lucky and has a good fate because now she is rich. Seems like everyone likes her because she has a lot of money. And she stops wearing the strong make up and everyone praises her."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Also quite interesting is the fact that when society started treating her better she started wearing less 'strong' make up which perhaps signaled her exit from sexual exploitation. This contrasts with the participant in the community who got involved in sex work as she was being so looked down upon by society for her being divorce and poor, that she felt she might as well 'add to her shame by doing sex work'.

Acceptance by Society/Community

Bearing in mind that at the time of this question the majority of participants were living in APs, all participants gave generally positive responses of 'I feel accepted by everyone' or 'I feel accepted by some people'.

Stigma is about what is projected by individuals in society, what is perceived by survivors, and the impact this has on them. What the survivors perceive is something APs can address. Some CPs working with families and communities can also challenge those in the community, but this is less easy to impact.

Perceptions of Participant Experiences with Authorities

Some participants felt frightened and frustrated in their dealings with the police during 'Karaoke raids'. From their perspective it appears they felt they were treated as offenders rather than victims.

"...I kept asking the police, 'why did you catch me' and police said, 'we caught you to ask you some questions...' They said they would let us go free 'in a short time.' I cried and wondered why and what was happening to me. I *did nothing wrong* but they caught me. I *cursed* the police. All the girls blamed the police. They kept us *locked up for several days*. Then the police sent us to a center. I was so angry even though I could tell the center mothers were kind to us. They try to get us to eat but I just *cried and shouted* at them. After two or three days the centre allowed us to contact our families. Since the police caught us *our families did not know* where we were."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"I worked in the Karaoke parlor and then the police came and caught me and sent me to an organization. I felt so *afraid of the police*. Now I am afraid to help support my family because if I do sex work the police may catch me again. *The police make us poorer because they make it so I can't work.*"

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

Our qualitative interview findings are similar to a small study done by the 'Cambodian Prostitutes Union' (2002) in which they found sex workers at that time were generally angry at the police harassment, abuse and human rights violations they experienced as sex workers. In the future it will be interesting to explore what participants mean by "help" and what this meant in dealing with violence.

In addition to participants' experiences with the police, we also plan to ask about their experiences with health workers and teachers.

PEER PRESSURE

All 91 participants denied encouraging any of their peers or others to use prohibited drugs and excessive alcohol any time in the past year, and no participants spoke about influencing any of their peers or others to do sex work, although one participant spoke about how a peer had influenced her to try Karaoke work.

Her friend said to her: "Why do you stay at home? Come and work with me and we can get good tips for sex work in the Karaoke places."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

During the boys' focus group discussion, a participant spoke about how having 'bad friends' could have negative effects and consequences in their lives.

"He will meet *bad friends* who will persuade him to sniff glue and he will become a drug addicted person."

Focus Group Discussion, Male in RP

PERCEPTIONS & EXPERIENCES OF GENERAL HEALTH

Generally, more participants responded they felt better over the past three months as compare to the previous year. However, some participants expressed they worried about getting sick in the future and the potential negative effects and consequences of being sick while earning a livelihood, potentially leading to debt.

"I don't want to go to the outside clinic doctor, because I will loose time to earn money and I have to pay which *I cannot afford.*"

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

"When I get sick *no one looks after me* and the money I have been able to save is all spent on treating my illness."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

"I spent all the money I had. *I took out a loan* on our family home and borrowed money from my neighbors for his treatments and when he was put in the hospital. He got better for a while, then sick again and the doctors *would not treat further* as I had no more money, and then he died. I am paying off this debt."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

Sexual Behavior and Health

Participants' Sexual Activity

Thirty participants responded they had been sexually active in the past year. These participants are likely those that have entered or left RPs, are in CPs, or in the DA group. Seven of the thirty participants responded they had been sexually active with more than one partner in the past year, ranging from two to over ninety partners, and some said that they did 'not know'. Four of the seven participants who had more than one partner said they had been paid for sex.

It is not clear how many of these were considered to be positive encounters. Interestingly, only four participants felt they had been exploited, and of these, three listed reasons to do with unfair financial compensation and one to do with feeling coerced. This leaves the question as to what participants consider to be 'exploitive' and whether they understand non-financial exploitation e.g. emotional abuse, coercion, violence, is also considered abusive.

"The broker who finds clients for me *takes some of my money* when I have sex with the clients."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

My boss took half of my earnings after I had sex with the client."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

"My boss *forced me* to have sex with the clients."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

Participants Experience of Sexual Harassment and Coercion

Some participants spoke about how they felt they had experienced sexual harassment by their peers while in their respective RP. This is an important area for all programs to address: What is sexual harassment, and how can they and others address it? Are their cultural practices that need to be challenged?

"I feel sad because one girl seems to *like me sexually* and I don't feel the same way. The other girls know my problem with her but they *do not help make her stop* pressuring me."

Informal Interview, Female in AP

Of those participants who said they had been sexually active we asked whether they felt they had been pressured into sex when they did not want to and 12 participants responded positively.

We asked of all participants who had been sexually active in past year whether they knew if the people they had sex with had been sexually active with other people in the past year. According to those who responded positively that

they knew this to be the case included 50 percent of the 12-14 year olds, 40 percent of the 15-17 year olds and 22 percent of the 18 and over year olds.

Approximately 60 percent of those under 12 years old, those between 15-17 years old, and approximately 22 percent of the 18 year olds and older responded they 'did not know'. Obviously, knowledge of whether the other person is sexually active with other people is important in considering the potential of transferring communicable diseases, and it is of concern that so many didn't actually know. Of those that knew the person they had been sexually active with had been sexually active with others, over half, 62.5 percent, responded they their sexual partner had been sexually exploited, and the rest 'did not know'.

Participants' Experiences and Perceptions of STIs and Condom Use

The research team asked participants about their general knowledge of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Out of the 91 participants who answered surveys during field visit #4, 77 participants responded they knew what STIs are (15 males and 62 females), 54 participants responded they knew how to prevent STI's (8 males and 46 females), and 58 participants responded they knew where to go to get assistance to treat STIs (13 males and 35 females). Yet from these responses, it is not clear what the participants actually understood, believed, and practiced. Therefore, in coming years we will be more specific and have more open-ended questions.

With regard to actual condom use, 75 percent of males, and 57.7 percent females responded they 'never' used condoms, followed by 19.2 percent females who responded 'sometimes' and 'always'. Twenty five percent males responded 'I do not know' and 3.9 percent females responded 'I do not want to answer'. One participant in a high-risk context spoke about feeling pressured by customers who were willing to pay extra money for sex without a condom as the reason she did not always use condoms.

"Sometime we served them [customers in Karaoke places] beer and they would tell us they wanted us to sleep with them and that they would give us extra money if we had sex with them. Often they force us to have sex without a condom. I want them to wear condom but they refuse and they offer to pay us extra if we *do not use the condom*. So I always agree to no condom if they pay me more."

In-depth Interview, Female in AP

In future years we want to follow and understand more about the context in which condoms are used and not used. It is an important topic to discuss and promote, as it is one way to prevent STIs and other communicable diseases in the future.

Participants' Experiences with STI Testing

Approximately 30 percent of those below 12 years old, and 40 percent of 15-17 year olds responded they had been tested for an STI in the past year. This perhaps reflects the practice of APs, as providing STI screening and testing is part of the initial assessment into their programs. Seven participants responded they had received treatment for an STI. This, in itself, does not tell us whether they were positive for an STI, or treated as a precaution because they were considered at risk of having an infection.

Substance Misuse

Three of the 91 participants (Field visit #4) admitted to using illegal drugs in the past year, of which two felt they had addiction issues. One participant received assistance in the past year.

A total of 27 out of 91 participants responded they felt they had drunk an excessive amount of alcohol in the past year, and of this group, four felt they were addicted to alcohol. None responded they knew where they might get assistance with such an addiction.

APs must include education on alcohol and drug misuse, and provide referrals where necessary.

PARTICIPANTS EXPERIENCES & PERCEPTIONS OF SPIRITUALITY

It is important to recognize that many of the RPs and CPs in this study have Christian backgrounds and orientation. This is set in the larger historically and cultural context of national Buddhist and animistic beliefs and practices, and genocide of the 1970's. Derks (1998) has drawn attention to the use and potential role of Buddhist concepts and traditional practices in aiding (re-)integration into a family and community in general. Yet there are few studies that document how widespread and successful such ceremonies and rituals are for sexually exploited and trafficked

young people, nor is there much literature on the *interaction* between different spiritual traditions, such as in our research. One participant in a Christian AP spoke about the opportunity to learn about Christian beliefs and practices, whilst still maintaining the freedom to adhere to her own beliefs. In essence she did not feel pressured to conform to any particular beliefs.

"In the community program they tell us about Christian belief but we are free to join and decide. We have no pressure. Some people are Christian and some are Buddhist. We don't feel pressured to be either. I am Buddhist."

In-depth Interview, Female in CP

In regard to having spiritual beliefs in the past year, 100 percent of males responded positively, with 94.4 percent identifying themselves as Christian, and 5.6 percent as Buddhist. Among females, 90.6 percent responded positively that they had spiritual beliefs in the past year, with 75 percent identifying themselves as Christian and 25 percent identifying themselves as Buddhist. As to how important spiritual beliefs were to participants this past year, 77.8 percent males and 70.8 percent females responded 'very important' and 22.2 percent males and 20.8 percent females responded 'important'. When asked whether their spiritual beliefs changed in the past year, 44.4 percent males and 55.6 percent females responded that their beliefs had in fact changed,

It is understood by the research team that while participants are in Christian RPs and CPs, participants may feel obliged to say they are Christians, but it will be interesting to see whether these beliefs survive the challenges of (re-)integration.

The Lens of Fatalism

One participant appeared to explain her life through a lens of fatalism. She did not specifically ascribe her thoughts to any particular spiritual beliefs.

"I never think about why some people are rich and some are poor. It is God who gives us our lives; we can do nothing to change. Even if I wanted to improve I cannot because it is God who makes my family and me poor and the way we are. Sometimes this makes me feel angry but then I think there is nothing I can do to change our lives."

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

We look forward to following the participants over the coming years to follow and hopefully understand the impact and interactions of spirituality, religious context and culture in their lives. In particular we hope to understand more about how 'fatalism' and 'optimism' impacts the future 'hopes' of participants as they develop over the years.

DIFFERENTIALS BASED ON GENDER

Recognizing that most of the research about sexual exploitation and APs focus on females, we have attempted to include males into our study and have been fortunate to have a small sample from a participating RP we've worked with since our preliminary study. Although we know our sample cannot represent the experience of all males in Cambodia, nevertheless our findings reflect these particular boys' views and experiences. We hope this process will increase our understanding about how males and females are similar, and how they differ.

All males in our study were under the age of 18 years, whereas females included young children and adults up to their late twenties.

Similar Perspectives

Although it is sometimes assumed in this context that females are more responsible to provide financial income than boys, both males and females had similar perspectives about responsibilities. This included agreement that parents should be responsible to support their younger children and that underaged children should not be responsible to support their parents or help to repay debt. Both genders strongly disagreed with the statement:

Parents can expect their children to do sex work if they have debts to be repaid

Male and female participants also had similar views that youth over the age of 18 *should* be responsible to help support their parents. Both agreed sons over 18 should support parents more than females, and both agreed that sons should bear this responsibility more so than daughters.

Differing Perspectives, Experiences and Expectations

Males and females *differed* in their views about the statement:

Sons under 18 years should have more responsibility to support their families than daughters under 18 years of age

Males “agreed” whereas females “disagreed.” Males in the study expressed a higher desire to pursue a university education compared to females, and less of a desire to pursue skills training compared to females. Age needs to be factored in, as there were older females in the study who wanted to pursue skills training rather than, at their older age, starting university education.

More males than females felt they would not have debt problems like their parents.

Most males were naive about condom use, but this is probably because the sample was of younger boys.

Males expressed strong views about negative peer pressure and they specifically spoke about potential detrimental effects. In focus group discussion, boys they spoke about negative peer pressure leading to substance misuse, quitting school, and increased risk taking behaviors. They also spoke about wanting more peaceful ways of communicating with each other in the RP. Males also talked more about the importance of respecting and obeying authority figures. They considered soft skill training, negotiating relationships, communication with their peers and dealing with negative peer pressure as important. They also need more understanding about which authority figures are good and which are not (and why).

PERSPECTIVES ABOUT THE FUTURE

Participants varied in their views and beliefs regarding the future.

Change is Not Possible

“I don’t hope or want anything. I just want to live with my parents and 7 siblings as we have always lived. Dreams are useless and cannot come true. My life will stay like it is. We will always be poor.”

In-depth Interview, Vietnamese Female who DA

Based on her description, this participant appears to have a sense of fatalism.

Anxiety and Pessimism

“Nowadays I worry a lot about my future, I think and think but I cannot solve how I will make more money. I am illiterate so what good job can I do. I know nothing useful so what can I do? I want to find a job that will make more money than Karaoke. After a while my body will be too old for Karaoke and then what else can I do?”

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

“If a Karaoke girl keeps working like she does then her future will not be good.”

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

It is interesting that those participants who expressed such worry about their futures both worked in Karaoke bars. It appears they understood such work had a limited future and would negatively impact their futures.

Desire to Acquire a Skill

"I don't know what I want to be in the future or what skill I need so that I can one day support my husband and children. *I need a skill* so I have money to feed them. I think about this and hope one day I can save enough money to open a shop to support myself and I hope I will be *proud of myself then*."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

It is interesting this participant refused assistance yet desired to learn a new skill. In coming years, the research team would like to explore participants' rationale for refusing assistance, whether it is to do with family commitments or not liking the types of assistance that are being offered.

Participants' Advice to their Peers

"Children who had the *bad experiences* like me should try to *study hard, respect their parents and not cause trouble* to others, then they will become a rich person one day. If they don't study hard they will stay poor and will have to scavenge or do slave work."

In-depth Interview, Male in RP

One needs to consider whether the advice to 'not cause trouble' comes from a sense of self-blame, or a sense of believing negative things that people have said in the past.

Desire to be a Role Model and Advocate

"If I get success as I wish, I will not forget the help I received from my shelter 'mother' and 'father' in the shelter and from the older sisters in the shelter. Sometimes I think that if I become a tailor I will return to the shelter to teach the girls about what I know and have learned. I want to help other children who are like me and give them ideas and hopes and the kind of care that I received."

In-depth Interview, Female who DA

This participant plans to use her experiences to help others, displaying a sense of resilience, advocacy, and empowerment. Have good role models inspired her as she hopes to inspire others? It appears she felt she has received care and this has been significant in her life. Encouraging the development of positive role models among peers and others within the AP is an area which could be encouraged and developed.

CONCLUSION

Wider Ecological Issues Beyond the Reach of Anti-Trafficking APs

There is only so much a short-term AP can do for an individual. In a number of cases, those affected by sexual exploitation and trafficking are in situations where there are numerous factors impacting their vulnerability at a regional or national level. These factors may include high unemployment levels, gender discrimination, discrimination against minority groups, corruption and poverty. Although APs can attempt to tackle some of these issues, they cannot expect to fix everything and tackle economic, social and legal structures that continue to place some children at risk (Jobe, 2010).

Ultimately, the state has to take responsibility in addressing these issues and ensuring that discrimination and poor economic conditions that leave children vulnerable and with limited options and choices are tackled through a wider development agenda.

Links Between Multiple Aspects of Integrity

One way of looking at potential to improve the lives of survivors is to consider how their lives might be positively influenced for the better.

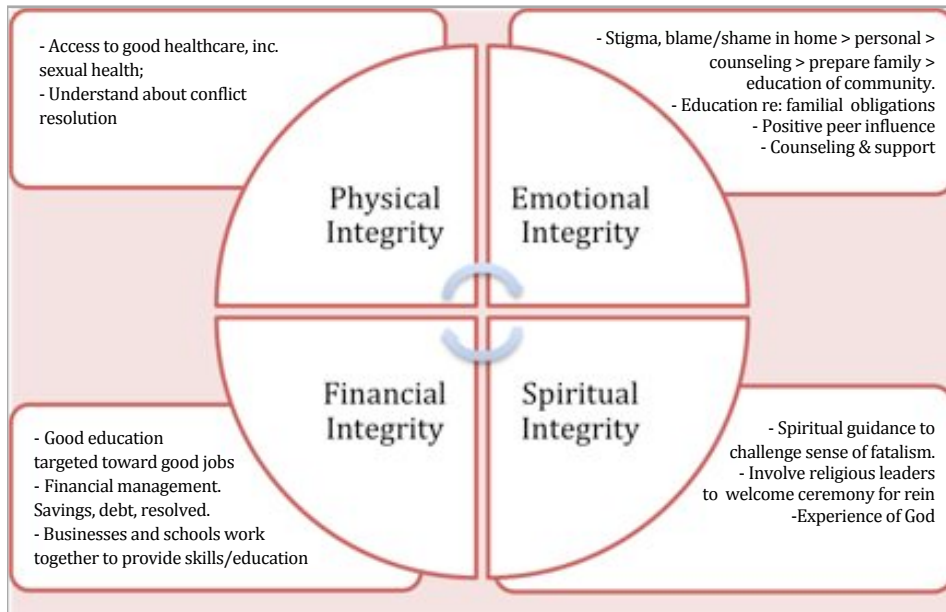


TABLE 56: *Links between Aspects of Physical, Emotional, Spiritual and Financial Integrity*

RECOMMENDATIONS

EMOTIONAL & PHYSICAL INTEGRITY

Recommendation to APs and for further research about emotional support

APs may want to look at the different options available to providing emotional support to children. For some it may be appropriate to have one-on-one counseling but for others the use of group work, creative arts and utilizing sports and music to facilitate communication should be considered.

Some participants said in informal interviews that promises were made about (re-)integration follow-up in terms of visits. When participants are (re-)integrated APs must keep to their promises, or hard earned faith in them could be lost. If social workers from programs cannot come for any reason, for example, then every effort should be made to let clients know.

Later in the research we hope to compare respondents who received counseling and those who did not in order to further determine if this service was perceived by participants as helpful or otherwise.

Recommendations to APs and further research about peer influences

The focus in APs tends to be on what adults do for children; however, adult care and input may only be available a few hours a week. Thus, encouraging positive peer support, positive peer role models and peer communication may be more sustainable and have greater positive impact. More research is needed to know how this might be achieved.

Recommendations on further research about impact on cultural beliefs regarding gender roles and familial obligation

Familial obligations are strongly impacting study participants. These cultural perceptions of familial obligation and responsibility need further investigation into whether the traditional beliefs and values persist, and if this continues to impact their perceptions and experiences after AP programs and beyond. It is also important to understand any links between shame and responsibility, and the potential this has to further exploit survivors. Further research may explore participant perspectives on related proverbs such as, “If the seed is not good, it won’t grow well even when planted in good soil” and “The offspring of ducks are still ducks” as well as the traditional poems describing rules of a women (Chbab Srey) and man (Chbab Pro). A precedent for this kind of exploration was done by Arensen (2002) for CRWRC.

Recommendations to APs on strengthening family relationships

Although center-based relationships are important they are usually not long term or sustainable so it is important to keep connections to positive previous relationships including family. In any case it is important in residential programs to foster the participant’s connection to and relationship with their families, as these will provide support in (re-)integration and in finding supportive networks.

Recommendation to APs for dealing with stigma

Participants reported they felt they were being discriminated against because they are in RPs, and so assumptions are made about what they have experienced in the past.

The topic of how to address stigma is complex and can feel overwhelming as it is pervasive and entrenched in society’s views. It is important to highlight this concern as RPs have a duty to their clients to protect them and to help build up their self-esteem and preparedness for (re-)integration.

One approach to address this issue is offering counseling to clients and teaching how to deal and respond to discrimination. In addition, APs may want to consider speaking and advocating in the schools targeting both teacher and peers, to stop bullying behaviors and discrimination, perhaps through including training in schools on this issue. When undertaking different forms of training, teachers and fellow students have an important role in supporting young people and challenging prejudice for any reason, i.e. previous exposure to sexual exploitation, ethnicity, age, etc.

Recommendation to APs for dealing with ‘blame/shame’ and further research

Some participants reported feelings ‘blamed’ and ‘shamed’ as children prior to their exploitation or since. Further research is needed to understand participants’ perceptions and experiences of this complex dynamic in order to

inform APs in their counseling and healing process with clients. APs need to address these deep feelings in counseling and other therapies in order to help clients heal and move forward.

Recommendations for further research about society's acceptance

Further qualitative research is needed about participants' perceptions of Cambodian society's conditions for social acceptance of people who have been sexually exploited and/or abused. Will social norms change over time? What do participants need to 'do' or 'say' or 'be' to change others' perceptions?

Recommendation to professionals working with survivors, e.g. Teachers, Health Workers, Courts, Police

While in the long term the Government should take responsibility for these occurrences, some NGOs have a mandate to provide training to professionals and civil servants outside of the NGO sphere.

Teachers, health workers and police should be trained to treat sexually exploited persons as victims in need of support, understanding, and respect; rather than as criminals in need of punishment, or as inherently 'bad' - as if they chose to do it or deserve to be treated badly. In order to reduce the stigma that some older participants experience in schools simply because they are older, APs may want to develop ways to get their clients 'up to speed' with accelerated learning initiatives, enabling them to enroll in the correct grade-for-age. Next year we plan to look at other relevant community members and assess whether participants experience discrimination from them e.g. health workers. APs play an important role in briefing and supporting participants through the court process. However the courts also need briefing in, for example, the way they use children as witnesses.

Recommendations to APs and further research to deal with interpersonal conflict

Discussion on violence should be incorporated into soft skills training by APs, including conflict resolution and possibly techniques of self-defense. Later research will compare those who have had counseling and those who have not in order to further determine if participants have perceived this service as helpful or otherwise. APs should be aware of NGOs who can assist in conflict resolution as well as how to access women's shelters if the violence they are experiencing is intolerable or not resolvable.

Research is also needed to determine whether any participants are becoming violent or abusive themselves as a negative response to their experiences. In research by Miles (2008) and others there appears to be a link between domestic violence and alcohol/drug misuse. More research is needed about the effect and impact of alcohol and drugs on participants.

Recommendations to APs about sexual harassment within APs

One participant spoke about feeling sexually harassed by a peer, but had not told assistance staff at that time. The assistance staff in this case has been subsequently informed, but this may be of wider concern than this particular client who admitted that it was happening to them. Programs need to be aware of sexual harassment and create an environment of understanding as to what it is and how one can respond to it. This is a topic which could be included into soft skills teaching and discussion.

Recommendations to APs for dealing with fatalism

APs should consider ways to analyze the impact of fatalism on the way clients think and behave. For instance, discussion about fatalism could be incorporated into counseling, teaching on soft skills, and conversation about spirituality. It is understood that for the majority of Christian organizations in the study, the Christian faith actively promotes the concept that change in the present is possible.

Recommendations for further research as to why some participants refused assistance

There is a need for qualitative research regarding why some participants refuse assistance when offered in the assessment center, and the affect this decision has/ is having on their lives. We want to know, from their perspective, their ideas about what type of assistance they would have preferred, if any. Later in the study, we hope to compare those who have declined assistance with their peers who have been through the APs.

Recommendations for further research about participants' perceptions and experiences of exploitive situations

Based on some of the participants' respondents, their understanding of what constitutes exploitation may indicate a high level of tolerance to exploitive situations.

There is a need for qualitative research exploring how participants view and understand 'exploitative situations': in work, inter-personal relationships, or other contexts.

Recommendations to APs and for further research about sexual health and sexual activity

APs need to sensitively incorporate lessons about sexual health, positive intimate relationships, relationships, dealing with peer pressure, condom use, commitment and self esteem as well as information about STIs and how to prevent acquiring these illnesses. Further research is needed to understand better what participants understand and practice.

Recommendations to donors, APs, government and NGOs and for further research about gender differentials

There need to be more programs tailored to understanding the needs of males who have been sexually exploited and more research exploring how better to support them.

APs need to include in their soft skill training programs skills about discerning which authority figures they need to respect and why. They need to discuss strategies on how to negotiate and resolve negative peer pressure, and relationships with their peers in the RP. With increasing age boys need more knowledge about appropriate sexual behaviors, including condom use.

EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL & FINANCIAL INTEGRITY

Recommendations to APs and for further research about participants perceived financial responsibilities

A number of participants expressed concern for their families' welfare and a desire to help support them even while they were still residing in RPs. We recognize programs participating in this study usually conduct a risk assessment of each client's family and would be aware of this; still, we feel it important to highlight participants' concern for their families. Perhaps as APs conduct family assessments they can also incorporate assessing and monitoring the impact a family's welfare is having on their clients-in-program so as to address these concerns as possible and appropriate.

This also illustrates the need for a more integrated development approach to working with families as children (re-)integrate, and even before, so financial integrity can be worked toward where possible, and if the family have debts these can start to be paid off while achieving a more sustainable life-style.

APs should consider including discussion on reciprocal obligation within families when they are teaching soft skills to participants. They need to help participants resolve the tension between seeming obligations to their families and their responsibility to receive healing for themselves. Reciprocal obligation appears to be in conflict with the alternative views of participants, who strongly believe that parents should bear the responsibility to financially support their children, and that young children should not be obligated to help support their parents or repay debt; and participants' actual experiences of the opposite. It will be interesting to see whether this deep sense of obligation changes as youth culture evolves over the next few years and/or whether it can be positively influenced by the programs that are seeking to help children (re-)integrate.

Recommendation to APs to assess individuals case by case

APs should assess individuals case-by-case and develop a tailored individual response with regular reviews of their individual care plan. Follow-up should be thought through and based on the individual's needs and circumstances.

While there are some common experiences and viewpoints among participants in the study, they are also complex individuals who have been affected and responded in their own unique ways. Participants expressed different hopes and aspirations for their lives, demonstrating that tailored and individualized care and consideration on the part of the APs is essential. At the same time peer support is important, so consideration of what can be done involving groups of peers should also be taken into consideration.

Recommendation to APs on education and training

APs who have access to schools and non-formal programs should advocate with them about welcoming survivors and not discriminating against them.

According to our findings with regards to what further education or training participants would like to pursue, going to 'university' was highest for both genders, followed by doing a skills training for females. APs may want to better understand individual participants educational aspirations by interviewing them. For bright students who want to

attend university APs may need to consider the role they can play in supporting this, but also consider the long term financial implications in helping to make that possible. Young people should be guided to undertake courses and select institutions that are more likely to lead to a marketable job. On the other hand, APs may need to assess whether they are encouraging unrealistic goals for those who may be more educationally challenged.

Recommendation to APs, donors, corporate sector, government and further research about skills training and job market demands

Cambodia has the youngest population of any country in Southeast Asia; and the cohort aged 15-30 years comprises 22 percent of the population. Overall, seven percent of this group is unemployed and unemployment reaches 20 percent in Phnom Penh (Cambodia National Youth Employment Forum, 2011). As many as 300,000 people enter the labor market annually, and this number will soon reach 400,000 per annum (ibid). These numbers are not surprising given the national context. Long-term financial security is really only possible with sustainable employment. (Re-)integration must include anticipating the economic impact that a returnee will have on a poor family and whether they are unable to contribute financially, becoming an economic burden.

Last year's study report found that girls in RPs were well aware of this and were concerned about returning home and adding to the family burden. Jobe (2010) emphasizes that livelihood options for trafficked and stigmatized young women in many communities are limited, and although vocational training may be available, high levels of unemployment and market saturation mean that young people are often left with few choices when it comes to supporting themselves and their families on their return. Hence, education and skills training need to be relevant to the Cambodian job market so participants can get good jobs upon (re-)integration.

For some women involved in sex work, they perceive this as their only available source of income. Thus, in order for someone to earn sufficient income they do need to be doing alternative work. Some NGOs provide replacement incomes for the client, but do not give enough to enable clients to help their families. NGOs must make greater effort to explore potential locations to which they can refer their clients, as well as to recognize the potential for placement/employment in the corporate sector. Some APs work with creative social enterprise and others are beginning to work with the corporate sector but the donor community needs to make more effort in encouraging these endeavors particularly in the provinces out side of Phnom Penh. As the sustainability of international is NGOs is questionable, industry involving local markets is more viable in the long term.

For example, many of the participants who said they wanted to pursue skills training chose similar ones to each other, 'beauty wedding' being a popular choice. Given that APs are trying to be relevant to job market demands and their clients, we would recommend that APs continue to assess the market for gaps and help their clients realistically think through what they want to do in light of the market demands and these gaps. Further it is important that the socially responsible business sector conducts its own research in order to keep abreast of gaps/needs in the market so as to design relevant vocational training programs.

It appears that some participants who (re-)integrated were not given the financial support that they were promised to help them in the process. These promises should not be made if they are not adhered to.

APs may also want to be aware that ministries of the Royal Government of Cambodia such as the *Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training* and the *Ministry of Education Youth and Sport*, as well as the *International Labor Office* and other stakeholders are interested in youth employment issues in Cambodia. The Royal Government of Cambodia recently held a National Youth Employment Forum as a platform for developing an action plan to implement National Policy on Cambodian Youth Development, which was approved by the Royal Government of Cambodia on the 24 June 2011, and has recognized the need for regional commitment to youth employment promotion (Cambodia National Youth Employment Forum, 2011).

Recommendations to APs and researchers about safe migration

It is highly likely in years to come that some participants in this study will migrate to where they can find work.

Discussions and lessons on safe migration should be incorporated into soft skills training while clients are still in APs about what safe migration entails and how to go about this process. This will help the client remain safe and avoid exploitative situations in the future. This is especially important in border areas and with communities who are seeking work in Thailand and Malaysia for example. More research is needed about why survivors migrate inside or outside of the country and the impact this has on them.

Recommendations for further research about participants' perceptions of debt

Most participants felt children who lived with parents who were in debt, were not any more likely to get into debt themselves when they grew up. Further research is needed to understand what participants mean by this viewpoint. Is it because they are moving away from the sense of fatalism of their parents and are more optimistic for their futures? or is this something that changes as they get older? Are they in denial? Are they optimists? Are they able or not able to think ahead regarding potential difficulties they may face? Or are they thinking ahead and have plans as to how to prevent incurring financial difficulties like their parents? In the meantime, as already recommended, it is important that programs address the topic of personal and family financial management.

Recommendations to APs about encouraging survivors to keep financial savings

Most programs offer 'life skills' classes and thus if not doing so already, it would be good to incorporate personal and family financial planning. An understanding of how to budget and save may help clients with debt prevention and resolution in the future, including opening and managing a bank account.

SPIRITUAL INTEGRITY

Participants varied in views and beliefs regarding their futures, ranging from a sense of fatalism, that change was not possible for them, to a sense of hope and expectation that change was possible and that they could improve their lives. Some even expressed a desire to be a role model and advocate for others like themselves who have experienced exploitation.

Recommendation for Further Research

Further research over the coming years is needed to understand the long-term effect and impact spirituality has on participants after they have left their APs. For participants who consider themselves to be Buddhist and/or Animistic, it will be helpful to see whether they find the cleansing ceremony *Srou Tuk* to ward off bad spirits from the past and make a new beginning to be helpful or not. For Christians, it will be helpful to determine whether they are welcomed into a church community, and for those of all religions to determine whether prayer is helpful.

ECOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

As participants (re-)integrate, more research is needed to provide information about the context in which they are living, and to determine the impact that context has on them. Although such research will likely provide information about areas over which APs have limited control (e.g. poverty, culture, Government), it is still important to understand where the limitations exist.

OTHER

Recommendations Regarding Training

The recommendations above include many aimed at young people who are survivors. Training caregivers and those involved in providing soft skills to these young people is therefore essential. Consideration should be made about whether a comprehensive training could be put together to cover all of these aspects, and whether some of them could be included in Chab Dai forums and training workshops.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Approval Letter from Ministry of Health, National Ethic Committee for Health Research (NECHR)

