



WORLD FAITHS DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE



WORLD FAITHS DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE REPORTS | 2012

Faith Roles in Cambodia's Efforts to Counter Trafficking in Persons

October 2012



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FOREWORD

Many if not most complex global issues that affect international development and social welfare are played out in Cambodia. The tragedy of Cambodia's recent history of genocide and social destruction juxtaposed against a remarkable recovery, a striking cultural heritage, harsh poverty, and the country's living beauty beg for answers to the questions: Why has history treated Cambodia as it has? What does development mean for Cambodia? And what comes next? In Cambodia's relatively freewheeling and open society today, a robust dialogue about such difficult questions, which have ramifications that extend far beyond Cambodia, is possible. Thus WFDD, seeking a country where we could explore the complex questions of how religion and development were, in practical ways, linked, chose in 2008 to focus on Cambodia. Since then a succession of WFDD fellows have built a comprehensive knowledge base about what faith-inspired institutions are doing to address virtually every development challenge. With little research on the topic the work began essentially from scratch, and has included extensive in-depth interviews, visiting projects in every corner of the country, and undertaking a series of surveys. The products, apart from blogs and continuous exchange with colleagues in Cambodia and beyond, are a series of reports whose purpose is to contribute to knowledge and understanding about the development work of religious actors and, equally important, to identify ways in which this knowledge and understanding can improve the quality of development programs.

This fourth WFDD report on topics around development and faith in Cambodia focuses on one of the more complex and contentious social and political issues today: human trafficking. Cambodia is at the epicenter of discussions about why human trafficking occurs in this day and age, what can be done about it, and the ethical responsibilities of different parties for action in the face of the harm it does to individuals and society. The review highlights debates that surround especially the role of Protestant Christian actors in Cambodia (most coming from abroad), including their advocacy and operational work. Cambodian counter-trafficking work is a special facet of development work, including gender issues. It also has significant potential to inform global efforts to address the tragedy of trafficking that is widely seen as a leading edge of the harsh realities of contemporary slavery.

The report's focus is on what faith actors working in Cambodia do, and do not do, on this specific topic, and, through its emphasis on the voices of the organizations most directly involved in counter-trafficking, their motivations and experience. Beyond that narrative, the question is why this matters: what can be learned both from their experience and their reflections? In an arena that sparks strong emotions and attracts a sharp international spotlight, religious bodies play a variety of complex roles. The report sets out to describe these current efforts and initiatives as they are seen from Cambodia, and to set them within the broader, global context of debates and partnerships about poverty and equity and how faith is involved. It offers insight into how different groups view development priorities: for some trafficking is a central issue while for others it is more symptom than core issue. The debates also highlight three central issues at the nexus of faith and development: issues of coordination (and some successes on this topic), how proselytizing arises as an issue in relation to development, and how gender issues enter into development debates.

The report expands upon WFDD's exploration of faith roles in Cambodia, especially *Faith-Inspired Organizations and Development in Cambodia*. Reports on Cambodia and other WFDD publications can be found online at <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/wfdd/publications>.

Our hope is that the report will provoke dialogue and learning.

Katherine Marshall

Executive Director, World Faiths Development Dialogue

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report focuses on the tragic and contentious issue of human trafficking, specifically identifying the range of faith actors that are involved – some prominently and some less visibly. It draws extensively on primary research carried out in Cambodia by WFDD research fellows, including dozens of extended interviews with faith and development leaders directly engaged on trafficking issues; most of these interviews were conducted over a period from mid-2010 to mid-2011. Several of these interviews are available online at <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/projects/faith-and-development-in-cambodia-interview-series>. The principal researcher and author of an extended draft was Ethan Carroll, WFDD research fellow in Cambodia. Nathaniel Adams contributed to the research and interviews. Claudia Zambra (WFDD Washington) provided oversight. Katherine Marshall (WFDD Executive Director), Kelly Robbins, and Claudia Zambra were largely responsible for the final draft. We thank colleagues who commented on the report in draft form. The report was not easy to complete because of the sensitivities and complexities of the topic and several WFDD colleagues contributed to writing and editing. The wisdom and generosity of those interviewed is deeply appreciated.

WFDD gratefully acknowledges its partners: the Princeton-in-Asia fellowship program, the University of Cambodia, the Asia Faiths Development Dialogue, and Georgetown University's Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs.

ACRONYMS

ACTs	Against Child Trafficking
ADHOC	Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association
AFDD	Asia Faiths Development Dialogue
AFESIP	Agir Pour Les Femmes En Situation Precaire
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIM	Agape International Missions
APPLE	Action Pour Les Enfants
ARC	Alliance of Religions for Conservation
ARV	Anti-retroviral
BFD	Buddhism for Development
BLI	Buddhist Leadership Initiative
BSDA	Buddhism for Social Development Action
CCC	Cooperation Committee of Cambodia
CELI	Community Environment and Livelihood Improvement Project
CIF	Children In Families
COMMIT	Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking
COSECAM	Coalition to Address (Sexual Exploitation) of Children in Cambodia
CPP	Cambodian Peoples' Party
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CWCC	Cambodian Women's Crisis Center
CYEO	Children and Youth Education Organization
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DoCR	Provincial Department of Cults and Religions
DoSAVY	District Department of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
EFC	Evangelical Fellowship Cambodia
EFC-CC	Evangelical Fellowship Cambodia's Children's Commission
ELC	Economic Land Concessions
FAAST	Faith Alliance Against Slavery and Trafficking
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAO	Government Accountability Office
G/TIP	Global Trafficking in Persons (State Department reports)
HBF	Heinrich Boell Foundation
HCC	Healthcare Center for Children
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICC	International Cooperation Cambodia
IJM	International Justice Mission
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISAI	Improving Social Accountability Initiative
KEAP	Khmer-Buddhist Educational Assistance Project
LHA	Life and Hope Association
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoCR	Ministry of Cults and Religions
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoSAVY	Ministry of Social Affairs, Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding

MST	Men and the Sex Trade
NAMSA	Network of Monks for Social Accountability
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIS	National Institute of Statistics
NTFP	Non-timber Forest Products
NRM	Natural Resource Management
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PAGE	Program Advancing Girls' Education
PECSA	Program to Enhance Capacity in Social Accountability
PLHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
PPC	Project Proposal Concept
RACHA	Reproductive and Child Health Alliance
SCC	Salvation Centre Cambodia
SEC	School Eco-club
SIREN	UN Inter-Agency Partnership's Strategic Information Response Network
SISHA	South East Asian Investigations into Social and Humanitarian Activities
SVA	Shanti Volunteer Association
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVPA	Trafficking in Victims Protection Act (US)
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
UNIAP	United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VEAT	Village Environmental Action Team
WFDD	World Faiths Development Dialogue
WVNTC	World Vision's Neavear Thmey Center

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Cambodia has become something of a symbol and flashpoint for trafficking in persons (most visibly trafficking for sex) because considerable publicity has centered on the phenomenon there. A variety of religious groups have played important roles in addressing the issue and giving it international prominence. Trafficking presents extraordinarily difficult practical and ethical dilemmas and, it is partly for that reason that faith-inspired organizations have taken on active roles in efforts to end trafficking, both internationally and in Cambodia. Their work in Cambodia is the focus of this report.

Trafficking, in its many forms, has complex causes that include widespread poverty that limits people's options for survival; traditions that can lead people to turn a blind eye to trafficking's harms; the unequal position of women in much of the society and attitudes towards gender and sex; in addition to Cambodia's still emerging legal, judicial and policy institutions that weaken enforcement of laws and agreed policies. International attention has, for better or worse, tended to focus especially on the trafficking of women and children for sex (as opposed to other forms of trafficking, which are also significant). Those who focus on trafficking issues in Cambodia seek both immediate and long-term solutions as they navigate efforts to honor human rights and respond to the practical issues presented by the local context.

Roles of Faith Actors

Faith-inspired actors (mostly Protestant Christians) play meaningful roles in counter-trafficking efforts, alongside many other private and public entities and programs. Their roles are diverse and, despite significant differences in opinion about the causes of trafficking and appropriate remedies, generally complementary, of each other and of other actors, public and private. The work is largely inspired by a view of the principle ills that trafficking involves and its causes. An early tendency was to focus on direct action against traffickers, raiding brothels to rescue victims. A host of faith-inspired organizations provide aftercare, rehabilitation, and counseling services for "victims". Others work with some specific groups that are especially vulnerable or neglected, for example Vietnamese people or young boys. There are programs that focus on older female sex workers or recent arrivals in cities. Some work from a perspective that seeks explicitly to advance the rights and welfare of children. Many groups, however, believe that the real solution lies in prevention, and this draws them to a different set of programs that involve education, community awareness, and income earning opportunities that combat poverty.

Faith organizations work on a broad range of programs, including prevention; promoting individual-level changes and traditional development initiatives; awareness-raising aimed at changing structural beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors; raids and rescues; aftercare, reintegration, and vocational training; and faith-inspired businesses. They vary in the degree to which faith is an explicit element in their programming. The approaches fall along a spectrum of modernist biblical interpretation. These lead to different approaches to reintegrating people into communities (some see getting victims back into their communities as a priority while others focus on extended rehabilitation).

Partnerships have emerged to coordinate these diverse efforts. One in particular stands out: a network known as Chab Dai. It is a model of both a resource and partner organization. A Christian membership coalition founded and operating in Cambodia, its members are Christian-inspired counter-trafficking entities and most such groups are linked to Chab Dai. Chab Dai's leadership team aims to support an encompassing continuum-of-care for trafficking survivors among faith-based anti-trafficking organizations, while accepting that member organizations must stay true to their own spiritual mandate or mission. Its coordination work is supported by issue-focused research, donor outreach, and advocacy. *Chab Dai aims to create a community among Christian organizations that allows them to trust each other's programs for referrals and identify the shared motivation that underlies differences in opinion. Among its challenges is navigating the politics, local and international*

(especially in the United States) that both inspire and divide evangelical communities as they approach trafficking and the best paths to pursue.

Other Christian groups that are active in Cambodia, Protestant and Catholic, are notable for their absence from programs that address sex trafficking specifically and explicitly. There are no Catholic organizations in Chab Dai's membership, though Catholics working in anti-trafficking organizations that are not Christian, including a Maryknoll Sister. The Salesian Sisters' two-year sewing school in Battambang was established specifically to prevent trafficking among the very poor in that province. Elsewhere in Asia including Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines, the Good Shepherd Sisters have centers to protect trafficking survivors and work actively on prevention through community education. Reflecting a different strategic approach to the trafficking problem, many Catholic groups like Catholic Relief Services (CRS) are deeply engaged in development and poverty reduction work generally as well as in migration issues in the Mekong region. Although Cambodia's population is largely (95 percent) Buddhist, we identified only one Buddhist NGO, Santi Sena, that addresses human trafficking directly (through capacity building). Many other Buddhist-led programs, however, touch on related areas with the aim of preventing human trafficking. Groups such as Life and Hope Association (LHA) and Buddhism for Social Development Action (BSDA) focus on empowering women and children by increasing school attendance among girls, providing livelihood training for women, and employing disadvantaged individuals. Cambodia has a Muslim minority population, with a Muslim Cambodian group is active in this area.

The striking differences among faith groups in the priority they give to trafficking as a development issue and the implicit way this reflects their ranking of priorities and "theories of change" would be a productive topic for interfaith as well as intra-faith dialogue. While differences have rarely affected programs and policies to date, they could well do so in the future, as the Cambodian government takes more active roles in oversight of nongovernmental organization activity. The topic as an illustration of the complexity and policy implications of faith-inspired development work could inspire interfaith reflection at the international level.

Policy Environment

Cambodia's policy environment, at least at present, is fairly lightly regulated with respect to non-governmental programs that work on matters related to trafficking. This provides significant latitude for faith-inspired and secular actors to operate and accounts for the wide range of approaches and practical programs. Strikingly, few faith-inspired actors focus on international migration and repatriation services linked to trafficking; they are thus not a focus of this study.

The report focuses on the main categories within which the US State Department monitors counter-trafficking: the 4Ps framework of **P**revention, **V**ictim **P**rotection, **C**riminal **P**rosecution, and **P**artnerships. *The diversity of programs and resulting coordination challenges (the result of the complexity of the problem, weak regulations and limitations on government implementation capacity) means that partnership organizations like Chab Dai, COSECAM, and ECPAT provide structure and mutual accountability that would otherwise be missing. Even so, coordination and clear strategic focus are challenges.*

Barriers to Further Partnerships

Despite the successes of partnership efforts, *there are ample issues of poor coordination among actors, both faith-inspired and secular.* A single bad experience can have wide-ranging effects and applies to actual or perceived experiences with both Christian and Buddhist organizations. These are accentuated by doctrinal differences and preconceptions about the motivations of various groups. Various organizations nonetheless seek the knowledge base and resources of faith-inspired organizations, and faith-inspired agencies recognize that partnerships can expand services. *The review found a frequently stated willingness to give priority to providing the best care possible to those involved.*

Moving Forward

The review identified several areas involving both knowledge/research and action where better results in countering trafficking in Cambodia might be achieved.

There are urgent needs for better data and evaluation. A much better statistical basis would help to assess both the scale and trends of trafficking and what impact the work to counter it is having. Most important, evaluation of the impact of programs, with a view to learning from experience, is a noteworthy gap.

The work and impact of the groups (faith-inspired and secular) that work, directly or indirectly, with victims of trafficking or to prevent it, is still only partially mapped. It would be especially useful to have a deeper understanding of the counter-trafficking efforts of Buddhist-inspired organizations and *wats*. Their thinking and action linking prevention and direct action would be helpful. Buddhist *wats* have traditionally functioned as community centers and social safety nets, and there is abundant potential for viable faith-inspired programs and partnerships.

A question that emerges specifically from the research and that calls for further analysis, discussion, and policy reflection, is the role that the faith of groups working to counter trafficking plays, especially in aftercare. Widely different views on both ethics and practical dimensions emerged in the discussions, ranging from a conviction that faith and healing are inseparable and that Christian faith is a necessity and a blessing, to others who see converting trafficking victims to Christianity as unethical given their vulnerability and likely future path in the society. These issues link to the broader challenge of better defining what proselytizing and evangelizing entail in a development context. Are the issues clearly framed? Are limits understood and respected? What more can and should be done?

Questions that research and coordinated action might address include the relative effectiveness of institutional and non-institutional aftercare, inter-organizational client referrals, and inter-faith partnering. On these matters, Cambodian counter-trafficking work offers a significant potential to inform global efforts to address the tragedy of trafficking that is seen as an important element of contemporary slavery. Further, assessments of the Cambodian government's effectiveness in addressing trafficking are an explicit element of bilateral development dialogue and, for the United States, involve specific conditionality. Thus they relate to the broader development dialogue in distinctive ways that, inter alia, engage non-governmental organizations in significant ways.

Experience in addressing trafficking in Cambodia over more than a decade highlights widely differing views about the scale of the problem of trafficking and its fundamental causes. These lead to very different programmatic approaches. These reflect Cambodia specific options and debates but they also have international implications because trafficking is a global human rights issue that has special significance in mobilizing international attention on human rights and gender issues. It poses the fundamental question of how international actors, public but especially private, can and should support or intervene.

Because faith-inspired actors are so prominent in this specific sector the faith and ethical dimensions of addressing a complex social and at times political issue emerge starkly. To put it simplistically, is trafficking a, or even the, central human rights issue that should be at the front lines of priorities or is it a symptom of broader social issues that should be the priority? How far does the faith inspiration of an organization color the way these issues are seen? Why does the question of proselytizing arise around trafficking programs and how and why does that matter? How far do approaches to trafficking involve religious freedom issues (which for some in Cambodia mean the right to design programs inspired explicitly by a faith motivation)? With many of the organizations involved framing trafficking as a leading human rights issue central to development, what can be learned from the dialogue and activities?

INTRODUCTION AND REPORT OVERVIEW

This report began with a question: How is faith relevant to counter-trafficking efforts in Cambodia? It takes stock of the organizations engaged in counter-trafficking work in Cambodia, with a focus on faith-inspired organizations, the lessons they have learned, and the challenges ahead.

The report defines faith-inspired organizations broadly:ⁱ

The term “faith-inspired organization” encompasses a very broad array of groups, and they differ in both their size and the degree to which religious beliefs and principles factor into their work. A small missionary group which runs a school would fit the definition, as would a global organization undertaking numerous projects such as running health clinics, digging wells, and training teachers. The key link between all faith-inspired organizations is that faith is a chief motivator of their activities.

Most faith-inspired organizations engaged in counter-trafficking concentrate primarily on trafficking of women and children for the purposes of sexual exploitation, more than labor exploitation or indentured servitude. They work in all of the US State Department’s categories of counter-trafficking measures: the 4Ps framework of **P**revention, **V**ictim **P**rotection, **C**riminal **P**rosecution, and **P**artnerships.

Most faith-inspired organizations in Cambodia that engage in efforts *expressly intended to combat trafficking* in persons are Christian-inspired and many of them began their work in Cambodia specifically to address this issue. Some are ecumenical in nature; none are affiliated with Catholicism (this contrasts to the Catholic Church’s global engagement in addressing trafficking in persons). Christian-inspired organizations’ efforts to combat human trafficking in Cambodia bear little relationship to the total size of Cambodia’s Christian population. Estimates of Cambodia’s religious composition vary, but most suggest that the population is about 95 percent Buddhist, with significant Muslim and Christian minorities. Estimates of Christian Cambodians range from 0.37 percent to 2 percent.ⁱⁱ Thus the Christian, and specifically evangelical Protestant, focus on trafficking is an important feature.

The dynamics of faith-inspired organizations’ anti-trafficking efforts in Cambodia mirror such efforts elsewhere, but the report does not address faith-inspired counter-trafficking efforts globally. For a host of reasons, the Cambodian context is unique, most obviously the relatively recent and uniquely brutal 1975-79 Khmer Rouge era and genocide and the effects this traumatic history has had on the nature of government, religion, and civil society.

Cambodian anti-trafficking efforts, faith-inspired and otherwise, indirectly address elements of the MDGs, as trafficking in persons within, to, and from Cambodia is integrally linked to Cambodia’s overall development challenges. Poverty, unequal patterns of development, a dearth of educational opportunities, and unfavorable environmental changes all contribute to individual decisions to migrate. This irregular and uninformed migration puts migrants at risk of exploitation, especially because legal structures are inadequate to protect them. Women in Cambodia are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and rights violations. Trafficking also heightens risks of HIV and AIDS and other diseases. Trafficking is thus both an inhibitor of development and a result: “If we have this problem we cannot develop our society, which affects everyone” (Interview: Chan Dyna).

The report begins (Part One) with factual summaries (to the degree they are known) of the state of trafficking in persons in Cambodia today, including its ties to Cambodia’s development and equity challenges. Part Two then outlines responses by counter-trafficking actors, focusing on the work of faith-inspired organizations through the lens of the 4Ps framework: Prevention, Victim Protection including aftercare, Criminal Prosecution, and Partnerships. The topics covered include emergency and transit care, institutional care, rehabilitation, vocational training, reintegration, and survivor employment. The issue of partnership is a focus for the institutions and thus for the report. Finally, Part Three examines key issues facing faith-inspired counter-trafficking agencies that

suggest areas to monitor and explore moving forward. Its focus is on issues that arise in relation to the impact of faith on strategic approaches, programs, results, and relationships.

The discussion is anchored in over 40 semi-structured interviews with faith-inspired organizations, international organizations, donor agencies, and other civil society actors engaged in counter-trafficking efforts, conducted between August 2010 and June 2011, one interview conducted by WFDD Fellows in the context of WFDD's 2010 report (see Appendix A), and some discussions after June 2011. For the purposes of this study, the agencies interviewed or discussed are termed "counter-trafficking" organizations, but many do not work solely on counter-trafficking; indeed, for several agencies, counter-trafficking is not their primary focus. Because of the sensitivities involved, we were unable to incorporate the voices of trafficking survivors, and some of those interviewed preferred anonymity. The report's focus is on the faith-inspired organizations themselves, primarily on those headquartered in Phnom Penh.

PART I: TRAFFICKING IN CAMBODIA

Cambodia and International Counter-Trafficking¹

Three related global efforts provide an important backdrop to faith-inspired engagement with trafficking in Cambodia: UN efforts to eradicate trafficking in persons, the US State Department's regular reporting and rating of the anti-trafficking efforts of foreign governments, and the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

A diverse coalition led by feminist and anti-trafficking groups lobbied internationally for the year 2000 passage of the UN Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. The Protocol defined human trafficking as:

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... The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth [above] shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth [above] have been used.

Also in 2000, coalitions worked in the United States for passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). In 2001, the U.S. State Department began its annual Global Trafficking In Persons (GTIP) reporting process. This report assesses countries' compliance with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking in persons. Countries are ranked as Tier 1 (fully complying with the standards), Tier 2 (not fully complying, but making significant efforts to do so), Tier 2 Watchlist (these significant efforts are subject to major challenges, unclear reporting, or future evaluation, est. 2004), or Tier 3 (not complying and not making significant efforts to do so). Tier 3 countries may be subject to withholding US government non-humanitarian, non-trade-related foreign assistance, as well as certain forms of assistance from international financial institutions. Since 2001, Cambodia has spent two years in Tier 3, three years in Tier 2 Watchlist, and six years in Tier 2 (including 2010 and 2011).

Faith-inspired organizations were key advocates for the TVPA's passage and have played central roles since in informing and scaling up the U.S. State Department's counter-trafficking approach with clear links to the G/TIP ranking. Laura Lederer, Former Senior Advisor on Trafficking in Persons in the Office for Democracy and Global Affairs of the US State Department, observed:

Once the TVPA came into play, one of its mandates was that, to the greatest degree possible, government should look to the non-profit world for its experience on the ground because those groups were the ones that, practically speaking, knew and understood the problem locally and how to address it in an organic matter. They see...that rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration need to all be done within the context of the country and the culture of the people. (Interview Lederer)

In 2004, in cooperation with the governments of China, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam, Cambodia signed a MOU against trafficking in persons as part of the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking (COMMIT), a regional initiative led by the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP). The memorandum signified a commitment to meeting international standards through partnership with signatory countries, NGOs, and International Organizations. The signatories adopted Sub-

¹ See Jesuit Refugee Service, *State of Migration: An Overview of Forced Displacement in Cambodia*, 2012, especially Chapter V, "Trafficking in Persons". It has a thorough, systematic review of the legal and institutional frameworks.

regional Plans of Action for 2005-2007 and from 2008-2010, with specific Project Proposal Concepts (PPCs) to translate the inter-ministerial MOU into action. As part of the COMMIT Process, Cambodia formed a National COMMIT Taskforce in 2007 and instituted a National Plan of Action which has guided its strategic approach to combating trafficking, though this Taskforce has largely been supplanted by the National Committee to Lead The Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labor, and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children (hereafter referred to as “the National Committee”), which was charged with implementing the MOU.

The Royal Government of Cambodia’s 2008 Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation and Penal Code provides expanded legal authority to prosecute anyone involved in human trafficking equally, including recruiters or brokers. It replaced the 1996 Law on Suppression of the Kidnapping and Trafficking of Human Persons and the Exploitation of Human Persons.

Box 1: An International Spotlight

Cambodia’s experience has affected the evolution of anti-trafficking politics in the US and, likewise, US politics has shaped responses to trafficking in Cambodia. An important dimension is the work and approaches of faith-linked institutions, many moved and motivated by a shared anger at the injustice of trafficking. Advocacy for global action on trafficking by coalitions of faith-inspired organizations contributed to financial support for anti-trafficking programs, and the Faith-Based Initiative established by former US President George W. Bush in 2001 specifically created space for such programs.

In 2003, the US based NGO, International Justice Mission (IJM), which was inspired by evangelical Christian beliefs, filmed a high-profile raid at Svay Pak, a brothel area outside of Phnom Penh notorious for child prostitution. NBC special broadcasts of the raid galvanized worldwide awareness of sex trafficking and support for action in Cambodia. A knowledgeable observer, Glenn Miles, suggested that: “I would go as far as to say that IJM’s footage ... was the single most significant factor in changing the U.S. State Department’s view on trafficking and slavery, recognizing sex trafficking as a form of slavery and doing something about it on a political level.” IJM catapulted into prominence in the US as a player and, while other factors were certainly important in shaping US policy, the events in Cambodia continue to serve in some quarters as an icon of what anti-trafficking is about. Miles and another observer, Helen Sworn, both affiliated with the Christian anti-trafficking coalition, Chab Dai, noted that after the IJM footage was aired, the international spotlight fixed on the phenomenon of sex trafficking in Cambodia. Various reasons explain the Cambodia focus: the strong perceived links between trafficking and prostitution, moving stories about children involved, and some highly publicized cases of so-called child sex tourists, many of them Western, targeted by the extraterritorial PROTECT Act to subject them to prosecution at home for acts committed outside the U.S.

The publicity inspired a deluge of faith-inspired organizations and other NGOs to focus on Cambodia, informed largely by what they had gleaned from the media, and eager to act. Financial commitments, including President George W. Bush’s 2003 promise of US \$50 million to combat human trafficking served as an encouragement.ⁱⁱⁱ

Cambodian activists welcomed the international focus and support but the influx of organizations was a challenge. Some of the arrivals were only dimly aware of the local anti-trafficking movement and the different groups rarely arrived with established relationships with one another. Coordination—with the Cambodian government, with international partners working in related areas, and among the many diverse organizations at work—emerged as a significant problem. Several dynamic actors with strong faith inspiration took on the challenge of coordination in Cambodia, but the diversity of outside efforts still results in fragmentation and some crossed wires, and is increasingly a concern to the government.

Over the years, reporting about trafficking in Cambodia, for example by well-known journalist Nicholas Kristof, has kept the spotlight on trafficking in persons as an issue synonymous with Cambodia. Charismatic survivors-turned-activists like Somaly Mam have also given the counter-trafficking effort a human face. Again, policy attention and resources have a positive impact but can mask the complexities of trafficking and obscure their intricate socio-economic context. Perhaps the central challenge is to ensure that counter-trafficking programs, many of which aim at prevention as well as care for survivors, dovetail well with the broader development strategies of which they are a part.

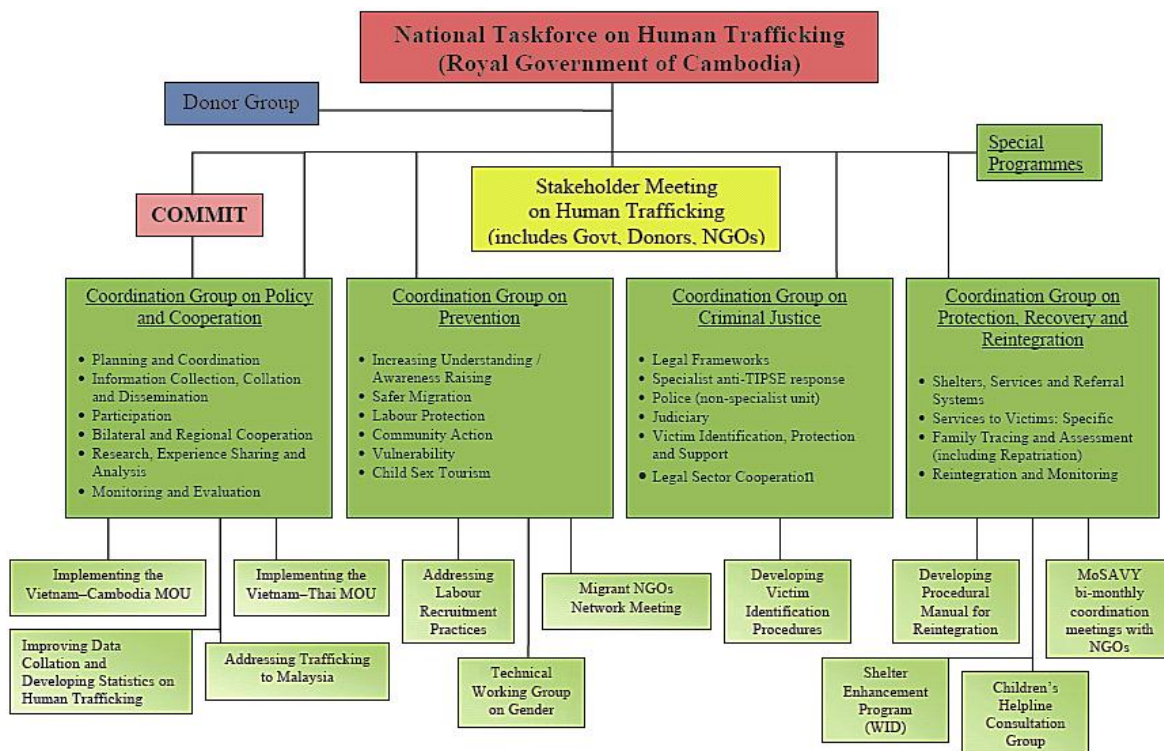


Figure 1. Cambodian Anti-Trafficking Aid and Policy Coordination Structure^v

Trafficking in Cambodia: A Snapshot

Trafficking in Cambodia is complex along several dimensions, including the wide range of destinations and identities of the trafficked and traffickers and the practical difficulties in assessing numbers and trends involved. Cambodia is a source, transit, and destination for men, women, and children who are subjected to trafficking in persons.^v The UN Inter-Agency Partnership's Strategic Information Response Network (SIREN) Report summarizes major transit points of trafficking within, to and from Cambodia.^{vi} While its data is limited to cases where there is prosecution or official repatriation of persons identified as victims of trafficking, UNIAP's SIREN Report identifies the major types of trafficking in Cambodia, including:

- Domestic trafficking of children and women for commercial sexual exploitation
- Domestic trafficking, largely from rural to urban areas, of children and women for domestic work
- Trafficking to Thailand, and even as far as Africa, of men, women, and children for labor exploitation (especially begging, construction, agriculture, and fishing) and women and girls for sexual exploitation and domestic work
- Trafficking to Vietnam of children for begging, primarily to Ho Chi Minh City
- Trafficking to Malaysia of men and women for labor exploitation (including through recruitment agencies)
- Trafficking further abroad to countries such as Saudi Arabia for domestic work, and Taiwan and Korea for marriage
- Vietnamese and Chinese citizens trafficked through Cambodia to locations further abroad

Methodological issues explain why there is no reliable statistical data measuring comprehensively the extent of each form of trafficking in persons in Cambodia. The US Government Accountability Office (GAO) observes that trafficking victims are a hidden population; service providers may be unwilling to share data because of confidentiality concerns, and the definition of the term “trafficking in persons” is so broad that available statistics are likely to be inconsistent and incomparable, and existing data may not be reliable.^{vii} Government statistics may be subject to manipulation, as pointed out by one interviewee (confidentiality protected):

[After the Chai Hour debacle, the US laid down conditions for Cambodia to show good faith efforts to combat trafficking lest it affect their Trafficking in Persons ranking and result in sanctions. One of the conditions was the rescue of 100 victims of trafficking.] There was one raid where [a rescue organization and the police] rescued 100 girls; not 99, not 101, exactly 100. Twenty-five came to [a shelter] and the others went to other shelters, and they were out in no time. They knew exactly what their rights were. Obviously the police had said ‘We’ll put you in there and you stay a few days, then you can leave’.

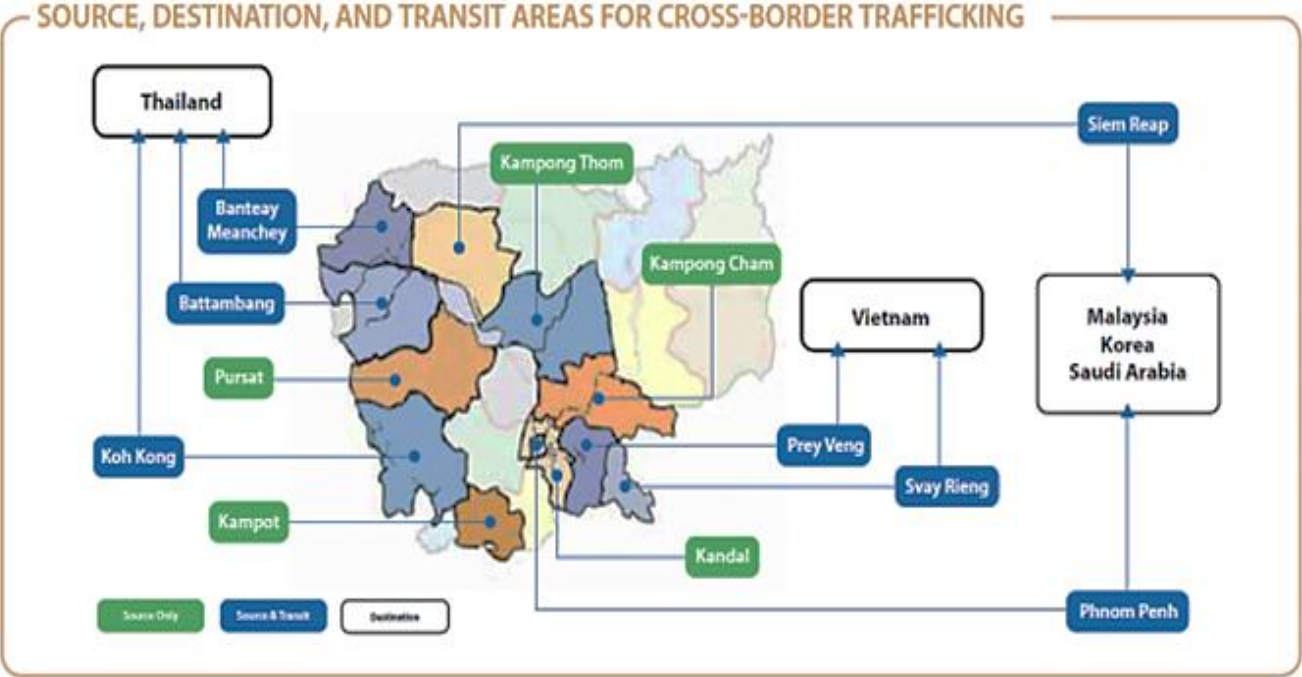


Figure 2. Source, destination, and transit areas for cross-border trafficking

Cambodia: Human Trafficking Routes

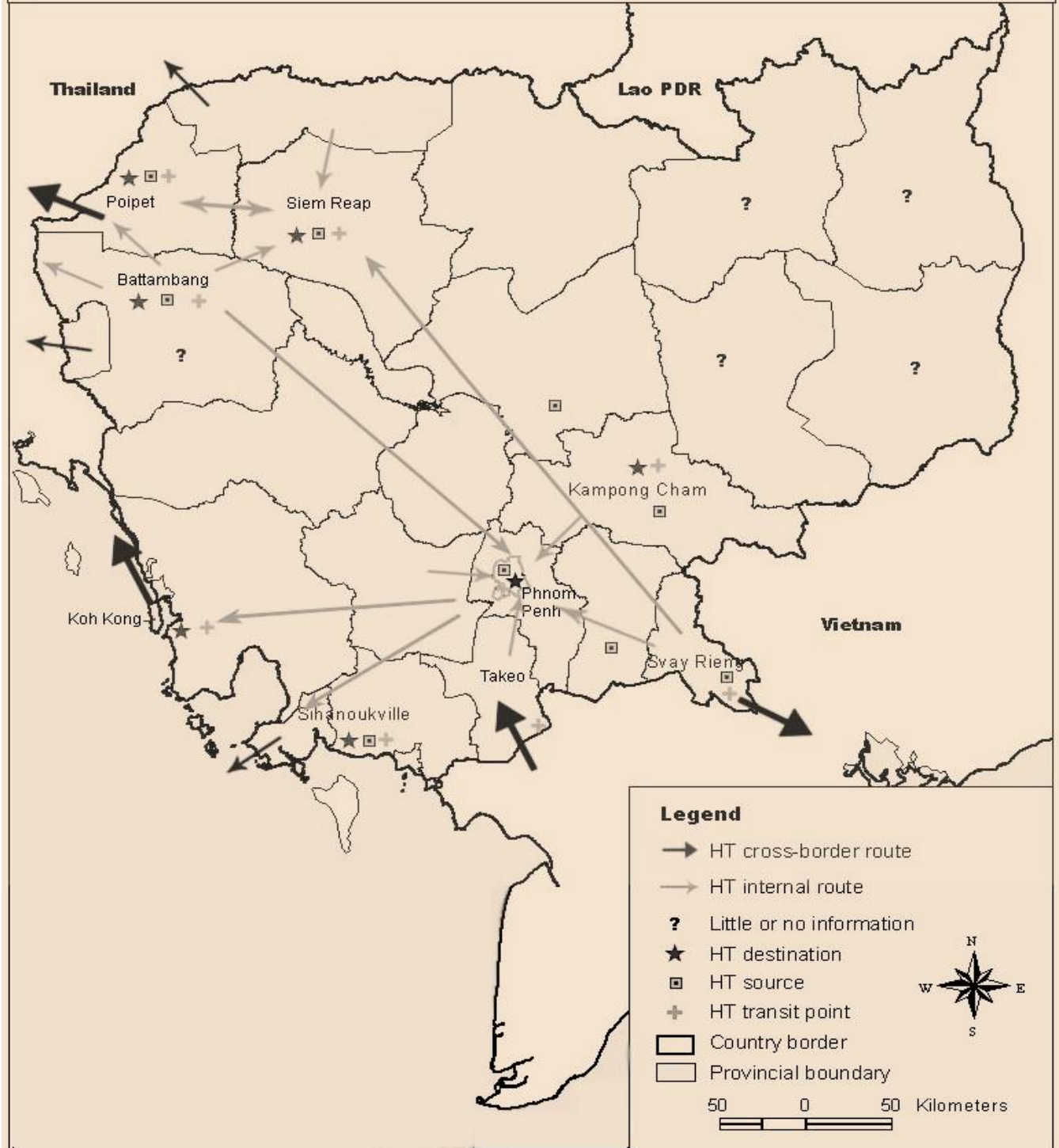


Figure 3. United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP):
Phase III March 2008 (v.1.0)

These difficulties also apply to estimates of trafficking victims globally. Many estimates focus on the number of “sex slaves” in Cambodia, an ambiguous term which is generally taken to include all prostitutes and people trafficked for prostitution, regardless of their willingness to participate in paid sex (and only sex work—these numbers ignore victims of labor trafficking). Indeed, the number of prostitutes is often used as a proxy for the number of victims of human trafficking.^{viii}

Cambodian trafficking processes are dynamic, and adjust to enforcement and outreach efforts of the government, secular, and faith-inspired civil society actors alike.^{ix} For instance, some report a recent shift toward large brothels offering sex-for-pay offsite or KTV (karaoke television) establishments, rather than on-premises.

These factors combine to make it difficult to assess the numbers and trends of the trafficked. Existing survey data, repatriation data, and case statistics suggest somewhere between 75,000 and 100,000 people are involved in trafficking in persons in Cambodia. A 2008 Cambodia Alliance for Combating HIV/AIDS survey of 1,115 entertainment workers² in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Sihanoukville, and Banteay Meanchey found that 3.1 percent of them were under the age of 18.^x A recent UNIAP report found an increase in sex workers in Cambodia between 2003 and 2008, but a decrease in women and children in conditions indicative of trafficking from 1,074 potentially trafficked women and children to 433. ECPAT Cambodia’s NGO Joint Statistics Project documented 109 victims of sex trafficking (trafficking for the purposes of providing sexual services) in 2009 and 73 in 2008. On labor trafficking, case statistics confirm 459 victims of cross-border trafficking, the victims of which had been repatriated to Cambodia, and 1,611 cases in 2010 alone where victims were followed-up with through some reintegration process. The U.S. State Department’s 2011 TIP report cites an unpublished UNIAP study claiming that of 89,000 Cambodians deported from Thailand at the Poipet border, as many as 20,000 may have been unidentified victims of trafficking.

Migration



A major driver of trafficking in Cambodia is migration. Human trafficking is closely related to migration patterns^{xi} and Cambodia’s history is full of extreme patterns of migration. US bombing in Eastern Cambodia during the Vietnam War, coinciding with a faltering economy, pushed many toward Cambodia’s capital city, Phnom Penh, whose population had swelled to two million by April 1975. Then the Khmer Rouge period (1975-79) involved four years of forced migration that virtually emptied the cities. People were forced to participate in agricultural labor camps, tortured, and/or killed. When invading Vietnamese forces ended the regime, tens of thousands of Cambodians fled across the border to Thailand, where the United Nations Border

Figure 4. DRK forced migration routes, map at Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum

² While beer garden, bar, and karaoke workers are sometimes described as at-risk communities, they are more often categorized as informal sex workers and *de facto* prostitutes. Heidi Hoefinger’s PhD thesis, “Negotiating Intimacy: Transactional Sex and Relationships Among Cambodian Professional Girlfriends” (Goldsmiths 2010) argues that the term “professional girlfriend” might be a more accurate and less stigmatizing term for women who are “actively securing multiple transactional partnerships through a performance of intimacy in order to gain material benefits,” many of whom hope to eventually settle down with western boyfriends, but who, because of the transactional nature of their relationships would be considered prostitutes. She also notes (p. 135) that “The common perception that beer promotion women is synonymous with sex workers may have been unintentionally reinforced by public health work related to HIV prevention, in which beer promotion women are regularly referred to as a target group of ‘indirect sex workers.’”

Relief Operation set up eight refugee camps. These camps came under the authority of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) after the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement. It was many years before Cambodia was peaceful enough for people to return.

Trafficking was an issue during these upheavals, even in UNHCR-run camps. Dr. Glenn Miles, who worked with the faith-inspired group Youth With A Mission in the 1990s, notes that “In Site Two I understood that there was an area in the camp where prostitution of people was happening, but although it was known that people were being trafficked into Thailand and Vietnam, to my knowledge no NGOs were involved in tackling this” (Interview with Glenn Miles).

Internal migration increased as Cambodia emerged from civil war throughout the 1990s. Helen Sworn, Founder of Chab Dai Coalition based in Phnom Penh, worked in 1999 in partnership with Goutte D'eau/Damnok Toek's transit center for repatriated persons in Poipet and the International Organization for Migration's reception center in Battambang. She notes that:

At that time there was a huge internal migration process of people from all over the place, but largely from Svay Rieng and Prey Veng, moving to Banteay Meanchey and Poipet—the streets in the northwest were going to be paved with gold. In reality the only places that were paved with gold were the casinos! There was no infrastructure in the northwest, no education, and no social services, and all of these emerging challenges were increasing the vulnerability of those migrant communities (Interview with Helen Sworn).

Cambodia's population is still highly mobile, though the causes of migration are different. The 2008 General Population census records show that 26.5 percent of the country's population identify as migrants. Of these migrants, 21.5 percent responded that they had moved in search of employment, while 38 percent moved with their family, including nearly 50 percent of female migrants. Women seeking employment most often migrate to work as domestic workers, street vendors, entertainment workers (which may or may not include indirect or direct sex work), and agricultural laborers^{xiii}; approximately 90 percent of Cambodia's 350,000 garment workers are women, most of them migrants. Men seeking employment generally migrate from rural to urban areas for employment in seasonal labor in the construction industry or as motodop drivers,^{xiii} and from rural to rural areas, as well as abroad, for employment in agricultural and other manual labor.^{xiv}

PART II: MAPPING THE WORK OF FAITH-INSPIRED ORGANIZATIONS

The complexity of trafficking in persons in Cambodia explains the diverse array of faith-inspired counter-trafficking entities and measures involved. This section focuses on categories that follow the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report's 4P Framework. The 4Ps – **P**revention, **V**ictim **P**rotection, **C**riminal **P**rosecution, and **P**artnerships – are used to monitor countries' adherence to minimum standards for counter-trafficking efforts.

Prevention

Box 2. Organizations interviewed with PREVENTION projects (faith-inspired organizations in bold)

Life and Hope Association, Chab Dai, Save the Children Australia, International Organization for Migration, Freedom from Cambodia, Healthcare Center for Children, Children in Families, International Labour Organization, Kone Kmeng, Evangelical Fellowship of Cambodia Children's Commission, International Justice Mission, South East Asia Investigations into Social and Humanitarian Activities, Agape International Missions, Destiny Rescue, First Step Cambodia, Santi Sena, Precious Women, Men in the Sex Trade

Each effort to prevent trafficking is born of a specific interpretation of what causes trafficking in persons. Interviews with counter-trafficking organizations suggested myriad potential causes of trafficking, and each suggests a particular programmatic response. Causes identified include traditional development challenges, gender-based violence and exploitation, and insufficient community protection mechanisms.

Traditional Development Initiatives

Traditional development challenges, especially poverty and lack of education, are major contributors to trafficking in persons. Initiatives to combat these challenges often are not geared solely toward preventing trafficking, but, as Sotheary Ly, Executive Director of Healthcare Center for Children (HCC), a secular organization based in Phnom Penh, observed: "I think that at the end, all the work that development organizations are doing is contributing to anti-trafficking efforts."

One group of counter-trafficking workers identified absolute and relative poverty as a factor contributing to human trafficking. Sister Helene O'Sullivan, a Maryknoll Sister working with the secular agency Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre (CWCC) comments that, "It's the poverty that drives the girls into this work to help their families." Phil Marshall, from UNIAP, claims that, "competitive markets tend to be characterized by considerable inequality in incomes and wealth. And it is this inequality, this disparity, coupled with the rise of consumerism that, as much as poverty, drives migration."^{xv} Acute vulnerability because of illness, debt, or food shortages emerges repeatedly in narratives about trafficked individuals. Lim Tith, Program Coordinator of UNIAP, observes that women are often trafficked when they need to pay off medical bills for an ill parent (Interview with Lim Tith).

Lack of education is a factor in trafficking in persons. Venerable Hoeurn Somnieng, the Executive Director of LHA, a Buddhist NGO based at Wat Damnak in Siem Reap, suggested that, "the lack of not just education, but systematic education are [both] interrelated with child trafficking." LHA has responded to this challenge with programs distributing food to encourage children's attendance at school, a scholarship for high school girls between grades 10 and 12, and dormitories for girls so that they can attend school. Kone Kmeng's informal education program in Banteay Meanchey Province aims to re-integrate children into schools. Kone Kmeng's Executive Director Pang Sophany describes his organization's focus on education:

Many poor children cannot go to school because they have to pay money to teachers. Others cannot attend school because their parents put them into work... Children are often in positions of vulnerability, so we aim to prevent that by helping them stay in school and encourage them to get better education.

Kone Kmeng's program also has an evangelical component, as it "provide[s] opportunities to share the Gospel with children from the community through contact with Christian teachers and monthly fellowship meetings for children."^{xvi}

Official trafficking reports support these organizations' focus on education as an integral component of prevention. Of ECPAT Cambodia's Joint Statistics Project's 109 reported trafficking victims in Cambodia in 2009, only 49 percent of the victims had received a primary education, and 35 percent were illiterate. As of 2006, an estimated 64 percent of Cambodian women were literate, compared to 85 percent of men. In 2007, the gender parity index in primary level education stood at .93, decreasing to .82 in secondary level enrollment and .56 in tertiary level enrollment, suggesting that girls are likely to drop out of the formal education system earlier than their male counterparts.

Reducing Gender-based Violence and Exploitation

Gender-based violence, pornography, and prostitution are not only seen as trafficking-enabling conditions, but also as their results. Faith-inspired organizations such as LHA, Agape International Missions (AIM), and Kone Kmeng promote education and vocational training for vulnerable women, address gender-based violence, and tailor programs to strengthen the position of girls and women in society.

One cultural enabling factor often cited is the perception of a young woman's duty to provide for her family that may lead girls and women to internalize their family's indebtedness. Social anthropologist Annuska Derks sets this phenomenon in the Buddhist notion of debts of merit to one's parents, also citing several sources suggesting that debt bondage is a traditional practice in Southeast Asia that should not be necessarily interpreted as slavery. Indeed, the concept of providing for one's parents is used by some counter-trafficking faith-inspired organizations as a tool. Don Brewster of AIM explains their approach to engaging these concepts of gender roles:

[We] have a little booklet that explains what God says about children, what God says about parents, and what God says about responsibility. We had our staff at the aftercare center write it. They included illustrations and examples of how it worked, which was great because there are examples we never would have thought of. ... They described two families. One family had a beautiful daughter and she grew up and was ready to go to school. Instead of sending her to school they said, "well, we can traffic her and she can have sex with men and we can gamble and drink and have an easy life; children are supposed to support their families." So they go on and they have it easy for a while until their daughter gets HIV. She dies and now they are old people and can't support themselves and they have no help. Now, the other family, when their daughter is old enough to go to school, works harder, so they can send her to school. She graduates from school and goes to university and becomes a doctor. When she becomes a doctor, her family can finally relax because she can help them. It wouldn't be an illustration that we would use, but it is an illustration that hits home and is culturally relevant. That has had a good impact on the Church.

Others point to gender-based violence, including domestic violence,³ rape, and the virginity trade, that may make girls and women susceptible to trafficking. Many studies note the high cultural value placed on virginity in Cambodia, and that its loss, even in conditions of violent abuse, can result in familial shame and social stigma

³ Interview with Sister Helen O'Sullivan: "Domestic violence affects the entire family, especially the children. Oftentimes the violence is so bad and it is accompanied by drinking and then there is no money in the household, it's been drunk or gambled away, so the older girl starts to have to take care of the family. She migrates to find work or goes to a karaoke bar. That's why domestic violence is such a problem. Domestic violence leads to so much else. You're ruining the second generation, the boys and the girls."

that have been easily exploited by traffickers.⁴ Gender-based violence makes women vulnerable because they may be coerced, but also because male dominance and the value of virginity increase the lucrateness of trafficking for sexual purposes.⁵

Pornography and prostitution can also be seen as forms of gender-based violence. Helene O'Sullivan, a Maryknoll Sister working with the secular agency CWCC, succinctly described this view in stating that:

We have to realize that trafficking and prostitution are absolutely two sides of the same coin; we cannot eliminate one without the other. ... The hardcore pornography that's coming into Cambodia will forever change sexual relationships because it is all violent and power-based, one person being an object, the other the taker. It skews everything and leads to a sense of entitlement on the part of men to buy sex, and thus the demand intensifies for younger and younger, cleaner and cleaner (no HIV/AIDS) girls. High demand leads to finding a new supply, and so there is trafficking.

Development of Community Protection Mechanisms

Several faith-inspired organizations work to prevent trafficking by expanding community protection mechanisms for both children and migrants. Some faith-inspired and secular organizations address what they perceive as the undervaluation of children in Cambodia. Glenn Miles, Director of Asia Prevention at Love146 and a Research Advisor for Chab Dai, observed that this is because, "We believe that children are their own experts and understand themselves best, and that as Christians we value people because they are made in the image of God." Dr. Miles was instrumental in creating the "Celebrating Children" curriculum, a training program for faith-based organizations that covers some of the basic child development theory. Organizations such as the Evangelical Fellowship Cambodia's Children's Commission (EFC-CC) and Kone Kmeng use the Celebrating Children curriculum in training Cambodian pastors to respond to children's needs within their own communities. EFC-CC, also seeks to strengthen the network of support between and among churches and NGOs in their communities. EFC-CC is supported in this effort by EFC's Kampuchea 2021 Project which, through intensive geographical mapping of existing churches and church planting, aims to see a church in every Cambodian village by 2021.^{xvii} This allows EFC to work in areas where the church already exists as a viable, growing community development partner.

Several organizations work on the level of the family. Alastair Hilton, Technical Advisor at First Step Cambodia (based in Phnom Penh), notes that the prevalent acceptance of tugging at boys' penises (believed by many Cambodians as an acceptable and harmless way of showing affection to boys, and observed by some, including boys themselves, as a form of entertainment for adults) may contribute to over-sexualization and attitudes that devalue individuals' understandings of personal ownership of one's body and also those of other people.^{xviii} First Step Cambodia engages community leaders and organizations in promoting awareness about the harmful effects of this practice, alternative methods of showing affection and the importance of listening to boys when they express their feelings about it.

Other agencies locate the cause of children's vulnerability in family breakdown as precipitated by familiar development challenges such as maternal mortality, HIV and AIDS-related deaths, seasonal labor migration, or domestic violence as mentioned above. Faith-inspired organization Destiny Rescue's workers live in communities to identify potential issues before children become vulnerable to trafficking; Children in Families (CIF) works with families to prevent trafficking and places children in foster care or community care situations as necessary. CIF's Director, Cathleen Jones, puts this work in context:

⁴ See ECPAT, *Cambodia Media Analysis of Rape, Trafficking for Sexual Purpose, Indecent Cases in First Half of 2010*, <http://www.ecpatcambodia.org/index.php?menuid=1&rp=108>; Eleanor Brown, "The Ties that Bind: Migration and trafficking of Women and Girls for Sexual Exploitation in Cambodia," August 2007; Isabelle Chan, "Addressing Local Demand for Commercial Sex with Children in Cambodia," ECPAT Cambodia, March 2010; Heidi Hoefinger, "Negotiating Intimacy: Transactional Sex and Relationships Among Cambodian Professional Girlfriends," Goldsmiths PhD thesis 2010.

⁵ In WFDD's 2010 report *Faith-Inspired Organizations and Development in Cambodia's* interview with Augustia Delaney, Don Brewster noted that "An under aged girl will go for up to \$1000 dollars. If she is a virgin, she may go for \$3000."

You can have a poor, rural family struggling to feed their own four or five kids. Let's say the wife's sister runs off to Thailand for whatever work ... and she dumps her three kids on this family. Now they have seven kids to care for. They did not ask for it, it just happened unexpectedly. Anyone would feel grumpy about it even if they loved the kids. So now they are not just struggling to feed their own kids, they have three more kids to feed. That is where this idea that they could get rid of a few or that a lack of care comes in. It is not that they do not love the kids, but if you cannot even feed your own kids then what are you supposed to do? ... We seek to prevent human trafficking by working with families. That is our link to human trafficking. We come in and try to see why this family is even feeling like they need to traffic their kids and work to keep families together. Our main goals are to prevent and reduce needless institutionalization of children, and that would include children in shelters as well as orphanages.

A final notable community problem is the unreliability of the traditional networking mechanism, *ksae* (social ties), which migrants may rely upon to find jobs or facilitate transportation and which may be co-opted by would-be traffickers. Mediators, called *meekcol*, can be community members or outsiders who recruit for employers outside the village.^{xix} Stories abound of men and women migrants who were cheated by *meekcol* and found themselves in exploitative situations consistent with trafficking. Pang Sophany of Kone Kmeng recounts this story:

One day I joined a workshop about trafficking in the community, and the message was about people coming to try to do nice things or give something to the children and ask the children to go and work with them. When we told them about this, one of the fathers said 'Oh that happened to our village last year!' Before, they didn't know it [could be] human trafficking...

This exploitative process may be as informal as a family relative leading a child to a brothel run by a friend in exchange for money, or as formal as labor agency recruiters that receive a commission for each individual they deliver for exploitation in Thailand's long-range fishing industry. The U.S. State Department's 2011 TIP report notes that "although the Ministry of Labor is aware of the seriousness of the abuse of Cambodian adult and children migrant laborers by licensed recruitment agencies within Cambodia and abroad, they have not adequately addressed the issue." While the government is working toward a sub-decree regulating international labor recruiters, the Association of Cambodian Recruiting Agencies, which represents these recruiters, has had significant input on the current draft.

Raising community awareness about the dangers of migration is an important deterrent to human trafficking. Faith-inspired organizations such as Kone Kmeng, Chab Dai, and World Vision promote messages about safe migration through local churches, while non-faith-based organizations like International Organization for Migration (IOM) and HCC promote prevention messages in partnership with Buddhist monks owing to their moral leadership role in Cambodian society. Safe migration messages are important in countering the "opportunity myth" by offsetting stories of a better life with stories about the real dangers of migration.⁶

An example of a project that aims to raise awareness of trafficking while strengthening community protection mechanisms is by the Buddhist NGO Santi Sena. It aims to prevent trafficking through its administration in Svay Rieng Province's Chantrea district of the Child Protection Network, a UNICEF-sponsored initiative in partnership with the Ministry of Social Affairs, Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSAVY) and its District Department of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation (DoSAVY) offices. Santi Sena's Anti-Child Trafficking Project Managers lead capacity building trainings among the network members, which include the District Deputy Governor, staff from the District Office of Women's Affairs, the District Office of Social Affairs, police, Commune Councils, nurses, and school teachers, as well as school children. Deputy Director

⁶ Heidi Hoefinger, "Negotiating Intimacy: Transactional Sex and Relationships Among Cambodian Professional Girlfriends" Goldsmiths PhD thesis (2010) at page 136, citing "opportunity myth" (Brennan 2004). At page 138, however, Hoefinger includes an interviewee's observation that, "I think you need to take into account what they are running from and not just what they are running to. They have seen their mothers in abusive, neglectful, unhappy, loveless relationships and they do not want this."

Ros Sam An noted that “By training [the members of the Child Protection Network] it does not just work for their families but works for the children in their communities.” In reaching out to children, Santi Sena trains child peer educators in communities to talk with their peers about human trafficking, in part through games simulating responses to domestic violence and traffickers.

While Santi Sena involves monks in the NGO’s natural resource conservation and biodiversity management initiatives, the Buddhist clergy are not a part of its Anti-child Trafficking Project, as they are not a part of the formal Child Protection Network structure. However, Santi Sena includes Buddhist values in its trainings. Deputy Director Ros Sam An commented that, “most of the participants are Buddhist, so we also train them about the Buddhist perspective in human rights protection, especially in training the Commune Council and members of the Commune Committee for Women and Children, because they are social workers in communities.” Among the Buddhist values included in the training are “respecting each other and following the Buddhist teachings to be a good family, to be a good community and a good village.” The organization’s Buddhism-inflected trafficking prevention message is promoted outside Svay Province by Santi Sena Director Venerable Kim Teng who, through his involvement at the Preah Sihanouk Raja Buddhist University and as an advisor to the Buddhist Supreme Patriarch Tep Vong, promotes awareness about trafficking and domestic violence on a radio program sponsored by the Ministry of Cults and Religion (MoCR).

Some faith-inspired organizations function as a kind of community mechanism themselves by focusing on individual-level development through a spiritual lens, targeting both the supply and demand for trafficked labor. On the supply side, projects like AIM’s Lord’s Gym conducts outreach to traffickers to “take young men, many of whom are involved in ... crimes that take place, or the trafficking of young girls, the use of drugs and the selling of drugs, and take these very young men and transform them to be God’s agents to stop it in this community.”^{xx} Precious Women reaches out to women working in brothels, beer gardens, bars, and karaoke establishments to convince them to leave that line of work. Precious Women’s Executive Director Solida Seng observed:

[A] lot of them do not want to work there, but they face so many challenges: they are cheated, they are touched without their consent and asked for sex, and the beer garden owner often forces them to give in. We have five members on the outreach team who go out to the bars and beer gardens every other Friday night... We build relationships with the women and tell them about the love of God.

On the demand side, organizations like Men and the Sex Trade (MST) focus on individual-level change within those demanding trafficked labor, both in Cambodia and abroad. Glenn Miles, who, in addition to his work with Love146 and Chab Dai, volunteers with MST in talking with foreign men in one of district of Phnom Penh where men regularly purchase sex, says that Christianity is central to this work: “As Christians and as people of faith we believe that it is not true [that it is hopeless], that things can change and that individual lives can be transformed. When we are talking about survivors it is easier to think that change is possible but when it comes to the perpetrators we tend not to think that way”. Frankly, without faith, it is hard to imagine how some lives could be transformed but in the MST Project we believe, however challenging, ‘Men are the solution to the problem’.”

Victim Protection and Criminal Prosecution

Box 3. Organizations interviewed with projects to PROTECT VICTIMS of human trafficking and work to PROSECUTE PERPETRATORS (faith-inspired organizations in bold)

Hagar Cambodia, Daughters of Cambodia, American Rehabilitation Ministries Rapha House, World Vision Cambodia, Cambodian Women's Development Agency, Transitions Global, Healthcare Centre for Children, World Hope International, STOPstart Enterprise, Chrysalis, Southeast Asian Investigations into Social and Humanitarian Activities, International Justice Mission Cambodia, Agape International Missions, Destiny Rescue, [Anonymous]⁷, First Step Cambodia

Box 4. Organizations interviewed with projects to PROSECUTE perpetrators of human trafficking (faith-inspired organizations in bold)

International Justice Mission, Southeast Asian Investigations into Social and Humanitarian Activities

Box 5. Changing Approaches to Aftercare

Many counter-trafficking organizations working in Cambodia operate under an aftercare model designed to rehabilitate trafficking survivors through an integrated bio-psychological and community-oriented approach. Responses to the complex needs of survivors have developed through experience. US State Department funding of care research has also been a factor.

In the late 1990s, agencies working in Cambodia (for example IOM and Goutte D'eau) provided repatriation and family tracing services for migrants identified abroad (often arrested as illegal migrants). Helen Sworn recalls this period:

The small organization that I was working with at the time started a transitional home for trafficked kids. Our purpose was to provide slightly longer-term care, generally between 1-2 years, so we had longer to try to do family tracing. If the family tracing came to a dead end then we would have to look for other alternative care which, at the time, meant placing them in an orphanage, which was not good. Now we have some really great organizations that are focused on community-based care and foster care, but back then these kids ended up in long-term orphanages, which was not where I wanted to see them.

Kristin Wiebe, Director of Anti-trafficking Programs for World Hope International, recalls: "It seemed that after law enforcement interventions girls were pulled out of brothels and dropped wherever there was bed space, whether or not that was an appropriate space for them."

The push toward the Aftercare Model came with funding from the US State Department in 2011, which promoted safe homes where victims of trafficking could be held until their traffickers' trial while also meeting the care needs of children experiencing new forms of trauma. Pierre Tami, Founder of Hagar Cambodia,⁸ which developed foster homes for victims of exploitation and community abuse as early as 1994, recalls that:

We designed Hagar Aftercare after receiving a large amount of money from the U.S. State Department under Secretary Colin Powell. I requested to use the money to study how we could best care for this new phenomenon of children who were of younger ages, between four and ten, that had been raped or sold into brothels... [F]ollowing rescue operations, the children were not always cared for appropriately in the long term. They sometimes ended up back in the brothels. These cases were too extreme for the care that was available at that time. During a rescue operation, soldiers, police, and people are shooting, screaming and yelling, while guests of the brothel are running away. A child of the age of four or five in a brothel might actually be further traumatized by the actual event of a

⁷ One faith-inspired business working with formerly trafficked girls and women declined to be named: "We deal with wealthy Khmers and royalty, and if they knew that all of the girls had been trafficked they would not come here because of that stigma."

⁸ WFDD's November 2010 report identified Hagar as an anti-trafficking organization, but its founder, Pierre Tami, insists that it is no more an anti-trafficking organization than it is an anti-acid attacks or anti-HIV organization; Hagar shelters and businesses offer care and employment to many vulnerable populations.

raid. We could not bring those children into our foster homes because they would disrupt the existing tranquility that these other children needed to rehabilitate.”

Aftercare models have become more institutionalized, and organizations like Hagar and World Vision’s Neavear Thmey Center (WVNTC) have moved toward streamlined best practices. WVNTC opened its doors in 1997 to girls under the age of 18 to recover from sexual exploitation and abuse, while counseling and support is provided. World Vision has signed a MoU with the MoSAVY, conforming to the Aftercare Model and committing to an increased focus on community reintegration.^{xxi} Aftercare model development has led to more specialized care beyond housing survivors until perpetrator trials. It has also promoted a shift to treating trafficking “victims” more respectfully as self-reliant *clients* of aftercare organizations.

Where prevention fails, counter-trafficking efforts work to provide protection for victims and promote justice through the prosecution of perpetrators. Roughly half of faith-inspired organizations interviewed are active in these areas. This section outlines the victim protection process—victim identification, aftercare, rehabilitation, vocational training, reintegration, and securing gainful employment—and discusses faith-inspired organizations’ involvement in each step.

Victim protection efforts aim to shield victims of human trafficking from further harm and may consist of emergency and long term aftercare, counseling and rehabilitation programs, vocational training, and reintegration services. Counter-trafficking organizations often extend these services to victims of other forms of abuse and/or exploitation, as well as to at-risk populations that might benefit from vocational training or rehabilitation.

Identification as a Victim and Entry into the Continuum of Protection

The first step of the victim protection process is victim identification. Survivors of trafficking and other forms of gender-based violence experience several barriers to reporting such violations, including: feelings of shame stemming from deep-seated cultural attitudes towards women in society; fear of retribution by the perpetrator; lack of confidence in the judicial system to prosecute the offender; and the costs of filing a complaint. For the few cases of trafficking that are reported, there are significant barriers to obtaining a conviction. Victims may also enter the judicial system through police raids. After the point of rescue, the police are required to bring victims and perpetrators to the Ministry of Social Affairs, where police take victims’ testimony and inform them of the legal and social work resources available to them, before providing them the opportunity to return home or placing them with an NGO or Social Affairs Center.

Victim reporting and police raids do not identify all trafficking victims, so non-judicial victim identification methods must also be employed. Individuals in a community, including faith-inspired actors, may identify victims, for example in the course of unrelated programs. A victim might tell an aftercare provider or human rights lawyer about additional trafficked people. Police or undercover NGO workers may identify victims in the places where their labor is exploited, including bonded labor training facilities and brothels, or at the point of their arrest. Anonymous tip lines exist which forward cases to the police, NGO rescue agencies, government ministries, Chab Dai, ECPAT, or ChildSafe International. Three organizations: IJM, South East Asian Investigations into Social and Humanitarian Activities (SISHA) and Action Pour Les Enfants (APLE), consult with Cambodian police on raids and rescues.

Several human rights organizations focus on human rights abuses in communities: domestic violence and rape, rather than trafficking to brothels or places of labor exploitation (though such abuses may be precursors to trafficking). These people may require the same services as victims of trafficking. Helen Sworn (Chab Dai) underscores the importance of exploitation at the community level:

We work very closely with organizations like LICADHO, Projection of Juvenile Justice, Legal Support for Children and Women, and ADHOC. There are no Christian human rights organizations working on these issues. IJM does not focus on community-based human rights abuses. At a community level you need to do

it quickly because people get afraid, they change their mind quickly and we need to make sure that we do not just pull people out of communities. We want to try to keep children or whoever the victim is in the community as long as they are safe. That means we need to get the perpetrator out quickly, rather than removing victims quickly.

Agencies involved in identifying victims of human trafficking as part of the 'rescue and rehabilitation framework' each have a different focus: IJM focuses on commercial sexual exploitation of women and children; APLE focuses on pedophilia and sexual abuse of children and is best known for apprehending western sex tourists in collaboration with the police;⁹ whereas SISHA has a wider focus on trafficking, bonded non-sexual labor, rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Both SISHA and IJM train police at the invitation of the Cambodian government and, through MOUs with the Ministry of Interior, assist in capacity building. IJM's Shawn Kohl explains the link between police training and consultations: "Where the rubber hits the road is in police operations and raids, where we are able to assist in the practical implementation of the training that police receive."¹⁰ This approach is focused on the greater goal of structural transformation of Cambodia's criminal justice system:

In the past, anti-trafficking efforts in Cambodia have tended to focus on putting individuals in jail without focusing on structural realities, so what happens is that a brothel or a trafficker will just pack up and move down the street. If you are not identifying victims and arresting perpetrators, there will be no deterrent to these crimes and individuals can continue to act with impunity. If you do not explain to victims their rights and address their needs to ensure their participation and cooperation in the legal process, what good have you done? So, as far as the overall transformational effect goes, I would say that both raids and police training are vital. (Kohl interview)

After the point of rescue, the police are required to bring victims and perpetrators to the Ministry of Social Affairs, where police take victims' testimony and inform them of the legal and social work resources available to them, before providing them the opportunity to return home or placing them with an NGO or Social Affairs Center.

Aftercare

Raids, rescues and referrals channel victims into high-security aftercare facilities, the largest of which are World Hope International, Agir Pour Les Femmes En Situation Precaire (AFESIP), Cambodian Women's Crisis Center or, for boys and men, the Healthcare Center for Children's Transit Care facility. These facilities were originally designed for survivors extracted from dangerous environments to which they could not safely return. Many survivors transition from emergency care to long-term care. However, some cases warrant alternative transitions. Kristin Wiebe describes her experience at World Hope International (which runs the New Step program):

We do mental and physical health assessments as well as family assessment to figure out who these girls are and where they need to be... There is a certain subset of girls ... whose families are really great, and the perpetrator has finally been arrested so he is no longer a threat to the girl or family, at which point we are able to work with the family and the girl to help reconcile the two together. That outcome is wonderful because then we can send her home (with a small economic package). We do follow-ups in collaboration with DoSAVY social workers. World Hope International does follow-ups every one month, three months,

⁹ However, APLE's website states: "APLE looks into any sexual abuses against children in Cambodia, be they committed by foreigners of any nationality or Cambodians." See Action Pour Les Enfants, "Frequently Asked Questions." <http://aplecambodia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1418:faq&catid=29:about-able&Itemid=374>. Accessed 19 Jun 2011.

¹⁰ Non-governmental organizations have no authority to apprehend or arrest trafficking suspects. Per the Minimum Standards at page 11, "An intervention is the responsibility of the police officials. Service providers who have identified victims of trafficking shall not rescue victims alone."

six months and a year. In between, every other month the DoSAVY social worker checks in. We monitor the reintegration and if it's not going well, can intervene and make recommendations. We want to avoid placing her in an unreasonably risky situation, on the other hand, it's not our job to be the child's parent.

As anti-trafficking efforts have incorporated past experiences and best practices, institutional care has moved beyond rescue care (Box 2). The most comprehensive aftercare facilities offer victim protection; social work; legal and reintegration services; and rehabilitation services, including skills training for sustainable employment and eventual independent living. Institutional care providers include Hagar Cambodia, American Rehabilitation Ministries Rapha House, World Vision Cambodia, Cambodian Women's Development Agency, Transitions Global, World Hope International, AIM, and Destiny Rescue (interviewed), as well as AFESIP and others. Institutional care may range from short-term transit care (approximately two weeks) to long-term care (up to two years).

Referral partnerships are crucial for comprehensive care, as each group provides integral but distinct services. For instance World Vision's Neavear Thmey Center in Pursat province provides medium-term care for victims primarily referred by other faith-inspired shelters. In turn, World Vision refers survivors to their partners. "[I]f they do not want to go back [to their communities], then we refer them to a longer-term shelter of one of our partners," observed Veth Vorn, World Vision's National Anti-trafficking Coordinator.

Most rehabilitation services are offered by institutional care providers with a traditional aftercare model of healing sexually exploited women and children. Other faith-inspired rehabilitation services are more specialized and available to open-ended populations, including those offered by Chrysalis and Freedom Cambodia.

Chrysalis began as a human development course offered by Maryknoll at a Buddhist pagoda in Phnom Penh for people with physical disabilities. As Maryknoll in Cambodia shifted its focus in 2004 to working with people affected by HIV and AIDS, the project came under World Vision, as the Chrysalis Training Program. Chrysalis uses creative arts methods for personal development. Co-founder Sar Channy noted that, "At Chrysalis we just provide personal development courses to those who experience discrimination. They are not the only people with disabilities, but people with HIV, street children, and caregivers and others who work with those people." Chrysalis primarily works as partners with NGOs offering vocational training services.

Freedom Cambodia works with individuals with substance abuse problems, gambling, and sexual addictions as well as their families, churches, communities, and partner NGOs. Freedom Cambodia operated under the UK-based Hosea Ministries from 2006 to 2009 and has now opened a walk-in counseling center, while staff members also reach out to individuals on the streets of Phnom Penh. Freedom Cambodia's Executive Director Lev Dara describes his experience in working with survivors of trafficking:

[They] use drugs for the same reasons, to cover their emotions and the pain in their hearts. The main problem is not caused by drugs, but by other problems in their lives. Girls who have been sexually abused, exploited, or trafficked will use drugs to cover their pain when they're sleeping with someone. That is why she can sleep with many different people. They use drugs to cover their pain.

Both Sar and Lev highlighted the faith motivations of their work. Sar observed that "We have received God's love, and we work with those who have not received that love in their lives. Our care, love and respect comes automatically as part of our values and our identity as a Christian organization." Lev argued that churches play a functional role in Freedom Cambodia's work: "We link with church leaders to explain to the churches about the different kinds of addiction and to train them in how to motivate the drug addicts and encourage them, as well as how to follow up with and maintain the recovery of former drug addicts."

Reintegration Services

Reintegration services work with both the target community and the survivors to combat stigma. The Activities Coordinator at Rapha House, a Christian organization, notes that,

After leaving from Rapha House she knows her rights; she can explain to her parents “Before I am a very bad girl, a sex girl, but now I want to go to university.... When they come back to their hometown, the people from the neighborhood now ask them about what they are going to do in the future, rather than asking about their previous experiences. People change their minds very fast.

Of course, “some [survivors] prefer not to go back to their communities. They feel that their community might not accept them back because they know that she went through prostitution and sexual abuse, so it’s shameful to the girls,” says Nal Sithy, Chab Dai’s Director of Operations. However, “some girls are brave enough or empowered enough; they think that before when they were in the community they did not have any skills or any knowledge, but when they come to stay in the shelter they get a lot of knowledge and vocational training, as well as skills, so when they go back they can get a job.” This highlights the extent to which reintegration efforts depend upon the success of training and counseling services.

Aftercare facilities have historically provided training in handicrafts, sewing, hairdressing, and massage therapy. However, several interviews reflected an increasing awareness that more variety is needed. Without a viable job connected to market demand, survivors stand great risks of being re-trafficked or having to return to undesirable or exploitative work. For instance James Pond, CEO of Transitions Global, notes that:

[Generally], in terms of vocations, girls can become tailors, they can become hairdressers, or they can make handicrafts for an NGO. Same thing everywhere. I had to ask the basic question: how many hairdressers can you have? How much can they make? Don’t get me wrong, I have friends who are hairdressers in the United States who make \$80,000 or \$90,000 a year; you can do well for yourself; but here, where a haircut goes for no more than 3,000-5000 riels (\$0.75-\$1.25) and you have overhead and payroll and other expenses, 5000 riels quickly becomes a pretty scant salary, so girls were making \$30-40 a month in the city. Within a strong family system that might be OK, but take a girl in a weak family system and she’s literally one tragedy away from having to either sell herself or put herself in a vulnerable situation.

Pierre Tami, who has established social enterprises and offered vocational training since founding Hagar in 1994, raised similar points explaining why he had the idea to establish businesses and restaurants:

What is the point of teaching them weaving if you can’t sell the basket? What’s the point of teaching them sewing unless really you can market the products? I needed businesses that were viable. No vocational training process is going to be effective unless it is linked to the market. More often than not, NGOs do not understand the market. If that market buys soya milk then you produce soya milk and then you train people in soya milk production. [Through a new initiative called SHIFT360 I am] now launching a national culinary school. Why? Because there is no professional high quality chef school, and businesses are stealing each others’ chefs. We are doing something that is driven by market demand because if it is not, then you’ll have thousands of people trained in skills that are unmarketable.

Motivated by market factors and the desire to keep survivors connected to rehabilitation centers, several faith-inspired organizations connect their vocational training programs to income generation efforts while survivors remain in aftercare facilities. Other aftercare facilities partner with businesses that are committed to employing survivors of human trafficking. One agency interviewed hires solely survivors of human trafficking, the majority of which come from a partner aftercare facility. An employee from this organization notes the importance of providing survivors of trafficking jobs:

A girl can do skills-training, but if she has sewing skills and a shelter sends her back to her village, she is one girl trying to make a business out of this skill that she has, which is really difficult, and we have seen that a lot of those girls are re-trafficked. That is why we actually provide a job for them, so that they have a secure, livable income and do not have to worry about starting a business on their own or figuring out how to sell necklaces to the local Khmer population... For now it is important that they have a safe working

environment because a lot of them are dealing with different trauma issues. Let's face it, kitchens are rough. There is a lot of yelling that goes on and things that would be difficult for them, so we have to teach them what it means to be a professional and what a good work ethic looks like and how to be responsible and to come to work on time."

All graduates of this organization's vocational program are guaranteed a job with its associated business. After about two years, the organization evaluates their progress and determines when and where to place the survivor with partner businesses in Cambodia (taking into consideration the interests of both the survivor and the business).

Hagar, STOPstart Enterprises, and Destiny Rescue's Destiny Café hire individuals from many disadvantaged backgrounds, including survivors of trafficking. Many other faith-inspired businesses, including Jars of Clay, BSDA's Smile Café, CaterHelp/Jacobs Well, and Café Yejj, also employ staff from similar backgrounds, however were not interviewed for this specific report. Café Yejj supports the work of Chab Dai as a member agency and through the Chab Dai Yejj Charitable Trust, a registered charity in the UK, which raises awareness and funds to support disadvantaged Cambodians.

Organizations that hire survivors of trafficking see themselves as filling a gap in the economy, in terms of providing both reintegration opportunities and fairly-made products. Joe Conway, formerly of STOPstart Enterprises, believes companies like STOPstart are "really the back end of reintegration into society... There are not many people or companies that help with reintegration into society, giving the girls a job and getting them set up to succeed in life. We really consider this factory as a stepping stone." STOPstart provides optional spiritual services on-premises and promotes the socially positive impact of its work and ties to the Fair Trade movement:

Businesses in general look at the bottom dollar. If they can buy something cheaper somewhere else then that is where they are going to buy it, until you get them to realize that they are supporting slavery and you can pressure them to buy something that is Fair Trade. It would be a lot harder to compete in the business side in the world then it would be to compete within the market for religious or faith-based organizations or companies. (Joe Conway interview)

Other businesses preferentially hire men and women in prostitution, some of whom are trafficking survivors. Daughters of Cambodia reaches out to men and women working in the sex industry:

The women that we primarily work with are working in brothels as a means of earning a living for themselves and their families. They may have been sold when they were younger to a brothel owner or the parents themselves may send them out to make money in the brothels. None of the women that come to Daughters have debts, thus they are able to leave on their own volition. They come to Daughters looking for a job, and if they have been a sex worker we are generally able to hire them. So nobody comes by force, so it's not a raid or rescue kind of operation. The girls are generally in their late teens or early twenties, although we have had some as young as 15 years of age." (Lois Cunningham, Interview^{xxii})

Daughters also has a "Sons" program, that works with male and transgender sex workers, often referred to in Cambodia as "ladyboys". Daughters' founder Ruth Elliot sought to address human trafficking by providing men and women in the sex industry, whom she views as originally trafficked, a path out of sex work through vocational training and placement at its Visitor Centre and café or any one of its five small businesses. Daughters defines long-term success in its work as "a client remaining out of the sex industry for the rest of [his or] her life."^{xxiii}

Criminal Prosecution

Victim protection efforts in Cambodia have developed in part to facilitate the prosecution of perpetrators. While no faith-inspired agencies interviewed were directly involved in criminal prosecution efforts, many offering victim protection services have lawyers and/or social workers on staff who either prepare clients to testify against their traffickers, or directly represent them in court. Shawn Kohl of IJM noted that, “We aim to provide victim-focused and victim-sensitive care. We make sure that victims have access to representation and encourage them to participate in the judicial process, and that effort begins at the police station.”

Faith-inspired organizations in Cambodia are indirectly involved in criminal prosecution through efforts fortifying the rule of law. Many of the faith-inspired organizations involved in anti-trafficking efforts are contributing to the development of a more competent law enforcement system.

Prevention responses addressing the insufficient rule of law include police training programs and efforts to target individual and/or institutional corruption so that the expectation of punishment is a sufficient deterrent to would-be traffickers. They may also include efforts to promote a better understanding among vulnerable individuals of their legal rights. In describing this problem, Mu Sochua, a Member of Cambodia’s Parliament and former Minister of Women’s Affairs, stated that, “[t]he illegal sex trade flourishes in an environment lacking in the rule of law where there is a high level of poverty” (Interview with Mu Sochua). Steve Morrish of SISHA, a secular counter-trafficking NGO, pointed out that:

Spreading awareness and education are all well and good... but the rule of law is key. If you do not have police who are competent, have the desire to help people, and believe that their job as police officers is to serve the community and not just put money in their pocket, you will have no chance to reduce exploitation in Cambodia because criminality breeds on the weakness of policing systems.

Three major human rights organizations, IJM, SISHA, and Action Pour Les Enfants (APLE), consult with Cambodian police on raids and rescues. APLE focuses on pedophilia and sexual abuse of children and is best known for apprehending western sex tourists in collaboration with the police. IJM focuses on commercial sexual exploitation of women and children. SISHA has a wider focus on trafficking, bonded non-sexual labor, rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Both SISHA and IJM train police at the invitation of the Cambodian government and through MOUs with the Ministry of Interior to assist in capacity building. IJM’s Shawn Kohl explains the link between police training and consultations: “Where the rubber hits the road is in police operations and raids, where we are able to assist in the practical implementation of the training that police receive.”¹¹ This approach is focused on the greater goal of structural transformation of Cambodia’s criminal justice system. Again in Kohl’s words:

In the past, anti-trafficking efforts in Cambodia have tended to focus on putting individuals in jail without focusing on structural realities, so what happens is that a brothel or a trafficker will just pack up and move down the street. If you are not identifying victims and arresting perpetrators, there will be no deterrent to these crimes and individuals can continue to act with impunity. If you do not explain to victims their rights and address their needs to ensure their participation and cooperation in the legal process, what good have you done? So, as far as the overall transformational effect goes, I would say that both raids and police training are vital.

¹¹ Non-governmental organizations have no authority to apprehend or arrest trafficking suspects. Per the Minimum Standards at page 11, “An intervention is the responsibility of the police officials. Service providers who have identified victims of trafficking shall not rescue victims alone.”

PART III: PARTNERSHIPS

Box 6. Organizations interviewed with projects to work as PARTNERS in combating human trafficking (faith-inspired organizations in bold)

Chab Dai, ECPAT, COSECAM, (United Nations Inter-Agency Partnership to Combat Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-region)

Partnerships are a vital part of the process, with so many actors performing discrete roles in the anti-trafficking effort. Recognizing this, in 2009, the US State Department added “Partnerships” to the Prevention, Victim Protection, and Criminal Prosecution to form the 4Ps framework.

Chab Dai

Chab Dai is the most prominent faith-inspired organization working expressly on partnerships to combat trafficking in persons. Chab Dai, meaning “joining hands” in Khmer, is a coalition of Christian NGOs working to combat sexual abuse and trafficking in Cambodia. It consists of 50 faith-based member organizations and 30 civil society and international organization partner agencies.

Chab Dai accepts members on the basis of faith: requirements for membership include proof of Christian-inspiration, registration with the government, and having or implementing a child protection policy. Helen Sworn (founder) argues that the faith requirement serves to develop an environment of trust and respect. One member commented: “Knowing that there are a lot of other people who are doing the same thing you are doing for the same reasons that you are is important, because it fosters a network and support system.” Chab Dai has no faith requirement for partner organizations. Partners are chosen to bridge service gaps, on the basis of partner agencies’ competencies and vision. They include UN agencies like UNICEF, which worked with Chab Dai to establish the Child Help Line; the Anti-Trafficking Police in Phnom Penh and surrounding provinces; and human rights organizations like LICADHO, Projection of Juvenile Justice, Legal Support for Children and Women, and ADHOC. Offices in the US and Canada seek to raise awareness and promote advocacy about human trafficking, establish a global network of informed community partners (including churches, government ministries, faith-based NGOs such as FFAST and even the Royal Canadian Mounted Police), and raise funds for work in Cambodia. Regionally, Chab Dai helped to establish the San Jai Network, a network of Christians advocating about sexual exploitation and trafficking of women in Thailand. Chab Dai is also a member of VIVA Network^{xxiv}, a global alliance of Christian NGO networks and churches working to protect and empower at-risk youth.

History and development

In the early 2000s, when agencies and donors seeking to set up a child protection, migration, or human trafficking project traveled to Cambodia, the chances were good that they would speak with Helen Sworn, then an advisor at CARE International, and Glenn Miles, then Tearfund UK’s Cambodia Country Director. The two, acting as an “informal clearing house” for faith-inspired counter-trafficking agencies, established Chab Dai between 2003 and 2005 amidst an influx of would-be Christian anti-traffickers (see Box 1).

Dr. Laura Lederer, former Senior Advisor on Trafficking in Persons to Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs, Paula J. Dobriansky, was introduced to Christian-inspired anti-trafficking initiatives after Dr. Miles gave a presentation in Washington, D.C. on Cambodian initiatives to combat child exploitation and trafficking:

Once TVPA had been drafted and passed... I went into the State Department and was travelling around the globe taking stock of what initiatives were in place. I was eyes and ears for the Under Secretary, and I

travelled to between 50 and 60 countries in seven years, starting to make contact with the agencies that were working on the ground.

Helen Sworn recalls that:

Laura came to Cambodia with a sense of what the large organizations like World Vision and Hagar were doing. They were likely to get the TIP funding because they were well known and it seemed to be the safe option for the U.S. State Department. Glenn and I [told] Laura that we were really frustrated that she was only going to be working with the large NGOs, because there were a growing number of small Christian NGOs, [as well]... She said that perhaps we should bring them together and see if the U.S. State Department could do a group allocation of funding... Glenn and I got together about eight organizations and asked them to participate in our joint proposal for project funding. Glenn and I had a slightly different agenda in addition to seeking project funding—we wanted to see stronger investment into capacity building of national staff, including training and collaboration, and into research and advocacy.

Together with the leaders of faith-based organizations with counter-trafficking initiatives in prevention, advocacy, rescue, and aftercare, they conducted a mapping exercise and submitted a proposal to the U.S. State Department as the 'Faith-Based Coalition'. During behind-doors negotiations State Department officials suggested that a different major faith-based organization take the initiative in coordinating the smaller Christian groups, but that group declined because the proposal was so resource-intensive, particularly in its focus on capacity building, research and advocacy. The State Department awarded the project funding to World Vision and another large faith-inspired organization. Sworn's lesson was that she would: "Never again seek government funding...I actually have never taken government funding since." Several months later, the initial twelve faith-based groups met again and with funding from World Hope International and another U.S.-based Christian foundation, Chab Dai began operations as a functioning coalition in June 2005. As originally intended, its programmatic foci are not solely project funding, but capacity building, collaboration, research and advocacy.

Capacity Building and Collaboration

Chab Dai maps and coordinates member agency projects to ensure an encompassing continuum-of-care for trafficking survivors between its members and other partner organizations, while allowing member organizations to stay true to their own spiritual (Christian) mandate or mission. An issues and needs analysis in 2005 mapped both member and non-member programs in Cambodia, identifying areas for potential collaboration and service gaps.

Chab Dai also looks strategically towards longer term issues. An example is the likely impact of new transport corridors that will link Cambodia to China and India, and affect many regions including Siem Reap, Stung Treng and Ratanakiri, with likely consequences of increased migration and HIV and AIDS:

Having all of these organizations around the table has created a really beautiful opportunity to be strategic and to ask what impact issues will have on our programs and what we would like to see in five years' time, both programmatically and geographically.... We are going to see people movement on a scale that we have never seen before... we are not going to know what has hit us. We are going to see the most vulnerable communities from the three least developed countries in the region moving into the three countries that are the most developed within the region, and most of those vulnerable communities probably have no legal status. If they are going to be moving through the borders there will not be enough space in the prisons for all of those illegal migrant workers, so they could very well end up in detention centers.

Chab Dai's bi-annual membership meetings ensure that this strategic process is ongoing, and has shown itself to be central to a successful collaborative approach, particularly following several member agencies' expansion to work in Siem Reap. In January 2009, World Hope International and other long-term aftercare facilities were

brought into contact with IJM at a time when IJM was looking for support to establish an office and hire Christian staff members

The Coalition's mapping function allows its leadership to identify service gaps and thus advise partner NGOs so as to avoid mission creep and duplication of services. One coalition member describes how Chab Dai's leadership communicates its desire to see members focus on their core competencies:

Chrysalis specializes in running personal development training, but Chab Dai specializes in many things. When we have asked to get involved in other committees' work in the past, Chab Dai appreciates our willingness, but keeps the committees separate because the nature of our programs is different.

While organizations are still somewhat competitive, with Chab Dai's referral mechanisms, new agencies can be directed to the most needy areas for TIP support, and are encouraged to cooperate, rather than trying to do everything themselves.

Chab Dai's programmatic focus helps to mitigate what could be divisive differences in matters of spiritual interpretation. Its members have a wide range of spiritual beliefs as well as understandings about what trafficking is and how they might best prevent it, protect victims, and/or assist victims in their path to recovery. Although formally ecumenical, the leaders of Chab Dai member agencies interviewed seem to find their spiritual roots in a common evangelicalism. There are no Catholic agencies in Chab Dai's membership. When Chab Dai was formed, several Catholic organizations were approached but did not join, in part because the founding members were mainstream evangelical Christian agencies. Sworn observes that, "because of how the denominations evolved historically, sometimes the Catholic Church and Catholic organizations have been pushed out by the Evangelical Church and ... might feel polarized within the religious community." Chab Dai makes referrals to Catholic agencies, including Don Bosco Cambodia's technical schools and training centers. Several people identified Catholic Relief Services (CRS) as a potential Catholic counter-trafficking partner as it had a counter-trafficking program before USAID in 2006 set new funding priorities.^{xxv} In late 2010, CRS recently published a training manual in collaboration with Child Wise Australia: "Solidarity Can Stop Human Trafficking" for use by local NGOs to train community members in trafficking awareness and prevention. One interviewee (who wished to remain anonymous) said that working with Christian anti-trafficking organizations "is not easy for those of us who are Catholic. They don't even think we're real Christians; they are *that* heavily Protestant that Catholics are somewhat suspect."

Interviews revealed differences of opinion in biblical interpretations within Chab Dai's common modernist faith tradition. Don Brewster of AIM noted that "disagreements about non-essentials can disrupt the synergy that could be gained by working together." Philosophical differences also play out in the degree to which agencies incorporate faith into their work. Chab Dai's member agencies exist along a continuum of spirituality: Some member organizations do not describe themselves as faith-based, while faith is a central element in others' programs. This was communicated in interviews as the degree to which agencies were "*spiritualized*," as well as how "*Christ-centered*" organizations are. Individual staff members, founders, and volunteers all make a difference in how spiritual an organization is, which may in turn influence the centrality faith plays in an organization's work. Organizations' beliefs and the ways in which they are acted upon reflect individuals' faith experiences as well as inclusion of best practices and lessons learned about how and when faith should play a part in counter-trafficking initiatives.

Barry Jessen of Destiny Recue captured the idea of collaboration among Christian-inspired agencies based on shared beliefs: "I would say that we show God's love and that gives a platform for discussion that may go on about religion, rather than having those discussions first which can make lead to major disagreements." Sworn stressed the genuine religious tolerance: member agencies with philosophical differences may wish to operate separately, "but we talk about religious tolerance, so let's be religiously tolerant within the boundaries of Christianity." The coalition does not have a Statement of Faith: "Within Chab Dai coalition we are never going to bring the diversity of faith-based theologies into one stream, and I do not want to." (Sworn)

Chab Dai's membership directory is a referral mechanism among members, all of which must maintain a high standard of care and are motivated by similar beliefs. IJM's Shawn Kohl noted that "Chab Dai offers a place to share best practices and a network to rely on if we are in a pinch. If one of our partner shelters is full, we have a phone book of quality partners to which we can turn next, and they are all working together." Clients are referred between member agencies, as well as directly from Chab Dai's prevention-oriented projects to specialist agencies like Freedom Cambodia for drug or substance abuse rehabilitation or CIF for foster care. More broadly, the Coalition serves as a community within which opportunities and job openings—for staff members and clients—are shared and collaborations discussed. Solida Seng of Precious Women gave the example of working with Chab Dai to engage members in discussions of women's rights, trafficking, and domestic violence on her Saturday radio broadcast.

Programs

The main focus of Chab Dai's programs is to build the capacity of Cambodian-led faith-inspired NGOs to combat trafficking in persons. This is achieved through organizational capacity building programs, specialist forums that promote best practices and self-regulation, and localization of its leadership and membership.

The 'Doorsteps' and 'Doorsteps 2' programs provide small grants to member agencies to develop, improve or extend their programs. Participants must participate in Chab Dai's Project Cycle Management and Governance training program, whose aim is to incentivize good management practices. There are ten sessions over the course of a year, divided into program design, management and evaluation, and organizational capacity and governance. Participants are encouraged to explore the issues and work them out in practice, and receive small grants for the purpose. These initiatives complement Chab Dai's programmatic training projects in child protection activities, working with boys who have been sexually abused (First Step Boys Project), and capacity-building for social workers and counselors ('Jeut Nung Dai' Project), which are open to partners and government employees as well as member organizations' staff. Several people interviewed attested to the benefits; Cathleen Jones (CIF) commented that:

Probably the biggest help is that [Chab Dai has] been running management training and social work courses. There is such a huge lack of social workers in the country, perhaps because social work is new to the country as an area of study, as the program in the University is only into its third year. .. The few social workers in Cambodia are in high demand with all of these NGOs.

Barry Jessen (Destiny Rescue) noted that, "In this work, passion is great, but skills really make a difference." One person involved in therapy suggested that more follow-up after training would help ensure that participants not only understand the material, but could apply it in working with clients: "You need case supervision where every week you are helping them gain experience to be able to make decisions in how to use that therapy. Most ...[available] training is primarily because it gives [staff] honor, so there are benefits...but not what the training was set up to do."

Chab Dai's issue-specific "focus forums" provide the setting for conversations about best practice and mutual accountability among forum members. These take place in operating residential shelters; topics have included sexual abuse of boys, strengthening child protection policies, developing foster and alternative care programs, creating income generation and business opportunities, strengthening families, and prevention of trafficking. Others focus on leadership and communications. World Hope's Kristin Wiebe describes the forums as communities of mutual support, mediation, and growth: "When we have really screwed up with a partner in the past, the mutual Chab Dai membership has created a safe place to discuss it and make improvements. We're able to be quite open in the various small group forums and can discuss our internal and external issues." Barry Jessen observed that "Chab Dai offers an external eye and accountability in our programs, as well as someone to argue with in a safe setting. We have had some really great debates in their forums that have contributed to the quality of our programs." Chab Dai promotes a trust-filled atmosphere to encourage transparency among

member organizations, which serves to improve member organizations' programs. Shawn Kohl (IJM) called this a form of self-regulation:

Some organizations do not belong to Chab Dai because they do not want to meet Chab Dai's minimum standards. Chab Dai offers a transparent setting for individual organizations to be held accountable to its standards, which attracts better quality organizations. Chab Dai is a group of concerned organizations that want to improve themselves. That says a lot about the organizations in Chab Dai's coalition.

Rather than negative enforcement of the Cambodian Policy and Minimum Standards for the Protection of the Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking (released by MoSAVY in 2009 and hereafter referred to as "the Minimum Standards") and Chab Dai's own Commitment to Excellence, Child Protection and Media Policies, the self-regulation that occurs in forums is positive peer pressure:

If you are telling me about how you are preparing children for court and I know I am not doing anything to prepare children for court and that they are running away and self-harming just before their court case, I am going to take note of that. I may or may not say anything publicly in the forum but inside I am thinking 'OK I can copy that'. That is what we want to see. That is the most non-threatening and subtle way to put pressure on an organization to raise their standard of care. (Sworn)

Chab Dai works with organizations to improve programs but has revoked agencies' membership in the past because of failure to comply with the Minimum Standards (see Section IV.c). The approach is very victim-centered, working patiently with organizations over long periods.

Chab Dai's combination of positive and punitive self-regulation is important in maintaining a high standard of care in a policy environment where the government's capacity to regulate is weak. Notably, the Coalition has begun to raise its Commitment to Excellence to go beyond the Minimum Standards, with the possibility of instituting spot checks and evaluations. Beginning in June 2011, Chab Dai's leadership visited all of its member agencies to introduce the Chab Dai Charter, a set of 15 principles members must agree to maintain, as well as an associated implementation tool designed by Coalition members to help guide agencies to maintain the higher expected quality of care. Compliant member agencies will be eligible for a Certificate of Excellence, which will publicly acknowledge their high-quality services.

Local "Ownership"

Beginning with their work in Thailand's refugee camps in the 1980s, Christian-inspired NGOs working in Cambodia have been perceived as international NGOs. Within Chab Dai, though, this is beginning to change through an on-going localization process among the Coalition's leadership and membership whose goal is sustainability of counter-trafficking initiatives. Coalition leadership recently transitioned from founder Helen Sworn to a five-person Khmer leadership team, while agency membership, originally 85 percent foreign-led, is now approximately 45 percent Khmer-led. Sworn commented on the strategic nature of this localization process: "The expatriate staff will come and go, and there is certainly a place for them... To be honest, if we do not build and raise the capacity of those national leaders, these programs are all going to implode within five years." Sworn notes that since having national directorship, she has seen an improvement in communication between national staff of member agencies, and significantly, Chab Dai is now on the National Committee.¹² This enables The Coalition to interact with the highest level of government: "That should not happen and cannot happen naturally with a foreigner as Director. No matter how good your Khmer is it still does not happen naturally for a blonde woman in the room with a big mouth—it works in some environments but not in others."

¹² The National Committee Secretariat to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labour and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children, also known as The National Committee, was formed in late 2009, and is composed of 18 members, including the highest officials from 14 ministries as well as six working groups delineated by issue area, including: Prevention; Protection, Rehabilitation, Reintegration, and Repatriation; Law Enforcement; Judiciary Affairs; International Cooperation; and Child Affairs.



Figure 5. Chab Dai Founder Helen Sworn handing over leadership to Country Director

Don Brewster’s reflection on members’ experience with localization: “The steps they have taken to bring in Cambodian leadership are excellent but it has not really impacted me. I think it has been beneficial to us as an organization, particularly for our leadership staff, and it creates the idea of building up a leadership network here where some day they will not need [expatriate leadership].”

Research and Advocacy

Chab Dai’s research informs its advocacy efforts and encourages funding for niche-missions and emerging issues. The Coalition is described as “a learning community,” and at its Phnom Penh headquarters visitors have access to the Chab Dai Resource Library, with over 1,300 titles, many available in English, Khmer, and Vietnamese languages.

Chab Dai has sponsored several research projects that guide its internal programming and advocacy efforts. The 2006 publication, “At What Price, Honour?” explored sex trafficking of female Vietnamese children in the slums of Phnom Penh and informed a focus forum on Vietnamese issues, and encouraged provision of resources and trainings in Vietnamese. The “Northeast Research,” which Chab Dai has guided in collaboration with COSECAM, IOM, Oxfam Quebec, The Asia Foundation and UNAIP, explores the dynamics of trafficking in Cambodia’s Northeastern Provinces of Ratanakiri, Mondolkiri and Stung Treng. The “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project, a study on (re-) integration and the lifecycle of sexual exploitation and trafficking Cambodia” will track survivors over a 10 year period, gauging major contributing factors and barriers to success in aftercare and (re-)integration into communities through survivors’ voices and quantitative methods. Chab Dai’s First Step Cambodia program, which emerged from “I Thought It Could Never Happen to Boys,” was conducted by Social Services of Cambodia for Hagar, funded by World Vision Canada. Alastair Hilton points out that Chab Dai’s support for the First Step program enabled Helen Sworn: “to tell [donors] about sexual abuse of boys and men from a position of relative expertise and knowledge.”

This research, along with the scaled up experiences of its member agencies, contributes to Chab Dai’s advocacy efforts.¹³ As part of the COMMIT process, UNIAP holds quarterly stakeholder meetings at which organizations may advocate on specific issues and incorporate their experiences into the coordinated regional response to TIP. Chab Dai communicates its members’ experiences to senior policy-makers at these meetings, as well as those hosted by the UN Agencies that make up UNIAP. Its advocacy efforts also involve participation in the National Committee to Lead the Suppression of Human Trafficking, Smuggling, Labor and Sexual Exploitation’s high level working group and participation in events such as an annual Freedom Day led by the international coalition Stop the Traffik!. Chab Dai members commented that membership in the coalition allows them to feel networked by proxy. James Pond commented that: “being part of a coalition means that you can be represented on a broader scale” and “Helen certainly has a positive reputation and has good influence and good relationships.” Sar Channy observed that “We know ... the impact of [Chab Dai’s] achievements working in partnership with other NGOs.” Alongside experiences of secular civil society partners, these efforts contribute to

¹³ Chab Dai’s focus forums included a forum on Advocacy.

international organizations' and the government's understandings of emerging issues, which in turn shape Cambodia's evolving policy response to combat trafficking.

Chab Dai is not the only faith-based organization engaged in high-level policy dialogues. A handful of Chab Dai's member agencies also participate in these meetings. World Vision acts as vice chair for the National Committee's Prevention Working Group, while IJM serves on the Law Enforcement, Judiciary Affairs, and Prevention Working Groups. This reflects these agencies' programmatic foci on advocacy as well as their access to international funding. World Vision's Vorn Veth described their approach to advocacy: "[We] have grassroots partnerships through other internal World Vision projects. Learning from these activities we scale up, we note the gaps and challenges and we raise these with the government and policymakers in order to influence proper implementation and response." Agencies like Chab Dai and World Vision influence policy both because of the wealth of grassroots experience they bring to the table and because they offer training to government officials in enforcing the Minimum Standards and other areas like social work and counseling. World Vision may also benefit from its dual role as a major implementing and donor agency.

Interestingly, Chab Dai's role in establishing "engagement by proxy" may, in isolated cases, actually discourage engagement. One representative of a faith-inspired aftercare facility, concerned with AFESIP's approach to counseling in its rehabilitation centers, was reluctant to contact an AFESIP representative because "I feel like because the coalitions are engaged together then we are by-proxy engaged, so I have not made many overtures."

Chab Dai's advocacy draws on projects it sponsors directly, notably three prevention programs: Church and Community Training, Urban Prevention Program, and the Vietnamese Prevention Program. These work with community members in rural, urban, and predominantly Vietnamese communities, engaging local churches and community partners to raise awareness about human trafficking, protect children-at-risk, encourage prevention practices, and teach communities how to intervene in suspected cases of trafficking. The Urban Prevention Program is directed toward communities where street children are at particularly high-risk of abuse and exploitation. Community partners may include commune chiefs, church pastors, school teachers, NGO workers, government officials, and Buddhist monks. Chab Dai appeals to monks from a common faith-oriented perspective: it is important to engage monks because they are "gatekeepers" to communities and because doing so is culturally appropriate. "The government... sometimes thinks it's strange that we're a Christian organization and we reach out to people from their own faith perspective, but we've told them 'We're not a church, we're a Christian development organization that takes a holistic view to addressing trafficking and exploitation'." (Sworn)

Chab Dai distributes Help Cards throughout Cambodia, with province specific phone numbers for local police and Chab Dai's national hotline. It produces and distributes toolkits to educate communities about the link between pornography and trafficking,^{xxvi} and Safe Karaoke Packs designed for use by NGOs and churches which contain project materials in the form of a series of karaoke videos on issues like bullying, sexual abuse, landmines, and peer pressure. It collaborated with external organizations on the 2009 Rapid Response Alliance Project, to mitigate the effects of the global economic crisis on female garment factory workers through magazines containing information about human trafficking, a hotline number, and available vocational training opportunities.¹⁴

Other Networks

Two major coalitions of NGOs (besides Chab Dai) respond to human trafficking in Cambodia. The NGO Coalition to Address (Sexual Exploitation) of Children in Cambodia (COSECAM) is a local coalition founded in 2001. Of its 24 members, World Vision and the Cambodian Hope Organization are Christian-inspired. ECPAT Cambodia is the national group of ECPAT International, a global network of organizations and individuals working together for the elimination of child prostitution, child pornography and the trafficking of

¹⁴ Chab Dai partnered for this initiative with UNIAP, World Vision, Hagar, Open Arms, YEJJ, & Precious Girl Magazine. Ibid., 20.

children for sexual purposes. Of its 27 members, World Vision and Hagar are Christian-inspired. Both COSECAM and ECPAT manage programs in advocacy, research, and institutional and human resource development. COSECAM also provides project funding for vocational training and operates a case management system, which in turn informs ECPAT's NGO Joint Statistics Database Report on Trafficking and Rape in Cambodia. The three major anti-trafficking networks work together and join in common advocacy initiatives; while World Vision is the only Chab Dai member that belongs to COSECAM and ECPAT, nine organizations are members of both COSECAM and ECPAT. World Vision's membership in all of the three major networks gives it access to a wider range of research, training, and institutional capacity-building programs, and "allows us to speak with one strong voice to advocate to the government" by incorporating more experiences into its advocacy efforts (Vorn Veth).

The coalitions shoulder considerable programmatic responsibilities. Chab Dai conducts trainings on the Minimum Standards among social workers and aftercare shelters in Cambodia, along with World Vision, The Asia Foundation, and USAID. World Vision is developing an MOU to hand over its role in this training to ECPAT; ECPAT Director Chin Chanveasna argues that as "a network [we] can reach more NGOs." Similarly, COSECAM's institutional and individual capacity-building programs aim to raise the standard of care among its member organizations.

Other networks, such as the Child Welfare Group of the Cooperation Committee of Cambodia (CCC) and the NGO Committee on the Rights of the Child, also contribute to Cambodia's anti-trafficking response. The NGO Committee on the Rights of the Child includes faith-inspired groups Cham Khmer Islam Minority Human Rights and Development Association,¹⁵ International Christian Mission,¹⁶ and the Phnom Penh Street Children Project of World Vision Cambodia. Finally, Cambodia Against Child Trafficking (Cambodia ACTs), which includes Buddhist-inspired NGO Santi Sena in its membership, registered with the government in 2009, though it has been operating as a working group between Terre des Hommes-Germany and Terre des Hommes-Netherlands' child rights and anti-trafficking prevention projects since 2003. Cambodia ACTs is linked with other Southeast Asian anti-trafficking initiatives through Asia ACTs, and may assume a more prominent role as it secures funding. Cambodia ACTs participates in ECPAT's NGO Joint Statistics Database Report on Trafficking and Rape in Cambodia.

¹⁵ The Cham Khmer Islam Minority Human rights and Development Association works with children, women and men of ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups in Cambodia in order to ensure that they have the equitable rights and opportunities in developing knowledge and their own identity.

¹⁶ International Christian Mission runs the Good Shepard Mission Orphanage in Phnom Penh, Cambodia and conducts evangelical outreach in the surrounding provinces.

PART IV: ISSUES AND COMPLICATIONS

Six types of issues emerged from the interviews and discussions with faith-inspired and secular actors working to counter trafficking in Cambodia and to address the rights and needs of victims:

- (1) The need for, feasibility of, and ethics around long-term residential programs for victims (as opposed to shelters and more community-based approaches). Current approaches reflect evolving views on best practice. In some instances, this concern spills over into the role of evangelizing or including spiritual elements in care. It also links to active debates in Cambodia (and elsewhere) on the roles of orphanages, since many (but by no means all) victims are children;
- (2) The significance of the juxtaposition of the beliefs and faith-linked approaches of largely Christian (and evangelical Christian) actors and the heavily majority Buddhist majority in Cambodia, including relationships with Buddhist institutions. Cambodia has clear constitutional protections of religious freedoms but unease as well as legal restrictions on open proselytizing;
- (3) More specifically, how Christian beliefs and approaches (often termed ‘holistic care’) apply, especially in aftercare for victims of trafficking and in relation to national and international standards;
- (4) Issues arising in relation to cooperation and tensions involving government roles and policies versus the fairly free-wheeling roles that civil society and faith-inspired groups have played on trafficking;
- (5) The roles that religion plays in the formation and maintenance of partnerships; and
- (6) The ways in which government roles, implementation capacity, and donor approaches and support (especially funding) shape debates and outcomes on trafficking.

Institutional Versus Non-Institutional Care

Several faith-inspired organizations focus on long-term, residential care for trafficking victims, though approaches are shifting (Box 2). Here, the Cambodian government, in line with best practice international standards, has taken a clear policy focus on the support it provides. It favors short-term, emergency transit care services and rehabilitation within families and communities where appropriate. While institutional care is appropriate in some settings, faith-inspired and secular organizations alike face the challenge of moving beyond a victim care model where rescue and long-term rehabilitation are applied across the board.

MoSAVY’s 2009 Policy on Alternative Care for Children and the Minimum Standards on Residential Care for Children (the Minimum Standards) defines alternative care as “care for orphaned and other vulnerable children, who are not under the care of their biological parents.” It states explicitly: “Family care and community care are the best option for alternative care,” and “[i]nstitutional care should be a last resort and a temporary solution.” Even so, in 2009 an estimated 11,029 children were living in institutional care, a 51 percent increase since 2005. The policy emphasizes that pagodas play important roles in alternative care provisions in Cambodian society, as Buddhist monks (Preah Sang), nuns (Donjis) and lay clergy (Achars) provide children with food, shelter, education, etc. “From these experiences, they should be now considering exploring similar approaches for children among populations from different ethnic backgrounds, religions and beliefs.”

Residential care facilities and approaches for trafficking victims tend to be lumped together with orphanages, regardless of the extent to which it is children who are institutionalized, because aftercare for trafficking victims used to be primarily orphanage-based. Some larger aftercare facilities in Cambodia still institutionalize trafficking survivors but, as Glenn Miles notes, “at this stage there actually are not that many organizations doing something other than shelters. Everyone has a little bit of variation on it, but when it comes down to it, it

is still a shelter.” An important distinction is thus drawn between institutional and residential care facilities. Don Brewster notes that, “when you say institutional care, it doesn’t really describe the care that the girls receive at our center and at other good centers. It is really residential care and there is really a big difference. There is a difference in the freedom they have to move around. They are not trapped in a center.”

Associated policy and ethical challenges are accentuated by legal challenges and issues of financial viability involving institutions and residential facilities. Parents have challenged institutions that keep minors in care yet are not legal guardians. Sotheary Ly of HCC commented: “There are some cases where parents have sued NGOs, claiming they have detained their children...This will be an issue for NGO shelters providing care to victims.” Agencies avoid legal challenges by maintaining close communication with MoSAVY. Barry Jessen of Destiny Rescue observed that “[Other agency’s experiences with guardianship challenges] scared us at first, but they have not changed what we do. We keep our ducks in a row, and we have a great relationship with MoSAVY.”

With the 2008 global economic crisis, the financial sustainability of shelters has become more uncertain. Financial situations vary among shelters depending on the standard of care they provide, the number of clients they support, and the length of time clients remain. Hagar’s exploration of community-based care was catalyzed by financial difficulties during the global economic crisis (Pierre Tami, Founder of Hagar Cambodia). Talmage Payne, CEO of Hagar said, “We spend, on average, anywhere from \$10,000 to 20,000 on each beneficiary. Our goal is that every woman and child we work with is able to successfully reintegrate into his or her community.” The Asia Foundation, the implementing agency for USAID’s Counter Trafficking in Persons project, has signaled a shift away from institutional residential care facilities. The projects it currently supports—World Hope International’s Assessment Center Project, HCC’s Transit Center, and Damnok Toek-Goutte d’Eau’s shelter—allow children to come and leave at will.

Still, the trend towards alternative and community-based care and rehabilitation has risks if applied without nuance. Regardless of how long they spend in institutions, trafficking survivors who return to communities need continued support. For some, this may mean simply making them aware of social support mechanisms and/or ways to reach out for help. For others with continuing trauma issues, addressing these issues through community-based care can be more costly than if care is centralized at an aftercare facility. Some see tensions between the community care model and meaningful victim protection. Rapha House’s Project Manager argued:

The government doesn’t necessarily understand th[e] concept [of long-term care]. Their idea is that they want to reintegrate the girls back into their communities quickly. But they’re not thinking about the reason she got in trouble in the first place. Is the home safe? Is there enough education? Is the family poor? We are thinking about that.

Likewise, Don Brewster noted:

You can’t send a girl back who isn’t emotionally healed. I believe that without Christ involved they will not heal emotionally, not after what they have been through. These guys don’t just rape them; they torture these girls. It is horrendous what has happened to these kids. To think that you are going take one of these kids from this culture and have them heal in six months is unrealistic. In many cases, it takes six months just to share and form a relationship.

Kristin Wiebe comments that aftercare facilities “range from the ‘Let’s get them and hold them and keep them forever’ to the ‘We have you for two weeks and then we are going to start pushing you out.’ It is the whole broad range, which is necessary, frankly.”

As long as survivors are directed to agencies with programs that meet their needs, different approaches to aftercare can match the diverse needs of survivors of human trafficking and other forms of exploitation. Residential aftercare facilities are increasingly transitional as their definitions of success in aftercare and rehabilitation focus increasingly on long-term reintegration into communities. Worldly issues as much as

religious concerns enter into the equation. At least one aftercare agency has provided space in its facility for women trafficked from Vietnam as they wait for paperwork that would allow them to live in Cambodia legally. Kristin Wiebe highlighted this blend of the spiritual and pragmatic:

There are girls who are never going to make it on their own; they might have mental issues or severe trauma and ingrained stuff from their history. They are not going to be reintegrated into a normal community and they are going to need some kind of a group home scenario. But there again, let's think about group homes, some kind of family-like fostering for them and not warehousing them in a huge concrete mansion with 60 other broken children and two counselors. It is not the biblical model, and it is also not healthy for children.

Other than World Hope International, faith-inspired organizations providing aftercare all now provide medium-to-long term residential care. This may be in part because available faith-based healing training and resources are geared toward the framework of rescue and rehabilitation through the traditional aftercare model of sexually exploited children.

Kingdom of Cambodia Nation, Religion, King	
Contract to Stay	
I [Ni], twenty years old, asked for a loan of 50 dollars from older sister [Rho] in group [...], village [...], Sangkat Tuol Sangkeo, Khan Tuol Kork.	
I voluntarily came to stay in this house; there is nobody who forced me.	
I promise to pay back the loan according to the possibility to earn.	
I ask to put my thumbprint for evidence.	
Day, 20-10-2000	
Witness (thumbprint + name)	Borrower (thumbprint + name)

Figure 6: A contract for residential care

Religious and Cultural Challenges

Aftercare in Cambodia is increasingly focused on psychological recovery and community reintegration and thus involves several different challenges that relate to Cambodia's cultural fabric. Several interviewees highlighted these challenges, citing *karma*, the understanding that an individual's circumstances result from actions in a past life, where right action accumulates positive merit and wrong action results in negative merit. Another theme is cultural notions of purity that color both how girls become enmeshed with trafficking and attitudes towards them when they return to their community and family.

Don Brewster of AIM, which runs the Agape Restoration Center, points to the cultural challenges of aftercare with a hypothetical example:

A high percentage of little girls, seven, eight or nine years old, that come into our center do not know if what was done to them was wrong or not. They hated it but they do not know for sure if it was wrong or if they should have hated it. Their mother or some relative took them and it was a white man (and they are all good, right?) who did it to her, and he said he loved her. Even though it hurt and she hated it, she does not

know whether it was really wrong. In addition to dealing with that, she has to deal with the stigma of what happened to her because victims here are considered trash.

Survivors who were trafficked or experience conditions of violence, abuse, and/or exploitation, struggle to overcome immediate physical wounds, the longer-term loss of their understanding of physical integrity, drug addictions, emotional trauma, and extreme psychological trauma, sometimes magnified by religio-cultural frameworks that can be impediments to long-term healing. Many referred to the notion of *karma*; Alastair Hilton, Technical Advisor at First Step Cambodia, notes:

When people are abused, whether it is in Cambodia or anywhere else, one of the most common questions that many survivors ask is, “Why did this happen to me?” Some of the young men we met in the course of our research looked for answers within the Buddhist faith, and they would say that it happened because they did something wrong in a previous life and asked “Is this *karma*?” I have seen the same thing in working with women who are victims of domestic violence here. The fact is that, ultimately, many victims and survivors find it very difficult to place the responsibility with anyone else but themselves and this is often reinforced by cultural views within many communities – victims are often blamed. In the case of boys this may also be related to expectations of men and boys that are linked to perceptions of ‘masculinity’ – boys are expected to be protectors of themselves and others – if they are abused they are seen to have somehow ‘failed’ to live up to expectations of being a man. Most victims also know in some way the person who abused them. It is very easy to blame strangers, but the vast majority of abuse is committed by people who are in some way known to the child, so the complex set of dynamics within abuse (grooming strategies, use of coercion, manipulation of relationships, power and blurring of boundaries etc.) can also confuse survivors in terms of why this happened to them, including who is responsible. Addressing this within counseling in most cases is just one vital part of the recovery process.

Women and children trafficked for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation are viewed as *srey koich*, or broken women, and may face considerable stigma as they try to reintegrate into their community. Men face a similar stigma when trafficked for sexual exploitation and/or prostitution. Kristin Wiebe comments that:

Whether or not [the notion of *karma*] leads to her being trafficked, it certainly hinders her ability to heal... Here, where there is a more collectivist society, the whole system is saying ‘This is where you belong. This is your box that you live in forever.’ The idea of reaching out or looking out and demanding a different future, I can only imagine what an insurmountable, almost ethical issue that could be for a child, let alone a grown person.

This goes beyond Buddhism; it is embedded in Khmer language: “The word *sehaht* means both ‘pretty’ and ‘clean.’ So if you are darker-skinned, you are not *sehaht*. If you are raped you are not pure, and you are undeserving of social status if you have encountered misfortune.”¹⁷ (Maltroni)

Community education is an integral part of victim protection, and community acceptance and support is extremely important to survivors’ successful integration. Interviews and Chab Dai’s “Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project: a study on (re-) integration and the lifecycle of sexual exploitation and trafficking Cambodia” both suggest that a major fear for survivors of trafficking is that they will not be able to find a suitable marriage partner because they are perceived as *srey koich*. By promoting community acceptance of survivors and educating parents and community members about the risks of trafficking, survivors may be less likely to find themselves in vulnerable positions or willingly returning to their former trafficker.

¹⁷ The onus often remains on women to preserve Khmer identity and social morality; failing to do so leads to stigmatization. Areeya Hutinta, “Nation and Ethnicity in Khmer Literary Heroines: The Works of Pal Vannariraks.” Heidi Hoefinger, “Negotiating Intimacy: Transactional Sex and Relationships Among Cambodian Professional Girlfriends” Goldsmiths PhD thesis 2010.

Efforts to reintegrate victims by challenging directly the idea that being trafficked is the result of *karma*, or that it renders the victim *srey koich*, are well-intentioned but can, in some cases, hinder partnerships between faith-inspired organizations. Such cultural issues are definitely not specifically Cambodian and/or Buddhist. James Pond, CEO of Transitions Global, who also holds an MA in Theology, notes that:

Christianity has [similar constructs] with its concepts of hell, punishment, and sin, as well as the notion that the sins of the fathers will be visited upon their children. The idea that we carry around generational curses is a biblical idea passed down through Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. I think we are very small-minded when we suggest that the idea of *karma* or that someone is living out the past sins of an ancestor from their past life is unique to Buddhism, because it resonates in just about every other organized religion.

Holistic Care, Minimum Standards, and Religious Freedom

Professionals interviewed who work with non-faith linked anti-trafficking and donor organizations suggested that survivors of human trafficking and/or sexual exploitation enter faith-inspired aftercare facilities as Buddhists or with no particular religion, and exit as newly converted Christians. Steve Morrish’s opinion was representative: “When a person who has been exploited or experienced domestic violence is at their lowest point, they are easily converted.”

In 2009, MoSAVY released its Policy and Minimum Standards for the Protection of the Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking.^{xxvii} The Minimum Standards apply to all entities providing services or care to victims of human trafficking, in NGO or government shelters (short-term and long-term) as well as in community or alternative care situations. At least one faith-inspired organization, World Vision, advised on the development of this Sub-Decree. Several relevant elements are excerpted below:

Policy for the Protection of the Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking
<p><i>VI. Objectives of Protection of the Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking. a) Reception of Repatriated Victims from Abroad:</i> Ensure that victims of human trafficking are accepted through the process of repatriation and deportation without discrimination on nationality, religion, social class, disability or sex by upholding the rights of victims and commencing to make a plan and proceed with case management until successful closure of the case.</p>
Minimum Standards for the Protection of the Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking
<p><i>Chapter II, Article 6, 2) Right to Individual Identity:</i> The victim’s individual beliefs, values, attitudes, identity and experiences shall be considered and respected.</p> <p><i>Chapter II, Article 6, 4) Right to Dignity:</i> Any act of discrimination and/or stereotyping against the victim on the basis of sex, age, race, et religion, nationality, sexual preference, disability, or past experiences is strictly prohibited.</p> <p><i>Chapter II, Article 6, 6) Right to Services:</i> All victims shall have the right to access services, including psychological, legal, medical spiritual, socio-economic services, and vocational training at any stage of the victim assistance process.</p> <p><i>Chapter II, Article 7, 7). Recovery:</i> Victims shall be provided with access to services and have the right to accept or decline services, including medical, psychological, legal, accommodation, life skills, recreational activities and religious services at any place of worship.</p>

The Minimum Standards indicate clearly that organizations working in counter-trafficking may not discriminate in providing services on the basis of religion and require them to respect victims’ freedom of religious choice.

What 'freedom of religious choice' means in practice, however, seems open to interpretation, particularly given the reduced agency that survivors of complex trauma are able to execute.

Commonly, faith-inspired professionals highlighted the necessary (but not necessarily sufficient) role of spiritual healing as part of the healing process. Helen Sworn observed: "The best hope that we can give survivors is a holistic approach that incorporates the best practices and principles learned globally and nationally, in addition to the spiritual component."

Care provided by faith-based organizations falls along a continuum of spirituality, as do those working in prevention. Glenn Miles notes that within Chab Dai, "Different shelters have different philosophies. Some have a much greater emphasis on spiritual care; others have much more of an emphasis on vocational training, for example."

Several argued that as religion is an important aspect of individuals' lives, survivors should at least have the chance to hear about Christianity. One person commented:

We believe that it is important for them to be in a place where they have heard about God. We would never tell someone that they have to be Christian if they want a job here, but they should at least be exposed to it and know that there is healing. We want them to be in a place where they can look at girls who they know come from the same background as they do and see how their lives are changing and are different. We want them to be in a place to say 'I want that, there is something different about what they have.'

In interviews, this view was presented most often as either giving survivors the option of spiritual services, including Christian services, or answering questions about spirituality, including Christianity, if asked. At Rapha House,

[A]nything that is Christian isn't forced. They have the option, but most of them go to church every Sunday... Most of the staff is Christian. We start the day with devotionals, reading the Bible and singing. It's very much a part of what we do... They have an orientation with their assigned counselor upon their arrival, at which point all the services that are available are presented... They learn from the staff and example of the other girls.

Others (Don Brewster of AIM among them), argue that it is important to go a step further and to nurture their interest in Christianity by encouraging girls to attend church and asking them about their spirituality:

We have only ever had one girl who was really a Buddhist and we did the Buddhist ceremonies with her—you cannot force somebody to convert. Obviously these girls want to please us because we love them. If they ask we will tell them about Jesus and probably a high percentage of them will agree to be baptized, though we require them to answer a list of 12 questions before they are baptized so that they understand what they are doing. They will do all of that to please us. There is no question about that. ... We have a Director of Spiritual Formulation, a second generation Cambodian pastor, and all the girls love him. He is a truly gentle man and a great father figure for them. He talks to them about Jesus but does not push them at all. After he has had some time with them he will ask them 'Do you believe?' which I believe is important. If they say yes then he will ask them about whether they want to be baptized, but if they say no then he drops it.

Brewster made it clear that he does not believe that religion is pushed on clients at AIM's shelter:

A donor came through and talked to the girls and the staff. Their one criticism was that 'The house moms encourage the girls to go to devotion.' I said, 'When you say that do you mean they are really pushing them to go? When you say 'encourage' what do you really mean?' They responded, 'They invite them to go to devotion.' I said, 'Do they tell them that they need to go or do they treat them badly if they do not go?'

Their response was ‘No, they just invite them.’ I actually do not see that as a problem, and I know the girls do not feel forced to go because a percentage of them do not go and not everyone goes every day.

Among faith-inspired aftercare facilities, Rapha House and Destiny Rescue offer survivors a selection of churches to attend, while AIM’s Agape Restoration Center promotes a church in Phnom Penh that the majority of its staff attends so that survivors feel comfortably surrounded by familiar faces. Destiny Rescue’s Barry Jensen comments: “[L]earning about Christianity is definitely an option that we present to all our girls. The staff is all Christian, and they encourage the girls to attend the nightly devotions. We have five local partner churches, and we encourage the girls to each pick one they would like to attend.” Other agencies allow third parties to offer optional spiritual services, which at Daughters of Cambodia includes “a fellowship time for the girls that they don’t have to attend. On Friday afternoon we just have like an hour. They can come if they want. We have a young Khmer pastor who does music. It’s really short.”

The promotion of spiritual healing as a facet of holistic care is linked to a conviction that positive effects may come from incorporating religion into aftercare for survivors of trauma.¹⁸ Some stressed that faith in Jesus Christ is an integral part of holistic healing: “We want to minister to the whole person: physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual. The counseling, education, vocational training, etc. are all extremely important needs. But the key thing that draws all those things together is faith in Jesus Christ” (Anonymous). Kristin Wiebe highlighted the intangible difference that a professional’s own faith brings to a healing atmosphere:

There is something at work in our Assessment Center that is beyond just our medical and mental health care. Our staff is 100 percent Christian and, even though we are not doing Bible studies or church and religious activities in the Center, there is an atmosphere that is different and I think noticeable almost immediately in the kind of care and attention given.

However, there are no studies that examine explicitly conversion and/or cross-religious spiritual healing in aftercare for survivors of trafficking.¹⁹ Melissa Farley, a clinical psychologist, founder of Prostitution Research and Education, and Board Member of Transitions Global, commented that:

Secure housing is essential, physical safety is essential, but after that, counseling from experts in psychological trauma is also critical... It is most important for people who work in the field of helping others recover from the harm perpetrated by the sex trafficking industry to learn about the traumatic stress of prostitution from experts. They need to learn about brainwashing and mind control so that they understand that to even gently promote a religious perspective on a hungry person with very little power is itself a form of mind control... That said, an honest person with a kind and nonjudgmental heart - whatever her or his faith - goes a long way (email exchange with Melissa Farley).

Steven Goff, project director for Houston Rescue and Restore commented:

For people who are so dependent on help for survival even the offer of a place to worship by someone who is providing a form of aid can be seen as coercive. Victims may feel that they have to attend services, talk about God, allow the volunteer to talk about God in order to get their needs met.

¹⁸ See J. Irene Harris, et. al., “Coping Functions of Prayer and Posttraumatic Growth,” *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 20 (2010): 26-38: “Those who pray more report more post-traumatic growth, but this varies depending on the nature of the trauma experienced.” Also see Lawrence G. Calhoun et. al., “A Correlational Test of the Relationship Between Posttraumatic Growth, Religion and Cognitive Processes,” *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 13, 3 (2000): 521-527: “The degree of rumination soon after an event and of opening to religious change were significantly related to posttraumatic growth.”

¹⁹ Some studies document that religious conversion seems to correlate with positive mental health outcomes especially in drug rehabilitation. However, the challenges facing survivors of trafficking are rather different, even though some face drug addiction problems also. See Ho-yee Ng and Daniel T. L. Shek, “Religion and Therapy: Religious Conversion and the Mental health of Chronic Heroin-Addicted Persons,” *Journal of Religion and Health* 40, 4 (Winter 2001).

Alastair Hilton, based on over 20 years of experience as a social worker in various fields, including residential care for children, alcohol/drug misuse, and therapeutic work with children and families, observed:

For children who already have a faith, whether it is Buddhism, Christianity or whatever... faith can be a huge source of support and can play an important role... I am just not sure that an emphasis on teaching religion and Bible studies is appropriate at a time when they are already vulnerable, nor am I sure that it is particularly helpful. If people's inspiration is God and that brings you to this work, that is great, but I do have concerns about how much choice vulnerable people are being given in reality.

Trafficking survivors may copy behaviors in order to be part of a group. Melissa Farley observed that, "If young prostituted women feel that the only way that they can be accepted is to profess a faith, any faith, then they do that to survive." Hilton added that faith, like other support, can play a healing role for anyone after any traumatic experience, whether it is an earthquake or sexual abuse. "Having support from a community, whether it is your family, a non-religious community or organization, or a church-based organization, can be very important in promoting safety, feeling part of something and being accepted. However, I do have reservations about how this plays out in many cases."

Whether conversions within faith-inspired aftercare facilities are intentionally or aggressively pushed by Christian-inspired professionals is still up for debate. In several interviews, aftercare specialists in more spiritualized agencies stressed the 'inquisitive' nature of trafficking survivors. Only the survivors themselves know whether this is based on an innate desire to explore Christianity or simply a desire to fit in, which could reflect concerted behavioral modeling in dealing with complex trauma.

Clearly, the notion of "freedom of religious choice" cuts both ways, but all respondents agreed that conversion should not be coerced. However, how this was communicated in interviews varied. Mu Sochua's opinion was representative of the point of view that implied that even expectations of conversion are unethical: "The choice to convert or to accept a religion cannot be considered a real choice if there is a cross above your head when you go to sleep every night, if you have to pray within the aftercare facility, or when the organization's staff all have to be members of the same faith." Numerous interviewees cited the prohibition against intentional conversion included in the Minimum Standards as well as Chab Dai's insistence upon its member organizations maintaining these standards within the bounds of their programs. But several argued that coercive conversion is impossible and real heart change is what is important. IJM's Shawn Kohl commented:

When it comes to conversion, I believe there should always be a choice. You cannot force people to become one religion or another. I would not discount that some shelters offer opportunities to learn more about the Christian faith or other religions which can be valuable and important. However, if you are coercing or forcing someone to convert then it is nothing more than counting numbers. Most faith traditions emphasize that the internal, rather than the external, transformation of the person is the important thing.

Don Brewster stated:

If they have not had a change within their hearts to believe that it is *God* that makes them special, and if they think that the staff was just being nice to them, then when they go back in their own community they are not going to be able to take it. That hopelessness they came to us with will rear its ugly head.

Conversion in name but not completely in spirit is something that is observed in everyday life in Cambodia. Stories abound of faith-inspired social enterprises where employees are one religion at work and another religion at home. This can be viewed in many lights. Perhaps these individuals have made a sincere faith commitment and Buddhism or other religions practices are more cultural;²⁰ perhaps the commitment is not life-

²⁰ Theary Seng (Interview 17 Sep 2010) observed, "I have espoused Christianity as my own. Part of it was the initial exposure through Christian education, living in a Christian community. But I read a lot. I've read probably as much as any theologian on Christianity. So when I say I've come to own it, come to espouse it on my own, it's not just through exposure but by deliberately thinking it through. So I

long, but rather for a particular point of time; or perhaps they practice an amalgamated version of Christianity and another form of spirituality.²¹

Siobhan Miles and her husband Glenn direct Chab Dai's Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project, a study on (re-) integration and the lifecycle of sexual exploitation and trafficking Cambodia, which will record survivors' attitudes and experiences over a ten year period and should provide useful data to assess the degree to which spiritual care is connected to long-term healing and success in reintegration. The study's approach reflects a repeated view on the appropriate role of conversion across the spectrum of spirituality: "Let the survivor reflect on the quality of care he or she received and the degree to which faith was an important part of that experience."

A common concern is that aftercare can be harmful if conditions do not reflect the day-to-day reality of the community or society, including the religious atmosphere, where a survivor came from and needs to return to. James Pond took religion off the table in addressing survivors' needs:

We felt that with the level of trauma the girls were dealing with, the power differential with the girls and our staff, the culture we were in, and the culture they were going to return to, it was the right thing to do. Phnom Penh has [some] evangelical Cambodian Christians living within the city limits, but most girls come from the provinces and they're going to go home to completely a Buddhist culture and try to interpret what faith looks like within that context. How it will impact girls later in life is imperative.

Those who convert to Christianity may, some suggested, face continuing challenges after they leave care. They may find themselves in an environment where they are encouraged to talk about past experiences and healing through a religious lens; whether it is because the support mechanisms they develop are among primarily Christian communities or because their place of employment is faith-inspired. This can be empowering to the extent that they know the same support networks exist, but they may feel subtle pressure to view the world through a "Christian lens." Joe Conway, formerly of STOPStart Enterprises noted that when he joined STOPStart, "One thing that changed is that [the former owner of this business] used to have this morning devotion that everyone was subject to. I did not feel that was fair to everyone or right, so we have devotions in a designated area, which is a little less forced upon people, whereas before it was over a loud speaker and everyone had to listen."

More troubling are reports that surfaced during interviews of negative images and falsehoods about Buddhism in the context of faith-inspired aftercare. This would alter the nature of the freedom of choice for survivors, but no one interviewed suggested that these were organizational perspectives or beliefs. Bruno Maltoni, IOM, observed: "Obviously the difference, as in any other context or environment, is made by the people in the organization."

Some see a conflict between scientific or authoritative studies and spiritual beliefs, communicated as "biblical standards." Alastair Hilton observed that "Of course biblical standards are very important to ... people, but I am sure that there is a point for many of those people where the two are different to a greater or lesser degree, at which point some strong believers are likely to reject those principles that are based on research and evidence based practice. I have experienced this more than once in Cambodia, where some reject what is globally acknowledged as sound principles for supporting vulnerable people in favor of so called 'Biblical standards.' It's worrying, especially where this leads to lack of choice, appropriate support, adequate protection and in some cases results in discriminatory attitudes and behavior." Helen Sworn added:

would describe myself as a Christian, a Christian who is culturally Buddhist. I have no problem going to a *wat* or celebrating the Buddhist ceremonies. Although it's not a belief system that I hold, it is my culture."

²¹ James Pond (Interview 2 Feb 2011): "We followed up with former graduates who had made a faith commitment to Christianity early in their program, had graduated and had been out for a couple of years, and their response was that that experience was for that time. It was not a meaningful, life-long experience for them. They had gone back to either their Buddhist faith or some had found some other form of inner-strength. We had girls who had gotten into yoga and were finding some satisfaction from spirituality, rather than some kind of a religious system. In looking at the formation of faith cross-culturally, in India you'll see animistic Christians, here you see Buddhist Christians, and in America you see Materialistic Christians because that's our bicultural experience."

This has been a challenge in working with faith-based communities, that they tend to say ‘We have our Biblical standards ... Christian organizations should be leading the way. We should have the highest standard of care if we truly understand what building hope, respect, and dignity for survivors looks like as believers.’ It is great if individuals have their Biblical standards, but to lead the way forward we need to be looking at the National Minimum Standards and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Civil Society Roles in Trafficking Vis à Vis Government Approaches to Conversion

Civil society organizations play important roles in implementing and shaping Cambodia’s anti-trafficking framework and they currently enjoy considerable operational leeway and responsibility. As in any development sector, the Cambodian Government largely determines the space within which civil society organizations operate through its governance and regulation of counter-trafficking agencies and trafficking activities.²² The government directs trafficking survivors to aftercare centers and has shaped many dimensions of its counter-trafficking response to fit the services available. Within the constraints of available funding, faith-inspired organizations may enjoy significant latitude in targeting programs. Anti-trafficking networks, donors, and peer agencies play important roles in upholding high standards of care.

Victims’ care depends largely on their specific situation, but also on the organization that responds to their case. Whoever acts on a human trafficking case may decide to refer it to IJM, SISHA, APLE, directly to the police, to an orphanage, or to a human rights organization. ECPAT’s Chin Chanveasna observed: “I rarely refer cases to IJM because they are not a member of ECPAT network... SISHA is a member of ECPAT, so if any cases are referred to us we contact our members to investigate.” Similarly, there is a continuum of care among faith-inspired organizations beginning with IJM as an intervening agency in cooperation with Cambodia’s Anti-Human Trafficking police. MoSAVY has the nominal authority for victim referrals, though it normally proceeds on the recommendations it receives. IJM’s Kohl notes that:

We include DoSAVY officials in our police trainings because they are supposed to be at raids and at the police station to advise victim placement... Sometimes they are unsure of what programs different agencies offer and what they specialize in, whether it is underage girls, older victims of forced prostitution, or exploited boys; so we are often able to help them out and provide our recommendations for placement. We consider aftercare facilities on the basis of the medical, security, and psychological services they offer. A majority of the identified minors that come from IJM’s raids will go to World Hope, which has very good programs, where they will be for the first three months of aftercare.

World Hope works with survivors in deciding whether to send them on to further residential care, though, as Kristin Wiebe commented, “the ultimate goal is to get the girls into normal, healthy Cambodian communities... We are not sending girls only to Christian agencies, but we are sending them to the best quality care that can fit their needs. The quality care organizations happen to be faith-based, and that faith happens to be Christian.” This religious continuum of care may then continue via employment with a faith-inspired business. The phenomenon of separate (though certainly in no way discrete) faith-inspired and secular continuums of care may be challenged in the future if and when the government takes more active roles in placement decisions for victims of human trafficking.

²² This may change with the anticipated implementation of a new law regulating NGOs and Associations. An analysis of the second draft of the expected NGO and Association law is at Cambodian center for Human Rights, “Cambodia: Restrictive Draft NGO Law an Urgent Cause for Concern,” Press Release, April 7, 2011. Also see “NGO and Associations Joint Statement on the Second Draft of the Law on Associations and Non-Governmental Organizations,” June 6, 2011, available at http://www.ccc-cambodia.org/downloads/ngolaw/statements/Joint_Statement_with_Endorsement_List_Eng_June_06_2011.pdf.

Religion and Partnerships

Cooperation is the norm, though it is somewhat haphazard. Non-religious agencies refer individuals to faith-based and secular organizations, and even the more spiritualized faith-based organizations collaborate with secular organizations. An organization's faith-basis may present barriers, generally not insurmountable, to partnership or referrals. Whether Government or Civil Society Actor A is willing to partner with or refer to Government or Civil Society Actor B depends on how it perceives the quality of the latter agencies' work, based on both programmatic intentions and outcomes and on past experiences in collaboration. Almost all agree that an organization's faith-basis does not determine the quality of care that it offers.

There are exceptions and issues, above all a tendency for some (public and private) to over-generalize, especially where religion is concerned. Some agencies object to collaborating with faith-based organizations or simply avoid contact altogether. These include secular organizations, as well as Christian-inspired agencies that hesitate to engage Buddhist institutions in their outreach, prevention, rehabilitation, and reintegration initiatives. Individuals explained their reluctance on the basis of unfavorable past experiences.

Some faith-inspired organizations are affiliated with missionary groups, generating tensions with the government in the past. In 2007, televangelist and author Joyce Meyer was to host an evangelical concert and rally at a large venue in Phnom Penh. At roughly the same time Mormon and Jehovah's Witness missionaries came under fire for going door to door. The government shut down Meyer's event, posting military police around the venue. James Pond recalls that, "all of the sudden there was this threat, albeit idle, that discussing faith in public forums or being outwardly 'other' in a religious context could be problematic for you as an organization."

Perhaps because of these associations, faith-inspired organizations speak openly about their faith-inspiration to different degrees. One agency director acknowledged that the organization does not identify as a Christian organization, despite the increased funding it would most likely bring:

As we expand and grow our programs, I think that it is better that everyone we deal with, faith-based or not, knows that we are non-biased. We are non-governmental, we are not politically affiliated, we are not religious; we are dealing with vulnerable, exploited people regardless of their color or creed.

Likewise, a staff member with another organization acknowledged that:

Even though the Board and staff of [this organization] are Christians, you won't find on their website anything that overtly says that they're Christian. They're quite unusual in the sense that they are deliberately choosing not to advertise their religion because they feel that it could be a negative, that people could misunderstand what [this organization] is all about. I know there are a lot of people who would be very uncomfortable with [this organization] not identifying itself as Christian-inspired, but it is the way we have chosen to do it. I think that it has opened doors that otherwise might have been shut to us.

Conversely, denominational considerations and a desire to maintain the integrity of an organization's spiritual mission can keep faith-inspired organizations from partnering with one another, or with secular organizations. One agency director noted that, "Some of the mainstream Christian organizations engaged in this area tend to feel threatened by interfaith work. They fear that it will undermine the integrity of their faith, water it down, or compromise it." Another interviewee was frank about his hesitations to work with Buddhist monks:

The truth is that areas to partner are probably limited because of the faith difference. I think there are opportunities, but how it would work in practice is the issue. I do not think we would agree to partner with a Buddhist organization in a context where we would not talk about Jesus and they would not talk about Buddha. I am not saying there are not other contexts, but I cannot imagine any. That does not mean that we have to work against one another, though. There is a difference between partnering in a joint effort versus

complementing the efforts that each group is doing. That allows us to share our faith openly and not have it be an issue.

International dimensions also surface and divide, especially vis-à-vis US Christian politics. Helen Sworn commented:

The Christian movement in the U.S. is right-wing, it is evangelical, and it aligns itself with the Republican Party. I do not want Chab Dai to be seen as that; in fact, one of my greatest challenges when I travel to the United States is convincing secular agencies I work with that I am none of those things.

An organization's faith-basis is by no means the only barrier to partnership. Others include geographic proximity, differing target populations, political considerations, and victims' needs. Specific experience is also relevant.

An important issue is how little has been done to develop the seemingly logical option of working with Buddhist monks, given Cambodia's predominantly Buddhist character. Among those interviewed several voiced significant hesitations. Some are born of experience; one center director told a horrifying story, suggesting that monks had visited brothels. Reasons why agencies do not work more with monks include their generally poor education (explained in large part by the Khmer Rouge genocide and generally poor education levels), high turnover, and the fact that monks have significant time commitments for spiritual activities. Several organizations nonetheless engage the pagoda system, especially on prevention. IOM works with monks in local communities as trainers in safe migration and spreading anti-trafficking messages, approaching the head monk at each pagoda to request his support. HCC, a secular counter-trafficking agency, trains and mobilizes Buddhist monks and school students to lead community awareness raising and support programs, establish Parent Teacher Associations, create links amongst key groups, and provide additional community support. Save the Children Cambodia's Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) project sets up OVC Pagoda Committees, which serve as community-based support structures to ensure that OVC clients receive appropriate services and are safe in their communities. LHA in Siem Reap is one of many Buddhist-inspired organizations that do not term their work 'anti-trafficking,' but target its education services to empower women. Santi Sena, though a Buddhist anti-trafficking organization, does not employ monks in its anti-trafficking efforts beyond Director Venerable Kim Teng's radio program, on which he promotes anti-trafficking awareness along with messages concerning Santi Sena's natural resource conservation and biodiversity management program. There are other ongoing efforts to engage the *Sangha* and/or individual pagodas.

Awareness (and thus networks) is key to effective referral processes. Alastair Hilton tried to engage an important actor working with street children who was unaware and not convinced that any of the children, male or female, that he was working with were likely to have experienced sexual abuse:

They work with over 1000 children a day, so I find that incredibly difficult to believe. He did not consider that it may be an issue and therefore not open to developing a relationship. Hopefully some of those organizations who are resistant to partnering for whatever reason will get on board eventually.... It is often an individual within an organization that can open a door or keep it closed, for a variety of reasons.

In sum, faith does not seem to be the most significant barrier in developing referral partnerships. Organizations engage one another on the basis of the perceived strengths of their respective programs. Faith-based and secular agencies alike agree that the quality of care outweighs considerations of the degree to which an agency is faith-inspired. Secular agencies opposed to partnering with faith-inspired agencies will refer to them if they offer a niche service that the survivor could not otherwise access, and the most spiritualized faith-inspired agencies will engage non-religious counter-trafficking agencies.

Regulations, Policy, and Donors

Faith-inspired (and secular) organizations enjoy considerable operational latitude in Cambodia today in large part because the Cambodian government has limited capacity to respond to trafficking. DoSAVY offices are responsible for monitoring implementation of the Minimum Standards on at least a yearly basis. The consensus among various actors is that MoSAVY does not currently have the capacity to enforce the Minimum Standards, let alone withdraw its MOUs with care providers on the basis of non-compliance. Instead, enforcement is often left up to peer-reporting, most significantly within the three major counter-trafficking coalitions.

As in any development sector, international partners play roles in determining the services that are available to victims of trafficking. Influence comes through policy dialogue and associated funding. Mu Sochua commented on how religion is and is not relevant in the process:

Faith has nothing to do with the Cambodian government's anti-human trafficking policy. This is both fortunate and unfortunate. It is fortunate in that the government is quite moderate when it comes to faith, and there is real freedom to choose your religion and your beliefs. A wide variety of groups are quite free to work in Cambodia. It is unfortunate, however, in that money has more to do with the real quality of services people receive than it should. Policy is often driven by donor-imposed principles and values, and yes, sometimes those values are religiously-motivated.

More significantly, donors wield influence in their choices of which projects to fund. Like their secular counterparts, some faith-inspired organizations are funded by large institutional donor agencies like USAID, the British Embassy, and UNICEF. Many faith-inspired agencies rely on funding from smaller grant-making agencies, church sponsorships, and individual contributions (which may come from particular congregations with relationships to particular faith-inspired agencies in Cambodia).

A group of repeat donors for anti-trafficking work, including Equitas, Tearfund UK and Love146, fund many of the faith-inspired anti-trafficking efforts in Cambodia and are referred to as "intelligent donors" (Glenn Miles):

An 'intelligent donor'... know[s] what is going on. They understand the context because they're working alongside the organizations they support, often acting as a technical advisor. 'Intelligent donors' have a much stronger influence but recognize when to give input and when to back off. They realize that the best partnerships are when the donor and partner organization are on the same track. It is harder for local organizations to perform when the donor pesters them with inappropriate questions during a yearly visit... An intelligent donor can get alongside projects and when they see a new initiative happening with energy behind it they can work with them and help them do the ground research to determine the need as well as provide technical support in evaluating its success.

Chab Dai works with these donors and they make use of the network's research, mapping, and savvy. Alastair Hilton recounted how, in pursuing funding for First Step Cambodia, Helen Sworn was able to build on positive relationships and her direct knowledge and research. "She was able to tell them about sexual abuse of boys and men from a position of relative expertise and knowledge."²³ Repeat donors complement institutional donors in targeting services to victims of trafficking. Hilton observes, "The most important thing about [repeat] donors, particularly Equitas, is that they ask you what you need and they listen. That is an incredible model for donors which you do not get always. It might sound strange to hear that but so many donors do not really listen and therefore fail to understand...they play the tune and the NGOs, often desperate for resources, are dancing to that tune in many cases." The Equitas approach means programs are driven from below, rather than requiring

²³ Agencies working with boys and men include: Daughters of Cambodia, Hagar, Healthcare Center for Children, and World Vision's My Son Project. Hard Places Ministries (not interviewed) is building a center for sexually abused boys and is attempting to reach out to brothel-based boys; First Step Cambodia aims to protect boys and men from sexual abuse and exploitation through community engagement and networking and provides counseling and rehabilitation services for those who have experienced abuse, as well as a unique training curriculum related to working with boys, for other NGOs staff, including those identified above.

counter-trafficking agencies to tailor their programs to fit donors' priorities. It offers a way to scale up grassroots experiences as part of a coordinated anti-trafficking response. It counters the perception that institutional donors too often have a neo-colonial approach, based on the views of international experts rather than situational realities on the ground.

As donors to counter-trafficking activities, church, corporate, and church-affiliated donors play significant roles in shaping Cambodia's anti-trafficking framework and response, and the interactions with the faith-inspired groups on the ground is critical to effective results. Many faith-inspired professionals in Cambodia are incredulous that churches still support long-term residential care for orphans and victims of trafficking alike. They have the chance to promote a fuller understanding of human trafficking among Christians who want to help, for example, making clear that trafficking in persons is not simply about 'innocent women and children' and 'bad men'. They can help ensure that international faith-based agencies keen to support counter-trafficking work in effective ways.

The significant and reliable funding that some faith-inspired organizations receive from religious sources, including international churches and their individual congregants, has the advantage of allowing long-term thinking and programs. James Pond commented that "Churches have the ability to be ventricles for organizations to thrive... A foundation might have a year-long funding cycle or a two-year funding cycle. Churches, if they are intentional, take on an organization much longer-term. It gives some stability to the way an organization can function." This suggests that, like the "intelligent donors," church-affiliated funding allows faith-inspired agencies to address the lived needs of survivors of trafficking. Similarly, Santi Sena has established community relief boxes, managed by *achars*, pagodas' lay Buddhist leaders, which Deputy Director Ros Sam An calls the organization's "sustainable approach" to fundraising. Monks raise money for the relief boxes at traditional Buddhist ceremonies, the proceeds going to many worthy purposes including community primary schools, purchase of school materials for vulnerable children, or small grants to families.

The amount of money that each Christian-inspired agency receives from church-affiliated donors seems to be increasingly correlated with the degree to which the agency is "spiritualized." Pierre Tami pointed to this tendency. As Hagar was established:

We obviously market[ed] ourselves as a Christian agency, but 92 percent of our funds came from non-Christian sources; I must, of course, acknowledge the eight percent of those who responded who are Christians, and it was individual Christians who responded. ... The very fact that we immediately started a business and looked for commercial solutions to problems I think created the sense that our work was not particularly spiritual as far as the Church was concerned.

The director of another agency put this another way: "[C]hurches like to fund church groups." The nature of work can also be attractive. The more spiritualized agencies are likely to work with rescued minor victims of sex trafficking, a population with particular emotional appeal. One interviewee noted that stories of individual girls helped to escape from prostitution make a difference:

There are individuals who sponsor/support members of their church who come to Cambodia to do anti-trafficking work and who set up shelters and have direct services for children or adolescent girls who were trafficked or in prostitution. Donors who sponsor/support these shelter or projects are... encouraged by the fact that the girls have been told of God's love for them and offered the opportunity to learn about Jesus. When visitors from the sponsoring churches come to Cambodia they are shown what is being done for the victims.

The involvement of individual, church, and repeat non-institutional donors allows faith-inspired agencies to preserve the integrity of their spiritual missions. An agency observed:

We do not take funding from any place that would influence our programs. We have a Board of Directors and we carefully consider where we are going, what we are doing and how we are doing it, and we would

refuse funds rather than depart from the vision and mission that God has given us. We do not apply for any government funding for that reason, because you either have to lie or go against the principles that you believe in to accept it. We developed our programs in a way that we believe is part of God's will.

It also allows faith-inspired agencies to operate outside the constructs of government and donor priorities. For instance, the Director of one aftercare shelter commented that:

The government wants to reintegrate girls as quickly as possible so that they are reporting higher numbers of girls reintegrated. They want to follow according to the donor guidelines. If they do not follow according to the donor, they would not get money! ... [W]e have more freedom because we have the church. The church does not put too much pressure on us to reintegrate girls early.

The initiatives these donors support are beyond the sphere of influence of large institutional donors and the Cambodian Government, although of course the government and institutional donors, through their funding of the government's response to combating trafficking in persons, shape the space within which faith-inspired organizations operate.

Although faith-inspired organizations have access to a large knowledge base and resources, secular organizations still hesitate to partner directly with them. James Pond noted that they may be "afraid that they can't come to the table as peers and that the religious organizations would either deny them access based on not being a part of the same religious system or would treat them as lesser-than." Indeed, Sotheary Ly noted:

The [secular] implementing programs do not have access to that funding because we do not have those same networks. In a way the faith-based organization may have an advantage. The churches around the world can provide unconditional money. It is easy for them...Local organizations, though, have to work with faith-based organizations that have funding.

In part because of this reality, Sworn notes that, "We are involved in a lot of bridge-building between the Christian community and the secular, UN, and government community.... We have really tried to model that bridge-building, and it is not just in our Cambodia office." A few expressed the hope that Christian-inspired anti-trafficking efforts would become more ecumenical and inclusive. Some also recognize that intense discussion of an individual's or organization's faith can be off-putting (especially if the suggestion is of superior virtue). Glenn Miles, with his Tearfund background, is keen to work with faith-inspired organizations but finds barriers to addressing some issues (like sexual exploitation of boys) and a lack of energy.

In Mumbai I am working with a gay rights group that is not faith-based, but they are deeply passionate about the issue. It has been a good reminder to me, because sometimes I think it is only within the faith-based community that we are passionate about these issues, which of course is not true. We really shouldn't talk like that because it is not healthy, and sometimes it winds people up. I have been in conversations with people and they'll say to me 'Wait a minute, I don't believe in what you believe, but it doesn't mean that I'm not passionate about what I believe and the work that I am doing.

The issue of evangelizing is especially important because it is part of the ethos and mission of many of the specific organizations involved. A Pew Forum survey of global Evangelical Protestant leaders found that "Nearly three-quarters of the evangelical leaders (73 percent) say it is a top priority to evangelize among non-religious people."^{xxviii} It found that "83 percent of leaders responding from Buddhist majority countries call it a top priority to evangelize among Buddhists in their country."^{xxix} This can encourage evangelical donors to provide funding to the most evangelical faith-based organizations. This issue has polarized the more- and less-"spiritualized" agencies working in Phnom Penh, also shaping the kind of work that faith-inspired and secular counter-trafficking agencies undertake as Christian-affiliated funding goes to more "spiritualized" agencies.

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APPENDIX A: MAIN ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

Interviewee	Title	Organization	Interview Date	Organizational Mission Statement
[Confidential]	-	[Anonymous faith-inspired business conducting vocational training]	4/4/2011	
[Confidential]	-	American Rehabilitation Ministries, Rapha House	1/7/2011	Rapha House: To love, rescue, and heal children who have been rescued from trafficking and sexual exploitation ARM: To proclaim the love and message of Jesus to the incarcerated, help lead them into a saving and personal relationship with the Savior, build them up in the faith, and equip them for a lifetime of faithful service in the Lord's Kingdom
Alastair Hilton	Technical Advisor	First Step Cambodia	4/1/2011	To actively engage with boys, young men, their families and supporters, whatever their background, to ensure that boys are protected from sexual abuse and exploitation of any kind
Barry Jessen	Country Director (former)	Destiny Rescue	3/29/2011	Destiny Rescue is a grassroots, internationally recognized, Christian based, non-profit organization dedicated to rescuing children from human trafficking and sexual exploitation. They help rescue the sexually exploited and enslaved, restore the abused, protect the vulnerable, empower the poor and are a voice for those that can't speak up for themselves.
Bruno Maltoni	Project Coordinator	International Organization for Migration	1/25/2011	To promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue on work-related issues
Cathleen Jones	Director	Children in Families	2/3/2011	Children In Families (or Komar Knong Krousar in Khmer), is a non-government and non-profit organization in Cambodia, established by individuals concerned about the overuse of institutions in caring for the needs of Cambodia's children at risk. Children In Families recognizes God's design of the family and understand that for children to develop and grow in a wholesome way requires the love, nurturing and the security of a permanent family unit. Their desire is to find permanent Cambodian families for children through kinship care, permanent and long-term foster care for children who cannot be reunited with their birth parents.
Chin Chanveasna	Director	ECPAT Cambodia	3/15/2011	End Child Prostitution, Abuse and Trafficking in Cambodia (ECPAT

				Cambodia) is a NGO network established in 1995. ECPAT Cambodia is a national group member of ECPAT International. ECPAT International is a global network of more than 70 countries worldwide dedicated to the elimination of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. ECPAT Cambodia works to eliminate CSEC through awareness raising, advocacy, monitoring and the coordination of actions and sharing information among relevant stakeholders
Don Brewster	Executive Director	Agape International Missions	3/28/2011	To Fight Trafficking, Restore Victims and Transform Communities. AIM equips churches to fight trafficking in Cambodia and now in the US with AIM Anti-Trafficking Training
Glenn Miles	Director of Asia Prevention, Chab Dai Research Advisor	Love146	2/17/2011	Combatting child trafficking & exploitation with the unexpected and restoring survivors with excellence
Helen Sworn	Founder	Chab Dai	11/16/2010 & 3/29/2011	The vision behind Chab Dai (which means “joining hands” in Khmer) was founded in Cambodia in 2005. Chab Dai aims to address human trafficking and exploitation through coalition building, advocacy and research. In addition to our office in Cambodia, the vision of Chab Dai has been expanded into the USA and Canada
Hun Phanna	Executive Director	Cambodian Women's Development Agency	1/18/2011	To enhance the capacity of women in Cambodia through empowerment, education, self-development and advocacy in collaboration with stakeholders
James Pond	CEO	Transitions Global	2/2/2011	Transitions was founded as Transitions Cambodia, Inc. by James and Athena Pond in 2007. James and Athena have worked with survivors of sex trafficking since 2005 when they co-established the Agape Restoration Center (ARC), a high-security, long-term aftercare. Their mission is to provide comprehensive restorative aftercare for girls rescued from sex trafficking. While continuing their work in Cambodia, Transitions has been instrumental in helping organizations in Greece, India, Indonesia, and the United States in developing effective aftercare programs.
Joe Conway	General Manager (former)	STOPstart Enterprise	2/14/2011	STOPstart began in 2008 with a trip to Cambodia. This journey of discovery not only ignited a compassion for helping trafficked people, but offered opportunities to engage in making a positive difference in the lives of people today and for their future. A social enterprise project in Cambodia, STOPstart Enterprises (SSE) provides employment for formerly trafficked women.

Joseph Menacherry and Chhorvirith Theng	Chief Technical Advisor and National Programme Officer	International Labour Organisation	2/9/2011	To promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue on work-related issues
Keo Sichan and Chan Dyna	CWDA Program Manager, CPU Leader	Cambodian Prostitutes Union	1/19/2011	Empowering women working in the sex industry; reducing violence through research, collective action and advocacy; and improving women's health, particularly in regards to HIV/AIDS infection
Kristin Wiebe	Director of Anti-trafficking Programs	World Hope International	2/4/2011	World Hope International is a Christian relief and development organization working with vulnerable and exploited communities to alleviate poverty, suffering and injustice. Between efforts in education and emergency aftercare services, World Hope International is fighting to give all people the hope and dignity they deserve, with programs in Cambodia, Azerbaijan and Sierra Leone
Laura Lederer	Director; Co-Founder; Senior Advisor on Trafficking in Persons	Protection Project; Global Fund for Women; U.S. Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs	3/28/2011	
Lev Dara	Director	Freedom Cambodia	2/3/2011	To provide a quality training and support to individuals, families, churches and communities to reduce the negative impact of addictions and a wider understanding of health risk of addiction, the link of drug and trafficking, drug and HIV/AIDS
Lim Tith	National Project Coordinator	United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking	11/28/2010	UNIAP was established in 2000 with a central focus on trafficking in persons and a mandate to facilitate a stronger and more coordinated response to trafficking in persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS)
Lisa Thompson	Liaison for the Abolition for Sexual Trafficking	The Salvation Army National Headquarters	4/18/2011	The Salvation Army is deeply committed to the modern-day fight against human trafficking (for sexual and labor purposes) and forms of commercial sexual exploitation innately linked to sexual trafficking. This commitment emerges from both The Salvation Army's mission - to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in His name without discrimination - and is rooted in the organization's early history. The Salvation Army USA's anti-trafficking efforts focus on four core areas: legislative and policy initiatives, awareness raising and training, prevention efforts, as well as the development and provision of trafficking survivor services.
Lois Cunningham	Visitor Centre Manager	Daughters of Cambodia	11/23/2010	To empower victims of sex trafficking in Cambodia and help them find ways out of their situation and into a situation of safety, freedom and dignity, and to

				become all that God created them to be
Manfred Hornung	Legal Consultant	LICADHO	2/16/2011	LICADHO is a national Cambodian human rights organization. Since its establishment in 1992, LICADHO has been at the forefront of efforts to protect civil and political and economic and social rights in Cambodia and to promote respect for them by the Cambodian government and institutions
Melissa Farley	Director	Prostitution Research and Education (email exchange)	3/27/2011	To abolish the institution of prostitution while at the same time advocating for alternatives to trafficking and prostitution - including emotional and physical healthcare for women in prostitution
Mu Sochua	Member of Parliament, Former Minister of Women's Affairs	Individual	1/14/2011	
Nandita Baruah	Chief of Party, TAF Counter Trafficking in Persons Project in Cambodia	The Asia Foundation	1/31/2011	To develop a peaceful, prosperous, just, and open Asia-Pacific region
Nou Vandeth	Program Director	Evangelical Fellowship Cambodia Children's Commission (EFC CC)	3/7/2011	EFC CC is a network of advocates for children that will provide opportunities for learning, equipping and working together so that children will experience and celebrate the fullness of life. The vision is that Cambodian children, especially children at risk, become part of the community and the family of God
Pang Sophany	Director	Kone Kmeng	2/16/2011	Kone Kmeng began as a bridge between charitable financial donors and those churches in Cambodia that desperately need assistance in their desire to work with children at risk. Their vision is equipping churches throughout Cambodia responding to children at risk in their communities
Pierre Tami	Founder	Hagar	2/18/2011	Hagar is a global Christian organization, registered in Switzerland that operates commercial and non-profit entities and engages in private and public sector partnerships in pursuit of its mission to restore women and children who suffer extreme human rights abuse to life in all its fullness.
Prang Chanthly	Orphan and Vulnerable Children Program Manager	Save the Children Australia	12/9/2010	To inspire breakthroughs in the way the world treats children and to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives
Ros Sam An	Deputy Director	Santi Sena	6/20/2011	To alleviate poverty through improving closed cooperation with relevant institutions, encourage and support local initiative, works and focus on vulnerable and marginalized people, reduce social violence, promote human rights-democracy-social law and advocacy, empower women and contribute to the natural resource

				conservations
Ros Yeng and Nal Sithy	Country Director and Operations Director	Chab Dai	12/2/2010	The vision behind Chab Dai (which means “joining hands” in Khmer) was founded in Cambodia in 2005. Chab Dai aims to address human trafficking and exploitation through coalition building, advocacy and research. In addition to our office in Cambodia, the vision of Chab Dai has been expanded into the USA and Canada
Sar Channy	Co-Founder	Chrysalis	2/17/2011	Chrysalis is a Cambodian Christian non-profit training organization that provides creative personal development services. We aim to facilitate positive change by working in partnership with other groups who are committed to serving people from disadvantaged backgrounds
Seng Solida	Director	Precious Women	2/18/2011	To empower women to improve their lives and work in an environment free from sexual and economic exploitation.
Shawn Kohl	Deputy Director	International Justice Mission Cambodia	3/24/2011	International Justice Mission is a human rights agency that brings rescue to victims of slavery, sexual exploitation and other forms of violent oppression. IJM lawyers, investigators and aftercare professionals work with local officials to secure immediate victim rescue and aftercare, to prosecute perpetrators and to ensure that public justice systems - police, courts and laws - effectively protect the poor
Sister Helene O'Sullivan	Maryknoll Sister working in Cambodian Women's Crisis Center	Individual	2/15/2011	To contribute to the empowerment of vulnerable women and girls through protection, prevention and advocacy in order to promote a peaceful, gender-equitable and compassionate society
Sotheary Ly	Executive Director	Healthcare Center for Children	2/3/2011	To protect children’s and women’s rights through advocacy and the provision of direct services to children and young women in Cambodia with healthcare, counseling, educational support, social and economic development, technical support and training
Steve Morrish	Executive Director	Southeast Asian Investigations into Social and Humanitarian Activities (SISHA)	3/17/2011	To provide justice for victims of human trafficking and other forms of exploitation by strengthening the criminal justice system, and victim, social and legal support services throughout Asia
Talmage Payne	CEO	Hagar	9/15/2009	Hagar is a global Christian organization, registered in Switzerland that operates commercial and non-profit entities and engages in private and public sector partnerships in pursuit of its mission to restore women and children who suffer extreme human rights abuse to life in all its fullness.
Theary Seng	Executive Director	Civicus	9/17/2010	Promoting an enlightened and responsible citizenry committed to democratic principles and actively engaged in the

				practice of democracy and reconciliation in Cambodia and the larger, globalized world
Tuon Vicheth	Coalition Coordinator	COSECAM	1/21/2011	Strengthening the capacity of local NGOs, aligning their programs to avoid gaps and overlaps and developing minimum standards for care in order to better prevent and combat trafficking, sexual and other exploitation or domestic abuse of children and young people
Venerable Hoeurn Somnieng	Executive Director	Life and Hope Association	10/21/2010	Established by the Monks of Wat Damnak and friends in 2005, the mission is to improve the lives of those most in need by providing compassionate care and educational opportunities, especially to poor and vulnerable children and to disadvantaged young women
Vorn Veth	National Anti-trafficking Coordinator	World Vision Cambodia	1/14/2011	To follow our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in working with the poor and oppressed to promote human transformation, seek justice and bear witness to the good news of the Kingdom of God

APPENDIX B: WHY RELIGION IS IMPORTANT: IN THEIR WORDS

Interviewees were asked about the importance of faith in their work. A sample of responses:

“The fight against corruption has to be championed by faith-based organizations. There is no other platform to address it. The law is not working.”

“We carry our faith with us in every situation. We work with everybody; they do not have to be Christians, and our foster parents do not have to be Christians, either. We do carry our faith into our social work, definitely, because we see Christ as the source of ultimate social justice, the ultimate one who can provide true heart change to changing families’ situations.”

“My congregation’s commitment is always to work with the poor and marginalized people, and women in sex work or prostitution or who have been trafficked or raped are always the most marginalized.”

“We believe that children are their own experts and understand themselves best, and that as Christians we value people because they are made in the image of God.”

“We follow the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, including his appeal to care for the widows and orphans in their times of trouble. He said that if you do this, the world will know that you are my disciple. ... Following the example of Jesus, we promote holistic development because we focus on spiritual development, too, in helping people to heal from the inside. Many people see that children are the future, but Jesus saw that children are the present. We try to adopt those ideas and values to strengthen the position of children and help protect them from physical and spiritual abuse.”

“Jesus said to free the oppressed... The Old Testament and New Testament alike are all about the cycle of slavery. Regarding caring for the widows, orphans, the oppressed, Jesus never says to figure out whether they made a bad choice and then decide whether to help them. He just said go and help, do something, not just help them, free them! It is such a clear directive. For me it is one of the biggest no-brainers of any issue, and I would love to see the Church more intellectually engaged at all levels, especially addressing demand for slave labor and services.”

“The teachings of the New Testament call us to action to combat violent forms of oppression. Faith is where we get our directive from and we are not afraid to share that belief with anyone. Our faith-basis is an identity that we are happy with, and we are happy with the sense of strength that comes along with our beliefs. We deal *only* in violent forms of oppression. Again, faith is a needed source of strength in this work.”

“We are a Buddhist faith-based organization. We always design the projects with the perspective of Buddha’s teachings into the projects. Mostly we inflect Buddhist religion into our social development initiatives.”

“We are taking the love that God has given us and giving that back to the girls. They have experienced so much wrong at the hands of men, and it is through human hands that the love has to come.”

“In the developing world you encounter certain obstacles such as corruption, judicial decisions that do not make sense to you, and victims you see but cannot assist. My faith is essential, and I rely on it and it helps me get through the day. It is a big part of my life and my family’s life. My successes are more rewarding and my work more meaningful because Christ is a part of my life.”

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