

2001

The Future of Southeast Asia: Challenges of Child Sex Slavery and Trafficking in Cambodia

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Citation Details

Benjamin Perrin et al., "The Future of Southeast Asia: Challenges of Child Sex Slavery and Trafficking in Cambodia" (Phnom Penh: Motorola Printers, 2001).

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The Future of Southeast Asia

Challenges of Child Sex Slavery
and Trafficking in Cambodia

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Printed by Motorola Printers, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Photographs by The Future Group.

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Printed in the Kingdom of Cambodia.

First Edition.

FOREWORD

To change the lives of people forever, and always for the better. To advance new solutions to the most emergent challenges around the world. To work with others to build the new politique of the 21st century. This is the mandate of The Future Group, a Canadian-based international non-governmental organization.

Over the course of the next five years, The Future Group will engage in an ambitious initiative to map the world, targeting the most pressing international issues facing major regions of the world, including: Central and Eastern Europe, South America, Africa, the Middle East and for our inaugural project, Southeast Asia. All projects will be built in concert with local organizations to ensure their sustainability. The Future Group will also maintain relationships with key organizations in each region and take the steps necessary to establish long-term leadership in these areas.

THE CAMBODIA PROJECT

During 2000-2001, The Future Group launched its inaugural project in Southeast Asia to address child sex slavery and trafficking. For nearly one-hundred days, a deployment team of four worked with local organizations in Cambodia to implement new ideas to help the children affected by this crisis of international proportions.

Initially, The Future Group had planned to work to implement five projects in Cambodia. After just three weeks, the deployment team was significantly ahead of schedule and began to actively identify new areas to pursue. Critical areas of need at local centres were addressed and projects that increased the scope of advancing new ideas were completed. More details about individual projects can be found at www.thefuturegroup.org.

Building Coalitions

Relationships were forged with over twelve local and international organizations in Cambodia to develop a rich understanding of the challenges facing Cambodia and to provide a basis to implement new projects across Cambodia.

Prevention Education

Over 10,000 children at high risk of being forced into sex slavery and trafficking were reached along major trafficking lanes nationwide through a prevention activity and colouring book in the Khmer language. This was the first time that a prevention project directly targeted children in high-risk situations.

Responsible Tourism

The responsible tourism program for airlines was successfully launched. Targeting regional businessmen and foreign sex tourists, 6,000 deterrence leaflets will be disseminated by President Airlines and Royal Phnom Penh Airlines in flight in addition to over a hundred permanent desk copies on display in sales offices throughout the country.

Recovery Centre

A full educational program was developed and funded for recovering victims. It includes reading, writing, math, history, geography, culture, and sciences. A medical project was successfully implemented by partnering a local doctor with the centre to provide regular medical check-ups, emergency care, pharmaceuticals and preventative health training for staff. The Ministry of Health has also agreed to a proposal for a national healthcare project to couple local doctors with recovery centres and residences throughout Cambodia. The Future Group assisted in the recovery and teaching of between fifty and sixty girls that immediately benefited from the assistance provided to this recovery centre.

Reintegration

A three-month small business training project was developed and implemented with recovering victims of sex slavery and trafficking in a model restaurant where they also learn how to cook and serve customers. This is expected to significantly increase their chances of successful reintegration. Local teachers will be expanding the project to train hairdressing and sewing students as well. Between forty and fifty rescued girls and trafficking victims will have a stronger start to beginning a new life in communities throughout Cambodia.

Grassroots Skills Training

Workshops on grassroots skills training were hosted with the aim of strengthening local skills to improve advocacy work, community participation in the policy making process and giving feedback to the government. The skills learned at these sessions were used to plan events to engage the public leading up to the Second World Congress against Commercial Exploitation of Children in Yokohama, Japan in December 2001.

Regional Expansion of Operations

A strategy for the regional expansion of a leading Cambodian NGO was developed targeting Thailand, Vietnam, Laos and Myanmar over the course of the next five years. This expansion plan will bring investigation, rescue, recovery and reintegration lessons learned in Cambodia to the other countries of the region.

Policy Development

Working with a leading Cambodian NGO, a comprehensive yet succinct policy declaration was developed. It serves as the basis for long term leadership in the region and is embodied in the new solutions proposed in this report.

International Campaign

With a launch date of 2002, The Future Group will chair the Steering Committee of an international campaign to advance new ideas and pressure policy makers to take action. A campaign plan was developed to bring these new solutions to the international community.

Action Research

Through sharing ideas with hundreds of people, new solutions to the problem of sex slavery and trafficking were discussed. Twenty-three rescued girls were interviewed in detail about their experiences. In addition to the fourteen experts that were willing to go on the record to substantiate evidence gathered, dozens of other people were also consulted off the record. These people represented many different nationalities, and come from business, government and non-governmental sectors. The common thread to these discussions was that all of these people's lives have been touched by the crisis of sex slavery and trafficking in some way.

We were told that it could not be done. We were told that we could not and should not go to Cambodia. We were told that we would not be able to make a difference in the lives of children and young women that had suffered from sex slavery and trafficking. One hundred days later, we have seen that difference made not just directly in the lives of one or two girls, but in a hundred. On a higher level, literally tens of thousands of people will have been impacted through the projects that were launched in Cambodia and now championed forward by the local partners that developed them with us.

We're called The Future Group because we do not just talk about the future, we are built to address the challenges of the future. It is our objective to better the lives of people, and we know the enormity of the task worldwide. If only one by one, we can work to better those lives, then we will consider our entire endeavor to be a success. On the ground, across Cambodia we saw that the approach we were taking was unique. It had never been done this way before. It was a time when the politics of it all became real.

Benjamin Perrin

Executive Director, The Future Group

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PART I: THE CHALLENGE

Cambodia is fast becoming a nation of slaves.

Sex slavery is alive and well in Cambodia. It is widespread. It is growing. It is adapting in new and cruel ways. It is destroying the lives of millions in the region. It is the single greatest threat to the future of Southeast Asia.

The Future of Southeast Asia is about challenges; the way things are, and the way things could be. Part I lays out the challenge facing local organizations, governments, and law enforcement agencies around the world, focusing primarily on Cambodia. It provides a background of the problem of child sex slavery, its causes, and issues surrounding it.

Section 1 serves as an introduction to The Future Group, the scope of the research conducted in Cambodia and the methodology followed in completing it. Section 2 describes the problem of child sex slavery in Cambodia as it is today and the effects it will have on the future of this region if it is ignored. Section 3 provides an understanding of the principal causes behind this problem. Finally, Section 4 explores the interrelated issues of trafficking, foreign sex tourism and the Internet as a means to further propagate the exploitation of children.

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

The Future Group was founded in June 2000 with the overarching objective of advancing new solutions to the world's most emergent international challenges. It proposes to map the world in five years in areas including: Central and Eastern Europe, South America, Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The Future Group's inaugural initiative, The Cambodia Project, addresses sex slavery and trafficking as the greatest challenges facing the future of Southeast Asia.

After researching this area to gain a deeper understanding of the scope and reach of this ongoing crisis, The Future Group discovered that child prostitution is at its most rife and exploitative state in Cambodia. Given this conclusion, four team members were deployed to the region from May to August in 2001. An operations team based in Canada served as the point of contact between Canada and Cambodia, provided administrative support and strategic advice to the ongoing direction of The Cambodia Project.

The Future of Southeast Asia is a very small part of the work The Future Group completed in Cambodia. It is our hope that this report can serve as a catalyst for action, provide energy to the growing number of people in Southeast Asia who make a commitment to new solutions, and share the full experience of child sex slavery and trafficking in Cambodia.

METHODOLOGY

Identification and Selection of Target Groups

The most credible experts on this issue who deal with sex slavery, trafficking or associated consequences of these problems were approached to complete an interview. Many of these individuals face this problem on a daily basis and have been active in this area for years or even decades. At each meeting or interview, participants were asked to refer the team to relevant authorities on the issues. In doing so, a vast network was built to credibly address and research this issue in the region.

This network grew to include two major groups: key individuals in business, government and the non-governmental community as well as child victims and those who had seen child sexual exploitation first-hand. Some other experts in related areas from foreign governments, international law enforcement agencies and regional leadership bodies were consulted.

In order to minimize any possible harm to participants, it was required that they provide the team with their informed consent to be clear on 1) what was being done with the information they provided, and 2) who would have access to the raw data. Therefore all participants or legal guardians were asked to sign a consent form.

Information concerning individuals consulted and a copy of the consent form are included in the Appendices.

Methods of Data Collection

Techniques to establish trust and friendship with the children were emphasized before and during all of the interviews. Prior to any interview, time was spent at recovery sites to establish a basis of trust between the victim and investigator. In many cases, victims had become well acquainted with the team over a period of months and did not consider them to be threatening.

Interviews were conducted in a comfortable setting usually with the investigator sitting adjacent to the participant in a conversational style designed to induce the free-flow of dialogue. To this end, all interviews were conducted at the office or centre of residence - they were never conducted outside of the participant's natural environment. Every attempt was made to understand the nature of the experience and thoroughly map individual situations from start to finish.

Through the course of the discussion with experts in the field, the team took the direction of the conversation to areas of interest including the nature and extent of problem, specific approach of the organization in addressing the crisis and suggests on what needs to be done.

See Appendices for a copy of the interview guidelines.

In the field, team members were accompanied by local investigators and undercover police officers to directly observe sex slavery and trafficking sites in Cambodia including brothels, massage parlours, karaoke bars, discos and nightclubs to develop a clear picture on the nature and scope of this issue. Heavy trafficking lanes and sites for sex slavery were also visited in Svay Pak, Tuol Kork and downtown Phnom Penh. Recovery centres and prevention workshops were visited in Kampong Thom, Kampong Cham, Kandal, Phnom Penh, and Sihanoukville.

It should be noted that prior to deployment, team members consulted with Canadian law enforcement agencies and local organizations in Canada to better understand the nature of prostitution and exploitation of women and children. In addition, cultural training and consultation with child psychologists who regularly deal with sexually abused children were referenced for guidance.

Methods of Data Analysis

Data was compiled based on organizational profiles or by project areas. Evidence included interview notes and recorded cassette tapes in addition to private documents and public reports - most of which are unavailable outside of Cambodia.

The combined information that was collected over the course of The Cambodia Project was rigorously reviewed and key hypotheses were developed. The information served to outline the problem of sex slavery and trafficking and is the basis for analysis of current approaches. It is also the vehicle by which *The Future of Southeast Asia* delivers findings, recommendations and new solutions.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

It is unconventional to use consent forms to conduct research in Cambodia. Many individuals were wary when asked to read and sign the form. They feared that they were signing away legal rights when this was not the case. Every effort was made to help individuals understand the nature and purpose of the form, and interviews were not conducted unless a form was signed and understood. In some cases, trust was built and at a future meeting, the participant decided to give consent for an interview.

The principle language spoken in Cambodia is Khmer and no member of the deployment team spoke it fluently. With most business, government or non-governmental authorities this did not present a problem since most spoke English. With victims, however, it was necessary to use a local translator to conduct interviews through. Several interviews required a translator who could interpret Vietnamese to Khmer, and consequently from Khmer to English. Greater time was spent to verify the accuracy of these discussions.

On one occasion, the gender of the investigator presented a problem. A child victim grew uncomfortable due to the presence of a male investigator. Realizing this, he excused himself from the room and the interview was aborted, leaving the female investigator to carry on a pleasant discussion about other topics.

TIMEFRAME

Work on The Cambodia Project began in September 2000 and was publicly launched on March 7, 2001. All interviews were conducted by the deployment team in Cambodia between May and August 2001. Interviews took between thirty minutes to three hours, with most lasting one hour, to complete.

RESEARCH TEAM

The research team for this study consisted of four expatriates from Canada, and a local Khmer translator. The Canadian researchers have experience in:

- work with sexually abused children
- educational training with disabled children
- grassroots management
- language skills including English, French, Spanish and German
- primary and secondary research skills
- public policy, political strategy, and business

Three of the five members of the research team are male, and two are female. One of the females, serving as a translator, was a Cambodian national and one of the males has lived in the region for six years.

SECTION 2: NATURE AND EXTENT OF PROBLEM

The subjugation of immense numbers of women and children in Cambodia is not only heartbreaking, but will be recorded in history as one of the greatest atrocities that governments and the international community ignored. It is not possible for the true extent of this crisis to be told in statistics, photographs, or even through the stories of individual victims of sex slavery. The nature of sex slavery is that it is a modern day manifestation of the same tragic system that has created disparities for vast numbers of people even to the present day.

In the 21st century, sex slavery in Southeast Asia will dwarf the African slave trade to the Americas of the 16th-19th centuries.

The African slave trade from the 1500s to mid-1800s uprooted and trafficked ten million men, women, and children in one of the most shameful periods of global history. Ending this system of slavery in the United States, which exploited over 500,000 Africans, led to a brutal and bloody civil war (World Book, 2001).

The Southeast Asian sex slave trade, in its current form, began very late in the twentieth century and has already uprooted and trafficked 2.5 - 3 million women and children (CATWAP, 1996) making it one of the biggest challenges facing the future of Southeast Asia. Ending this system of slavery in Cambodia, which in just 10 years has exploited between 80,000-100,000 women and children (ILO-IPEC, 1999), must result in the freedom of these people.

This emergent problem of sex slavery and trafficking is characteristic of a new slavery that has taken hold (Bales, 2000):

<i>Old Slavery</i>	<i>New Slavery</i>
Legal ownership asserted	Legal ownership avoided
High purchase costs	Very low purchase costs
Low profits	Very high profits
Shortage of potential slaves	Surplus of potential slaves
Long-term relationship	Short-term relationship
Slaves maintained	Slaves disposable
Ethnic differences important	Ethnic differences not important

In just 30 years, this modern-day version of the slave trade has exploded with the proliferation of faster and cheaper transportation, quicker and more effective communication channels and broader, more open economies. Never before in history have millions of women and children been trafficked around the world with such speed and for as much profit as the global sex trade delivers today. Girls from Eastern Europe have appeared in Cambodia (Doyle, 2000) and Cambodian girls have even appeared in Canada (McInnes, 1998). This slave trade goes in all directions and circumnavigates the globe. In the African slave trade, governments sanctioned the trade. But in the twenty-first century slave trade, mafias - organized criminal networks, are running it. These mafias pose a significant threat to the vulnerable democracies founded in the aftermath of the hard fought battles of the Cold War. Chinese and Japanese mafias in Asia, and the Russian mafia in Central and Eastern Europe have turned modern day sex slavery into a multi-billion dollar industry. Today's slavery is more severe, more savage, and subtler than ever before.

Sex slavery in Cambodia is at a critical junction. The problem today is extensive, but it is young. Solutions do not involve battling tradition, rather it is the problem that is undermining the very fabric of Cambodian society - destroying lives, separating families, spreading disease and paralyzing a democracy in its infancy. It is crucial to understand the nature and extent of this problem before investigating the current response to this crisis or advancing any new solutions to it.

SIZE AND EXTENT

Incredibly young and vulnerable girls and women are being forced into sex slavery and targeted by sex users from Cambodia and around the world in ways never done before.

Sex Slaves

A sex slave is someone who is tricked, deceived, sold or forced into engaging in sexual activities for profit. They are often compelled to submit through beatings, torture, drugs and repeated rape. For most, there is little hope of knowing any life outside of their brothel prison.

It is exceedingly difficult to determine accurate figures for the number of sex slaves in Cambodia as a result of six factors:

- Illicit nature of the sex trade
- Transience and trafficking of sex slaves
- Demographic data on the population alone is not well known
- Security risks of monitoring or recording data about number of sex slaves through direct observation
- Information becomes rapidly obsolete due to the constant flow of victims in the sex trade and evolution of the problem
- Blurring of lines and differences in definitions between which types of women and children are considered to be sex slaves

Despite these significant challenges, ranges of figures on the size of this problem in Cambodia have been made public. On the higher end, it is estimated that there are between 80,000 to 100,000 prostitutes and sex slaves in Cambodia. By far the lowest statistic for the number of prostitutes and sex slaves in Cambodia is between 40,000 to 50,000. With a population of just 10-12 million, Cambodia's sex slave and prostitution problem is enormous. Indeed, more than 1 in 150 people in Cambodia are sex slaves or prostitutes.

Table 2-1: Sex slaves and prostitutes as ratio of population in Cambodia

	Lowest	Moderate	High
Number of sex slaves & prostitutes	40,000	80,000	100,000
Ratio of sex slaves & prostitutes to population	1 in 300	1 in 150	1 in 120

It can be expected that at least 1 in 40 of children born in Cambodia will be sold into sex slavery. The number of sex slaves and prostitutes has peaked and has normalized as a well-established phenomenon in Cambodia. The chronology of prostitution and sex slavery can be clearly seen to mirror major political periods of upheaval and change (CNCC, 2000, and UNICEF, Undated).

<i>Time Period</i>	<i>Political Period</i>	<i>Trend in sex slavery</i>
Before 1970	Royal Kingdom	Not widespread

1970 - 1975	Lon Nol	Increased due to war in Vietnam
1975 - 1979	Khmer Rouge	Banned
1979 - 1989	Civil war	Strict control
1990	State of Cambodia	1,500 sex slaves and prostitutes in Phnom Penh
1991	United Nations - UNTAC	6,000
1992	United Nations - UNTAC	20,000
1995	Post UNTAC	17,000
2001	Kingdom of Cambodia	17,000 in Phnom Penh, 80,000 nation-wide

Of these prostitutes and sex slaves, most enter the sex trade when they are children. Fully 30-35% of current sex slaves in Cambodia are children (UNICEF, 2000). These vast numbers of prostitutes and sex slaves are also made up of women and children taken from their homes and trafficked into Cambodia. Vietnamese make up over a third of all sex slaves in Cambodia (UNICEF, 1997). Over seventy-eight percent of young sex slaves, those under 16 years of age, are Vietnamese (CNCC, 2000). Chinese, Thai, Lao and Filipino girls are also sex slaves, but appear in smaller numbers (UNICEF, 1997). It is clear that the sex trade could only endure to this extent with the existence of a vibrant cross-border trade in women and children from neighbouring countries.

Regardless of nationality, sex slave owners seek to acquire cheap, compliant and disease-free young girls. The premium age sought out for a sex slave is between thirteen and sixteen years old. Sex slaves are paid on average 6,000 Riel (US\$1.50) per week for receiving ten customers each day, seven days a week (Pierre Legros, 2001). Some are forced to receive as many as twenty men a day (AFESIP Victim interview, 2001).

The reasons that these child sex slaves are given so little money is to maintain their dependence on their owner (pimp or mamasan) and because most are locked in debt bondage. Many parents are given high interest "loans" by traffickers, with their children acting as both the collateral and repayment mechanism. It becomes the burden for these children to repay the loan to the owner to secure their freedom. A virgin girl will more than pay off the debt to her owner the first time she is given to a sex user. This fact is kept from her, and the brothel owner will force her to stay for months or even years to repay her initial debt that grows with high interest and additional money that the

owner spends on the girl. Everything from clothing, and makeup, to food and rent for a room are added to the girl's debt.

There have even been cases of owners that employ horrific methods to further increase the debt that a girl owes. One scheme involves the owner arranging for a customer to beat the girl and then cover "medical care" costs to heal the girl. This medical bill is added to her debt. Mamasans or pimps have even had the audacity to charge girls for an unnecessary surgical procedure, known as hymenoplasty, so they appear to be virgins and can be resold. Even bribes paid to local police have been added to the tab of these child victims. The result is a perpetual cycle of dependency and slavery.

These children have lost their most basic freedoms. Indeed, victims of sex slavery have had their inalienable human rights to bodily security, safety, shelter, mental and physical health, respect, education and life violated as a matter of course.

Sex Users

One of the great levelers of Cambodian society is that 80% of Cambodian men have their first sexual encounter with a sex slave (Pierre Legros, 2001). The majority of sex users are civil servants and young men between eighteen and twenty-five years old. From moto-taxi drivers to senior government officials, the use of child sex slaves transcends rank, power and class. The only difference is the order in which these classes are given access to these sex slaves. Well-off, wealthy officials or foreigners are usually the only sex users that can afford to pay for a young virgin sex slave. As the girl is forced to be with more and more men, her desirability declines, making her more affordable for less wealthy segments of society. In the end, she can be bought for just 5,000 Riel - just over US\$ 1.00.

The percentage of foreign sex users has been increasing significantly as more and more sex tourists and businessmen come to Cambodia. Up to 30% of sex users are foreigners - made up of expatriates, businessmen, tourists and even NGO workers (Yim Po, 2001). This group of customers who purchase the services of sex slaves proves to be particularly profitable for sex slave owners in Cambodia.

Regardless of class or nationality, two main types of sex users can be identified based on their psychology. There are child sex users, pedophiles, that seek out and desire to

have sex with young children – they are preferential child sex users. They view these children as objects and are systematic in their approach to acquiring or seducing them. These sex users will employ any means necessary including flattery, affection and the giving of gifts or money to get children, boys or girls, into situations where they can be sexually exploited. They are predatory in nature. These pedophiles will use payment of money, threats, blackmail and emotional or physical abuse to guarantee the silence of these children for long-term sexual abuse.

Situational abusers are the second type of child sex user. These are sex users that decide to sexually exploit children if the opportunity comes up because children are readily available, curiosity or short-term desire to experiment. A classic defense used by situational abusers is that they deceive themselves about the true age of the child and that the children will be sexually exploited regardless of whether it is with them or someone else. There is little thought by these sex users about the ethics or consequences of using a child sex slave.

These two psychological profiles of sex users come from many different demographic backgrounds including (ECPAT, 1996):

- Local Sex Users: the largest number of sex users are local Cambodians, especially moto-taxi drivers
- Migrant Labour: major users of low end brothels, who come from rural areas to find work and will save up for a trip to the brothel, they are often without families or wives
- Military / Police: UN peacekeepers to rebel guerilla forces, high ranking officials to common traffic police
- Sailors and Truckers: merchant sailors, fishermen and naval personnel exploit sex slaves and the many children who work around ports and roadside pit stops
- Employers of domestic workers: these employers wield a great deal of power over these child domestic labourers who are as young as twelve years old
- Traveling Businessmen: readily accept the "hospitality" provided by business associates, some Asian business deals are ended/celebrated by having sex with a virgin

- Sex Tourists: people who have preference for multiple or anonymous sexual encounters, often deluding themselves to believe that they have had "holiday romances" rather than sex with prostitutes or slaves
- Expatriates: many are involved in the tourism industry and make money by obtaining girls for sex tourists, businessmen, fellow expatriates and visiting friends, as well as making child pornographic material
- Aid Workers: after spending long periods of time in a country where child sex slavery is mainstream, some NGO workers persuade themselves that "when in Phnom Penh, do as Cambodians do"

There are ten different rationales that these groups of sex users advance to justify buying the services of child sex slaves. They include:

1. It is a basic biological need to have sex
2. Sense of camaraderie and peer pressure from male colleagues / friends
3. Men will be men
4. Exercise sexual power
5. Keeps aging men strong and healthy
6. If it does not happen in a brothel, it is not prostitution
7. Supporting local economy or individual child
8. Children here are married much earlier and mature quicker
9. These girls like what they do and are here because they want to
10. Nobody will know, this child will not tell anyone and no one will believe him/her

For most child sex users virgins are in great demand, so many child prostitutes are taken into the sex trade at the time of, or just before, they reach puberty (Brown, 2000). Virgins are in demand because they are considered to be disease-free and safe, sexually desirable and they give child sex abusers a sense of power. While virgin sex slaves in Central and Eastern Europe command US\$ 5,000 – 6,000 (Pierre Legros, 2001), virgin sex slaves in Cambodia are sold for between US\$ 300 – 700. It is easy to see why Cambodia is becoming a prime destination for foreigners seeking to be the first to exploit young children.

Victims of child sex slavery rapidly decline in their value to their owners as they are forced to service more and more men. In the first week, they are sold for US\$ 300 – 700. The cost decreases with subsequent weeks to between US\$ 100 - 200 per week, US\$ 20 - 50 per night, or US\$ 10 for twenty minutes. By the end of their first month of sex slavery, sex users will only pay about US\$ 1 for each sexual encounter - the same price that is paid for cheap beer in Phnom Penh.

The economic structure of the sex trade clearly demonstrates that high-ranking officials, wealthy local men and foreigners drive the demand for sex slaves. Without these sex users, the sex trade would not be nearly as lucrative. A pimp makes over US\$ 1000 off a sex slave's first month of exploitation. It will take nearly three months of cheap US\$ 1 sex acts performed ten to twenty times a day for the pimp to make this much money off the child again. Additionally, the brothel owner does not need to pay expenses for the girl's first month since affluent sex users keep these children imprisoned. During the subsequent months, however, the pimp will have to pay for the girl's expenses, including food and room, even if it is later added to the girl's debt.

The rate at which young, vulnerable children are enslaved for the purposes of sexual exploitation is staggering. What is more alarming is that demand from foreigners and high ranking officials is driving the increase. It is easy to categorize these victims and separate them from society, the fact remains that innocent children are being exploited. Sex slavery is reaching epidemic proportions.

FORMS

New forms of sex slavery have proliferated in an attempt to increase profits from the sexual exploitation of children. This has led to greater availability of sex slaves which in turn has contributed to making it a mainstream component of Cambodian society. On any given street in Phnom Penh, one is no further than a five-minute moto-taxi ride to a place where sex is for sale. The new outlets for sex slavery are not as obvious as brothels, which have been around since antiquity. Rather, these new forms couple popular pastimes like karaoke, massage and dancing along with sex slavery. Other forms simply mask what is truly going on by operating a legitimate business front with

the majority of income generated from the sex slave industry lurking just under the surface.

Note: Non-cited information in this section was obtained from investigations conducted with under-cover police officers and NGO investigators.

Case Study 2-1: Life as a Sex Slave

Srey Mao was seventeen years old when she was sold by her mother near a market in Phnom Penh. She was held prisoner in a brothel but was not forced to receive customers. The first few days there, Srey Mao did not understand what was going to happen to her. She escaped from her prison and made it back home, but was immediately brought back by her mother. Her owner, the mamasan, bluntly explained what was expected of her and what was going to happen. She was brought to a hotel room where a Chinese man was waiting. Srey Mao was beaten and raped. The man went to sleep and she was forced to stay in the room because there was another man who was guarding the door. After the man awoke and left, the mamasan came to get her and brought her back into the small brothel which only had three other girls. Srey Mao was forced to receive men in the brothel, at various hotels, at the houses of customer's or wherever the customer demanded. The clients would usually pay the mamasan, but Srey Mao usually would get tips from her clients.

Eventually, Srey Mao escaped again and went to live with her aunt. Her aunt, however, would not let her stay so she was forced to live under the neighbour's house for a month. She would sleep by her aunt's window at night and her situation worsened when the money she had saved from the brothel ran out and no one was willing to give her any food to eat. It was at this time that her mother arrived with her little sister with the intention to sell her as well.

Srey Mao took her sister's place and was sold back to the brothels by her mother. After just three hours, she was forced to endure the constant stream of customers once again. In this brothel she was paid nothing and was forced to have sex with at least fifteen men each night. After four months she tried to escape but failed and was badly beaten. The mamasan often threatened to send Srey Mao to a brothel in Tuol Kork where being beaten with a stick became an even more common occurrence. Two months after her failed escape, Srey Mao was successful in escaping and returned home to Kampong Cham. When she returned home, her angry mother beat her for escaping and kicked her out of the house. With no where else to turn, Srey Mao returned to Phnom Penh.

When she arrived back in Phnom Penh, she went to the market searching for some drugs that would end her pain forever. After taking the drugs, she immediately got in a car to go to a local bar and see an old friend of hers for the

last time. As the drugs began to take effect, she could not find her friend and she lost consciousness.

An anonymous moto-taxi driver found her and took her to a hospital. After regaining consciousness, the hospital doctors listened to her story and decided to help her by giving her the money to sustain her for the next few days. Two days later, they brought her to the AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Today, Srey Mao is nineteen years old and is learning to read, write and sew. She hopes to bring her younger sister to the centre so that she can also be educated and protected from sex slavery.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Brothels

Cambodian brothels exist in a variety of forms. Brothels can be housed in dirty, old grass and wood-stilt huts as in Tuol Kork, or they can be in attractive modern two-story homes as in Svay Pak. These two major brothel districts in and around Phnom Penh demonstrate the various forms of brothels that exist throughout Cambodia.

Tuol Kork

The brothels of Tuol Kork, in northern Phnom Penh stretch along a major road for two and a half kilometers. A pile of hard-packed dirt that forms the highway is lined on both sides by hundreds of brothels made of old wood and built on stilts. Sex here is cheap. It is dirty, and reeks of garbage and exhaust. When it rains in Tuol Kork, red mud joins water streams and pours off the sides of the highway to fill the areas under the stilt houses. A large room in the middle of each house is where many of the girls wait on display. Once a sex user has selected the victim, they are hurried into her small cubicle that doubles as her home. This district is open twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. It is most busy after dark when hundreds, even thousands of girls can be seen sitting outside their brothels with music blaring inside and pink lights illuminating the brothel. Most of the girls here are Cambodian and many paint their faces white to identify themselves as prostitutes. Those with green or purple powder applied to their faces are their pimps or mamasans.

There are only two ways out of the district: north to the highway or south into Phnom Penh. The one to three feet deep potholes and mud make travel very treacherous. Half way into the district, there is a small medical clinic, The Tuol Kork Dike Community

Clinic. It provides basic medical care to the area but does not receive many prostitutes. When prostitutes and sex slaves do come to the clinic, they are taken in a group and never left alone by the mamasan or brothel guards.

Svay Pak

Ten to fifteen minutes outside of Phnom Penh is the town of Svay Pak. Today, this town is known for only one thing - prostitution. An offshoot from the main highway, Svay Pak is made up of a maze of hundreds of interlocking streets.

No one goes here unless they are looking for sex and most often sex with children. This is where thousands of young Vietnamese girls have been trafficked and forced into sex slavery. The brothels here are modern two-story Cambodian houses made with concrete. These brothels usually house more girls than those in Tuol Kork. Here twenty to thirty girls are crammed into each brothel. Most often, these girls will be forced to sit or stand outside the brothel and beckon sex users to come inside. They can be seen giggling, waving, blowing kisses and calling out to customers in any number of languages. These young girls are extremely forward in seeking to build a rapport with a potential client. They wear tight fitting and revealing clothing with caked on make-up along their eyes, lips and cheeks. In this more aggressive brothel district, these girls will even approach customers and make a show of trying to pull them into the brothel. Other girls approach customers sitting at the restaurants or coffee shops that are spattered throughout the entire district.

These brothels may look like inconspicuous houses, but they are veritable fortresses. It is without doubt that all of these brothels are armed with handguns, grenades and the household AK-47 - most often Soviet or Chinese made. These buildings are made of concrete with large steel and iron doors that can be sealed and locked with seconds of any hint of trouble. In situations where they have had to be locked immediately, customers are stuck inside until any threat has subsided. Most of these brothels have ten to twelve feet high fences with sharp pointed stakes or barbed wire at the top to deny access. These brothels are connected to each other and fill nearly every house in the weaving streets of Svay Pak.

Girls are taken to brothels like these after they have lost their virginity to wealthy clients and have declined significantly in value. In these brothels they are told that they must

work off the rest of their inflated debts to obtain their freedom. Most of the brothel owners and procurers are women. After leaving the brothel by rescue, a surprising number of girls describe their *mamasan* as being a kind figure in their life. Owing to the physical signs of abuse that many of these girls show and the conditions in which they are found, it is clear that this is not the case. Rather, it is most likely that these girls are coping with psychological and physical trauma. First, many are orphaned children or were physically and sexually abused by their parents. Second, it is possible that these children suffer from a from a state of mind where over time they begin to consider their captors as family. There is a strong sense of camaraderie between some girls in the brothel, and they come to consider each other as sisters. Some girls, however, have described a highly competitive environment that works to undermine these relationships. Most often the more experienced girls educate the younger girls in ways to survive brothel life.

Karaoke & Massage Parlours

An explosion of karaoke bars and massage parlours has hit Cambodia. Karaoke is a very popular pastime throughout Asia, especially with younger men. It is very inexpensive for a karaoke club to be set-up with dozens of small, private rooms. These karaoke clubs can be coupled with massage parlors or stand on their own. It is considered to be a cleaner, private and more "acceptable" site for sex.

Karaoke girls come with each room and will initiate sexual activities at the request of the customer. Girls are an item on the menu along with karaoke time, imported beer, and finger foods.

One of the most horrifying confirmations of the slavery that massage girls endure is the often small, brightly lit glass rooms that they are locked inside and put on display in. Rows of girls are forced to sit in this room, only leaving to use the washroom. Massage girls are between thirteen and twenty-five years old, wearing short cut and body hugging dresses. A common practice is for each girl to be numbered with coloured markers. Sex users "order" the girls based on their number, which identifies the nationality of the girl with different colours. Red is often used to identify a girl as Khmer and blue as Vietnamese.

Guesthouses & Hotels

Guesthouses and hotels are extremely common places for foreigners to solicit the services of child sex slaves. This form of sex slavery is prevalent since it takes place in what most users perceive as a safe environment where they are in control. There are two types of hotels/guesthouses. First are the mainstream hotels and guesthouses, offering short-term accommodation for tourists or business people. These hotels will order girls or boys for their guests from a book or with a contact that they have in any number of brothels. The girl or boy is then taken by hotel staff to the hotel room. Often, these places have a book with the names and photographs of sex slaves that are available for purchase.

Many girls taken into the sex trade will have their first sexual experience in a hotel with a high-paying foreigner or high-ranking official (Interview with AFESIP victim, 2001). It is very common for businessmen, particularly regional businessmen, to purchase a girl and have her kept in the hotel room for the week. She remains there usually under guard. The hotel staffs that clean the room know of this arrangement and are often responsible for feeding the girl. This scenario is typical of the experience of many girls' introduction into the sex trade (Brown, 2000).

Case Study 2-2: Entry into the Sex Trade

Ruet moved to Phnom Penh at twelve years old and was forced to endure a number of unthinkable experiences. Among them, Ruet was deceived by a woman who claimed to work for an NGO. She offered Ruet the opportunity to work in her house. Ruet begun to work for this lady and was given a new set of tailor-made clothes.

That same afternoon, she was taken to a hotel where she was warned by girls already there that she would be raped and that there was no escape. Ruet was tied to a bed and locked in a small room where she was soon visited by a man who explained to her that he wanted a virgin and had paid hundreds of dollars for her. He untied her, raped her, and tied her up again. That night, five more men visited her and raped her one after the other, untying her and then tying her back up for the next. The following afternoon, another two men paid between US\$ 10 and US\$ 15 for sex. After only one day at the hotel, she was sold to a brothel.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

The second type of guesthouses and hotels are those that do not regularly provide overnight stays, but have girls that come with the rooms. These guesthouses are essentially brothels that rent out rooms rather than overtly sell girls. They are not located in brothel districts but often offer karaoke or massage "services" and can be identified because of the steady inflow and outflow of sex users arriving by car, moto-taxi or on foot.

These guesthouses are especially exploitative and conditions for the children can be extremely harsh. They are often locked away in their rooms and denied basic necessities like food, clothing and access to bathrooms if they are disobedient or non-compliant (YWAM, 1995). Children that have been abducted into sex slavery end up in these prison-like conditions left only to wait for the next sex user to arrive.

Nightclubs & Discos

Increasing in popularity, especially among foreigners, is the use of nightclubs and discos to provide access to girls and young women who are sent from their brothels to seek out customers. These nightclubs can be close to hotels or consist of an open-air bar and dance area. The approximate number of people in attendance during peak hours is close to four to five hundred. Significant portions of the clientele of the trendier dance clubs are European, North American and Australian men aged between forty and fifty-five years old who have been transformed into VIPs because of foreign currency in their pockets. Many girls are present and aggressively approach them.

Speaking with some of the girls in these establishments, they openly identified themselves as prostitutes. They identified their nationalities as Cambodian, Vietnamese and Thai. In one of the larger night clubs in Phnom Penh, as many as one hundred and fifty girls in the bar area can be counted in addition to another one hundred in the dance area. Desperate men publicly grope these girls, some of them only thirteen or fourteen years old.

Case Study 2-3: Phnom Penh Nightclubs

Srey Ohn was a dancer at a nightclub in Phnom Penh. The nightclub's bar was small, but behind it was a large outdoor area lit by tacky, neon lights where customers would sit while hundreds of girls solicited them. Cambodians and

foreigners alike visited this club and on a regular basis jealous men would fight each other with knives and guns over girls they found particularly attractive. At the club, the customers would have the girls grope them and afterward they would make the trip to a hotel where the girls would have sex with them. In many cases Srey Ohn describes how painful it was to have sex with clients.

Many of these girls were working freelance; they were not owned by anyone and were trying to make money to feed themselves and their families. Working in these distressing circumstances vulnerable girls were susceptible to male predators who sought to kidnap and sell them. The girls would be drugged, usually with marijuana or opium, by their "boyfriends." When the drugs began to take full effect, the "boyfriends" would take them to a procurer and sell them.

One evening after servicing a client at his house, Srey Ohn was asked to go with him to a relative's place where she was told more business awaited. The man took her there and left her in the living area to wait alone after assuring her that he would return in only a few minutes. After an hour had passed and there was no sign of him, an older lady entered the room and explained to Srey Ohn that the man who had brought her there had just sold her. Soon afterwards, she was transported by an unknown man to a brothel in Tuol Kork. He warned her that if she tried to escape he would kill her. After years of life transferring from brothel to brothel, she was finally rescued.

Srey Ohn is currently living in a recovery centre in Phnom Penh where she is dying from AIDS.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Legitimate Business Fronts

An incredibly difficult aspect of the child sex trade to accurately gauge is the use of legitimate businesses as fronts for sites of sex slavery. The trend that can be detected is that these businesses operate as usual, but make additional profits from sex slavery in the "back of the shop." Child sex slaves work in these businesses, while at the same time are on display for customers. Once a customer has chosen a victim, they are taken into a room in the back where sexual services are exchanged for money. At other times, these girls are bought by customers for the night and are taken away from their jobs to a hotel or guesthouse. Some examples that demonstrate the diversity of these emerging business fronts for sex slavery include:

- Restaurants: waitresses and beer girls
- Coffee shops: displayed sex slaves who work as waitresses
- Beauty salons/hairdressers: hairdressers who double as prostitutes
- Domestic labourers: cleaners and cooks

- Car washes: sex slaves kept in the back

With the proliferation of these new forms of sex slavery, it will become increasingly difficult to monitor and curb the sex trade. The wide variety of child sex slavery venues has contributed to making it more mainstream.

VALUATION

Cambodia's sex slavery "industry" can be conservatively valued at over US\$ 500 million/year.

Sex slavery is worth more than the US\$ 470 million pledged in grants and concessional loans for 2000 by international donors to Cambodia, and more than 1.5 times total government spending of US\$ 393 million (CIA, 2001). It is also valued at over a half billion American dollars for this developing country populated by merely twelve million.

Table 2-2: Valuation of sale of sex services in Cambodia (US\$)

Low-end Valuation

Number of sex slaves:	40,000	80,000	100,000
Revenues per day	\$ 200,000	\$ 400,000	\$ 500,000
Revenues per year	\$ 73,000,000	\$ 146,000,000	\$ 182,500,000

High-end Valuation

Number of sex slaves:	40,000	80,000	100,000
Revenues per day	\$ 1,200,000	\$ 2,400,000	\$ 3,000,000
Revenues per year	\$ 438,000,000	\$ 876,000,000	\$ 1,095,000,000

Likely Valuation

Number of sex slaves:	40,000	80,000	100,000
Revenues per day	\$ 700,000	\$ 1,400,000	\$ 1,750,000
Revenues per year	\$ 255,500,000	\$ 511,000,000	\$ 638,750,000

Note: Based on assumptions for low-end valuation of 5 customers/girl/day and average of \$1/customer; high-end valuation of 15 customers/girl/day at an average payment of \$2/customer. The likely valuation is the difference of the two: 10 customers per day at an average payment of US\$ 1.50/customer.

This half billion-dollar valuation is a remarkably conservative figure for the sex slavery and trafficking industry in Cambodia. It only accounts for direct revenues for the sale of typical sex acts. A full valuation of the sex trade and trafficking business would be impractical, but would need to account for:

- Sale of trafficked women and children
- Re-sale of sex slaves
- High-end prices paid for virgins
- Products sold at sex slavery sites (drinks, food, karaoke, massage)
- Bribes paid to local police and officials
- Child pornography
- Pedophiles with boys (street children)

GEOGRAPHY

Cambodia is a unique country, coming of age in the new global economy after decades of isolation. It has much to offer from the wonder and beauty of the temples of Angkor near Siem Reap to the horrors and atrocities of the Killing Fields and Tuol Sleng. Its major urban centres and tourist areas have been inundated by sex slavery.

Phnom Penh

The capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, is located in central Cambodia. It is located where the Mekong and Tonle Sap rivers converge. Today it is a major commercial centre for the country and focal point for the activities of hundreds of non-governmental organizations. Phnom Penh is also the focal point for sex slavery and trafficking in Cambodia. In just one decade, brothel districts, karaoke bars, massage parlours, guesthouses, and nightclubs have risen from the ashes of the Khmer Rouge conflict. As Cambodia's hub, the city is the first stop for most business travelers and tourists.

Phnom Penh is the largest region in Cambodia for sex slavery. The lowest figures for the number of prostitutes and sex slaves in Phnom Penh was announced by the Royal Government of Cambodia nears 15,000 women and children (CNCC, 2000). The moderate figure from international NGOs is 17,000 (ILO-IPEC, 1999). The highest estimate for the number of prostitutes and sex slaves is 20,000 (Mom Thany, 2001).

Table 2-3: Sex slaves and prostitutes as ratio of population in Phnom Penh

	Lowest	Moderate	High
Number of sex slaves & prostitutes	15,000	17,000	20,000
Ratio of sex slaves & prostitutes to	1 in 67	1 in 59	1 in 50

population			
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Note: Phnom Penh's population is 1 million (CIA, 2001).

Siem Reap

Outside of Phnom Penh, Siem Reap in northwestern Cambodia has one of the highest proportions of sex slaves in the country. The population of the small town of Siem Reap is just 12,000. On any given day, thousands of tourists have hotel rooms and visit the bars, nightclubs and brothels in Siem Reap. With over 400 prostitutes and sex slaves (Beyrer, 1998), fully 1 in 30 people who call Siem Reap home are trapped in the sex trade.

The site of the historic temples at Angkor, accessible by airplane and speedboat from Phnom Penh, is becoming a focal point for tourists to the region. As more and more international flights are routed to Siem Reap directly, increasing numbers of foreign tourists will drive the demand for young girls as has occurred in Phnom Penh.

Police activity in raiding brothels has been particularly low in Siem Reap. Most often the excuse given by local authorities as to why they have not intervened to help the child sex slaves is because "they had not received instruction to do so either by the Governor or the Ministry of the Interior." (UN, 2000)

Sihanoukville

Sihanoukville, in the province of Kampong Som, is located in southwestern Cambodia. It is the country's major port city and also famous for its popular beaches. As the country sought to stabilize itself politically in the 1990s, the shipping and tourism industries took off in this coastal city. This has meant a substantial increase in the number of sailors, fishermen, dockworkers and tourists have driven demand for sex slaves.

What is particularly notable about the sex business in Sihanoukville is the extremely young age of sex slaves. Approximately 50% are children and nearly two-thirds are Vietnamese. Furthermore, the HIV/AIDS infection rates soar at over 50%. The Cambodian children in brothels here come from as far as Kandal, Koh Kong, Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, Svay Rieng and Kampot (UN, 2000).

Rural Cambodia

Outside of major cities and towns in Cambodia, there is little in the way of an organized sex slave industry. There are relatively few brothels and sex slaves in most of rural Cambodia. Rates of HIV/AIDS infections in military forces in given area can usually be used as good proxy indications of the pervasiveness of the sex industry. In provinces like agrarian Kampong Chhnang, north of Phnom Penh, only 1% of military personnel are infected with HIV/AIDS (UN, 2000). Most of these areas are the sources for girls that are trafficked to major centres in Cambodia and abroad.

Child sex slavery is concentrated in urban centres that are developing as commercial and tourist hubs like Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, and Sihanoukville.

HEALTH IMPLICATIONS

Everyday is a life or death situation for a child sex slave. These children are riddled with disease, exposed to the cruelest forms of torture and have become psychologically disturbed.

Sex slavery is a fundamental assault on the inalienable rights of these children. During their time in the sex trade, these girls are infected with life-long diseases and are subjected to psychological trauma and repeated physical abuse. As a result of having their virginity taken from them, their culture considers them to be misfits in society (Somaly Mam, 2001). If these girls return to their villages after months or years in brothels, they are considered undesirable, repugnant and treated as though they were dead (Pierre Legros, 2001). Many face certain death as a direct result of their forced participation in the sex trade from diseases like cervical cancer and especially HIV/AIDS. The sex trade imposes on them significant health problems that will remain with them long after they manage to leave the sex trade.

The health risks to women of all ages involved in prostitution in Cambodia are extensive but are surpassed by the risks to children in sex slavery. The two most significant health implications of child sex slavery are the transmission of STDs, namely HIV/AIDS, and the psychological damage suffered by the children. Other factors such as physical abuse and torture, repeated trauma to the child's reproductive system, cruel surgery to

make girls appear as virgins once again, unwanted pregnancy and drug abuse also pose serious threats to the child's health.

Case Study 2-4: Torture, AIDS and Psychological Trauma in Brothels

When Yin was twelve years old she was trafficked from Vietnam to Phnom Penh on the back of a moto-taxi by her neighbours. She was under the impression that her neighbours were taking her to a better life in Cambodia. Instead, they sold her to a brothel in Tuol Kork.

Despite being very young, she was forced to service approximately three clients a day. All of her clients were Khmer and she received none of the money these men paid – Yin was a slave. She wanted to escape, but the mamasan kept her locked in a small room and the armed guard would torture her with electrical wires. Her legs were beaten so badly that she could barely walk. She cannot remember how long the torture lasted.

Yin was resold to a brothel in Stung Meanchey, Phnom Penh's garbage dump, where she was enslaved for six months along with twenty other Vietnamese girls. At this point she was sold to yet another brothel. A police raid of this last brothel finally sent her to a recovery centre in Phnom Penh.

When Yin left Vietnam she was too young and innocent to know about sex, let alone HIV/AIDS and condoms. She cannot describe what happened to her, everytime she was forced to have sex with a man she always closed her eyes, wishing it to be over quickly. After a number years as a sex slave, Yin contracted AIDS and is now only fifteen years old. Her only wish is to go home and see her mother one last time before she dies.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

HIV/AIDS & STDs

HIV/AIDS is new to Cambodia. It was first detected in Cambodia only ten years ago. Throughout the early 1990's, low rates of infection in comparison to other countries in the region were the rule. Between 1994 and 1995 the incidence of HIV increased nearly 500% from 4,000 to 30,000 cases. Unprotected sexual intercourse was the main cause to explain this increase (UNICEF, Undated).

Today, Cambodia has the largest HIV/AIDS problem in the region. More than 51% of Cambodian sex workers currently have HIV/AIDS. Children are especially vulnerable to the transmission of HIV through sexual intercourse. They are small and still developing, such that penetration performed by full-grown men causes tearing and bleeding which

increases the risk of the transmission of HIV. In addition to this, the anal raping of a child sex slave is not uncommon and the epithelial lining of the anus is extremely fragile, so tearing and bleeding is common. These factors are only compounded by the fact that men with HIV/AIDS have been known to seek out child sex slaves because of the myth that having sex with a virgin will cure them.

Once a child has contracted HIV they are more susceptible to other diseases and sicknesses that the brothel setting offers in abundance. Gonorrhoea, syphilis, herpes simplex, urinary tract infections and polyps are the most common diseases in Cambodian brothels that are sexually transmitted (HCC, 2000). These diseases partnered with sicknesses as simple as the common cold can lead to the death of a child with AIDS.

There is a common misconception in the brothels that antibiotics offer protection from HIV/AIDS. Consequently, prostitutes will spend what little money they have by purchasing antibiotics and taking them on a regular basis. Not only are these antibiotics offering a false hope but most local pharmacies carry expired medication that can cause illness and have negative long-term effects.

The continued trauma on the body of a child who is forced to have sex between ten and fifteen times a day can also lead to cervical cancer. This occurs because the cervix in the child is not yet fully developed and the impact on the developing cells from repeated penetration can cause them to become cancerous. The only glimmer of hope in this regard is that large scale protective sex campaigns have appeared to have produced reduced rates of new HIV infection cases among child sex slaves (Hor Bun Leng, 2001).

Psychological trauma

A less visible but extremely serious health concern is psychological trauma. Many sex slaves are kept within prison-like conditions or in small, dirty and dark places where they live no better than animals. They are subject to extreme control, manipulation and cruel betrayal. The constant degradation experienced by the victims leads them to believe that they are no longer human beings (Pierre Legros, 2001). These children have to contend with loneliness and separation from their families in addition to the daily physical and sexual abuse to which they are subjected. Most are drugged and the effect of the drugs only increases their confusion and decreases their ability to think

rationally. These victims resign themselves to the idea that the life they are living is the only life they deserve to lead. Many attempt to commit suicide, which leads to severe beatings if they survive the attempt. Others become introverted in order to manage the emotional pain they suffer.

Case Study 2-5: Traumatic Years Erased from Memory

Sopheha is a seventeen-year-old girl from Kampong Thom, northeast of Phnom Penh. She does not remember if she has any siblings or who her parents are.

She was taken from the hospital after birth and lived a life so twisted and painful that years of it are missing from her memory. Many of these years were spent at the house of a woman she knew as her aunt. At the age of thirteen, her aunt's husband started the beatings. While her aunt was kind, her aunt's husband, son and daughter looked down upon her and abused her. She was beaten with a big stick, hit on the back of her head, knocked out and remembers little of what followed. One night she awoke to find her uncle with a knife attempting to kill her in her sleep. Fortunately Sopheha awoke in time to escape.

The remainder of the four years she spent at her aunt's house are completely erased from her memory. The only thing that kept her going was her memories of her birth mother who visited her in her dreams. Sopheha imagines her mother as a short, stunning woman with black hair and white skin, dressed in old, white clothes. Her soft voice implores Sopheha to work hard and be patient because in time good things will come. In one dream, Sopheha remembers that she made a blood pact with her mother that she would not tell anyone what was happening to her at her aunt's house during those four years. This dream was so real to her that when she awoke she thought she would be holding blood in her hand.

Sopheha has never spoken with anyone about the scars on her body which serve as testament to the torture she endured. A full quarter of her life has been erased as a result of extreme psychological and physical trauma.

Sopheha is now living at the AFESIP recovery centre in Phnom Penh where she is learning to sew and read. Even in this positive and secure environment, Sopheha's psychological scars still cause her to continue to dream about her mother.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Physical Abuse and Torture

Physical abuse is used as a common method of keeping child sex slaves from being defiant, refusing customers or escaping. The children are regularly hit, kicked and beat with clubs and strangled, slashed and tortured with electric wires. It has been reported

that some children have been tortured to death by a client or owner. The physical wounds left from this abuse do not heal properly because the repeated beatings open up healing wounds. These wounds are commonly infected and proper antibiotics and ointments are not available to properly treat these victims.

Starvation is another method of discipline used by brothel owners since it acts not only as a disciplinary tool but it also cuts the costs of feeding the children. Malnourishment is evident among many of the sex slaves in Cambodian brothels.

Pregnancy and Abortions

Sex slaves are forced to have frequent and unprotected sexual intercourse resulting in pregnancies. Pregnancy is considered undesirable by brothel owners because it prevents the prostitute from working. Consequently many unsafe abortions are performed using various barbaric methods that endanger the life of the young girl.

The physical and psychological torture and rape that child sex slaves are forced to endure is difficult to imagine but is very real. Scars, both mental and physical, bear testament to the pain these children suffer in their cruel and dark prisons.

EFFECT ON THE FUTURE

Sex slavery is the greatest challenge facing the future of Southeast Asia and affects the lives of immense numbers of children, families and communities. Many of these problems are new to Cambodia but in only ten years, this country has gone a long way towards tragically becoming a nation of slaves. Cambodia has the highest proportion of its population trapped in prostitution and sex slavery in the region, and quite likely the world. The rates of incidence of HIV/AIDS and other serious health problems have skyrocketed not only among child sex slaves but also among the general population. This will lead to lower life expectancy, increased health care costs, divided families and more fragile communities in what is already a very poor and desperate country at the start of this new century.

The modern day slave trade that has taken hold of Cambodia is rampant. Its immediate effects can be measured in the lost lives and broken dreams of tens of thousands of Cambodian children. Those that escape this tragic existence have little chance of

resuming a normal life. The scars from the chains of this kind of slavery are permanent on their bodies and their minds. This situation will not get better but will likely only worsen with time. Sex slavery is becoming entrenched in Southeast Asia. Every day that passes without the resolve for direct action to combat it only makes the problem more mainstream, more severe, more subtle, and more savage.

The future of Cambodia is at stake.

SECTION 3: CAUSES

To begin to understand how this vast challenge to the future of Southeast Asia can be addressed, a thorough understanding of the principle causes and how the situation in Cambodia developed is essential. One of the greatest obstacles to an accurate understanding of the challenge of child sex slavery is the narrow traditional grasp of this problem.

TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEM

Traditional beliefs regarding this problem are pervasive outside of Cambodia, but have little credibility in the region affected. This understanding of the problem is rooted in status-quo values that explain sex slavery as inevitable and acceptable and that the free market system, Buddhism, and cultural values are to blame. Finally, some have even argued that this issue is not a problem in the eyes of local people, and that to address it would result in the imposition of western values.

Inevitability of Prostitution

Traditionally, it has been contended that prostitution is a perennial vice that will always exist in society. Indeed, prostitution is often called the oldest profession in the world. Based on this argument, prostitution has been tolerated in many countries around the world and is often dismissed as part of the natural course of human relationships.

This argument fails to consider that modern day prostitution, especially of the form practiced in the countries of Southeast Asia, is more like slavery than prostitution. There is absolutely no element of free will in sex slavery. Title of life is transferred, and owners fully control every aspect of the lives of their slaves, not just sexual services. A contemporary understanding of prostitution can be defined as "a job in which the worker uses his or her body to provide sexual services in exchange for money or some other benefit." (Sok Sam Oeun, 2001)

These sex slaves are bought and sold, beaten and tortured as a matter of course. While prostitutes have faced violence, it is not of the same scale as that of these sex slaves. Furthermore, women involved in prostitution have been getting younger and

younger. While in some countries it is a rare occurrence to see younger women involved in prostitution, only in this last decade has the widespread use of child sex slaves arisen in Southeast Asia. Children as young as nine or ten years old are tricked and deceived by pedophiles that repeatedly sexually abuse and prey on them. To accept this modern day child sex slavery as a popularized form of traditional prostitution leads to flawed assumptions and fails to address to root causes of this tragedy.

	<i>Prostitution</i>	<i>Child Sex Slavery</i>
Means of entry	Some elements of choice	Deception
Relationship with owner	Employee, receives pay	Slave, owes debt
Extent of violence	Low	High
Average age	18 years or older	14-16 years
Minimum age	16-17 years old	6-10 years old

Free market system

In recent years, it has been increasingly common to hear global anti-capitalism advocates pointing to the free market as the causal factor for child sex slavery. These activists claim that it is the free market system that creates a climate ripe for child prostitution. While the liberalization of world economies, often-called globalization has made developing and war torn countries vulnerable to exploitation by criminal elements, it is not correct to attribute this problem to a free market economic system.

At the heart of a free market system is the right to own and enjoy private property. The basic role of democratic government in a free market economy is to protect these property rights and to enforce contracts pertaining to this property and the person.

Sex slavery is a violation of this respect for private property in that it unduly deprives a person of their most sacred personal and economic freedoms to freely enter contracts. Well established free market systems have long since recognized that sex slavery is an affront to this principle of private property, and have resolved this issue through enforcing the requirement of legality in contract law. For example, "in the United States, the Thirteenth Amendment outlawing slavery prohibits an individual from selling himself or herself into any form of bondage. Western legal traditions forbids securing contracts consenting to assaults and other criminal acts." (Bortel, 2001) Furthermore, free market systems strengthened by democratic governments are better able to cope with the challenges of sex slavery since there is a greater respect for the rule of law and

increased governmental accountability to enforce it. A more accurate characterization of the most prevalent system in place to deal with this situation in a country like Cambodia is anarchy.

In anarchy, slavery is a legitimate business. Under communism, slavery is a state policy. With fascism, slavery is a way of life. But in a democracy, slavery is the worst criminal act imaginable.

Buddhism/Cultural Values

From the vantage-point of western countries, an argument has been made that child sex slavery has roots in the cultural values of Asian societies, and specifically the Buddhist faith. It has been argued that, "to achieve the tranquility necessary for enlightenment, a person must learn to accept quietly and completely the pain of this life. For some [Buddhist] children the pain of this life includes forced prostitution." (Bales, 1999)

These critics of Buddhism base their arguments on a misunderstanding of the spiritual values of this faith. Another example criticizing the individualist character of Buddhists interprets in a general fashion that Buddhists are indifferent to the needs of others. This is an unfair characterization. "In reality Buddhists use the four noble truths to describe the origin of suffering, to show that the cause can be suppressed and to indicate the path to follow in order to effectively suppress this cause and obtain the cessation of suffering." (Matalak, 2000)

In addition to the doctrinal challenge to the argument that Buddhism or Cambodian culture is the main cause of sex slavery, one should look to the increasing number of Buddhist organizations that are working to alleviate the suffering of the poor and educating the public about human rights. In Cambodia, a number of these organizations exist in stark contrast this argument, including (CCC, 2000):

- Buddhism for Development: provides HIV home-care, education to orphans and micro-credit
- Buddhist Association for Relief of the Poor: skills training in agriculture, alleviate suffering of poor
- Khmer Buddhist Society of Cambodia: strengthening awareness of human rights and education

Imposition of Western Values

Occasionally, a largely academic argument arises that claims it is an imposition of western values on foreign cultures to suggest that child sex slavery is wrong. This is an entirely dangerous and ignorant approach to these issues and one that refuses to consider that even local laws exist to prohibit the acts of prostitution committed against children. The repeated beating, torture and rape of children as young as nine years old can never be tolerated. All people have inalienable rights to bodily security, safety, shelter, mental and physical health, respect, education and life.

In addition to these basic rights, the National Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia itself recognizes in Article 48 the duty of the State to protect children from sexual exploitation. National legislation also makes trafficking and the sexual exploitation of children illegal. Hence, in the spirit of this national legislation in Cambodia, child sex slavery is wrong and should never be tolerated.

It seems that this traditional understanding of the problem is insufficient to explain the size, scope and growth of child sex slavery and trafficking. It is clear that a more comprehensive analysis of the causes that have created the current epidemic in Southeast Asia is necessary. This analysis must consider the evolution, growth and adaptation of the sex trade in Cambodia over the last decade. The legacy of war, social challenges, lack of equality, influence of the United Nations, approach to development, myths about child sex, lax law enforcement, emergence of organized crime, and corruption and impunity have each had their share in the development of this problem.

LEGACY OF WAR

Cambodia is a deeply wounded country from decades of violent and brutal wars. It can be seen in the eyes of those who lived through these troubled times. The twentieth century was largely one characterized by warfare for Cambodians. It bore witness to the wild and violent changes that took Cambodia from French colonial rule through Japanese occupation and eventually independence. The second half of the century brought with it among the most violent regimes of all time under Pol Pot and years of civil war ending only in 1999 with a declaration of general amnesty. It is through this

history of continual upheaval and military conflict that the deeply entrenched culture of violence which permeates Cambodian culture today, developed (Mom Thany, 2001).

At the end of the 19th century Cambodia was a minor part of the French Indochine colony. The provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap were under the jurisdiction of Siam until 1907. The Second World War began in Asia in the late 1930s and Cambodia was not spared from Japanese invasion. It did, however, remain largely under the control of French collaborators throughout the conflict. With upheaval in France following the defeat of the Germans in 1945, Cambodia was administered by the Japanese for a time, but soon returned to French control. During the 1940s and 1950s, Cambodia prospered and was often seen as a model for the region - even to countries like Thailand and Singapore (Pierre Legros, 2001).

The Franco-Viet Minh War and the massacre of French forces at Dien Bien Phu led to the end of French Indochine, and therefore, directly to Cambodian independence in 1953. The Kingdom of Cambodia was proclaimed and the country enjoyed a measure of peace until becoming drawn into the conflict in neighbouring Vietnam. During the Vietnam War, Cambodia was carpet bombed by US military forces in an effort to destroy suspected Viet Cong bases along the border. This destabilized the country as the rural population fled, led to the end of Cambodian neutrality, and the ouster of King Sihanouk. His successor, General Lon Nol brought Cambodia into a period of war and guerilla fighting throughout the countryside.

In 1975, the Khmer Rouge came to power under Pol Pot. This regime retained a firm grip over Cambodia until 1979. In the wake of his reign of terror, the world came to hear of one of the worst manifestations of mass murder ever seen - one to two million Cambodians never saw the end of Pol Pot's sadistic reign.

His attempts to completely reorganize society as a rural agrarian collective led to the rounding up, detainment, torture and execution of scores of everybody and anybody that remotely threatened the regime. Those that were educated were especially targeted and subjected to horrific acts. As a result of population relocation, forced labour, and the dismantling of the economy, education system and health care, 1 in 7 Cambodians were killed (UNICEF, Undated). The overthrow of the Khmer Rouge in 1979 was done in concert with Vietnamese troops. Over a decade of civil war continued to displace

people, disrupted economic rebuilding plans and prevented families from being reunited or given time to heal.

This legacy of war has meant that an entire generation of doctors, lawyers, teachers and thinkers has been lost forever along with what they could have contributed to building a new Cambodia. It is not just the immediate impact of this significant deficiency of experience and education that has damaged the country, but that this new generation of Khmers live in a country that is thirty years behind its neighbours.

Cambodia is not well equipped to address the most emergent challenges to the future and is the most vulnerable and desperate nation in the region. It is ripe for exploitation and the seeds of destruction laid by the Khmer Rouge have taken root in a subtler and more devastating form - sex slavery and trafficking.

Recent generations of Cambodians have known little except violence, and therefore, many accept it as an everyday part of life. Some employ it as a means to achieve their ends or deal with stress and difficulty in their own lives. Domestic violence is a very real part of everyday life for many Cambodian children, especially for those living in difficult circumstances. As a result of the legacy of war in Cambodia, families have been divided, parents have been killed and the economic and education systems have never fully recovered. Fully half of Cambodian families are headed by a single parent, increasing the pressures on the family to provide for itself (ILO-IPEC, 1999).

Case Study 3-1: Khmer Rouge Legacy of Violence

Today, Pon is a twenty-year-old girl from Kampong Cham province in Cambodia. She lived in a rural community with her two older brothers, her older sister, her younger sister and her mother. All of her siblings have different fathers - each of whom is dead. Some of the fathers died from disease, but her mother who had been a Khmer Rouge soldier during Pol Pot's regime killed the rest.

Pon's biological father died when she was two years old. The father of her youngest sibling became a father figure to Pon, and he grew to respect her hard work ethic. Pon's mother was resentful about this relationship and killed her husband by slitting his throat with a knife in front of Pon. Despite the grief that came with losing the man she called her father, Pon's mother forced her to dispose of his body at knifepoint. Pon eventually left her home when her mother forced her out.

Left without someone to care for her, Pon married while she was still young. For the most part, life started to approach normalcy until she discovered her husband and her mother having sex. At this point, she was forced by her mother to work at a car wash that doubled as a brothel. Wanting more money from her daughter, Pon's mother drugged her and accepted money from two men who proceeded to rape her. When Pon awoke in a strange room, she found the door locked. Two more men entered the room, beat her, raped her and hit her head against the wall until she was knocked unconscious.

Next Pon's mother sold all her possessions and her to the car wash brothel in order to fund a growing gambling habit. The mother regularly returned for more money from her daughter. Despite all that her mother had done to her, Pon still loved her. She gave her mother money when she could. At the brothel, Pon was frequently injected with some unknown drug into her neck and now suffers from a drug addiction. Her legs and her chest were also slashed with a knife and she considered committing suicide.

Pon eventually managed to escape with the help of local health workers who went undercover into the brothel. She was taken to a recovery centre where she has been learning small business skills and how to cook. She hopes to one day open her own restaurant.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

SOCIAL CHALLENGES

After decades of war, instability and the destruction of the Cambodian economy during the Khmer Rouge regime, the country remains impoverished with orphaned children and divided families struggling to cope. Cambodia is still unable to provide clean water, cost-effective electricity or even a semblance of adequate road system (Pierre Legros, 2001). One of the largest factors contributing to the pervasiveness of sex slavery in Cambodia is the lack of education and the resulting poverty in rural areas, compelling many families to send their children to work in the city.

Cambodian agriculture is many times less productive than in neighbouring countries. The widespread use of landmines during thirty years of conflict still restricts access to fertile land, although the situation has improved significantly in recent years. Agricultural production employs more Cambodians than any other sector of the economy. Poor rice production, low quality of land and archaic irrigation methods have all undermined Cambodia's agricultural productivity (Khleang Rim, 2001). It is this lack of financial independence that is a cornerstone in the problem of sex slavery (Pierre Legros, 2001).

Cambodia is a very young country with over half of its population under the age of eighteen. Without proper education or the ability to work to support themselves or their families, these children put pressure on family finances (Yim Po, 2001). It is often out of a commitment to the family that children seek work for their families. A key characteristic, commonplace in the experiences of many rescued sex slaves is that they performed the role of provider for their family, but earned minimal or insufficient income in their traditional jobs. Most of these children were also the eldest in families where one or both parents had been killed as a result of war or disease (AFESIP, 2001).

A lack of choices available to families for employment contributes to the thousands of children who leave their homes in the countryside, having been promised jobs in restaurants, selling flowers or working in homes. While many families need the money they receive from the sale of their children for necessities such as food, clothing and shelter, some parents have been known to sell their children to cover gambling debts, to buy motorbikes or other non-essential goods. "Poverty alone is not the cause of this problem...awareness within the community is very low about child sexual exploitation." (Mom Thany, 2001)

Rural Cambodians are largely ignorant about the promises of good jobs that traffickers use to deceive them. The deceptions and tricks used by middlemen take advantage of poorly educated rural families in Cambodia. They promise good jobs with good salaries in businesses. Domestic work is often the first step in being sold to a brothel in Phnom Penh. There are an estimated 4,000 of these children working in Phnom Penh as child domestic workers (Chea Pyden, 2001). Another deceptive tactic used by foreigners is false marriages. They marry young local girls in Cambodia and take them abroad. These girls can find themselves in other countries, such as Taiwan, where they are then sold into the sex trade (Mom Thany, 2001).

Case Study 3-2: Domestic Labour Leading to Sex Slavery

Born in Kandal province, Kaim's parents divorced, and her father remarried when she was two years old. Her birth mother did not find a job and still lives with relatives. At sixteen, Kaim moved to Phnom Penh and found work as a cleaner in a house. Her mother borrowed 40,000 Riel (US\$ 10) from the house owner, equivalent to one month's salary for Kaim.

The owner's husband asked her if she would like to earn more money. Kaim did not understand what he meant. She was already cleaning his house, doing his laundry, cleaning the dishes and looking after his children. One night while his wife was out, the husband came home and raped Kaim. He told her that if she did not like it she would have to repay the money that her mother borrowed and be forced to leave. Without the money she felt she had no choice but to submit to the repeated rape and bear this terrible secret alone. After seven months in the house, Kaim became pregnant and was forced to leave.

She returned home and her mother insisted that she go back to the house of the man that made her pregnant. Fearing of a fresh onslaught, Kaim found another house to work in. In this new place, the owners treated her well and even took her to the hospital during her pregnancy. She worried, however, that she would cause problems between the husband and wife because of her baby, and left the house before giving birth to her child.

Kaim's baby did not survive the birth. In an attempt to start over and build a new life for herself, Kaim put together enough money for a bus ticket to Sihanoukville. Along the way, a woman on the bus befriended her and when they reached their destination the woman lured Kaim with the promise of a new dress but sold her to a restaurant that doubled as a brothel instead. After two months as a sex slave, Kaim escaped with another girl named Mam. Together, they traveled north to Kampong Cham province where Mam prostituted herself and supported Kaim so that she would not have to undergo the same misery. This living arrangement lasted for a month ending when Kaim married. She and her husband moved away and she became pregnant again. Her husband was enraged because she was unemployable during her pregnancy. After eight months, Kaim gave birth and left with her baby to go back to Kampong Cham in search of her old friend Mam.

Kaim spent her time bouncing between Mam's place and relatives houses. Kaim, only seventeen years old, had to deal with the death of her second baby for reasons she still does not understand. She went to Mam looking for support, but instead Mam sold her to a brothel in Kampong Cham. After five days in this brothel, Kaim became sick and was brought back to Mam's house.

Kaim was then resold to another brothel in Phnom Penh. Because she resisted the torture and rape in these brothels, what followed was a series of transactions that brought her through three brothels, every time sold by the person she trusted as her best friend. At the final brothel, she was forced to receive customers, and was beaten severely if she refused. Kaim was expected to have sex with at least fifteen men a day, with only two to three hours of sleep each night. She was not paid any money, beaten frequently and force-fed chillies as daily punishment. A month and a half passed and Kaim managed to escape. With the help of a concerned police officer she was taken to a local recovery centre. The brothel owner escaped before she could be arrested.

Kaim is learning how to sew at the recovery centre and wants to open a dressmaking shop. She hopes to bring her mother to come live with her one day.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Based on demographic data obtained from child sex slaves and trafficking victims, similar social stresses often arise. The following eight factors significantly increase the risk of a girl being trafficked into sex slavery (ILO-IPEC, 1999):

1. Having an older sister, relative or friend who is already involved in prostitution.
2. Separated or divorced parents.
3. One or both parents are dead and the girl is living with a friend or relative.
4. One or both parents are drug addicts, alcoholics or gamblers.
5. Family is dependent on unpredictable casual work for income.
6. Family is indebted.
7. The girl has been raped or sexually abused.
8. Woman or girl is psychologically weak with low self esteem, depression or mental illness.

An emerging social challenge is the full ramifications that an HIV/AIDS epidemic will have on Cambodian families, in a country that already has the highest infection rates in the region (Pierre Legros, 2001). Both the immediate medical costs of the hundreds of thousands of Cambodians that have HIV/AIDS and the loss of income to their families when they die is a ticking time bomb that threatens to push more girls into sex slavery.

LACK OF EQUALITY

These extreme social challenges and a lack of genuine equality have resulted in increasing instances of rape in communities throughout Cambodia. It has been submitted that because awareness about HIV/AIDS has been on the rise, men who are looking for sex may view rape with young women and children as a risk-free alternative to brothels. In this environment, rape charges are dropped in favour of the victim's family being paid less than 200,000 Riel (US\$ 50) to the victim's family (Pierre Legros, 2001). With this lax legal system at work, particularly violent and alarming instances of rape have been surfacing. These people are subjects of an ungoverned justice system.

Case Study 3-3: Child Rape in Takeo province

Sakhan is eight years old and from Takeo province. She lived with her family in a village in rural Cambodia. One day after washing her clothes by the village well, she returned home and realized that she had forgotten her soap and went to retrieve it. An eighteen-year-old male who lived in the village saw her by the well and confronted her saying that the soap belonged to him. The man hit her across the face and dragged her back to his house. There he sexually abused and anally raped her. She managed to escape from his house and ran back to her home.

Sakhan was very frightened and did not want to tell her parents. She was afraid that no one would believe her. It was only after her mother noticed that she was bleeding did Sakhan break down in tears and tell how she was violated. Her father wanted to kill the man, but left it to the police to arrest him. Sakhan was taken to the hospital where the doctor told her that she should not be afraid. During the man's trial, Sakhan had to take the stand in front of this man and his family. She was very afraid to tell what had happened because the man's family carried power and influence in the community. While awaiting sentencing, the rapist escaped.

Sakhan was taken away from her village to a recovery centre in Phnom Penh where she has lived for the past six months. Today she enjoys learning how to read and write in the Khmer language and playing with her friends. She hopes that the man will be sentenced to life in prison and be forced to pay compensation to her impoverished family. She misses her family a great deal and often cries when she thinks of them.

Source: Interview with victim at CCPCR Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Less than five percent of rape cases studied in a recent survey by the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO) ended in the sentencing of the perpetrator. For most of the child rape cases that actually reached conclusion, they ended in the "escape" of the perpetrator. From 1995-1999, the outcomes of rape cases in a national sample study in Cambodia are as follows (Seaman, 1999):

Arrested/detained, awaiting outcome:	26.0 %
Sentenced:	4.5 %
Investigating/on bail:	17.6 %
Compensation:	15.0 %
Marriage/compromise:	4.5 %

Escaped:	19.4 %
Unknown/dropped:	13.0 %

Case Study 3-4: Violent Child Rape

Sarun is nine years old and lived with her family in rural Cambodia. One day, a farmer that lived in her commune attacked her. She cannot remember the details but remembers that the man violently raped her. When he could not penetrate her, he took a knife to slit the vaginal opening to make it larger and then continued to rape her. Sarun was extremely traumatized both physically and psychologically. She was taken to a recovery centre in Phnom Penh where she is receiving full medical care and psychological treatment.

Source: Interview with Pierre Legros, Regional Coordinator, AFESIP in Phnom Penh.

A study of rape perpetrators has noted that police, soldiers and government officials account for over one quarter of rape cases investigated (Seaman, 1999). Despite lofty declarations to the contrary, these rape cases also demonstrate a lack of commitment to the genuine equality of men and women.

It is clear that genuine equality for women does not exist in Cambodia both in terms of access to quality of life, education standards and cultural expectations (AFESIP, 2001):

Table 3-1: *Warning signs of lack of equality in Cambodia*

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Life expectancy	56.9 years	51.9 years
Literacy rates	80%	53%
Education	Majority receive secondary school	Majority receive primary school
Commitment to family	No obligation to parents	Responsible for supporting parents
Sex and virginity	80% lose virginity in brothel	Expected to be virgin at marriage
Marriage relationship	Multiple sex partners	Monogamy demanded

The impact of this lack of equality and the effects of rape or sexual abuse on young women push many of them toward a life of prostitution as one of their only choices to

provide for themselves or their families. Sexually abused girls leave their homes out of shame and to escape the abuse (AFESIP, 2001).

INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

During the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) period from 1991-1993, over 15,000 foreign soldiers and police along with more than 7,000 officials were deployed to Cambodia to help the country heal after years of war. Prior to the arrival of these troops, Cambodia had only a very small number of active prostitutes - it did not have a "sex industry" to speak of.

Prostitution came of age during the UNTAC period in Cambodia. During this time, the country was experiencing extreme poverty, it was vulnerable after years of war and was desperate to rebuild. With the flood of foreign currency from UN troops stationed throughout Cambodia, a lucrative and massive sex industry was built and has been sustained to the present day. During UNTAC, soldiers and officials often frequented prostitutes, many of whom were children. Many local NGO workers who had worked through this period note that there is a direct correlation of the presence of UN troops with the trafficking of Vietnamese girls and an increasing number of child sex slaves (Yim Po, 2001).

The United Nations itself has endorsed statistics related to the rise of prostitution during its time in Cambodia without having ever apologized or acknowledged its role in accelerating the creation of sex slavery and trafficking in the country. According to an undated UN agency report (UNICEF, Undated):

- 1,500 sex workers were active in Phnom Penh in 1990
- 20,000 sex workers were active in Phnom Penh during the UNTAC period (1991-1993)
- 17,000 sex workers were active in Phnom Penh in 1994

In addition to increases in the number of brothels opened in Cambodia during the UNTAC period, existing brothels significantly expanded their operations. On average, sex slaves in Cambodia were forced to accept twice as many clients to meet demand during the UNTAC period - an increase from five customers a day to ten. This in turn

led to an explosion of HIV/AIDS infections in Cambodia. The evidence clearly points to the numbers of UN personnel frequenting local brothels. Returning soldiers from countries like Uruguay were almost entirely infected with the subtype E of HIV - previously found only in Southeast Asia and Central Africa (Beyrer, 1998).

The extent of the UN's complicity in creating this problem can hardly be understated. Not only were UN troops and officials users of child sex slaves, but there also was direct involvement of certain UN-officials in trafficking women and girls during this period (Pierre Legros, 2001).

The United Nations defense against these claims is highly dubious: "The presence of UNTAC has often been blamed for prostitution, but, in reality, while there was a marked increase during that period due to the rise in demand, prostitution did not decrease once UNTAC left." (UNICEF, Undated)

This statement contradicts the UN's own statistics on the number of prostitutes before, during and after the UNTAC period. Furthermore, the fact that prostitution persisted after UNTAC left Cambodia does not prove the UN failed to contribute to its rise. Once the trafficking lanes had been established, profitable sex slavery methods had been developed as a result of UN troop demand and, in some cases, it was built to last. Increased local demand and foreign sex tourism as the UN gradually pulled out of Cambodia replaced the reduction in demand for prostitutes by UN troops.

More recent reports have confirmed the role of UN troops in driving demand for sex slavery. "It has been estimated that the number of commercial sex workers in Phnom Penh alone rose to 20,000 by the end of 1992, to meet the demand for sex services of the UNTAC troops." (UNICEF, 2000)

In the wake of decades of war and atrocities at the hands of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia was a wounded and vulnerable country. It is perhaps the greatest violation of the trust of Cambodia and the many well-intentioned soldiers and officials that refrained from engaging in the criminal activity of prostitution, that sex slavery as an industry was born during this time of vulnerability.

This very same pattern of military conflict and the presence of large numbers of military troops contributing to sex slavery and trafficking can be seen in the developmental stages in Colombia and Kosovo. Dislocation due to the ongoing civil war in Colombia has resulted in the trafficking of an estimated 35,000 women annually. Most recently, the military conflict in Kosovo and subsequent infusion of military forces has helped created an US\$ 1.5 million a week illicit sex industry (Bortel, 2001).

The presence of the UN in Cambodia served as a catalyst for what has become a lucrative multi-million dollar industry that is destroying the young lives of Cambodian children. There must be recognition of this fact, and action taken to prevent such egregious damage as this from ever happening again.

APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

Despite ten years of developmental assistance from the United Nations and over three hundred local NGOs, Cambodia currently ranks 140 out of 172 on the human development index (AFESIP, 2001). The United Nations/European Union has failed in its approach to development because extreme poverty persists in this environment, and even basic elements of development remain elusive. This approach promotes a "humanitarian business climate" driven by political interests, rather than victims' needs (Pierre Legros, 2001).

One of the largest sectors of the Cambodian economy comes from foreign aid. The advent of hundreds of NGOs in Cambodia, many playing the role of government, could also lead to issues of dependency. A "one-size fits all" approach to development has failed to meet success in Cambodia. Even long-time activists in the region consider the situation in Cambodia to be worse today than it was ten years ago, as a result of ill-conceived and autocratic development plans that have done little to help the country.

Several examples help to clearly describe the impact that these top-down approaches to development have had on the ground. Dr. Hor Bun Leng, Deputy Director of the Ministry of Health - National Centre for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STDs, is critical of the approach that many foreign NGOs have taken to address health and medical issues. As a result of poor cooperation with government health providers, some short-term NGO medical programs have kept prostitutes from going to public facilities. When

the NGOs go away, these victims wait for them to return and will not use public health facilities. "The problem is that prostitutes don't want to come to these services. They only want to receive medical services at home or at the brothel - and that's impossible. This was created by the NGOs. The NGOs created this scenario. They come here with much money, and do not know how to spend it." (Hor Bun Leng, 2001)

Another instance of development plans gone wrong in Cambodia is with respect to the building of infrastructure. In the same week, a stretch of road just outside of Phnom Penh was built with aid funds from one foreign government, only to be destroyed and rebuilt with aid funds from another foreign government the next day (Pierre Legros, 2001). The motivations for these acts are purely political and do not demonstrate a concerted approach to take action in the region to help the country in need.

Cambodia has fallen victim to a humanitarian business climate that is in many ways self-propagating. This situation is an affront to the contribution of good people in both local and foreign NGOs that work tirelessly for the people of Cambodia. Their approach to development is indeed more democratic – something that is needed more in Cambodia.

MYTHS ABOUT CHILD SEX

There is a myth in Asia that by having sex with a virgin it will make a man healthier, stronger, and even cure diseases like HIV/AIDS. Similarly this myth exists in southern Africa (BBC, 2000). Wealthy foreign and Cambodian men believe that they will live longer and remain healthy if they have sex with young girls (Cochrane, 1999). Among many Asian men, there is a belief that regular sex with young women, especially with virgins, will "rejuvenate an aging man." (Brown, 2000)

Case Study 3-5: Japanese Man Exploits Children in Siem Reap

A fifty-five year old Japanese national had been living in Siem Reap province for several years. This man first came to the area as a tourist in 1995 and used his tour guide as a procurer of a young woman, seventeen years old. For US\$ 2000 she agreed to become his wife. In 1997, a sixteen-year-old girl was bought for marriage as well. The Japanese man approached his second wife's three siblings aged fourteen, fifteen and seventeen years old with the same

scheme. Over the course of the next three years, he pursued this same method to acquire over thirty young wives for himself.

The Japanese man has also opened a private "child care centre" at a house in Siem Reap province. At this house, there are about thirteen girls who are between four and eight years old. This man pays the parents of these children 130,000 Riel (US\$ 32.50) per month to send their children to this house. A second house in a nearby town was opened behind the residence of the chief of police of the quarter.

This Japanese man is considered to have poor health, likely HIV/AIDS, and believes that having sex with many young virgin girls will cure him.

Source: Documentation provided by Chhourm Socheat, Investigator, CCPCR in Phnom Penh.

While this so-called "virgin myth" has been advanced in numerous areas as a cultural justification for sex slavery, it is being increasingly called into question. "I am skeptical as to whether men really believe these myths. Instead, the myths provide a convenient rationale for what might otherwise be interpreted as a weakness . . . creeping impotence" (Brown, 2000).

LAX LAW ENFORCEMENT

Cambodian legislation exists at the national level on issues of sex slavery and trafficking. The Government of Cambodia passed the Law on Suppression of Kidnapping, Trafficking and Exploitation of Persons on February 29, 1996. This law addresses aspects of trafficking and prostitution including inducers, sellers, transporters, buyers, security guards of brothels, and procurers (Sok Sam Oeun, 2001).

An inducer is one who lures another person for trafficking, sale or prostitution. Article 3 of the Law clearly outlines that: an inducer is "any person who lures a human person, even male or female, minor or adult of whatever nationality by ways of enticing or any other means". Those convicted under Article 3 are subject to a prison term of ten to fifteen years. If the victim of the offense is less than fifteen years old in this case, then those convicted are subject to a greater incarceration of fifteen to twenty years. Any persons that provide money or means for committing such offenses are, under law, considered accomplices. This includes those who buy and sell trafficked persons in

addition to those who transport trafficked persons for the purposes of prostitution or forced labour. Accomplices are subject to the same penalties as inducers.

A procurer, or pimp, is one who: "supports or protects one or more persons, by whatever means with knowledge in advance of the act of prostitution of such person(s) or seeks customers for such person(s) for the purposes of prostitution." Articles 4 and 5 of the Law also specify that a person shall be considered a pimp if this person:

- Regularly shares the benefits obtained from the prostitution acts in any form
- Convinces men or women by whatever means to become a prostitute
- Acts as an intermediary to bring prostitutes to brothel owners and others involved in prostitution
- Confines any person in any place for the purpose of forcing them to engage in prostitution

By this legal definition, a wide-range of people can be convicted as procurers, including security guards of the brothels. This includes law enforcement or military personnel who may protect brothels and/or brothel owners. Accomplices are subject to the same penalties as the offenders. A convicted procurer is to be imprisoned for five to ten years and in the case of repeat offenses the penalty is to be doubled.

Although this law provides the foundation for the prosecution of procurers, traffickers and their accomplices, by its nature it is complex for police officers to understand without proper training. Despite the existence of this law against trafficking, "the perpetrators still walk free and can continue their activities because the intervention and punishment of the law enforcement and judiciary is weak or non-existent." (MWVA, Undated) Furthermore, sex users have little fear of the law being enforced against them (Mom Thany, 2001).

Inadequate funding has resulted in poorly paid local police forces that do not have the proper training in investigative techniques or equipment required to gather evidence and make an arrest. However, international efforts to train and equip local police are working to curb this problem, one step at a time (Allan Lemon, 2001).

EMERGENCE OF ORGANIZED CRIME

The emergence of organized crime networks, or mafias, in Southeast Asia has led to the creation of an organized sex trade phenomenon. While prostitution has always existed to a minor degree in the region, the emergence of mafias has made the trade of women and children for sex a profitable and organized business. Trafficking of women by mafias is a global industry estimated at US\$ 7 – 12 billion dollars. It will soon surpass drugs and narcotics as the business of choice for organized criminal networks due to the lower risk involved and ability to resell and trade women (Bortel, 2001).

"Mafias have the money, power, work in secrecy, and can kill anyone. The government has no money, no power, must work in public, and can kill no one. The greatest challenge to democracy will be mafias." (Pierre Legros, 2001)

This sex trade by mafias spans the globe from Cambodia to South Africa to Romania. Regional criminal networks, Chinese triads and even the Russian mafia traffic women and children in all directions across international borders (BBC, 2000).

Organized criminal organizations require political power in addition to less subtle forms of influence to earn profit from illegal activities. Political power from senior levels in police and military forces is needed by mafias to facilitate the smooth operation of international trafficking efforts. In addition to securing the collusion of officials, as required, there have also been an increasing number of documented cases of threats against local NGO workers who protect and attempt to rehabilitate rescued child sex slaves. Whether anonymous phone calls, bomb threats, following vehicles or direct violent actions, these attempts by mafias to intimidate aid workers occur on a regular basis (Somaly Mam, 2001).

CORRUPTION AND IMPUNITY

The problem of corruption in Cambodia is a cancer. From the lowest-ranking traffic officer to the highest government official, bribery and the abuse of power that it brings has undermined democracy and has paralyzed the ability of Cambodia to respond to sex slavery and trafficking.

Micro-corruption exists in major brothel districts like Tuol Kork on a daily basis. The police outpost in Tuol Kork is flanked on both sides by brothels that go on for two and a half kilometers. Every month brothel owners pay between US\$ 100 – 200 to police officers in return for immunity from arrest and as payment for protective and collection services (Yim Po, 2001). In Phnom Penh, observations have confirmed that not only do officers fail to enforce laws to protect these children, but abuse the laws themselves (AFESIP, 2001). There have even been cases of police officers pursuing and arresting customers that have left a brothel without paying, extending this corruption into full-fledged abuse of power. At the local level, it is imminently clear that justice is for sale in Cambodia.

At a local level, either military or government officials who provide political power in cases where it is needed often support brothel owners. The decision to raid brothels and rescue girls is reduced to a largely political decision. In Phnom Penh, high-ranking officials from the military and Ministry of the Interior are involved in the sex trade (AFESIP, 2001). Indeed, while a raid still may take place, the girls inside will have long since fled owing to an opportune tip made hours before armed police officers arrive.

The government's response to the direct involvement of police officers as security guards for brothels and their wives as procurers is that, "not all police are good, not all police are bad, and not all the police are real." (Ministry of the Interior, 1995)

At the national level, Cambodian courts are unwilling or unable to prosecute high-ranking officials for using children for sex (Yim Po, 2001). This problem is a surface symptom of the much larger deficiency of democracy in Cambodia. "Lack of political will; lack of independence of the judiciary; corruption at every institutional level and easy access to firearms and weapons remain major obstacles to overcome the culture of impunity that reigns in Cambodia" (CHRAC, 2001). Issues of politically motivated violence including the assassination of opposition candidates have been increasing as Cambodia approaches commune elections in 2002.

This impunity exists outside of government circles as well. Local NGO workers have had the courage to breach this issue with the media noting that: "I know a guy from the UN. He goes with young girls and virgins and he knows he is untouchable because of his connections. If I speak about it, I am dead. There is also an ambassador who goes

with prepubescent boys. But again, he is untouchable. There is no moral order in Cambodia." (The Scotsman, 2001)

After a century of suffering and war, Cambodia has a fragile foundation on which to rebuild society. The legacy of war resulted in destroyed families, poverty and other social challenges. This created an environment that made the country ripe for exploitation by traffickers. The catalyst for Cambodia's modern day child sex slave trade came with the tens of thousands of UN troops and officials during the UNTAC period. The so-called industry that these troops created persisted as they pulled out. During this last decade, the approach to development in Cambodia has largely failed to create lasting change and instead has entrenched a humanitarian business climate. Other factors such as lax law enforcement, myths about child sex, the effects of HIV/AIDS, and organized crime have and will continue to compound this tragedy. Corruption and impunity paralyze the country's ability to respond.

The situation in Cambodia is abysmal and threatens to grow in new and more subtly destructive ways.

SECTION 4: TRAFFICKING, SEX TOURISM & THE INTERNET

Cambodia's deep-seated sex slavery empire has found new and pervasive ways to propagate itself, making it a global beacon for traffickers, foreign sex tourists and pedophiles. Trafficking and sex slavery goes hand in hand. Trafficking, sex tourism and the child pornography on the Internet as they exist in Cambodia are new phenomena that threaten to escalate sex slavery to new and more deadly heights.

TRAFFICKING

The brutal efficiency of domestic, regional, and international trafficking networks of today rip women and children from their homes and throw them into the most oppressive situations of sex slavery ever seen in the world. Trafficking is a new and emergent challenge to the future of Cambodia - it has never existed before in this form. Organized trafficking networks conspire to profit from the wholly unlawful covert transport of persons across borders with the intent to enslave them. These trafficking networks have been able to proliferate world-wide by abusing advances in telecommunications technology, lowering of transportation costs and increases in quality of infrastructure such as roads, bridges and ports.

This is a massive industry with illicit proceeds shockingly similar in its effects to the 17-19th century slave trade in Africa (Beyrer, 1998). The growth of trafficking in women and children has vastly increased the size and scope of the crisis of child sex slavery in Southeast Asia.

Trafficking includes the entire process of transport, sale and purchase of persons into situations of extreme oppression, exploitation and slave-like conditions (Beyrer, 1998). Not only is the net result of this problem the unlawful and forced relocation of peoples, its methods also violate inalienable rights and makes traffickers complicit in the final acts of slavery. During the trafficking process, national and local laws are broken as a matter of course. Forged documents, corruption, bribery, violence, dangerous transportation situations and other related illegal acts occur with the conspiracy of large numbers of various groups of people.

The effects of trafficking are enormous in scope. Trafficking divides families and destabilizes communities. Trafficking spreads diseases like HIV/AIDS. Trafficking causes physical and psychological damage to victims. Trafficking promotes the existence of corruption. Trafficking provides funds to mafias that are the greatest threat to democracy in the region. Trafficking fuels sex slavery and the destruction of young lives.

Case Study 4-1: International Trafficking Ring to Macao, China

Lam was a fourteen year old girl from a small village in Vietnam. Her family was poor, her mother died of a heart attack and her older sister died giving birth. She had one older brother and a very old father who could not support her. Not wanting to be a burden on the family finances, she set off to find work in Cambodia. She had been told by a neighbour who frequently travelled to Phnom Penh that the economy was good and jobs were plentiful. Lam sold what little she owned and used the money to pay for moto-taxi rides all the way to Phnom Penh.

There she lived with a neighbour from Vietnam who she considered to be like family, and called him uncle. While looking for a job, she met a woman who told her she could sell coffee in Macao and earn US\$ 1,000 a month. Lam was interested at the prospect of such lucrative work and the lady arranged for a meeting with the recruiting agent who could take her to Macao. At an interview a few days later, she was asked to undress and refused. The agent then talked to her more about the job offer, and she told him that she would have to consult with her uncle before she fully accepted. He told her that he would prepare a passport for her and that she should pack her bags.

When Lam went home to tell her uncle about the job in Macao, he replied with both concern and scepticism. On her uncle's advice, Lam contacted the agent to meet, and at the meeting she told him that she was not interested in going. At this, the agent claimed that Lam owed him US\$ 1,000 for the passport. Not knowing what to do, Lam returned to her uncle who said he would pay for the passport and that she should retrieve it immediately. The agent was unable to produce a passport for her, so Lam considered the ordeal to be over.

A few days later, a white car pulled up to her on the street and three men jumped out and kidnapped her. She was taken to one of the three men's houses and held captive. She was not abused, but was fed and confined to the house. In three days time, she was taken to Pochentong International Airport and put on a plane headed for China. On board with her were six other Vietnamese girls who thought they were going to Macao to sell coffee.

When she arrived in China, an old man met her at the airport and took her to a hotel for the night. There was still no explanation for her abduction. The next morning she was taken to a town on the outskirts of Macao where she was held for fifteen days with six other Vietnamese girls. A lady named Jin arrived,

dressed her in new clothes, gave her make-up to wear, and took her to a massage parlour three days later. There the owner of the parlour demanded she remove her clothes but she refused.

Jin brought Lam back to the house where she was being held and threatened to starve her until she removed her clothes. Lam was eventually forced to give in and was promptly taken to another massage parlour. This parlour was in a large, multi-story building which Lam describes as a department store and had a restaurant, casino, massage parlour, pornography store and hotel. It was here that she was forced to walk around naked with a number to identify her so that men could order her to have sex with her. Often she did not know the languages these men spoke, so when she would go with them back to their hotel rooms on the top floor of the building, where they would play pornographic films to show her what they wanted her to do. She was then forced to perform the acts shown in the film.

Lam tried to escape after approximately six months, but Jin insisted she pay US\$ 7,500 first. While she was trying to save up the tips she earned with her clients to cover this vast sum, another girl managed to make a complaint to the police. Jin was arrested and the police seized all of the passports in her possession, including Lam's. Jin was released from prison on an expensive bail but was confined to Macao.

Lam and her friends were told that they were now free, but that they had to leave Macao. Lam did not have enough money to get back to Cambodia so she prostituted herself on the streets. Through this, she managed to raise the US\$ 500 within a week, the amount she needed to get back to Phnom Penh and find her uncle.

Lam is now sixteen years old and in a recovery centre in Phnom Penh, but hopes to return to Vietnam to care for her father. She has already had to testify in the trials of those who kidnapped and trafficked her including the agent. She is protected with 24-hour security and has an armada of armed guards when travelling to the courthouse and back. Currently, the Vietnamese government is refusing to recognize her as a Vietnamese citizen. International agencies have intervened to help return her to her aging father in this high-profile case.

Source: Interview with victim at a confidential site. This case is currently before the authorities, and Lam's fate is uncertain.

Trafficking Players

Trafficking requires the cooperation and complicity of a number of players. Recruiters travel to villages to try and persuade workers, young women and children to leave their homes for better opportunities, most often in the city. Often times, these recruiters will charge money in return for finding fictitious jobs for these people, promising far more than they can ever deliver. Frequently, the jobs are as domestic slaves, beggars or other work where conditions are harsh and pay is not given. Parents are often oblivious

to the fates that await their children in the sex trade. Many truly believe that by sending their children to work in the city, they will lead better lives and have a better future (Khleang Rim, 2001).

A trafficker is someone who operates as a recruiter but uses deception, coercion or kidnapping to obtain young women and children for sale into the sex trade. These traffickers sell their victims to brothels, massage parlors, guesthouses and other sites for sex slavery. They make a large profit on the backs of these sales. Recruiters and traffickers often use relatives and friends to identify human targets. This is done to establish a basis of trust with the victims or their families. These accomplices receive a commission.

In some cases, parents, other relatives or the boyfriend of a victim will sell them to a trafficker. In other cases, they will have direct contact with the brothel owner or other "employer". Moto-taxi drivers, especially in urban centres in Cambodia, are involved in the trafficking process as well. Some are paid directly by traffickers to transport victims across borders or at checkpoints. Others are employed by brothel owners and are paid when they bring young women and children to the brothel (MMVA, Undated).

As discussed, corruption and impunity within the police and military bring them into the trafficking formula as well. Some officers and soldiers use their positions at checkpoints or borders to aid the trafficking process. Some law enforcement personnel in Cambodia have even had the audacity to use their own vehicles to transport victims across the border, especially children destined for sex slavery.

This is done with the full knowledge of the Cambodian government. "Our armed forces are involved in this. They secretly transport children in their personal cars and reach the border with Thailand. After the parents find out their children have disappeared, they come to complain to us. But we cannot take action when we only know that a child is inside some car going to Thailand." (MWVA, 2000)

At the end of the trafficking chain are the brothel, massage parlor, karaoke, guesthouse and bar owners that purchase the young women and children. These owners buy, sell, re-sell and even trade these young girls to other owners.

The price range from the sale of these young women and children depend largely on the physical attributes of the victim and on who is involved in the trafficking act (YWAM, 1995):

<i>Trafficker</i>	<i>Profits per Sex Slave US\$</i>
Parents or immediate relatives	N/A – owe money
Recruiter/pimp selling children	\$200-300
Recruiter/pimp selling women	\$200+
Boyfriend selling to brothel	\$80-120
Brothel owner to another owner	\$32-40

Victims of trafficking can be old or young, male or female, and from any number of different nationalities. In the last decade, Cambodia has become a major trafficking port in Southeast Asia. It has been experiencing a massive influx of trafficking within its own borders and to neighbouring Thailand. It is the mid-point of well-established trafficking lanes between Vietnam and Thailand, and an essential link for this regional trafficking to propagate.

Domestic trafficking

The vast majority of trafficking victims in Cambodia are sold into sex slavery (MWVA, 2000). Although it is nearly impossible to determine the complete number of trafficking victims since it is an illicit, unmonitored and unreported activity, it is estimated that over 40,000 Cambodian women and children are taken from their homes and trafficked every year (The Scotsman, 2001). Trafficking between the provinces of Cambodia is a growing concern, especially in rural areas that are poorly educated, impoverished and innocent. While it is difficult to know the full extent of this domestic trafficking network, some trends can be clearly seen. Furthermore, some estimates on provinces where young children are trafficked from and are sold to brothels are as follows (Chea Pyden, 2001):

Kampong Cham:	30-35%
Kandal:	10%
Battambang:	8%
Kampot:	7%

Svey Rieng:	5%
Kampong Speu:	3%
Takeo:	4%
Others:	~25%

The children trafficked from these rural areas are usually taken to Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, or Sihanoukville - the major urban centres of the country.

Figure 4-1: Major Trafficking Lanes - Cambodia

<<Note: Detailed trafficking lanes map of Cambodian provinces appears in graphical copy >>

There are five main ways in which domestic trafficking victims are removed from situations of sex slavery:

- Escape: with or without assistance from a friend or concerned person
- Rescue: by police and NGOs
- Re-sale: victim is sold to another brothel or owner

- Death or extremely poor health: where the victim is killed or can no longer receive customers due to violence or disease
- Repayment: in the rare cases where the sex slave is considered to have repaid their "debts" to their owner (transportation costs, room and board, all incidentals)

Domestic trafficking scams continue to evolve in extraordinary ways even after the rescue of trafficking victims has taken place. In one instance, a forty-six year old woman engaged in trafficking children from Cambodia to Thailand was found posing as a mother of rescued children at a rehabilitation centre with the intent to re-traffic them (Doyle, 1999).

Vietnam

Every single day, children are trafficked across the Vietnamese border into Cambodia with relative ease. It is extremely difficult to determine accurate numbers of trafficked Vietnamese girls and women into Cambodia. The figure is likely over 12,000 Vietnamese girls who first began being trafficked into Cambodia after the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979. Between 85-95% of international trafficking victims after this period came from Vietnam (ILO-IPEC, 1999).

There is poor border control where corruption and bribery are part of the business as usual. The trafficking network between Vietnam and Cambodia is extremely well established and operates entirely outside of the law. Although there is legislation against this form of trafficking, fraudulent documents, and accurate knowledge of remote border crossings make it effortless for traffickers to bring thousands of Vietnamese girls into Cambodia (Chea Pyden, 2001). Furthermore, Vietnamese women have been found trafficked by sea – traded between ships by twenty-first century pirates (Beyrer, 1998).

Unfortunately, owing largely to historical conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam, there is a widespread attitude among Cambodians, including some high-level directors of local NGOs, that Vietnamese girls are in sex slavery because they like it. As a result, this racist attitude can permeate into the rescue efforts or level of care received by rescued Vietnamese victims.

Girls trafficked from Vietnam are smuggled to final destinations by air, land or waterways to Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville and Thailand. Air travel is only possible for the most valuable trafficking victims, most often very attractive Vietnamese virgins with fake passports. Land trafficking is most common by motorcycle, car or on foot. Trafficking over water is particularly dangerous to victims since it is conducted by cargo barge. Children are usually kept at the bottom of the boat and hidden by cargo (ILO-IPEC, 1999). Both Neak Loeung and Kien Svay District in Cambodia have operated as rallying points for trafficked girls from Vietnam and the eastern provinces of Cambodia (Khou Akhra, 2001).

Thailand

Most Cambodian children who are taken from their homes are trafficked to Thailand through a number of crossing points including Banteay Meanchey, Koh Kong and Siem Reap province. These trafficking arrangements are often managed by fishermen, traders, soldiers and corrupt officials (ILO-IPEC, 1999).

Over a hundred children are trafficked across the Thai border at Poipet every month. These children are often persuaded to leave their homes by someone who they know. An organized trafficking network exists that seamlessly spirits these children both ways across the border, with most of the flow into Thailand from Cambodia. Some of the rescued children face medical problems as a result of being given debilitating drugs so that they would work as beggars in the streets (Chea Pyden, 2001). These beggars are placed under the control of a boss who provides them with a place to sleep and small amounts of food. They are forced to beg on the streets, with all or most of their earnings going to their boss. If they do not receive enough money from begging, they are beaten and starved. Many of these children have developed substance abuse problems with drugs, or glue sniffing, which is less expensive (MWVA, 2000). The few foreign children that are caught begging end up being deported back to Cambodia or are re-trafficked. Children trafficked from Battambang are most often trafficked into neighbouring Thailand (Khou Akhra, 2001).

Further to the trafficking of children into Thailand for sex slavery or begging, old women are also deceived by traffickers. They are usually threatened with violence to prevent them from running away. In some instances, these trafficking victims have even paid for

the expenses to traffic themselves, without any knowledge of what was to come (MWVA, 2000).

In addition to the five ways in which trafficking victims are removed from their situations in the domestic context, regional and international trafficking victims can also be arrested and repatriated by police. These victims are treated as criminals. Thai police usually send these young women and children to detention centres where they are kept for between ten days and three months before being allowed to return to their home countries (MWVA, 2000).

International

Due to the fact that trafficking is becoming increasingly international in nature, the existence of legal measures to combat this crisis is not always clear. Trafficking has traditionally been over-simplified to only account for "sending" and "receiving" countries. In reality, trafficking is an intricate and multi-faceted problem facing law enforcement agencies around the world (Bortel, 2001). Cambodia is a source and transit point for trafficked women and children. Cambodian women and children are predominantly trafficked to Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, and Thailand. Trafficking lanes are increasingly being used in both directions, driven by demand in domestic sex slavery for foreign girls.

Case Study 4-2: Cambodian girl trafficked to North America

Sukan was from a poor village in central Cambodia. At the age of eight she was sold by her father and taken with four other girls to neighbouring Thailand. For two weeks the children were groomed, taught how to walk with grace, lower their eyes when a man spoke to them, and were forced to memorize new family backgrounds. A young Thai couple had bought Sukan and her friend Mai Ling. The two girls were to call them mother and father from then and on. The girls were cautioned that all policemen were their enemies and would kill them if they found out that they were not the real children of the couple.

The girls were taken by the couple from Bangkok to Toronto, Canada. A man in a courier van picked up the "family" from the airport and brought them to a house in a quiet, residential neighbourhood. The girls were delighted with the house and its running water. However their "father", who had been so kind to them the last two weeks, now pushed them around roughly and ordered them about. In the morning, the couple forced the girls to perform for a pornographic

photoshoot. Throughout the afternoon the couple paraded them around two various gatherings of men. Some of these men arrived at the house that evening, each giving money to "father". Two of the men gave a considerable amount more than the others in order to be the ones to rape these girls and take their virginity from them. The girls were separated and were forced to face the same fate with numerous other men that night.

The following day, the "family" left for the United States. The border crossing went smoothly as this was not the first time the adults had done this. The second house was located just outside New York City on top of a strip club. The "father" told the girls this would be the last time they would see him and that they were to be good for the people at the next place they go. He reminded them that he knew where their families lived and that if they were not good, he would have their families killed. The girls were marched downstairs to the club and forced to remove their clothes. A number was written on each of the girls' right shoulder and they were thrown into a room full of other children their own age, all of whom were naked.

The children were paraded, one at a time, across the stage in front of an audience of wealthy men. They were told to smile, bend over and strike provocative poses. The audience remained silent as they viewed the merchandise about to be auctioned off. The bidding began and as each girl was sold, she was taken backstage, dressed and her number was recorded. Sukan was the last girl to be auctioned off. Her price was the highest of the night; in fact it was the highest price for a sex slave ever at that club. Sukan was sold to a white male for US\$ 42,000. She has never been found.

Source: MacInnes, Ross. (1998). *Children in the Game*. Street Teams: Calgary.

Not only are girls trafficked from Cambodia to countries abroad, but also girls from abroad have been trafficked to Cambodia.

Case Study 4-3: Eastern European Girls Trafficked to Cambodia

Seven Eastern European women were rescued from a prestigious Phnom Penh hotel. The women were being held as prisoners while working in the city's upscale sex trade. The manager of the hotel was arrested during the raid and charged with human trafficking and imprisonment of women.

The hotel manager said that he was holding their passports as collateral until the women repaid the money he spent bringing them to Cambodia. Five Romanian and one Moldavian were found at the hotel on Monivong Boulevard. A seventh woman was brought into protective custody Sunday evening after spending the morning in Sihanoukville accompanied by So Mara, who heads Cambodia's National Tourism Authority.

The women said they were forced to work as prostitutes every day at a nightclub. Leaflets were on open display in the lobby of the hotel promoting the nightclub and "80 Vietnamese and 14 Eastern European Hostesses to entertain you nightly."

Those who procured the women and those who facilitated their entry into Cambodia have yet to be found. In response to this, the hotel owner stated "the women are really ungrateful people...They are dancers, okay?"

Source: Doyle, Kevin. (2000). *Hotel Raid Frees Eastern European Sex Workers*. Cambodia Daily: August 14, 2000.

Figure 4-2: Major Trafficking Lanes – Southeast Asia

<<Note: Detailed trafficking lanes map of Southeast Asian countries appears in graphical copy >>

The existing resource base and infrastructure to investigate and successfully prosecute traffickers who operate internationally is weak. According to an Interpol survey about approaches to combating trafficking, 43% of countries did not employ special policing techniques and 50% did not have specific anti-trafficking laws (Bortel, 2001).

Human Life for Sale at Any Age

There have been disturbing cases brought to light as the sale of human beings has normalized as an organized industry in Cambodia. It appears that no age or type of person is immune to being sold and trafficked. Cases of trafficking of babies as young as three months old and the trafficking of elderly women are examples of an epidemic that has no bounds.

Case Study 4-4: Selling of Babies

Ruet left her home in Prey Veng province at twelve years old to go help her older sister care for her child in Phnom Penh. This older sister was already married and had a three month old baby. The sister's husband was a soldier

and he regularly physically abused both his wife and Ruet. He eventually forced his wife to choose between selling her child or her younger sister. The three month old baby was sold soon afterwards for only 30,000 Riel (US\$7.50) in a Phnom Penh market. The fate of the child remains unknown.

Source: Interview with victim at AFESIP Recovery Centre in Phnom Penh.

Case Study 4-5: Trafficking of Older Women

Soun was an elderly Cambodian woman who was approached by a woman who told her she could get a job as a nanny. Soun paid 3,000 Baht (US\$ 75) to the trafficker who took her to Bangkok and sold her to a man for begging.

All of Soun's earnings were taken and after a month, she was sold again to a woman in Malaysia for 3,000 Thai Baht.

Source: Ministry of Women's and Veterans Affairs - MWVA. (2000). *The Prevention of all forms of trafficking in women and children in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh.

FOREIGN SEX TOURISM

In Cambodia's emerging post-war economy, tourism is a major industry. In the last year alone, tourism to Cambodia has increased by over 40% (The Scotsman, 2001). With Thailand making at least a show of cracking down on child sex tourism, many sex tourists have been targeting neighbouring Cambodia as their spot to take a vacation from the laws of their country. An unfortunate main attraction for some tourists is the child sex slavery "flesh market" in Cambodia. There is even evidence of organized child sex tours taking place throughout the region (Staebler, 1996). Child sex tourism is on the rise in Cambodia where greater numbers of foreign pedophiles see it as a more lawless and isolated country. Until recently, Cambodia was largely off the map for foreign sex tourists due to its turbulent political environment and undeveloped tourism infrastructure. Now that the country has stabilized, it is looking for tourism to form a major component of the economy. From beautiful and historic temples at Angkor to the atrocities of Cheong Ek and Tuol Sleng museum, Cambodia is a fascinating stop on the Southeast Asian traveler's map. However, the tourism infrastructure in Cambodia has been infiltrated at all levels by foreign sex tourism.

The increasing number of business travelers to Cambodia has also increased the foreign demand for sex slaves. Much like Myanmar, Cambodia is a country that is being

courted by regional powers like China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, and Singapore, rather than by Europe or North America. Foreign business travelers from the region are the most sizeable group of foreign sex users (Beyrer, 1998). A look around major sex slavery sites in Cambodia will find Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Thai signs indicating the clientele that frequent these establishments.

Impact

The impact of foreign sex tourism is much larger than the proportion of foreign sex users. In addition to the hard currency that foreigners use to pay for sex slaves, they also pay significantly more than local sex users. Certain sex sites target foreigners almost exclusively, while other sites that do not are kept profitable by the infusion of foreign sex tourism revenues. These foreigners pay significant amounts of money to brothel owners. Due to the extremely high rates of HIV/AIDS and other STDs, sex tourism also promotes the spreading of these diseases outside of the region, taken home to wives and families in home countries.

Shamelessness of Child Sex Tourism

A study by the Cambodian Ministry of Tourism, Cambodian National Council for Children, and World Vision International investigated children in tourist areas that are considered at risk to sex tourists. Of sixty-eight children sampled, 71% identified themselves to have been involved in sexual relations with tourists (Gray, 2000). What is most astounding in Cambodia is the degree of shamelessness with which child sex tourism is engaged in. Most visible are European and Australian nationals who openly and freely walk around the tourist districts of Phnom Penh arm in arm with girls as young as twelve years old. Local Cambodians do not intervene largely out of fear. Foreigners observing these flagrant acts of child sex tourism have little recourse and do little more than stare. Certain accounts even record instances where foreigners have paid a price for young children to pose in pornographic pictures in historical temples.

A survey of Ministry of Tourism officials at major tourist venues in Cambodia revealed that 79% of them had seen tour guides supply girls for tourists. The majority of these same tourism operators (57%) believed that a child of fourteen to seventeen years old is legally mature, while under Cambodian law a child is legally anyone below eighteen years old (Gray, 2000).

Street Children and Boys

The sexual exploitation of boys is a new phenomenon in Cambodia that is perpetrated almost exclusively by foreigners. Most typically, the foreigner will invite these boys to live or stay with them, providing them with food, shelter, and products that are luxury items to most Cambodians. At the homes or hotel rooms of these foreign tourists or expatriates, these young boys are subjected to anal rape, sexual abuse, and are often photographed naked or engaged in sex acts. Foreigners have been known to pay between US\$ 5 – 10, a great deal of money in the eyes of these street children, to secure their silence.

These children are most often nine to twelve years old, but can be as old as seventeen years. Nearly 8,000 young boys are at risk in Phnom Penh to this form of sexual exploitation (Chea Pyden, 2001). Of these young boys, it is estimated that four out of every five will be sexually exploited (Mathi, 2000).

Composition of Foreign Sex Tourists

Sex tourists gravitate to Cambodia from every corner of the world. Regional sex tourists come to Cambodia from China, Japan and Thailand. The largest numbers of overseas sex tourists come to Cambodia from Australia, France, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States. In the brothel district of Svay Pak, foreign sex users are clearly visible walking through the inter-weaving streets lined with thousands of young Vietnamese sex slaves. Asian, North American and European tourists are visible throughout the day, but especially in the evening when Svay Pak comes to life.

Until recently, there were very few cases of foreigners who ever faced justice in Cambodia for engaging in these illegal acts of child sex slavery. Local authorities are especially complicit in failing to arrest and prosecute foreign sex tourists since these customers bring significant profits to the brothels under the controls of police or military officials. Furthermore, most arrests end in the short-term detention of foreign offenders, released after paying a bribe to a police officer or members of the judiciary.

Case Study 4-6: British National Faces Incarceration in Cambodia

Moments ago, rising to hear his sentence, British headmaster John Keeler was grinning from ear to ear. Now his knees are weak and a wave of nausea flows

through his body. "Pedophile - guilty: Three years in a Cambodian jail." His head spins. He picks up his chair and throws it at the judge. "Scum!" he shouts across the court as guards rush to restrain him. "I paid \$5,400. I am supposed to go free. This isn't justice, this is robbery!" Then he starts to sob. He says he's going to die if they put him back in that hole.

One positive development has been the recent introduction of extra-territorial legislation in the UK. In brief, this means that people convicted of pedophile activities abroad can also be prosecuted in their country of origin. Last year the legislation was used to prosecute Kenneth Biden, a British man who assaulted several children in the holiday resort he ran in northern France. Norman Trew of the National Criminal Intelligence Service Pedophile Intelligence Unit says: "Pedophiles believe that if they travel to destinations outside the UK's jurisdiction, they will be safe from the law. Today this is not the case. The UK takes the issue of sexual abuse of children very seriously, with sentences up to life imprisonment for the most serious offenders."

According to the statistics of sex tourism in Cambodia, it is understandable that John Keeler feels aggrieved. Over the past few years, hundreds of foreigners have been arrested for sexual offences in the country but only Keeler has been tried and jailed. Before his landmark case, most westerners arrested by police for sexual offences involving a minor could depend on a sleazy mix of police bribes, victim "compensation" and embassy pressure to ensure their freedom.

Source: The Scotsman. (2001). *The price of innocence*. June 23, 2001.

Extraterritorial Laws

A new development this decade to target foreign sex tourists is the advent of extraterritorial laws. These laws make it possible for foreign sex tourists to be prosecuted in their home country when they return. Extraterritorial laws enable a country to hold its citizens accountable under their home country laws for committing crimes abroad. Witnesses from overseas and foreign police forces can be used to build the case for prosecution. In the last decade, these laws have proliferated as a way to address child sex tourism. Twenty-three countries currently have extraterritorial laws including: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand and the United Kingdom (ECPAT-AUS, 2000).

Australia represents a good example of how these extraterritorial laws operate and how effective they have been to date, in the best-case scenario. The Crimes (Sex Tourism Act) came into being in 1994 which makes it, among other things, illegal for an Australian citizen to engage in sexual activity with a child regardless of what country

they are in. The law subjects individuals, companies, or corporations found guilty or complicit to Australian law to a term of imprisonment of up to 17 years and fines of up to AUS\$ 500,000 (Government of Australia, 1994). Since Australia's extraterritorial laws were implemented in 1994, there have been eleven prosecutions and eight convictions (Allan Lemon, 2001).

Case Study 4-7: Australian Extraterritorial Laws in Action

In Australia a recent case saw the conviction of a man for sexually abusing children in Cambodia. A 45-year-old Australian was sentenced to 12 years in jail for 24 sex crimes against Cambodian children. It was the first full trial of Australia under the child sex tourism law. It is most interesting that this man was caught not through any customs or immigration mechanisms, but by a report from a colleague who was disgusted by the photos shown to him.

Australian police visited Cambodia to find the girls in the photos for their testimony, but could not locate them. The main evidence used to convict the man was scientific as there were no witnesses and the pictures did not show his face. Experts matched the exploiter's skin and fingerprints from the sadistic photographs and identified the age of the girls.

Source: End Child Prostitution And Trafficking - ECPAT. (1999). *A Step Forward*. Bangkok.

On the other end of the spectrum, Canada has relatively new extraterritorial laws, currently being reviewed, that have not yet been successfully used in any prosecution. The Canadian Criminal Code was amended in 1997 to adopt extraterritorial laws, often referred to as Bill C-27, designed to address Canadian sex tourists (DFAIT, 2000). According to the Federal Crowns office in Ottawa, there have been no prosecutions anywhere in Canada under this law. There are currently revisions to the law being made to make it easier to prosecute (Dafoe, 2001). So far, this law only pays lip service to the problem and challenges at hand and do not devote adequate resources to investigation and enforcement. While knowledge of these laws is available on a well-hidden Internet website, embassy staff and Canadian law enforcement officials have to deal with nearly insurmountable obstacles to the successful prosecution of Canadian pedophiles or sex tourists.

These laws demonstrate a moral commitment to the principle of justice, but where they are not enforced, their punishment and deterrence factor falters. Any single one of these factors is enough to compromise the deliverance of justice (Allan Lemon, 2001):

- Evidence gathering: the gathering of evidence in any given country cannot generally be carried out by police from a foreign country since they do not have the jurisdiction to investigate, arrest, and prosecute in that territory. In the rare case where foreign police forces are permitted to observe or interview witnesses, there are other evidence gathering problems such as language and cultural differences, and different standards of evidence. This is largely untested territory in the law. Clear standards or methodology for following up on complaints launched do not yet exist. Furthermore, the ability to introduce such evidence into foreign courts is often suspect.
- Different legal systems: differences in common, civil and inquisitory systems, such as Cambodia, have vastly different legal methods for arrest, trial, and incarceration. When extraterritorial laws are attempted to be enforced between two countries with these different legal systems, difficulties can and do arise that must be ironed out for a prosecution to succeed.
- Lack of resources: local police forces often lack the resources and training to gather quality evidence, conduct surveillance, and build a case against a foreigner engaging in sex tourism.
- Corruption and bribery: as always, the quality of investigative work and credibility with which it is executed can become suspect in countries like Cambodia.
- Level of cooperation with local authorities: the chances of a successful extraterritorial case being commuted are highly dependent on the level of support and cooperation between the police forces and governments concerned. Despite the clearest and most highly evidenced case, a lack of cooperation from the local government or police forces can prevent the perpetrator from ever being brought to justice.

- Lack of extradition agreements: Once a case has been built against a perpetrator, that suspect must return to their home country to be arrested on charges. Where an extradition agreement does not exist between these countries, it can be extremely difficult or even impossible to prosecute. Cambodia is not party to these extradition agreements with most countries whose nationals engage in sex tourism.

The result of the current enforcement of extraterritorial laws has been a patchwork, case-by-case approach that does little to successfully prosecute and deter foreign sex tourists. It is generally only the most flagrant, violent or high-profile encounters between foreign nationals and sex slaves that are ever investigated.

Several significant obstacles exist that are preventing the handful of convictions under extraterritorial laws from being representative of the thousands of foreign sex tourists that perpetrate crimes against victims of sex slavery. The Australian Federal Police (AFP) manages an extensive network throughout the world to operate as liaisons with local law enforcement agencies on matters dealing with Australian citizens abroad. Issues of people smuggling, narcotics, money laundering, and pedophilia concern the AFP (Allan Lemon, 2001).

With the withdrawal of soldiers during the UNTAC period, this new clientele of foreign sex tourists and businessmen have taken their place. Sex slavery has become entrenched firmly in Cambodia. With the advent of the Internet, the propagating of child sex slavery as a global export will make compound this tragedy.

THE INTERNET - DIGITAL TRAFFICKING

Child sex slavery on the Internet will be the trafficking method of the 21st century. Victimization on an unprecedented geographic scale will be the by-products of this new trafficking avenue. The Internet is being used by traffickers increasingly to traffic these child sex slaves anywhere in the world - twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

The Internet is a new portal that those who sexually exploit children are turning to. The abuse of the Internet as a communications medium has already occurred in Cambodia

to transmit images of child sex slavery around the world and to advertise venues where it occurs. The Internet allows the initial acts of sex slavery committed in Cambodia to be transmitted around the world, compounding the violation of the inalienable rights of these victims while providing profits and power to criminals. Additionally, the Internet is being used by pedophiles to share and compare their experiences in vulgar and horrific detail (Bortel, 2001). These online brothels, bulletin boards and chat rooms become forums where brothels and venues for sex slavery are advertised and actively promoted.

Case Study 4-8: French Child Pornographer on the Internet

A Police analysis of computer files of suspected French child pornographer Pierre Guynot has revealed thousands of sadistic pornographic images of minors as well as plans for a bizarre Sihanoukville-based sex club specializing in the sadomasochistic abuse of children.

Computer technicians with the Ministry of the Interior's Law Enforcement Against Sexual Exploitation of Children Project (LEASECP) opened the computer in the presence of Guynot and the Sihanoukville prosecutor on June 8. Analysis of Guynot's files has revealed the existence of huge numbers of pornographic images of children with their genitals bound with sadomasochistic accessories including padlocks.

"Over the past two weeks we have discovered that Guynot had stored thousands of pornographic photos of children in his computer," said Chrinn Vanne, LEASECP's chief investigating officer, adding that Guynot's photo collection included both Cambodian children that he is suspected of victimizing as well as images he is believed to have downloaded from other child pornography suppliers. "Evidence suggests that [Guynot] was selling these photos over the Internet."

Source: Kyne, Phelim & Nara, Lon. (2001). *Porn suspect planned S&M child brothel*. Phnom Penh Post: June 22-July 5, 2001.

It was a Cambodian Internet Service Provider (ISP) that had provided server space for Guynot to transmit his images of child pornography from Cambodia to the world. In addition to these pictures, the website could have been used as an online global advertisement for sex slavery venues in Cambodia.

Factors Minimizing Domestic Misuse

Despite the potential devastation that could result from this misuse of the Internet, there are some mitigating factors to be considered. It is important to note that although

Cambodia has a pervasive sex slavery problem, the government has shown little tolerance for other elements of the sex industry, having banned strip clubs, pornographic films on television stations, and sex toy shops.

It is highly possible that the Kingdom of Cambodia could increasingly look upon child pornography transmitted over the Internet as a similar type of embarrassing and very public display of sex slavery. Another perspective on why the government could act to limit the transmission of these images via the Internet would be an inability of government officials to regulate and thus benefit from the industry such as done with brothels. In other words, the Internet with private ISPs does not allow for corrupt government officials to make dividends from the exploitation of these children. It is strange logic, but nevertheless could become increasingly more apparent as the government struggles with the simultaneous existence in its country of archaic agricultural methods, alongside with an emerging technology based economy.

A further factor that could act to minimize the negative impact of the Internet is the high costs associated with Internet access. Internet access can be secured just outside of the Tuol Kork brothel district for 6,000 Riel for one hour. Just a block away, the hundreds of brothels in this quarter offer sex for only 5,000 Riel. Simple economics dictate that the use of the Internet for child sex accessed within Cambodia is not a sizeable threat. This is largely driven by the poor telecommunications infrastructure in Cambodia. Internet access has as its pre-requisite the existence of phone, cable, fiber optic, or wireless networks to provide access to the Internet.

As is the trend in many developing countries, Cambodia has a high use of mobile phones compared with landlines. The bandwidth of these mobile networks are insufficient, even in more developed countries today, to provide Internet access at acceptable speeds to the user. Phone lines, therefore, do not largely exist to meet demand for Internet access. These technological and infrastructure barriers will, in all likelihood be overcome in the not too distant future. In the interim, this technology lag could be precisely what is preventing the Internet from becoming the first domino to fall in the explosion of child sex slavery online. In this intervening period, ISPs will have to duly consider what steps they can take while it still possible to set up a regulatory framework that upholds the principles of freedom of speech and information while preventing the criminal abuse of the Internet.

Threat to International Exploitation

Considering these factors in their entirety, a general conclusion can be drawn that the real threat to Cambodian children over the Internet comes not from domestic access to these illegal images but rather is driven almost exclusively by foreign demand. While domestic access to the Internet is costly, domestic web hosting is not. Leading ISPs in Cambodia provide basic 5 MB access off a personal homepage for free with an account set up. These ISPs are considering a variety of options to restrict the criminal misuse of the web hosting services that they provide. For the sake of Cambodian children, this decision cannot be made fast enough.

Advances in digital technology have made it possible for volumes of illegal images of sex slavery to fit on a single CD, to be innocuously labeled and exported worldwide. One need only visit Phnom Penh's Russian market's wall-to-wall CDs, VCDs, DVDs, and computer software where everything is available for US\$ 2-3 to consider the burgeoning child pornography market that exists just under the surface. It is even possible for such CDs to have hidden directories requiring passwords to access the illicit content, making it nearly impossible for law enforcement agencies to determine this sex crime is occurring. Hence there are several main ways that such child pornography is exported internationally (Best, Undated):

- Digital distribution: distribution by an Internet website, e-mail, or bulletin board system
- Smuggling: concealing small volumes of child pornography in with other goods, or even legal pornography
- Concealing: passing illegal material off as legal by inconspicuous packaging
- Security protection: access to child pornography through password-locked files or directories

If the history of sex slavery in Cambodia has taught anything, it is that a strong influx of demand coupled with foreign currency will be enough to create the most destructive and exploitative problems imaginable.

A striking demonstration of where the horrors of sex slavery merged with the power of the Internet came to light in Cambodia recently. For a fee, an American trafficker who

had taken Vietnamese girls into Cambodia invited visitors to his website to abuse them at will on a site that he called the "Vietnamese Rape Camp." (Bortel, 2001) This American national returned to Cambodia in May 2001 after being deported in November 1999. (PPP, May 11, 2001)

Traffickers and pedophiles have hardly begun to use the power of the Internet to magnify the scope of their illegal activities. Indeed, the Internet brings trafficking to an entirely new level.

PART II: THE RESPONSE

In the fight against sex slavery and trafficking, Cambodia has responded through four broad areas: prevention, investigation / rescue, recovery / rehabilitation and reintegration / follow-up.

These responses can be categorized as either a direct response to help the victims of the problem, or as an effort to combat the problem and associated issues before they can even take hold through preventative measures. NGO investigators identify sex slaves and trafficking victims for rescue, these victims then undergo a process of recovery and rehabilitation with the ultimate objective of being fully reintegrated back into society. The follow-up to these cases is especially important to this process and is part of an organization's main contribution to addressing this crisis.

SECTION 5: PREVENTION

No one organization can be expected to target all of the stakeholders involved with sex slavery and trafficking. Prevention of these problems remains crucial for any longer-term change in this area to take effect. Coalitions of organizations, whether formal or informal, local or international, are attempting to work to address this problem from the prevention side. In this way, the following stakeholders have been targeted:

- Local users: A majority of users of sex slaves in Cambodia are local males. This usually includes the men in the military, police officers, students and migrant workers.
- Foreign sex tourism: Tour guides and front office staff are the most likely to be approached by foreigners seeking young prostitutes, virgins or children for sex.
- General public: The greatest challenges facing those who work to prevent sex slavery and trafficking is to introduce concepts of democratically developed laws, the size and scope of this issue for Cambodia, and discussions regarding health and old social stigmas.
- At-risk women and children: In the poor and rural areas of Cambodia, many women and children leave to become factory workers in major urban areas in order to feed their families. These groups of people are often the most vulnerable because they lack sufficient information regarding the trickery of traffickers and the consequences of sex slavery.
- Local leadership and authorities: Influence attitudes in rural areas. These include commune leaders, village leaders, the military and police who are all responsible for the enforcement of existing laws. Due to their extensive involvement at the grassroots level, they are best positioned to sustain any prevention efforts.

- Prostitutes and sex slaves: The nature of their work puts these young girls at high risk of HIV/AIDS and other STDs. Sex slaves are targeted at the places where they are held captive and where clients come to visit them.

APPROACH

ECPAT Australia

Many Australians consider Phnom Penh as a stop on the Southeast Asian tourist circuit. Australia is a primary exporter of tourists to Cambodia and ECPAT Australia is targeting foreign sex tourism at the source.

Child Wise Tourism is an ECPAT Australia project which has been developed to provide training and assistance to the tourism industry and to tourism educators in destinations where child sex tourism exists or is emerging. At the 1996 Stockholm World Congress, the international tourism industry represented by organizations such as the Universal Federation of Travel Agents Associations (UFTAA), the International Air Transport Association (IATA), and the World Tourism Organization (WTO), declared their support for the campaign to end child sex tourism and went on to develop declarations and guidelines. Very little however, has been done by the travel and tourism industry at the local level to train staff and produce locally relevant guidelines.

ECPAT Australia's *Travel with Care* program involves the production of an educational video, a travel and tourism industry information kit, and a "Travel with Care" leaflet. The information kit explains Australian child sex tourism crimes and how it relates to travel agents. In addition, the "Travel with Care" leaflet details and clearly defines child sex tourism, references the Australian Child Sex Tourism Law, and outlines ways that travelers can combat this problem on the ground. In Australia this leaflet is being distributed through travel agents, international medical centres, Australian passport offices and some Australian embassies. (ECPAT, 2001)

This project has included the following:

- A training workshop with Indonesian tourism schools in Jakarta, Indonesia
- A training with tourism professionals in Bali, Indonesia

- A training course with the Tourism Training Institute in Bangkok, Thailand
- Class lectures at the Hanoi Open University for tourism students in Vietnam
- Training tour leaders in Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia
- Presentation at the annual general meeting of the Travel Agents Association of Sri Lanka
- Presentation to the Nepal Association of Travel Agents executive members
- Presentation to the World Tourism Organization Task Force in Berlin
- Presentation to International Tourism Asia in Hong Kong

Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre (CWCC)

In Cambodia's northeastern province along the Thai border, Bantey Meanchey, the CWCC develops and conducts training sessions targeted for volunteers, police, and local authorities in investigative and counseling skills. This program began in November 1999 and aims to:

- Raise awareness, educate and organize the villagers living along the Thai-Cambodia border to deal with the problem of violence against women
- Train two members of each community in how to conduct popular education sessions to further organize and educate villages in the surrounding areas
- Educate and train the police in the same villages about the law, how to assist a victim with sensitivity and how to work with community coalitions
- Obtain statistics and uncover new cases of violence against women from both community coalitions and from CWCC's strengthened ties to the village police force. CWCC's monthly follow-up visits to each village play an important role in this process.

Training courses are conducted by CWCC employees and community networkers that act as liaisons between the CWCC and the communities. (CWCC, 2001)

Table 5-1: *Statistics of Training Courses - May 1999 to April 2001*

	Male	Female	Participants	Networkers
Total	410	189	599	53

Source: CWCC Bi-Annual Report, 2001

Healthcare Centre for Children (HCC)

The HCC provides prevention programs targeting at-risk women and children, local leadership and authorities as well as the general public. They have a centre for at risk individuals, conduct occasional nation-wide media awareness projects and train key individuals in high trafficking zones.

In 2000-2001, the HCC conducted an awareness program targeting the general public. The organization used over 30,000 booklets, 100,000 posters, and in January 2001, seven 15 minute radio and television spots were deployed throughout Cambodia to inform the public on:

- Law on trafficking of human persons and other applicable laws
- Mechanisms and structures for action against trafficking
- Procedure for reporting the abuse of children
- Exploiter's tricks
- Children's Rights
- Child prostitution issues
- HIV/AIDS awareness and consequences of substance abuse

In addition, the HCC conducts training sessions for key community leaders and individuals in Prey Veng and Kandal provinces east of Phnom Penh. Police, military police and local authorities are trained on investigation techniques, rescue procedures and relevant laws in Cambodia. In the past year, 595 key authorities in the Leuk Dek and Kien Svay districts of Kandal province have completed such training.

The HCC provides similar training for local teachers, parents and other community leaders. In a project sponsored by Save the Children Norway, the HCC spends three days in each of the following communes: Daun Keng, Seang Kveang, Smong Khang, Cheung, Smong Khang Tbong, Chong Ampil, Tnot, Kok Khang Lech and Kok Khang Keut in the province of Prey Veng. These workshops are designed to help villagers help themselves.

With HCC staff acting as facilitators, participants discuss relevant laws, methods to prevent trafficking, traffickers' tricks and ways to identify trafficking and traffickers. A local network is left in place and expected to continue to implement the program and disseminate information to villagers. The HCC conducts follow-up investigations three and six months after each workshop to ensure that local individuals left in charge are properly implementing the program. In the last year alone, 21,646 villagers, 10,120 schoolchildren, 228 schoolteachers and 280 other key individuals have participated in prevention workshops.

The Good Family Centre in Prey Veng town provides vocational training for at risk children. Currently they have a capacity to house 35 residents at any one time with an average stay of between five and six months per resident. (HCC, 2001) At-risk women and children, usually between the ages of fourteen and nineteen, are sometimes referred to the centre by social affairs agencies and other NGOs. Residents are provided with vocational skills training in either scarf weaving, sewing, embroidery, hairdressing, agriculture or home gardening. Non-formal education is provided for illiterate residents and they are provided with small business training. Near the conclusion of their time at the centre, residents are tested to ensure that they are prepared to enter the workforce or start their own business. (Yi Soksan, 2001)

Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire (AFESIP)

AFESIP's prevention programs are targeted to meet both user and sex slaves. The user side campaign targets the largest sexually active user groups in Cambodia. Set up in 1998, the program team focuses primarily on trafficking and HIV/AIDS related issues. The AFESIP group is composed of people from government Ministries and former prostitutes and sex slaves.

This team visits 10,000 people nation-wide each year and chooses language that is clearly relevant to the needs of Cambodian society. In 2002, the program will be expanded to reach 100,000 Cambodians from all across the country. Military personnel, police officers and students are all approached through big public town-hall settings that are focussed on delivering the message at the grassroots level. These locally composed teams speak to issues close to the root problems in society that stimulate the sex slave industry.

The Cambodian Ministry of Defense, partnered with the Belgian Ministry of Defense works to reach soldiers to discuss sex and family issues. The Cambodian Ministries of Education and Women's Affairs assist in approaching students. Accessing police officers has become an increasingly difficult situation given complications occurring within the Ministry of the Interior.

Each year, AFESIP implements an expanding Cambodia-wide initiative in the provinces of Battambang, Krong Pailin, Pursat, Kampot, Svay Rieng, Kompong Cham, Kratie, Mondolkiri, Preah Vihear and Stung Treng. It is a strategy designed to raise awareness along the national trafficking lanes and to take preventative measures at the source of the problem. From January through March 2001, fifteen of these town halls took place in Preah Vihear province and twenty-one in Kampong Cham province.

Table 5-2: Participants and Condom Distribution (36 Sessions) - January 2001 to March 2001

<i>Target Group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Condoms</i>
Police	53	0	1,300
Military	1,152	378	15,500
Students	3,413	1,641	6,200
Others	46	64	1900
Total Participants:	6,747		

Source: AFESIP. (2001). *Anesvad Progressive Report*. January-March 2001: Phnom Penh.

When approaching those already in the sex sector, AFESIP has set up a social workers unit whose objective is to educate sex workers about threats and diseases, disseminate information on HIV/AIDS, and promote human rights. The team is composed of seven former prostitutes all who have been rescued, rehabilitated and trained by AFESIP to go into brothels as an educational group. They distribute condoms and lubricants and put up hard-hitting posters communicating the need for attitudes to change when discussing this problem. Through this approach they are the first organization in Cambodia to have clear sex sector figures in a database that will be released later in 2001. AFESIP also conducts police training to help law enforcement officials do their jobs.

Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR)

CCPCR's police training course are designed to provide basic skills for investigating sexual abuse and exploitation of people, especially children. The course emphasizes an interdisciplinary approach to preventing, detecting and protecting children through cooperation among police, governmental and non-governmental organizations involved with childcare services.

The training course is participatory by design and attempts to engage as much student input and discussion as possible. In addition, the participants are taught new and appropriate skills on interviewing victimized children, collecting and keeping evidence, and following proper procedures when filing complaints. The primary focus is on cooperation between police forces and NGOs who provide services and care for children. (CCPCR, 1999)

Table 5-3: *Police Training Courses - 1995 through 1999*

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of Courses</i>	<i>Participants</i>
Phnom Penh	1	45
Kandal Province	2	97
Kampot Province	1	43
Sihanoukville	1	47
Svay Rieng Province	1	42
Banteay Meanchey Province	2	90
Battambang Province	1	40
Kampong Thom Province	1	46
Kampong Cham Province	1	42
Kampong Speu Province	1	46
Koh Kong Province	1	49
TOTAL	13	587

Source: CCPCR. (1999). *5-Year Report: 1995-1999 of the Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights*. CCPCR: Phnom Penh.

The CCPCR has organized awareness campaigns and training based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which focuses on the four major rights of the child: survival, protection, development and participation. Furthermore, the CCPCR provides training on the relevant laws related to the sexual exploitation and trafficking of children.

With the cooperation of local authorities, the CCPCR has completed awareness-training courses with monks, parents and children on the rights of the child and on issues surrounding the sexual exploitation of children. From 1995 to 1999, the CCPCR reached 377 villages, 10,375 men, 16,090 women and 11,173 children. (CCPCR, 1999).

Vulnerable Children Assistance Organization (VCAO)

The VCAO conducts a number of programs in their quest to help at-risk children. Among them, in the Prey Kabash and Takeo provinces, the organization conducts vocational skills training for at-risk women and children. These at-risk residents are taught silk weaving to provide them with marketable and employable skills. After completing the training program, residents are given the opportunity to participate in a micro-credit program designed to provide them with the funds necessary to begin their own businesses.

For some residents with roots in a particularly poor family, they can be trained in the skills they need to establish their own gardens and are supplied basic loans and fertilizer. The objectives are to allow poor or widowed families the opportunity to send their children to school instead of into the city for work. (Chea Pyden, 2001)

RATIONALE

There is a good argument to be made in implementing prevention programs that are designed to stop sex slavery and trafficking before it even occurs. If organizations and individuals are willing to take the initiatives to prevent this ruthless victimization of women and children, they will quickly discover that it is far less costly to prevent sex slavery than to have victims go through the entire rescue, recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration process. If any prevention program is to be successful, a long-term and sustained effort needs to be designed around a clearly defined target audience.

Local sex users must be informed about the dangers associated with sex slavery in Cambodia. Men ranging from military personnel, police officers, students, moto-taxi drivers and migrant workers must be informed and educated about the consequences of their decisions. With the ever-increasing threat of HIV/AIDS and other STDs threatening to break families apart, sex users need to understand the appropriate safety measures they can use to protect themselves and others such as condoms.

Much in the same way, those already in the sex industry must be informed about relevant health implications such as HIV/AIDS and STDs and must also be encouraged to take appropriate precautions. Condoms and lubricants offered free of charge have a greater opportunity to be used rather than when sold for more than the cost of intercourse itself. By providing both sex users and those in the industry with the protection they need for free, a greater number of lives can be saved.

Participants in all facets of the local tourism industry must be trained to identify forms of sex slavery and trafficking as well as relevant actions to be taken in the event of a violation of laws prohibiting it. In addition, tourists and travelers in the country must be targeted at both points of departure and arrival. They must be targeted at as many points along their journey as possible, in hotels, in airports, on airplanes, at major tourist sites and venues, and at local embassies and government offices. The consequences associated with participating in child sex tourism, the violation of both extraterritorial and local laws prohibiting it, and the dangerous health risks involved must be made exceedingly clear. In addition, responsible travelers must be given the information necessary and be encouraged to report traveling pedophiles and illegal sex users.

The general public should be made aware of the size and scope of the problems associated with sex slavery and trafficking. Indeed, the general public's support is required to successfully place pressure on governments and local authorities to properly combat this problem. They too have a role to play in helping solve this problem, particularly by being able to put pressure on policy makers to enforce already existing national laws.

Young, poor and uneducated women and children who are most at-risk of being forced or deceived into sex slavery or trafficking must be educated about the threats and dangers of sex slavery in addition to the tricks of traffickers. Combating the root causes

of sex slavery and trafficking through providing at-risk women and children with vocational training skills opens up future employment opportunities and goes a long way in helping stop the problem before it has the chance to happen.

Local leadership and authorities set the tone in communities. They are the individuals charged with enforcing and upholding existing laws. With their informed support, laws can be properly implemented and efforts to inform locals can be sustained over long periods of time.

ANALYSIS

Children must remain the main focus of any prevention program and must be more directly targeted. Although they participate in workshops and sessions, speakers talk at children, not to them. No literature exists for children and so all too often the lessons are lost on them.

Travelers are usually reached in their homes, before they even leave. For prevention efforts targeted towards travelers and expatriates to be successful, they must hit travelers at every possible point of contact on their journeys from start to finish. By sending out clear messages that could in fact deter travelers who may be considering sex tourism, a positive first step will have been made. The greater challenge lies with addressing the pedophiles that board planes and will not be deterred without a credible threat of prosecution. They are already educated about the law, they understand the vulnerable financial situation of the host countries, and they know where to go to get what they want. For these sex tourists, no prevention program will succeed. Enforcing laws and incarcerating these criminals are the actions that will speak louder than words.

The fact remains that the approach of the NGO community as a whole is strongly focused on helping local communities help themselves. Instead of dictating terms to local authorities and leaders, NGOs give these leaders the skills and information they need to successfully communicate information to their people. Nevertheless, there are many in Cambodia who still need to be reached and a sustained effort on the part of local authorities and leaders will be required to reach them. NGOs will need to continue to expand their operations throughout the country for prevention efforts to be fully successful.

Prevention programs go a long way in educating the public and beginning to change attitudes in approaching these kinds of issues. But the task of bringing this debate to public bearing is only the first step in terms of fully delving into prevention. By getting into the brothels and the sites of sex slavery, the contact made with prostitutes and sex slaves is invaluable. The attitudes of some organizations are superficial and skin deep. Take for instance Pawana Wienerwee, a Technical Advisor with UNAIDS who says, "Forget about what is right or wrong legally, as long as you're going to have people buying and selling this property, it should be safe." (Levy, 1998)

The lack of fortitude by this UN advisor and others who share this vein of thinking to recognize that sex slavery and trafficking are not issues of moral ambiguity. Former Cambodian sex slave Dina Chan makes the most effective commentary on the old attitudes ignorant and removed from the plight of sex slaves. "We are cheated, deceived, trafficked, humiliated and tortured...You, the development organizations, you give us condoms and teach us all the time about AIDS. We know about AIDS; we watch our sisters die from the disease...Look at me: you see a woman, but my boss sees dollars. An extra payment to my boss and the client does not wear a condom. If I protest I receive a beating. If I die tomorrow nobody cares." (Chan, 1999)

Prevention programs are powerful tools in the long-term fight against sex slavery and trafficking. The best case scenario for prevention programs is for the sex trade to not get any worse in Cambodian, but it will not in any way reduce the harm or diminish the damage already done.

SECTION 6: INVESTIGATION/RESCUE

The investigation and rescue process is designed to identify sex slaves. A convergence of police officers, supported by NGO investigators and legal advisors come together at sites where complaints have been received. The objective of this part of the process is to get victims out of the situation in which they have been trapped and to help law enforcement agencies enforce the laws of their country. This is the first stage of dealing directly with victims involved in this industry.

APPROACH

NGO Investigation/Cooperation with Police

Agir pour les Femmes en Situations Précaire (AFESIP)

AFESIP created one of Cambodia's first investigation teams in 1997. There are currently four full-time investigators hired by the organization to collect and investigate complaints about human rights abuses. By the end of 2001, this department will expand to include six investigators. These investigators work in collaboration with the Ministry of the Interior and international authorities to assist with law enforcement.

The state of law enforcement in Cambodia requires careful selection of good police officers. AFESIP investigators have already identified officials both in the National Police and Ministry of the Interior as allies in identifying sex slaves for rescue. Good police officers have been identified throughout Siem Reap, Kampong Cham and Phnom Penh for the enforcement of existing laws. In times of emergency, this network of officers is accessed by AFESIP staff to help protect recovery centres, offices and personnel from retributory attacks.

Investigators work by disguising themselves as potential clients to identify issues of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse of women and children including those who have been forced into prostitution. They rescue those who are in distressing circumstances identified as underage prostitutes, forced victims and trafficked or kidnapped women and children. Together with a team of social workers who collect evidence, maintain

contact with complainants and discreetly observe locations, investigators prepare a case with legal advisors to raid a site or venue. Numbers and demographics of those involved in this process are kept private to protect these individuals. (AFESIP, 2001)

No action to this effect can be taken unless a complaint has been received by police officers, investigators or social workers. Whether rightly or wrongly, law enforcement in Cambodia subscribes to the premise that until someone complains about a lack of choice, they are choosing prostitution as a legitimate line of work. Fortunately, complaints can be as flexible as to include a scribbled note on a napkin, or a straightforward verbal request for help.

Once a complaint has been received, the investigator reports his findings to the Ministry of the Interior and to the local prosecutor. Together the decision whether to intervene is made. If the decision is made to act, one AFESIP investigator and one legal advisor accompanies a heavily armed police unit to the site, withholding the information as to the actual location until less than three minutes away. The purpose for which this information is kept confidential until the very last moment is to ensure that corrupt officers or officials will be unable to warn a procurer of an impending raid. The legal advisor is present to support and advise rescued victims and ensure that police officers do not rape or take advantage of victims over the course of the rescue process. In order to ensure that the case will get to the justice system, AFESIP leadership leverages a national political contact base to increase pressure on prosecutors, judges and officials to ensure a fair process.

Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR)

CCPCR receives both verbal and written complaints that are often provided by parents, relatives, authorities and concerned citizens. Cases usually involve children who had been sold into prostitution or trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation in or outside of Cambodia.

Based on received information a member of the investigation team will enter a brothel posing as a potential client in order to assess the situation and collect more detailed information. This evidence is taken to local authorities and in cooperation with police a raid is organized. Armed police conduct the raid. The investigator who made initial contact with the brothel does not participate with the raid for safety reasons.

Table 6-1: *CCPCR Investigations and Numbers of Rescued Children*

Year	Investigations	Raids	Children Rescued
1995	30	1	6
1996	45	3	13
1997	54	8	97
1998	76	29	197
1999	97	34	214

Source: CCPCR. (1999). *5-Year Report: 1995-1999 of the Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights*. CCPCR: Phnom Penh.

Reporting Hotline

The Law Enforcement Against Sexual Exploitation of Children Project was launched on April 14, 2000 as a joint venture between the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Save the Children Norway, the United Nations Cambodia Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (UNCOHCHR), World Vision International and Cambodia's Ministry of the Interior. Funding was provided for a two-year pilot project and it is hoped that funding will be extended at the conclusion of the project. Soon after the launch of the project, with the financial and technical support of UNICEF, the Ministry of the Interior launched a reporting hotline designed to combat sex slavery and trafficking.

Anyone can anonymously call the hotline twenty-four hours a day, which is staffed by Ministry of the Interior employees. Normally it is used by relatives, family members, friends and sometimes victims themselves to report instances of sex slavery and trafficking.

The hotline employee who receives the call prepares a report based on the information provided by the caller. These reports are then reviewed by Police Colonel Teng Borany, the Ministry of the Interior employee responsible for the operations of the hotline. Based on the information received, Col. Borany makes the decision whether or not to pursue

an investigation and if appropriate, he instructs responsible subordinates to begin investigations.

Table 6-2: *Status of Investigations as a Result of Reports to Hotline - First semester 2001*

<i>Type of Case</i>	<i>Number of Cases Completed</i>	<i>Number of Offenders Arrested</i>
Sexual Exploitation	69	93
Human Trafficking/ Confinement for Sexual Exploitation	10	12
Child Labour Exploitation	1	-
Child Pornography	2	2
Trans-National Human Trafficking	3	8

Source: LEASECP. (2001). *Cooperation in Investigation Statistics on trafficking, prostitution, and exploitation of child labour*. January - June 2001. Phnom Penh.

The hotline was advertised on Cambodian television networks for between one and two months shortly after the launch date. It is therefore not surprising that the daily numbers of calls peaked soon afterwards and has since been waning. There are plans, however, for the hotline to be advertised again in the near future (Sok Reak Smey, 2001).

RATIONALE

Working with local and international authorities towards rescuing victims who need or ask for help is the most dangerous yet crucial part of the process. There must be a clear understanding of the situation in which the girls find themselves on a daily basis. It is not unusual to find a brothel built on stilts over puddles full of garbage. The conditions are far from safe - often procurers hide AK-47's on the premises and have a host of bodyguards and police officers on their payrolls for protection. Investigators must contend with these facts when going undercover and put themselves in extreme danger by seeking the information necessary to rescue victims in need.

A legal advisor needs to be available for victims so that they are protected from police if necessary, and help them through the legal quagmire and make the move to the security of a recovery shelter. For those victims who have been trafficked to Cambodia, this legal support is especially crucial. In some cases, victims' governments refuse re-entry on the basis that no evidence can be provided of their legitimacy as a national.

People must be given every opportunity to issue complaints. Information given must be kept confidential due to the dangerous networks that are implicated and taint this process. It is the duty of law enforcement officers and NGO investigators to conduct appropriate investigations following complaints.

ANALYSIS

NGOs are often forced to walk the fine line in between the role of the NGO investigators and national police. While some NGOs may find the talent and expertise to help train local law enforcement to do their jobs, they must not actively participate at the point of rescue. Organizations that house victims and help them heal do not belong in the business of being vigilante police forces and must respect the roles that others fulfill in this regard.

There are also concerns involved with having NGO investigators involved in these processes at all, particularly if they lack professional training and appropriate support in dangerous environments. In countries where corruption is the watchword among police sentries and the judicial processes do not achieve their mandates, there is a distinct need for some sort of support network to assist those who ask for it. Often, corrupt police officers have compromised a raid or investigation by tipping off procurers for merely a petty bribe. More than any commitment to protocols or common practices, there is a moral obligation involved in the process where sex slaves are freed.

Members of the general public also have a responsibility in cleaning up their streets. The general public needs to be encouraged to participate and given every appropriate opportunity to do precisely that. This hotline provides such an opportunity to locals and tourists alike, but remains limited in size and scope. Too often victims are frightened to step forward, informants are too afraid to speak out, and foreigners are ignorant of the

existing infrastructure. This reporting hotline works as a good complement to law enforcement, but corruption, especially in the police force, limits its effectiveness.

At this point of contact between NGOs, law enforcement and victims, one of the basic tenants that needs to be achieved before any real effort can be made to crack down on sex slavery is the cessation of corruption and a genuine commitment to law enforcement at all levels.

SECTION 7: RECOVERY/REHABILITATION

The basic tenants that factor into this part of the process to fully recover and rehabilitate victims include medical treatment, psychological care, basic education and vocational training. By providing such services in a manner that is personalized for every victim, a turning point in victims' psychology occurs as they move from brothel to full reintegration at these centres.

APPROACH

Several recovery/rehabilitation centres in Cambodia offer different programs to suit different needs. The two largest organizations with centres in Phnom Penh are the Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR) and Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire (AFESIP). In each of these centres, on-the-ground personnel work in concert to provide care for these victims. These organizations also recognize the need to maintain different sites in Cambodia that aim to provide a balanced mix between rural and urban life, age disparity, psychological health and needs of the victims based on their choices.

Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR)

This locally operated organization has four centres in Cambodia at Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville, Kampong Cham and Svay Rieng.

1. Recovery Shelter in Phnom Penh

This facility located in northern Phnom Penh is a converted two-story house with three rooms upstairs that now serve as living quarters, office space and a medical examination room. The three rooms downstairs include a classroom that doubles as sleeping quarters, a general kitchen and a storage room that also functions as an office. On one side of the classroom and living quarters is an open-air sewing classroom. Separate sheds just outside of the classroom and sleeping quarters serve as bathrooms and showering areas.

Service Delivery:

The centre provides both complete and short-term emergency care to child victims of rape, sex slavery and individuals at risk to trafficking. On average, victims stay at this centre between three and six months. The centre strives to deliver full recovery and rehabilitation services.

Medical

- A doctor at the organization provides residents with regular medical check-ups
- Residents receive preventative education on personal hygiene, HIV/AIDS, and STD awareness

Psychological

- Victims are counseled daily in both group and individual settings
- Counseling is provided by both the centre manager and teacher
- Specialized lessons provide the young girls with a strong grasp of their culture and history

Educational

- There are two levels of literacy and math depending on the proficiency of the students
- On a daily basis, students explore Khmer history and culture
- On a weekly basis, students learn lessons of geography and health

Vocational

- Sewing is the only vocational skill that is taught
- Typically students pursue a career at a garment factory or as a tailor depending on their sewing skills and abilities
- A minority of residents are sent to hairdressing schools if great interest and potential talent are displayed

At any one time, this recovery and rehabilitation centre has about thirty residents and operates at full capacity.

2. New Life Centre in Sihanoukville

The New Life Centre in Sihanoukville is a small converted two-story house. The lower floor contains a sewing classroom, a large eating area, a kitchen, a staff washroom and an office. The upstairs includes living quarters for the children and a small balcony.

Service Delivery:

The centre provides care and training for child victims of rape and sex slavery. On average, victims stay at this centre between three and six months. The centre focuses on vocational skills training for girls between the ages of 15 and 18.

Medical

- Extremely limited medical facilities
- Traditional methods are administered and limited access to modern medical practices

Psychological

- No significant psychological care provided for residents

Educational

- Focused on skills training

Vocational

- Sewing is the primary vocational skill taught
- At the conclusion of a three month training program, some take a general examination for work certification
- If residents choose to pursue the six month program they are prepared to become dressmakers

There are currently twenty-two residents at this centre, six of which already work in a local garment factory. Eight girls have been rescued from brothels and their age's range from twelve to eighteen. There is currently a new female director who has committed herself to be constantly on-call and on-site. The CCPCR maintains a similar centre in Svay Rieng province with the same focus on vocational skills training.

3. Kampong Cham Development Centre

The centre is located on four hectares of land in Kampong Cham province, north of Phnom Penh. The residents produce crops of mint, pineapple, papaya, mango and bananas used to feed themselves. In addition, the land supports a number of pigs, cows, chickens, geese and ducks raised by residents. Excess produce and products is sold at local markets.

Service Delivery:

The centre provides care and training for child victims of rape and sex slavery.

Medical

- Limited medical facilities
- Traditional methods are administered and limited access to modern medical practices

Psychological

- No significant psychological care provided for residents

Educational

- Focused on skills training

Vocational

- Agriculture and animal husbandry are the primary vocational skills taught

At any time, about twenty residents work the land with the help of a director. This centre is intended for those who have no families to return to, who have no way of locating their families or were unable to successfully learn another skill or trade.

Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire (AFESIP)

This Cambodian organization has four centres across Cambodia in Phnom Penh, Kampong Cham, Siem Reap and Cham Chao.

1. Phnom Penh Recovery Centre

This facility located in northern Phnom Penh is a renovated two-story house with an office area, a meeting area, open-air conference room and computer lab upstairs. Meanwhile, the ground floor serves as living quarters for the residents and as a kitchen. The grounds for the centre also include a recreation area with a reflection pond, a sewing training area and classrooms, medical room and counseling room. Nearby are a garage, a restaurant and a hair salon all owned by AFESIP, which are used to train residents.

Service Delivery:

The centre is the headquarters for AFESIP's Cambodian operations. All residents begin at this centre where they are given initial medical care and counseling. From here the residents are sent to another AFESIP facility in Cambodia or begin programs in this centre based on their needs. The Phnom Penh centre is intended for girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty years old. Those who remain in Phnom Penh stay at the centre for an average of nine to fourteen months.

Medical

- 24-hour emergency care is available at all times of the year
- An alliance of nine different medical organizations provides care for serious illness or injury
- Accurate medical records are carefully kept up to date and shared with relevant medical service providers
- Residents receive preventative education on personal hygiene, HIV/AIDS, STD awareness and human sexuality

Psychological

- Trained Cambodian staff are used to help girls feel more comfortable and to overcome potential cultural barriers
- The grounds are designed to provide a therapeutic environment
- Professional British psychiatric nurse is on staff to develop proper protocols and train Cambodian staff members
- A French psychologist is regularly consulted to ensure adequate medical standards of care
- The counseling team work to humanize victims, open their minds and prepare residents for educational and vocational training

Educational

- Closely linked with psychological care and is compatible with as many cases as possible
- Basic math and literacy classes
- Formal education is focused on building life skills through real life simulations
- Advanced students are approached to consider extra training in social work by AFESIP
- The curriculum is intended to inspire students to plan for their futures

Vocational

- Residents are given a choice between sewing, hair dressing or cooking training
- Small business training is provided for future success
- The ultimate objective of vocational training is financial independence for residents

There are currently fifty-eight residents at this centre and it is estimated to be able to accommodate sixty. Most of the victims are former sex slaves and their ages range

from nine to twenty-one. AFESIP is in the process of constructing similar facilities in Siem Reap and Cham Chao. Phnom Penh will remain the centre of operations.

2. Kampong Cham Recovery Centre

This facility located north of Phnom Penh has been constructed in a purely rural setting including a pond for fishing, chicken coop, and pig troughs. The centre is surrounded by hectares of rice patties, pastures and fruit plantations. This facility is built in the traditional Cambodian style. The main building, which has been constructed on stilts, houses a common living area where residents eat and sleep. Beneath the building and between the stilts are over a dozen looms for vocational training. A smaller building nearby is used as the kitchen.

Service Delivery:

This centre is designed for younger victims and therefore the strategy employed is conducive to stays that last for years, not months. The environment at the centre is intended to cater to girls younger than fourteen years of age. Many of them are either young victims of sexual exploitation, at risk cases or are the children of former prostitutes.

Medical

- Medical care is based out of the Phnom Penh centre and so the same services are available
- Ensures vaccinations, proper hygiene and treatment for common ailments are received

Psychological

- The facility is designed to help victims cope with severe trauma by providing a protective environment
- A professionally trained Khmer couple runs the centre 24 hours a day and treats residents as family
- Many animals and water ponds are used to create a positive psychological environment
- A purely personalized approach is used for Individual cases

Educational

- Residents attend one of two local community schools neighbouring the facility
- These victims study side-by-side local Khmer children and follow the same curriculum

Vocational

- Every morning, residents attend to traditional tasks such as animal raising, fishing and agriculturally based activities
- Sewing machines and looms are built to train residents in weaving and dressmaking

There are currently twenty-eight residents at this centre and can accommodate between forty and fifty residents. Most of the victims are between the ages of three and sixteen.

RATIONALE

Recovery/rehabilitation centres serve to provide rescued child victims with a stable, safe and structured environment. Generally speaking, this includes basic food, shelter and clothing requirements. It is also necessary to ensure well kept facilities and reduced hazard zones to protect staff and prevent suicide attempts. Furthermore, these recovery and rehabilitation centres are generally used as means to prepare former victims to become fully functioning, independent and productive members of society.

Ideally a centre provides critical services or access to services in four major areas, namely medical, psychological, educational and vocational services.

Medical care requires basic protocols that can be accepted internationally. These do not necessarily translate into top-level medical facilities, but rather should meet the basic standards and principles of hygiene, good practice and adequate medication. There needs to be a full time medical officer available for residents in events of crisis or emergency, or at the minimum, partnership with a good local doctor. For palliative care,

appropriate networks need to be designed to handle special cases and circumstances. Holistic care must be provided to HIV/AIDS patients.

A centre is required to provide psychological care in addition to the purely physical needs that victims have. Understanding and appreciating the tragic situation many victims have endured prior to their arrival at recovery and rehabilitation centres, means that a better strategy can be prepared to help them heal from severe trauma. Professional counseling and psychiatric care is required to assist residents in gaining confidence, humanizing their characters and rebuilding their psyche through either group or personal sessions. Residents need to think and care about their futures so that the effort to learn comes from within them rather than forced upon them.

Basic educational requirements in literacy and mathematics are critical to future survival outside of the centre setting. Although the focus needs to remain in these areas, a bigger approach towards education is required in order to educate the well-rounded resident. A well-defined curriculum taught by inspired teachers is instrumental for success. Diversity in a basic lesson plan and cutting-edge educational instruments contribute to greater success rates.

A strong educational platform must be complemented by a vocational training program constructed to ensure success in reintegration. One of four options are usually available to residents: sewing, cooking, hairdressing or farming. Training in one of these areas often translates into a job in a garment factory, restaurant, barbershop or on a family farm. The need to build on the traditional employment industries is critical. A diverse selection of innovative vocational avenues from operating small businesses to working as a skilled labourer is integral for recovered victims to find gainful employment.

Recovery and rehabilitation centres must integrate all of these services into the daily routine of their residents. Only a tightly managed, closely integrated and properly balanced effort in the delivery of medical, psychological, educational and vocational services can help victims achieve financial independence and overcome the harrowing experiences that they have survived.

ANALYSIS

The conclusion of UNTAC activities in Cambodia was followed by a gradual exit strategy. Many United Nations administrators who acted as band-aid government officials began trickling out of UN operations into many humanitarian activities. The responsibilities fell into the hands of Cambodians who were only barely beginning to recover from the shadow of the Khmer Rouge and years of civil war. As a consequence, two schools of thought on how to replace the UN technocrats began to emerge: the old *politique* and a *new politique*.

The CCPCR and AFESIP have been chosen for this analysis because they are representative of the two competing schools of thought in the NGO community. One school of thought, best represented by the CCPCR, pursues a nation-centric approach that employs only Cambodian nationals and is largely resistant to the contribution of new ideas coming from around the world. The other is global by nature; it calls for local organizations and local leadership to find expert help in areas they have identified as deficiencies and is best represented by AFESIP.

The clearest demonstration of either philosophy occurs at the actual point of contact; the direct impact on victims turned residents. These recovery centres are where the convergence of medical, psychological, educational and vocational care come together to help victims. The commitment to delivering high quality services is the barometer by which to determine the strengths of the approach.

Analyzing an organization's approach at a higher-level provides an accurate evaluation of what any philosophy translates to on the ground, in the recovery centre. The site for recovery and rehabilitation is the most expensive, labour intensive, and requires the most staff and administration. For these reasons, an evaluation of these centres serves as an evaluation of the organization because the centre is the bottom line of the organization's work. It is the *raison d'être* and the most tangible evidence of the success or failure of an organization addressing these issues in Cambodia. Indeed, it is where the politics of it all becomes real.

The Old Politique:**Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR)**

The first approach focuses on the utilization of purely Cambodian intellectual capital to move ahead and introduce a purely Khmer approach in the humanitarian industry. While on one hand these organizations solicit funds from foreign sources, they do not display comparable fervor in soliciting foreign intellectual capital - the contribution of ideas and skills from abroad - as a means to better the lives of people.

Largely, this is a reactionary approach to a failed international attempt to better Cambodia. In 1991, UNTAC promised to disarm the four factions that signed the October 1991 Peace Accords, but they failed. In 1993, UNTAC promised to provide an effective and stable democracy through a free and fair election. (UNICEF, Undated) Rather, the result was a power-sharing agreement brokered at gunpoint - the threat of renewed violence - emasculating the government's ability to act.

In the eyes of the Khmer people, the last decade has been a clear demonstration of how the international community has failed Cambodia. It is not surprising that after repeatedly botched attempts to piece together an already crumbling nation for observers to conclude that only Cambodians could rebuild Cambodia.

This philosophy is ingrained in the practices at CCPCR recovery and rehabilitation centres. The only foreigners that CCPCR has visit their sites are members of the international media or representatives of international donor agencies, foundations or private contributors. The nature of these tours is so camera intensive that even the residents understand how to present a well-crafted photo opportunity. The tours do not necessarily reflect the reality of daily life in these centres. A strong and pervasive emphasis on a purely Khmer workforce propagates an environment that relies on old methods and older practices. There is little commitment to the development of new programs let alone reforming existing ones to address the continuously evolving state of the problem.

Locally trained staff largely employs traditional medical methods. While these recovery centres require highly specialized and highly trained medical personnel, the approach for CCPCR is to pursue solely Cambodian experts. Many Cambodian professionals that have been trained overseas and now work in Cambodia offer pro bono services for a

host of NGOs. For these people, their time is tight and the demand for their work is high. Insisting on the contribution of expert talent in medical services with weighting more on ethnicity or language rather than skills or education severely limits the care they can provide to their residents, particularly for former victims who have significant medical challenges to overcome. Doctors here are selected more based on their ethnicity rather than their experience. This embodies the old *politique* that favours style over substance.

For the psychological needs of these victims, the efforts made on behalf of the staff at the CCPCR are admirable. A lack of any formal background in this field and sufficient training, however, means that these people are forced to reinvent the wheel in many cases. In the meantime, they are tinkering with the fragile minds of victims and have the potential to do harm rather than good.

A strict focus on math and literacy is the core of their education program. In addition, teachers work hard to instill a strong sense of Khmer culture, history, and traditional values in their residents. Recently, centre management has adopted a clear scheduling system to accommodate everything from class-times and day-to-day chores. This has been instrumental in providing a structured environment that accommodates for different levels of learning. More advanced or older residents can study at a higher level than those who are only just beginning. It should be noted that educational services are only provided to residents in the Phnom Penh centre. The Sihanoukville and Kampong Cham centres focus more closely on vocational training.

In rural Cambodia, the vocational training centres primarily focus on sewing and basic agricultural training. This approach leaves many residents with few options for future success. The cookie cutter model prepares residents and victims only for life in a garment factory or on a farm.

The four core areas that all recovery centres need to deliver in are a work in progress for the CCPCR. It should be clear that any shelter is indeed better than no shelter for these victims - even if only to escape from the horrors outside that trafficking victims and sex slaves are accustomed to. Centres are expected to provide high levels of care and must always strive to improve their approach. The greatest deficiency in this first school of thought is the inability to build beyond the status quo because of narrow vision.

A New Politique:**Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire (AFESIP)**

The second school of thought argues that years of warfare and the destruction of Cambodian society, particularly of skilled professionals, paralyzed Cambodia when it came to combating humanitarian crises. The proponents of this perspective proposed that Cambodian people did not have all the tools they needed to fully address the complexities associated with Cambodia's problems.

Pol Pot's regime specifically targeted intellectuals, skilled professionals and representatives of traditional Khmer culture in their quest to create an agrarian-based Maoist society. Doctors, lawyers and skilled professionals were murdered, in addition to Buddhist monks and traditional Apsara dancers. It was more than marketable skills that were lost; it was a ruthless assault on an entire way of life. Not only were these key individuals killed, but all those who taught them as university professors and local teachers were targeted as well. Cambodia was stripped of its best and brightest, and was left with literally sticks and stones with which to rebuild.

After UNTAC, there were few if any Cambodian doctors remaining to help heal patients, Cambodian teachers to teach students, Cambodian lawyers to understand and defend the new constitution or even innovative Cambodian employers to employ a new generation of Cambodians. Khmer people needed to lead the way when addressing the most pressing issues challenging its future. However, the need for help from others who have never even been to Cambodia before in specific areas is paramount in the rebuilding of a new Cambodia. Skilled doctors, nurses, teachers and counselors are required to provide on the ground support and training and to share their knowledge with the ultimate objective being to help Cambodians help themselves. For the group of people who subscribed to this school of thought, Cambodia needed to go global when taking on the most pressing issues challenging its future.

AFESIP translates this philosophy into action on the ground as a Cambodian led and Cambodian run organization. The local leadership and initiative directs the organization and develops methods of engaging victims and residents. They nevertheless maintain a firm commitment to the principle that any organization must continue to improve and

innovate in all areas and that help, especially with no strings attached, is a commodity too valuable to refuse.

Medical service delivery is a key priority at their recovery and rehabilitation centres. Throughout all of their facilities in Cambodia, AFESIP ensures both a proper flow of treatment, 24-hour emergency support and thorough follow-up. This is not accomplished as an independent entity. Local and international networks of medical organizations converge to provide a full range of personalized medical care and services available to residents. An identified area of weakness, however, is that a male doctor currently provides medical services. This occasionally results in an uncomfortable situation given many of the residents' past experiences with men. Efforts have been made to reconcile these concerns. In the fall of 2001, a female expatriate doctor will begin work with the organization and help bring local staff up to speed with current practices.

AFESIP employs a research group brought together by Cambodians to consult with experts from around the world in an effort to implement a multidisciplinary approach to the psychological needs of victims. Training for local staff is an ongoing project but a clearer psychological protocol for the conduct of counselors is needed. This group also works towards tying all aspects of recovery and rehabilitation more closely together. They seek to better integrate areas of service delivery in an effort to provide a better recovery and rehabilitation process.

This process includes being able to determine and identify residents who are prepared for reintegration. Making the educational curriculum more relevant to daily life means that better teachers need to be trained in new and diverse teaching methods, demonstrate vision and purpose in their work and innovate new ideas to help reach the resident. Many local staff consider teaching as merely a routine job; the realization needs to be made that strong teaching methods will make the difference in the lives of these residents.

Reform of the education program must be accompanied by diversifying an already standard slate of vocational options. While AFESIP residents may meet tremendous success compared to other organizations in areas like sewing and weaving, the vocational training must be tailored more specifically to local market demands.

The result of a well-harmonized approach crafted by Cambodians and supplemented by respected experts is a responsive, victim-centric and solution based organization. It has been able to adapt and grow to meet the high demands for its services. With AFESIP, it is not just about talking about this problem, it is actually doing something about it.

CONCLUSIONS

The aforementioned organizations have both been able to build basic foundations for sustained efforts to address the issue of sex slavery and trafficking. The key will be for each to grow and respond to the issue as factors change and evolve. The CCPCR approach has proven largely unresponsive to changing conditions. It has provided the organization with a strong local base, but it remains very basic and inward looking. Its approach does not allow it to move beyond the limits it sets for itself and so the organization has not been able to grow and adapt to the needs of its residents.

AFESIP on the other hand, has successfully been able to build on strengths of its Cambodian leadership and workforce. It has made a concerted effort to identify areas of weakness and respond by soliciting the services of experts no matter what their nationality or ethnicity happens to be. In this way, the ideas and skills of these talented experts are shared with local staff and networks. This leads directly to the creation of an ever-expanding pool of knowledge and increases the sustainability of the organization's efforts by helping locals help themselves. Indeed, AFESIP has the flexibility and foresight to work to develop local competency in areas where it is weak and move towards expanding its operations to other countries in the region. Overall, the result in AFESIP's recovery and rehabilitation centres has been a purveyance of a high level of standards and services offered to its residents.

Even in Cambodia there are organizations that do little more than pay lip service to effectively addressing this issue, content to follow the carrot of additional funding of the UN or other large international donors. Taking money from programs they know are not needed, instead of championing change in new areas. With AFESIP, they put the needs of victims above the appeasement of donors – often costing staff members their own salaries.

Given the overall quality of services provided to residents of AFESIP shelters, it seems appropriate to conclude that their approach has translated into a strong first step in their response to the crisis of trafficking and sex slavery in Southeast Asia.

SECTION 8: REINTEGRATION/FOLLOW-UP

Once the residents of a recovery and rehabilitation centre have completed the programs available to them and are at an acceptable psychological state, healthy and have learned marketable skills then they are prepared to return to the general population. It is not, however, as simple as opening the doors and letting them out. There is an entire process that is instrumental in ensuring that these former victims are not forced back into the slave-like situations from which they were rescued.

APPROACH

Agir pour les Femmes en Situations Precaire (AFESIP)

Victims have a choice when they arrive at AFESIP. Some wish to return immediately to their families, while others either have no family to return to and wish to complete educational and vocational training. For those in the first group, AFESIP locates the family of the victim as quickly as possible. When found, the family situation is assessed, and depending upon the viability of successful reintegration, residents are soon reunited.

Residents who wish to begin educational and vocational training are permitted to stay and learn at the centre. In some cases, residents are permitted to visit their families while still undergoing training. In the reintegration process, AFESIP conducts two assessments in all cases: both family and community situations are carefully considered.

A family assessment is made on the financial security and situation of the family and is performed by AFESIP reintegration officers with the Ministry of Social Affairs in order to determine the family's ability to welcome the victim home. The community assessment helps identify potential employment opportunities for victims in the local economy. Given the results of the community assessment, vocational training can be personalized to help develop skills that meet victims' needs and are tailored to the local market.

Prior to actual reintegration, AFESIP conducts a final community assessment. For the residents who wish to return home, and the safety of the family environment can be guaranteed, arrangements are made to help the family receive the victim. For those who wish to start their own businesses, AFESIP staff accompany residents to local markets where they can purchase the materials they need to build a business and earn an income. Rather than simply writing a blank cheque to residents, the organization buys the materials they need for them and works with them to develop a plan for success.

Follow-up visits made by AFESIP staff to reintegrated residents, rather graduates, closely monitors both success stories and scenarios that have caused these graduates to return back to the centre. A team of councillors, teachers and social workers maintain rigorous and regular contact with as many graduates as possible to ensure that none of these people fall through the cracks. These visits continue for a minimum of three years.

In all of the cases where reintegration efforts have failed, the lessons are learned, documented and applied directly to the entire reintegration process. Some of the barriers that are faced stem from the tremendously steep learning curve for residents turned victims to be financially independent. Often, many of the residents have been solely dependent either on family members, procurers, AFESIP or other parties. This breeds a culture of dependency that is one of the greatest challenges for residents and AFESIP staff to overcome.

For some, these follow-up visits are absolutely crucial because they return to a high-risk situation of entering the sex sector. Some graduates have lost their families, are orphans or belong to families that would gladly resell them into the sex industry. In these instances, graduates are helped to find gainful employment in an appropriate industry or are placed in the care of a responsible relative or adoptive family.

While employment in garment factories is considered to be one of the more popular areas for graduates to work in, AFESIP does not feel that it is adequate enough. Often the working conditions are exploitative, crowded, and poorly ventilated, in return for poor pay and long hours. In one of the more innovative proposals developed, the staff at this centre is in the final stages of establishing a garment factory wholly run by former child

sex slaves and young women that were at-risk. A former graduate of AFESIP's educational and vocational training program will lead these young women in one of the boldest first opportunities they will have to receive the benefit of their own hard work for themselves. Only finances will be managed by qualified centre staff. The actual factory will be producing designer clothing to meet market demand at better pay than competing factories in Cambodia and hopes to market garments in Europe and North America.

Case Study 8-1: AFESIP Failed Reintegration

Vanna was a resident at AFESIP's Phnom Penh centre for two years. She arrived when she was thirteen years old she and completed the recovery and vocational training program provided by AFESIP. Specializing in hairdressing, she quickly rose to the top of the class. At fifteen years of age, Vanna partnered with two other girls from the program to form a hairdressing group and attempted to launch a small hairdressing business. At the time, AFESIP did not offer training in how to actually manage a small business, only the vocational skills themselves.

Her shop was located near many garment factories north of Phnom Penh in an area called Cham Chao. The girls believed that their business had some growth potential particularly since many AFESIP girls were now working in those factories.

Some of the costs that were associated with this enterprise included materials, electricity, food and water. AFESIP had purchased the land. For both men and women, prices were 2,000 Riel (US\$ 0.50) for haircuts and 2,000 Riel (US\$ 0.50) for manicures and pedicures. On average, the business received two to three customers each day. Some of the clients who frequented their business knew that the girls were from AFESIP, but most did not. The girls often volunteered information from their pasts when conversing with customers or friends who visited their business.

All of these graduates worked at the same level without choosing a supervisor and quickly came to discover that there was little to no money to take home with them at the end of a day. When rationing out what little cash was available, they had difficulties deciding how to allocate the money. Vanna used to play outside as customers showed up, and her friends began to call her lazy for not working as hard as they did. She describes many personal distractions to take her attention away from the business.

In ten month's time, the girls realized that there was not enough money to continue and that electricity costs in addition to a low volume of customers was putting them out of business. As a result, they ceased their initiative. At the time of this interview, Vanna has been living with her family for just over a month.

Today she stays at home for most of the time, and AFESIP staff are searching for another place for her to try again. She wants to try opening another business, this time by herself and with a better plan but currently costs are too high to cover rental, food and other expenses.

Source: Interview with AFESIP graduate at home in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Case Study 8-2: AFESIP Successful Reintegration

Bopha has been living at her home hairdressing business for four months. She is currently twenty-four years old, married and has one of the more successful small businesses in Kandal province. She spent twelve months at AFESIP participating in the educational and vocational program.

On average three to four people visit her each day and she provides a wide range of services including manicures, pedicures, and hair cutting for all members of the family. Repeat customers usually come back twice a month. She offers competitive prices at 1,000 Riel (US\$ 0.25) for adults and 500 Riel (US\$ 0.12) for children. For manicures and pedicures she charges 500 Riel (US\$ 0.12) each. She charges 2,000 Riel (US\$ 0.50) for a hair colouring and hair cutting package deal. To curl or perm hair, her price is 3,500 Riel (US\$ 0.85) for longer hair and 2,000 Riel (US\$ 0.50) for shorter hair.

It is cheaper to cut hair at Bopha's present location particularly since she works in a very rural area far outside Phnom Penh. Bopha enjoys her work; she feels that she has studied hard and that this skill can continue to help her succeed in the future.

A simple sign along the major highway advertises her store, but most of her business comes from the word-of-mouth of satisfied customers. Sometimes she is so busy she can't even eat until later in the day. Her business is located about a five minute walk off Cambodia's Highway 1. She offers modern hairstyles and provides a pleasant service attitude. More women come to see her than men and once in a while she makes a house-call.

Many of her supplies are brought in by her husband from Phnom Penh. To keep tabs on the competition, she relies on community gossip and family networks. At this time, she does not earn enough to support herself fully, but can meaningfully contribute to her family unit. On average she earns between twenty to thirty US dollars a month.

In the future she wants to set up a hairdressing business with her husband near the commune office where a higher volume of people travel each day. The concept would be to create a moto-repair shop and hairdressing facility all in one.

Source: Interview with AFESIP graduate at small business in Kandal, Cambodia.

Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR)

The CCPCR focuses on reintegrating residents with their families. If this is not possible, then the resident in question is either transferred to another organization or helped to find employment usually at a garment factory. Each rescued victim is asked to provide CCPCR investigators with their home address, which in turn is used to track their family.

Certain residents are identified to receive funds to help them begin generating income. They are given start up funds based on their needs in the community. Depending on vocational choices, residents are given a sewing machine from the International Labour Organization, pigs, chickens or cows. Residents are then reunited with their families or relatives. Within one or two months, the CCPCR conducts a single follow-up visit to investigate the progress of the former victim by speaking with the family and local authorities. (CCPCR, 2000) This organization does not publish successful vs failed reintegration attempts.

RATIONALE

The reintegration process needs to complement a well-formed vocational skills training program. Upon completion of training programs a resident can return to their family or be able to live on their own. The objective needs to be to ensure that each graduate has the ability to not only plan for the future but be financially independent as well.

In the instances where families consciously caused their own children savage harm or cannot be located, graduates cannot return home. In situations where parents cannot afford to house recovered victims, viable alternatives must be explored. A responsible relative or adoptive family can provide care or gainful employment tailored to the local market can be secured. For fatally ill residents who have no hope for reintegration, holistic and long-term care needs to be provided in a stable and secure environment.

The reintegration process does not end once a victim has walked out of the gates of the centre. Regular follow-ups must be conducted until total reintegration is guaranteed. A reintegrated victim must return to society with both the skills and tools necessary to care for herself.

Finally, organizations must work with families and village leaders to encourage tolerance and understanding for returned victims. At the same time, it is important to protect the identity of graduates who want their pasts to be kept private.

ANALYSIS

There is nothing sensational about this process. It does not have the titillating stories of armed military and police officers busting open brothels and discovering the sex and drugs inside. It is a long, enduring and painfully complicated process.

Many international donors are not interested in sponsoring reintegration initiatives particularly for these reasons. The media is largely uninterested because there is no fifteen second soundbyte available. But in reality, the reintegration process for any organization is the single most crucial point at which residents either return home or back to the brothels from which they came. There cannot be enough importance placed on this phase. If this part of the process fails the victim, then all the dollars, the teaching and the clinical help is only responsible for three to twelve months of false hope.

The same principles and philosophies which guide the recovery and rehabilitation centres in their approach to address victims' needs also influence the reintegration and follow-up process. Reintegration and follow-up is an extension of the recovery and rehabilitation process because both influence each other - it is a two way street. During their stay in the centre, residents are given the tools they need to survive in the world outside. It has been established, already, that different tools are supplied to residents through different practices and approaches. If the methods applied to reintegration are not reciprocated in the recovery phase, then the inconsistency is too great to expound upon. As a result, the reintegration process reflects in principle the same attitudes as those in the recovery centres especially when graduates are brought back to their communities.

In analysing the characteristic approaches of these philosophies to reintegration, these are the questions that need to be addressed by the people who are responsible:

- How do you identify a resident who is wholly prepared to leave the centre with the confidence to choose the direction of their lives?

- Is it safe for victims to return home to the family unit, and if so, how can this be done without compromising their roles and security in the community?
- Have your graduates been provided with options that are good enough for those who have endured some of the most personally difficult, violent and savage situations? Could more be done?
- What will it take for you to be completely satisfied that the graduates can indeed be independent and what strategies do you employ for eventual disengagement?

Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR)

A closed approach to these questions would result in a resident's readiness for reintegration being judged based on the duration of time in recovery and not based on actual progress made. Capability and confidence is second to the ability to sew or weave. This approach is not victim-centric, and rather has a primary focus on the victim as a statistic. It is an unfortunate revolving-door approach towards reintegration that is irresponsible.

A focus is placed on locating and returning residents to their families rather than determining the legitimacy of the home as a safe place. In this approach is ingrained the belief that blind respect for even abusive family members comes before the safety of the child victim. The approach dictates that educating communities solely about the existence of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is a magic elixir, more important than speaking about the consequences of abusing children for something that was not their fault in the first place.

This reactionary attitude provides vocational training in areas like sewing so that residents can find jobs in the garment industry. There is often no more than cursory consideration given to the suitability of this kind of life for former victims of sex slavery. Is it right to find employment for fifteen to eighteen year old girls to work late into the night only to return early the next morning? At only ten dollars in the first month and fifty dollars after that, these girls work in a place that can only be classified as replacing child sex slavery with exploitative child labour – government run garment factories. If they

miss more than one day due to illness, they are fired, and placed into a situation where they are at risk to return again to the sex industry. (Hing Srey, 2001)

Once a resident leaves the gates of the centre the only follow-up conducted is a quick phone call with members of the family or a brief meeting with local authorities. Disengagement occurs quickly. To these questions, organizations like the CCPCR best represents this old approach.

Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Precaire (AFESIP)

An open approach to reintegration is based on providing rescued victims with more choice in their own new lives based on individual growth and progress rather than following a prescribed formula. Girls are provided with more options for the care they wish to receive and the vocations that they wish to explore. It is a victim-centric approach that places these recovering girls and young women at the epicentre of the organization. There is an ongoing commitment made by people of this way of thinking to build relationships rather than reams of statistics. It is a draining and difficult approach to reintegration, taking a lot of time and energy from staff at all levels of the organization to invest in the lives of these girls.

In this open approach, more options are carefully considered for residents to receive the best chance possible at successfully reintegrating. It is a risky approach at times, but not nearly as risky as the closed approach of returning children to potentially abusive parents who will re-sell them to traffickers. Small businesses of different varieties are taught and become part of the everyday life of victims. In a particularly special case, a recovering girl desperately wanted to marry and was introduced to a decent good man whose background was well checked and known to the organization. Today this girl operates one of the most successful small businesses in her community with her husband. This approach is carefully led by victims. It is not based on a simple awareness or existence of distant declarations and statements by political leaders in other countries, rather it is based on the very real and tragic consequences that a life of sex slavery results in. It is told in the broken dreams of these girls, and their renewed hope for the future.

A proactive approach to vocational training in new and evolving areas helps residents receive the training and tools they need to run their own business. The dignity of work

is a valued gift that they receive. They benefit from their own labour and make decisions for themselves. It is not that these girls will make a great deal of money doing this community-based work, but rather that they are granted the economic freedom for once in their lives to freely give their labour and emerging talents to new areas that are valued in the community. An with the money they earn, they are able to purchase land and homes for themselves.

This approach is based on affecting the lives of these girls and young women for the better and for the rest of their lives. A resident never really ever leaves their family at the centre. Follow-up is conducted on a regular and systematic basis to ensure that the entire reintegration process works smoothly and that any problems are dealt with before escalating to re-trafficking of victims. Disengagement is not forthcoming often because these girls will forever be a part of the lives of those people that rescued and cared for them. To these questions, organizations like AFESIP best represents this new approach. It is an approach that makes a powerful and lasting positive impact in the lives of children forever.

CONCLUSIONS

As positive as this change has been, it has admittedly not been fast enough nor implemented on a wide enough scale. The capacity simply does not exist in Cambodia to meet the needs of most or even a minority of the victims of sex slavery and trafficking. Organized criminal networks have access to billions of dollars and reach that spans the globe. While organizations have an impact in the lives of a small number of rescued victims in combating this problem, the case for a bigger strategy and a contribution of new solutions needs to be advanced not just in Cambodia but across the globe.

PART III: NEW SOLUTIONS

If a summation can be made from all of this, it is that sex slavery and trafficking remains the greatest threat to this region despite good work being done on the ground. Scarce resources must be better directed and new solutions cannot be implemented fast enough.

Part III advances new solutions to this crisis based on the experience and knowledge that The Future Group has gained in Cambodia. Section 9 serves as a starting point with a local, victim-centric approach. Section 10 proposes aspects of a national plan that is needed to combat sex slavery and trafficking.

Section 11 advances ideas for a new global strategy against trafficking to effectively combat the mafias that threaten the future of democracies in their infancy in Southeast Asia.

To conclude, it is our belief that a broader and more democratic approach needs to be taken so that the future can indeed hold much promise for the children of Southeast Asia.

SECTION 9: LOCAL INITIATIVES

Addressing sex slavery and trafficking at the local level, where the lives of people are directly affected, must be the beginning of any set of new solutions. It is critical that a victim-centered approach be adopted by all organizations working in areas of children's rights, advocacy, prevention, investigation, rescue, recovery, rehabilitation, reintegration, follow-up and even national and international strategies. Truly, if all of these areas do not individually and collectively work to make the lives of the children and young women trapped as sex slaves better, they are worse than useless since they divert resources away from those genuinely addressing this challenge.

1. VICTIM-CENTRIC APPROACH

Having a victim-centric approach certainly does not mean that awareness raising and advocacy programs should be abandoned. Rather, they should be pursued with rigour since their ability to influence change in the public and with governments can be powerful. But these programs must have as their starting point a thorough understanding of the situation of victims effected by sex slavery and trafficking. Awareness raising and advocacy programs need to focus on changing attitudes and dispelling myths. Victims of sex slavery have inalienable human rights to bodily security, safety, shelter, mental and physical health, respect, education and life (Bortel, 2001) and only by changing attitudes in the community and grassroots can these victims ever hope to have some semblance of a normal life. Prevention and awareness initiatives at the local level need to focus on HIV/AIDS and trafficking awareness, as well as dispelling sexual misconceptions. These girls need to be seen by their communities as the victims that they are and not as "promiscuous or dirty prostitutes".

Through a direct, on the ground approach that gravitates around understanding the lives and experiences of these children whose lives have been irreparably damaged, awareness raising and advocacy programs can be well informed, effective and real.

Indeed, a local victim-centric approach should be pursued by the smallest organization of three to four staff members to the largest multi-billion dollar international organization. Effort should be made to better understand demographic data and track changes and trends in sex slavery and trafficking. The sex trade, by virtue of being illicit, is not easy

to monitor, track or understand. Only with an ongoing commitment to maintaining accurate and up-to-the-minute data and intelligence on the changing face of sex slavery can actions be properly directed to areas of greatest need. This is critical for a number of reasons.

- a. *Proactive not reactive*: organizations seek out new adaptations of sex slavery and trafficking, understanding how to cope, and sharing successful approaches with other organizations internationally.
- b. *Better informed decision-making*: by having regular contact with new victims, organizations and policy makers can make better decisions and place proper emphasis on addressing this issue.
- c. *Focuses on greatest need*: areas of greatest need should be identified, hotspots such as trafficking rallying points, concentrated brothel districts and provinces experiencing extremely high trafficking cases must be helped first.
- d. *Flexible*: as organizations and governments cope with one form of trafficking (shutting down strip clubs in Cambodia) another is quick to spring up (legitimate business fronts for brothels), this approach puts emphasis on maintaining a clear view of the full extent of the problem.

There are significant and rich sources of data about this problem in the recovery centres, residences, and in the staff of these local organizations themselves that is never brought to the leadership teams of NGOs and rarely, if ever, to the attention of public policy makers. A commitment to openness is needed for these sources of data to be effectively used to help more child sex slaves and trafficking victims.

Having a victim-centric approach also means that each child victim is treated and cared for as an individual. Maximum effort should be given to help trafficked girls from neighbouring countries like Vietnam to be cared for and taught in their mother tongue. To treat them as though they are "just like every other girl" leads to their withdrawal, depression, and consequently their return back to the only home they know - the brothel. By giving all victims greater choice in their recovery and rehabilitation, success rates for reintegration can be substantially improved.

Children that are from the countryside often respond better to care in a more rural setting where they can be in a familiar environment. Other children respond better to an environment where they can laugh, play, watch television, listen to music and choose for themselves what vocation they could like to learn. The options available to these girls need to be expanded. Furthermore, if recovery centres invest more time in understanding these victims and reasons why they succeeded or failed to successfully reintegrate into the community, future victims can receive better care and have greater choices.

2. SEX SLAVERY AND TRAFFICKING VICTIM'S BILL OF RIGHTS

The fear and confusion that victims experience when they finally manage to escape or are rescued by an armed force can be very traumatic. It is critical that the entire process and legal system in place by which these children exit the sex trade protects their inalienable rights. Focussing on helping these victims to receive justice and reintegrate one day does no more harm than has already been done in a non-threatening or harmful way must be of paramount importance. For this reason, governments, law enforcement agencies, and local organizations should make a commitment to a *Sex Slavery and Trafficking Victim's Bill of Rights* to protect rescued victims. This Bill of Rights should have legal weight and include the following elements for victims:

- a. *Protection them from retaliation:* organizations and police need to work together to maintain adequate armed security at safehouses and recovery centres, maintaining the confidentiality of victims to members of the public and the media at all times.
- b. *Reform legal systems to meet their needs:* testifying in court against a sex user, mamasan or trafficker can be an incredibly frightening and difficult situation. Victim's statements should be submitted to the court and be conducted in the presence of an organization social worker that can speak the victim's native language.

- c. *Provide them with legal status:* in many cases, trafficking victims have had their passports destroyed or were illegally smuggled into the country. Domestic trafficking victims or sex slaves are often too young to have identification documents and in some cases, as in Cambodia, there is no national birth certification program to record citizenship or age. Governments and courts must afford legal status to these victims so that they can bring complaints and charges against sex users, mamasans, or traffickers in the jurisdiction in which those crimes occurred. Furthermore, this legal status should provide them with the rights of nationals in court proceedings and the provision of legal assistance. Humane treatment must be provided, especially in cases of detention of trafficking victims at the Thai border. Extended periods of detentions should be avoided at all costs. Child sex slaves and trafficking victims must not be placed in cells upon arrest with adult criminals.
- d. *Grant immunity on prostitution or immigration charges:* the declaration of the courts must attest immunity from all charges of prostitution or customs/immigration violations levied against child sex slaves and trafficking victims. These children must never be held liable in court for crimes they were forced to commit or crimes that were committed by mamasans or traffickers.
- e. *Promote successful repatriation:* an important element of the victim's rights upon rescue or escape is their right to be repatriated to their home country at the earliest possible occasion. Countries that are targeted in regional trafficking networks should establish reciprocity-based protocols with respect to how these repatriation costs will be covered and what the process for repatriation will consist of.
- f. *Ensure confidentiality for label-less reintegration:* the courts have a duty to protect the identity of girls that have been victims of sex slavery or trafficking. Both in public statements and in dealings with persons outside of the primary care-giving organization, the victims must have a right to have the abuses and wrongs committed against them kept private. Furthermore, organizations that reintegrate these victims must exercise

discretion to ensure a label-less reintegration into the community. Courts, government officials, and organization workers should never substantiate any rumors in a community that a specific girl or young woman has been a sex slave. For her, it could mean the end of her life.

This legally mandated *Victim's Bill of Rights* will help these victims receive the justice that they deserve both for themselves in terms of being afforded legal rights and protection, and in terms of seeing those that have enslaved and abused them brought to justice and incarcerated.

3. NETWORK OF FULL SERVICE RECOVERY CENTRES

With better understanding of both macro demographic data and the personal stories of affected victims, recovery centres in Cambodia that are still in their infancy can better help rescued victims. What is needed is a network of recovery centres that can provide a full range of services which victims need to be rehabilitated properly and one day reintegrated: medical, psychological, educational, vocational, and legal services. Most recovery centres, safehouses, or residences for rescued victims do not provide all of these services. They must strive to implement new and innovative ways to provide them when a shortage of funds is always looming over the horizon.

- a. *Medical:* partnerships with Ministry of Health or community-based accredited doctors that maintain proper medical records, monthly check-ups, emergency care, basic pharmaceuticals, staff and preventative health training. International health organizations that can offer services should also be brought into these centres.
- b. *Psychological:* staff should have a thorough knowledge of each girl's experience, hold group counseling sessions, pair up longer-term residents with new residents, and encourage expression of emotions and creativity through arts or games. A youthful and enjoyable environment is very important to help these victims positively develop and feel like normal children again. Trees, ponds, animals, sports activities, music and other things for these victims to occupy their time can all achieve this. Where

possible, field trips to historical locations or sites of interest should be made with proper safety standards being kept.

- c. *Educational*: although reading, writing, and arithmetic are the basis for an educational program for these girls, more engaging subjects can be used to teach the same skills such as geography, history, culture, and sciences. A reading corner with books of interest to children and young women can help engage and interest these victims in learning. These books can be purchased with one class copy for a very low cost. Many publications can be received from donor agencies free of charge.
- d. *Vocational*: a wider range of vocations in addition to hairdressing, cooking, and sewing need to be investigated since they are extremely competitive areas of business and do not afford a wide range of choice for victims. Small business training is crucial in addition to skills training to ensure success in reintegration. Follow-up must take place on a regular basis (every month) for an extended period of time (two to three years) to assist victims in dealing with problems that arise.
- e. *Legal*: assistance in navigating the legal process is needed to facilitate repatriation and bring traffickers and mamasans to justice. A legal aid lawyer should be partnered with the organization and provide assistance on an as-needed basis.

All of these areas need to be creatively addressed by local organizations with the assistance of donor agencies, international organizations, and government. These last three stakeholders need to give funds in a manner that allows organizations to provide care when it is needed – not three, six or nine months later. When funds are pledged for a given year, they will be needed on the first day of that year. Most, if not all local organizations, especially recovery centres, have significant cash flow crunches as a direct result of slow donor response and delays in the delivery of pledged funds. To ensure that a network of these full service recovery centres can develop in Cambodia, these local organizations must be given the tools they need to do their job.

Role of government

Experience has shown that local and private organizations and not government have better success rates and provide superior management of on the ground recovery centres for recovering prostitutes, or drug addicted teenagers. A viable model for recovery centres to pursue would for private organizations to conduct the greatest possible extent of services to rescued sex slavery and trafficking victims. New and innovative ways to do this in a victim-centric way is key. Getting government bureaucrats involved in the business of rebuilding lives would be a recipe for disaster.

Furthermore, with a solely government-run program, all recovery centres would essentially be carbon copies of each other. There would be a vacuum of innovative ideas and open up a system vulnerable to corruption and bribery. By equipping local organizations with the tools they need to do their jobs and ensuring a mechanism for accountability to donors exists, a diversity of experiences can lead to new solutions. These solutions can be communicated both nationally and worldwide, and make giant strides forward to help better the lives of more child victims.

Governments are not absolved of all responsibility, however. They have a responsibility to provide basic medical, educational, and legal resources to their own people, especially the most vulnerable. Partnerships between local doctors, teachers, and lawyers need to be forged with every recovery centre in the country.

The old approach of paying lip service through international conferences, lofty declarations, media documentaries, and awareness campaigns are hollow and self righteous. They fail to address sex slavery and trafficking because they are too caught up in the business of politics rather than focussing on impacting the lives of people. These are small thinking people grandstanding on an old stage, while big thinking people are exploring a new world.

SECTION 10: NATIONAL ACTION

The impetus for countries to act on the issues of sex slavery and trafficking are clear. The challenges that problems particularly of this scope pose to Cambodia threaten the viability or even sustainability of this new democracy. Only a national commitment coming from a national legislative body to safe streets and secure borders can guarantee a clear course to a fully developed country. Cambodians need to make the decisions necessary as to what direction they wish to take their future and their politicians must respect those decisions. Any democracy proposing to do otherwise would be undermining the basic principles upon which that democracy was founded - and more importantly it would undermine the future potential of their own citizenry.

What is needed in Cambodia is for a few courageous politicians to find the political will to not just legislate effective counter-trafficking laws, but create an enforcement task force that operates on a national level. Recognizing this problem as a crisis to Cambodia's future and taking strong action against the particularly violent elements of sex slavery would send a strong signal to users and foreign predators. In many cases these predators understand the laws and deficiencies in them far better than court attorneys or even the prosecutor's office. Along the borders, governments who want to get serious about addressing trafficking issues, which pose significant security risks, need to make efforts to restrict these activities.

1. ENFORCED NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Many countries often have provincial or local initiatives to counter trafficking, and these actions are to be commended. In some cases, the rights of children and women are even enshrined in national constitutions. But laws on paper are not enough to address this issue; they must translate into implementation and enforcement in the streets. Some clear first steps in the direction to quell the crisis include:

- a. *Prosecution of procurers:* Procurers should face incarceration and be held liable for both sex slavery and the trafficking of victims. Often, many of these lower-level operatives have a vast network of underground police officers that work to inform, protect and even assist in their illegal activities.

The trend towards financial compensation for victims in these cases is alarming, and national governments need to respect victim's rights and reciprocate appropriate punishment. No dollar figure can accommodate for the kinds of injustices that child victims face in these situations.

- b. *Targeting higher-level traffickers:* For higher level traffickers, more severe and greater penalties must be handed down from the justice system. Turning a blind eye to court officers who accept petty bribes is an unacceptable practice that demands the attention of a national government. Undermining the enforceability and respect for law places the entire moral and social fabric of a country at risk. The mafia who pose among the greatest threats to the very nature of new democracies must be sent the message that if they are caught they will be tried, and if they are tried they will go to jail.

This two-pronged approach to address both lower level procurers and higher level traffickers in the courts alone will send a clear signal to the organized crime community that the government means business in protecting the interests of their country. The Government of Cambodia brought about the cessation of strip clubs and gambling parlours overnight. If the commitment and political will that this took, could be carried on, the greater challenge on hand today could be addressed as well.

2. NATIONAL ANTI-TRAFFICKING UNIT

Extensive domestic trafficking lanes from Siem Reap to Sihanoukville and Prey Veng to Poipet cause a destabilization of Cambodian society at the very grassroots. This plethora of unanswered criminal activity produces a slave society that will send Cambodia crashing back to troubles of the past. In this new democracy, a National Anti-Trafficking Unit designed exclusively to combat the emergent and swiftly moving trafficking industry needs to be built. If this task force can be established with proper funding, equipment, training and monitoring, then it will be able to forge an unforgiving alliance to end this growing problem.

- a. *Leadership from local NGOs:* Key NGO workers who are experts in the common practices of this industry can offer much to address this problem at

a national level. Working to provide direct information from the state of the situation on the ground, these workers can make a meaningful contribution. They are specialists in understanding the attitudes of rural leaders, working in the brothels to gather evidence and identifying sites of trafficking and sex slavery. These NGO workers will be able to guide the national task force to develop both a short-term and long-term strategy on how to best approach this problem, and ensure the task force is accountable. They will also be able to provide direct feedback on ongoing operations and sustain a clear and credible information flow.

- b. *Legal backing secured*: National prosecutors who are experts in the law also comprise an integral part of this team. By training officers to be able to identify the evidence required for successful prosecution, the approach can be more streamlined and cases can be put together with the confidence that they will see convictions. Credible law enforcement officers and agencies will be able to provide the best people for the job. Government officials who can help cut through bureaucratic red tape can also ensure a swift response given due diligence to the constitution of Cambodia.
- c. *Focus on Investigation & Rescue*: this National Anti-Trafficking Unit would have the mandate to rigorously investigate complaints and tips related to sex slavery and trafficking without risking the lives of undercover NGO investigators. The personal security risk involved is usually life threatening, and with a national strategy endorsed by the government, these investigators could be replaced with trained professionals who have adequate back up. This task force would be strengthened if these professional investigators received training from the best counter-trafficking law enforcement experts from around the world.
- d. *Breaking the grip of the mafia*: another objective of this National Anti-Trafficking Unit would be to aggressively target procurers and other low-level servants of mafias either for direct prosecution or to be utilized as informants. Getting greater insight into both the national and international operations of traffickers and the routes and methods they use to transport sex slaves will allow for more precise operations threatening less lives. It

will also help identify major trafficking lanes where action can be taken to rescue victims in transit.

3. CRACK DOWN ON CORRUPTION

For countries in the region, corruption is a pervasive and rampant practice in all levels of government from civil servants to cabinet ministers. If allowed to persist, it will continue to not only taint the legitimacy of the government but also the legitimacy of a new democracy. It will breed a culture of dependency on the dollar instead of principled decision making for the country's future. History has proven that members of a disenfranchised public who have no say in the direction of their country are either forced to accept anti-democratic rule or will rise up in revolt. In Indonesia, a new democracy where such rulers drove this kind of agenda for nearly two decades, the after effects can still be felt. An unstable democracy that threatens to rip the country apart in civil war causes more than just decades of lost opportunities. It has the potential to cost the country its existence and the only way to meet this problem is to have a strong sense of accountability in government.

A rigorous approach to cracking down on corruption is needed at all levels in these kinds of governments where leaders muse about pushing election dates back to stay in office for longer. The political will must be found to address these issues for the sake of the nation.

- a. *Police corruption:* At the local law enforcement level, increased discipline and training for officers will give them a stronger sense of duty and responsibility to uphold the law. Pride in an officer's contribution to building local communities is one part of the solution. Proper funding and adequate resources for police officers helps make the force more resistant to petty bribes as a means to supplement an earned income. For the officers who abuse their position of power in society, strong consequences must be outlined and aggressively enforced. It is a greater crime for an officer of the peace to abuse their position for criminal ends – there must be a greater punishment awaiting those officers.

- b. *Judicial corruption:* For members of the judiciary, high-profile cases brings increased scrutiny to the conduct of judges in the affairs of their courtrooms. They must protect a semblance of credibility in the eyes of their government and international peers. Judicial reforms including trial of cases by more than one judge could help take the decision making process out of the hands of only one person and into the hands of several, increasing the barriers against corruption. This kind of system makes bribes a more complicated and expensive approach - costing criminals more in the bottom line. Some options to consider could be to investigate areas where more accountability can be introduced in the selection of the judges by allowing members of national assemblies or parliaments to review judicial appointments to ensure credible and qualified citizens take the bench. By drawing more stakeholders into the process of judicial review and selection, more checks and balances can be introduced to combat manipulation of a nation's judicial system.
- c. *Government corruption:* Combating corruption at all levels must include an example at the top. The lucrative business of purchasing ministries must be opened up, pulled out of the Prime Minister's Office and placed into the hands of a multi-partisan review process for the selection of competent ministers.
- d. *Free and fair elections:* Guaranteeing free and fair elections with regular and pre-determined dates would also constitute as a positive step to ensure a viably functioning democracy that is committed to weeding corruption out from its ranks.
- e. *National leaders:* Perhaps the greatest lesson to be learned for any government leader in countries of this region are the hard learned lessons of using police officers or military personnel as instruments in political chess or as key activists campaigning for a political party over the course of an election. Using these people to advance a power-hungry agenda based on violent influence will only result in permanent rifts that will work to undermine the political leadership every step of the way. The commitment to reducing and ultimately eliminating corruption from government needs to

be more than just lip service to keep party activists on board, it needs to be a part of the bond between a leader and their people, and it cannot be compromised.

This approach to craft a national plan for action to help deal with sex slavery and trafficking as issues which pose both serious domestic risks to the citizenry that government has a responsibility to protect and international security risks need to be considered carefully. For Cambodia, the decision needs to be made as to where the country will decide to go next, and the choice on how to get there.

SECTION 11: GLOBAL STRATEGY

Sex slavery and trafficking are global problems that demand a global response. Governments have been slow to cope with the emergence of regional and global international criminal networks that profit from the purchase and sale of human life around the world. Coupled with the sex industry, this is a remarkably profitable illegal business venture for these mafias. It must be recognized that very early in this new century, the sex trade will become the illicit global industry that is more lucrative than the drug or weapons trade.

Furthermore, the formula that has catalyzed the creation of domestic sex slavery and trafficking in many countries around the world is surprisingly similar:

- War and conflict
- Poverty and crime
- Inadequate healthcare and education
- Lax law enforcement
- Corruption and government weak in democratic traditions

What is needed to address sex slavery and trafficking on a global basis is cooperation on an unprecedented level between local and international organizations, law enforcement agencies, governments and policy makers.

1. INTERNATIONAL EXTRATERRITORIAL LAW PROTOCOL

A low-risk starting point for any global strategy to address trafficking is targeting the cross border demand for sex slaves. A tool that has not yet been fully committed to by foreign governments is the introduction and actual enforcement of extraterritorial legislation. The key to reducing foreign demand for sex slaves is enforcement of these laws, raising awareness about prosecuted cases, and highlighting the significant health risks to those engaging in sex tourism abroad. Prosecuted cases must be publicized more to inform the public of the law and make an example of pedophiles, tourists, and businessmen that engage in purchasing the child sex slaves.

An international protocol on the principle and enforcement of extraterritoriality, especially in cases of sex slavery and trafficking, should be implemented and enforced. Such a protocol would:

- a. Enable the prosecution of foreign nationals who commit sex crimes abroad when they return home
- b. Establish standards for joint or cooperative gathering of evidence
- c. Form the basis of extradition for foreign nationals committing sex crimes anywhere around the world
- d. Favor the enforcement of local laws first, and foreign laws second
- e. Deepen cooperation between national law enforcement agencies in intelligence sharing, investigation, arrest, detention, and transportation of suspects
- f. Training programs and resource contribution to establish adequate standards for law enforcement methods
- g. Increase public awareness of extraterritorial law in embassies, customs/immigration areas, and on flights in-transit
- h. Areas of high instances of sex slavery for a given country should have a senior law enforcement liaison officer stationed at the embassy
- i. Make a commitment to the principle of state sovereignty

This international protocol would encourage the strengthening and refinement of existing extraterritorial laws and provide a framework for the extradition of sex offenders. Furthermore, it provides field-level cooperation between local and foreign law enforcement agencies to build up competencies in areas of greatest need, establishing relationships that will be required to activate when a suspect is being investigated.

2. REGIONAL COUNTER-TRAFFICKING EFFORTS

A global strategy on trafficking needs to have as its objective an attack on organized trafficking networks by regional law enforcement teams. Regional counter-trafficking efforts must be based on increasing levels of cooperation and integration of forces to cooperate in specialized areas like the trafficking of women and children. Bilateral cooperation building on successes on a case-by-basis will lead to increasing degrees of trust and relationship strength at the operational level.

- a. *Recognition as a national security threat:* the foundation for regional counter-trafficking efforts will be a recognition that sex slavery and trafficking are security threats of the 21st century. Both in terms of vast numbers of women and children being trafficked from a country and in terms of vast numbers of trafficking victims surfacing in a country, the scope of this problem makes it a threat to the national security of the countries of the region. The forced or coercive removal of a country's citizens should be cause for alarm. Additionally, the state must provide for the medical and relocation needs of recovered victims in cooperation with local organizations. Furthermore, sex slavery and trafficking will represent the greatest challenge to this region in terms of human tragedy and the undermining of democratic institutions. The growth and legitimization of the sex trade only serves to strengthen mafias at the expense of democratic governments. As more of the economy is illicit, more laws are broken routinely, more bribes are accepted, and more lives are lost to sex slavery that would otherwise have been productive to local economies and have dreams that invigorate their communities.
- b. *A regional and indeed global consensus:* recognition of sex slavery and trafficking as issues of national security will guarantee that policy makers devote the necessary resources to address the issue and that military and police forces take action. This consensus must be championed by key regional activists and endorsed in full by senior political leaders. A regional and global consensus that sex slavery and trafficking are threats to international security will be the basis for counter-trafficking efforts.

- c. *Provision of training and resources:* professional investigation training and evidence gathering procedures can be taught by foreign police forces, cooperating with less knowledgeable local police. Additionally, resources such as photographic or recording devices are often too expensive for local police forces to acquire, but will become increasingly important as cross-border evidence must be collected and analyzed. By not providing additional funds, but rather needed training and resources to local police forces, help can be given exactly where it is needed, not simply placed in a slush fund. This basic level of cooperation begins the relationship building between law enforcement officers at the operational level.
- d. *Notification of international movement of convicted sex offenders and pedophiles:* in the case of convicted sex users that travel abroad, there is a duty of police forces of that country to inform the local police of the presence of these high-risk convicted criminals. This is in the best interests of both governments. The foreign government desires to maintain a positive reputation that could be soiled by its nationals engaging in illegal activities like child sex tourism when abroad. The local government desires to protect its citizens from predatory criminals that would exploit them.
- e. *Reciprocal exchange of law enforcement officers:* as trust builds and cooperation on cases normalizes, the opportunity for greater unity exists. Successful reciprocal exchanges of experienced officers can help police forces of both countries to strengthen areas for future cooperation and determine how to make operations more compatible. Also, new skills and methods can be transferred both ways. This is also rewarding work for the officers involved. Reciprocal exchanges can begin as short-term pilot projects and grow into longer-term engagements depending on the interests of the countries involved.
- f. *Intelligence sharing:* once trust levels are great enough, the sharing of intelligence on regular channels on counter-trafficking issues can be formulated. Especially pertinent would be information sharing related to the shipping of human beings across borders by air, land, or sea so that teams can be put in place on both sides of the border to interdict traffickers.

A recent example of this model operating successfully occurred between the Australian and Cambodia governments with a human smuggling ring transporting Afghans through Cambodia to Indonesia and on to Australia.

Australian Federal Police received intelligence that this shipment of humans was being sent through Cambodia and departing from the southern port town of Sihanoukville. Cambodian police were advised and successfully captured the vessel as it tried to leave Cambodian territorial waters. The traffickers were placed under arrest. Their vessel was exclusively rigged for human trafficking. It had a hollowed out hull with boards placed at various levels for people to lay on top of one another. The conditions were extremely inhumane and unsafe. Australian law enforcement officers were invited to participate in the investigation process and given access to the smuggling victims. The traffickers will face trial. With human smuggling and trafficking becoming an everyday occurrence on the shores of Australia, the government is recognizing it as a threat to national security. This case is considered by the Australian National Police as a model for future cooperation on issues ranging from drug and weapons trade and enforcement of Australian extraterritorial laws (Allan Lemon, 2001).

- g. *Joint-training and operations between national police forces:* as the battle against organized criminal networks extends to a higher level war not just against a single case of trafficking but against the actual network responsible, cooperation on an unprecedented level by national police forces will have to occur. Joint training followed by joint operations in counter-trafficking force deployments must be possible on a rapid response basis, capable of projecting force across land, sea, and air to combat international trafficking rings. Bilateral, regional, and, one day, global operations will be the solution to bringing the full force of justice against mafias to bear. Until this point is reached, they will continue to adapt, build, and destroy the lives of vulnerable people around the world. Their threat to democracy will only increase, not decrease, in the face of inaction by governments and police forces. With every abuse of their power, they grow

bolder, usurping more and more power from legitimate and maturing democracies in countries like Cambodia.

3. MAKING SEX SLAVERY UNPROFITABLE

As long as it is profitable for sex slavery and trafficking to be pursued as profitable ventures by traffickers, they will persist despite reductions in demand and increasing enforcement along certain trafficking lanes. A primary end game scenario for traffickers involves making their business unprofitable for them, or raises the credible threat of doing so. There are a number of national and international actions that must be taken to make sex slavery and trafficking "business" areas to be avoided by organized criminal elements.

- a. *Significantly increase penalties to traffickers:* both in terms of fines and jail time, sentencing terms need to be substantially increased to account for the true destruction caused by traffickers. All traffickers, from procurers to those that transport victims to those that purchase them, need to be brought to justice for their crimes. Countries around the world have failed to make the trafficking of human beings a serious crime. From Cambodia and Singapore to the United States and Canada, the smuggling and trafficking of drugs and weapons carry substantially greater sentences. For example, in the United States, the statutory maximum incarceration for sale into involuntary servitude is only ten years per count, while the maximum for dealing in ten grams of LSD or distributing a kilo of heroin is life. (Bortel, 2001) The perception in the organized criminal community is a belief that dealing in women and children has lower risk and higher returns than dealing in drugs or weapons.
- b. *Seizure of assets used in commission of trafficking:* is a way to reduce the ability of transportation equipment, vehicles and networks from being used in the commission of trafficking. By seizing the cars, moto-taxis, trucks, boats, private airplanes, and money or equipment that is required to traffic victims across borders, traffickers are seriously set back. This direct assault on the infrastructure of trafficking has the added benefit that seized assets

that have been used with this criminal purpose can be sold, with proceeds used to fund repatriation, or rescue and recovery programs.

- c. *Legally require immediate withdrawal of Internet sites promoting sex tourism or child pornography:* combating new issues like child sex tourism and Internet child pornography will require the commitment of Internet Service Providers (ISPs) and the development of national reporting and monitoring lines for Internet users to report sites that promote illegal uses of the Internet. It is impossible to regulate the Internet, and the principle of freedom of speech must be respected. So too must the national laws of countries that have outlawed the possession and dissemination of child pornography. Law enforcement agencies need to develop new competencies in the 21st century investigative techniques that will enable them to detect, investigate and prosecute crime online. By creating a link between ISPs and law enforcement agencies, the criminal misuse of the Internet can be minimized as a medium to propagate this digital trafficking of the 21st century.
- d. *Shutting down sex slavery sites, not just launching raids:* while raids against certain sex slavery sites can be effective in removing girls from this slavery, they do not prevent future girls from being taken in. Furthermore, major districts for sex slavery have been built up and create a self-propagating industry. The existence of large brothel areas increases the potential for the re-sale and re-trafficking of victims, and price competition that further degrades the living conditions that victims are forced to live in. By actually shutting down major sites for sex slavery, operations are discontinued and it is costly for a brothel to reopen in a new area. Substantial amounts of time and effort are taken by brothel owners to develop a loyal base of sex users and get word about their establishment out to moto-taxi drivers and tourists. By shutting these sites down, even for up to several weeks and months, they can lose enough customers to competitors to not be able to open up again. It is only through the use of armed force that national task forces, in countries like Cambodia, can close a brothel down for good. By shutting down sites where sex slavery is occurring, rather than just raiding them, the worst brothel owners can be put out of business in the area.

- e. *Bi-lateral agreements decreasing the permeability of international borders for criminals:* trafficking hotspots at key border crossings need to be supervised by members of the national task force units. For international trafficking to occur, an illegal border crossing needs to take place over land, water, or air. By having direct data from rescued girls at local organizations about emerging trafficking lanes, these border teams will reduce the permeability of international borders to criminals. By reducing the ease with which traffickers can navigate international borders, it can become more difficult for them to physically move large numbers of people across these boundaries.

- f. *Prosecution of foreigners and high ranking sex users:* if governments are serious about preventing more innocent victims from being subjected to the horrors of sex slavery and trafficking, they would take the necessary steps of arresting and prosecuting foreigners and high ranking sex users - those that fund the trafficking of girls through paying large sums of money for so-called "virgin sex" with young girls. Foreign sex tourists should be arrested and face prosecution in the country where the offence was committed or in their home country under extraterritorial legislation.

Getting serious about ending trafficking will run political leaders afoul foreign sex users, pedophiles, and even high ranking members of their own governments in some cases. These sex users that drive demand for so-called "virgin sex" are largely responsible for funding the international trafficking of young girls throughout the region. They are also the most profitable to owners and traffickers, paying hundreds of times more for a sex slave's first sex act than subsequent sex users. By arresting and prosecuting these sex users, increases in the number of girls in the sex trade can be curbed.

A genuine commitment to eradicating sex slavery and trafficking is the first and last point of a global strategy to address this crisis. Political will and a regional consensus that this crisis is a threat to international security will garner the necessary commitment and resource base needed to prosecute sex users around the world. Counter-trafficking efforts must escalate between countries on a bilateral and eventually multilateral basis

to the point of intelligence sharing and joint-operations against organized trafficking mafia rings. Finally, the profit must be taken out of the sex trade by increasing risk to traffickers and making it more and more difficult for trafficking to occur.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A MORE DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

Sex slavery and trafficking will continue to triumph where there is a deficiency of democracy.

This deficiency of democracy is not just related to corruption in government, but also to the approach taken by many non-governmental and international organizations, and the increasing influence of organized criminal organizations. In Cambodia, it is clear to see that this deficiency of democracy has resulted in an epidemic crisis of child sex slavery and trafficking in this small country. It is a scenario that is playing itself out throughout the region in countries like China, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam.

DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT

Widespread corruption has significantly contributed to the paralysis of Cambodia's ability to respond to this crisis. Even with accurate information, evidence, and an arrest order, corrupt police officers regularly tip off brothel owners hours before a raid can even take place. The judicial system has become a place where bribery is commonplace. When all branches of government are beholden more to money than the democratic will of the people, that government is no longer acting in the best interests of its people. Addressing corruption and bribery must become a top priority for governments in Southeast Asia.

Restoring faith in a newly emerging democratic process must include a cessation of political violence and intimidation, electoral systems that are trusted by the people, and allow for a diversity of opinion and freedom of speech. In short, there must be a commitment to democracy as a principle. Only when this occurs will governments legislate and take action with the best interests of child victims of sex slavery and trafficking in both word and deed.

DEMOCRACY IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The United Nations and European Union approach to addressing development and social issues has failed because extreme poverty persists in this environment where the UN approach continues to promote a humanitarian business culture driven by political interests and not victims' needs. The top-down approach of the UN has, in many ways, done more harm than good.

What is needed is a democratic approach to development, characterized by:

- a more democratic approach to development, not an UN/EU-style autocratic approach
- countries and their peoples should have the right to choose their futures
- NGOs, and international organizations provide assistance where asked, supporting a culture of on-the-ground action
- local projects must be tailored to become more flexible and responsive to the needs of local people
- common sense global strategy on development is required

The role of international organizations and large NGOs is not to run the countries in which they operate. Rather, their role is to step in where they are needed and when they are asked. Without providing local people with the choice to decide their own future, any perceived progress made will be erased after donor money goes to the next hot issue in the world. A genuine commitment to making a positive impact in the lives of people most affected by problems like sex slavery and trafficking is needed. Not just idle chatter or endless debating. Not action that is politically motivated, but action that is motivated by a desire to meet victim's needs. This will ensure scarce resources go to help those in need and not into the coffers of the humanitarian business technocratic machinery.

THE GREATEST THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

Organized criminal networks or mafias are the greatest threat to democracies around the world in the 21st century. From Romania and Russia to Cambodia and China these mafias are better organized, better financed, and more deadly than any government in the regions in which they are most active. The opening up of world economies, often called globalization, has also opened developing countries up to unparalleled exploitation by these criminal elements.

These criminal networks are a threat to democracy in the manner that they systematically abuse national laws and profit from doing so. They undermine the effectiveness of law enforcement and judicial process - crucial elements to a free and fair country. These mafias are threats to national, regional, and international security. They can compromise the state of any democracy new or old, and Cambodia's infant democracy is particularly vulnerable. These criminals conspire to profit from the destruction and sale of the lives of children. They do so with impunity and with resolve.

DEMOCRACY IN LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

At the local level, new and innovative methods to better manage the recovery process for rescued victims are being considered. An entirely new democratic centre management model that involves the opinions and wishes of rescued girls will provide them with the freedom and power over their own lives that they need and deserve. Local organizations must be accountable to the victims on whom their work focuses.

FINAL REMARKS

There is a rigorous and important debate to be heard in countries around the world. From Cambodia to Canada, the question of what new global governance model will emerge in the 21st century to tackle the most emergent international issues of our time is being asked.

Countries plagued by these problems are beginning to question the same old tired way of addressing social and development issues. Big thinking people around the world are identifying that there is a "democratic deficit" that must be filled with a new and pioneering approach (Preston Manning, 2001).

This new way, this new politique is founded on the principle of democracy and applied to new and different situations. Social challenges like child sex slavery and trafficking in Southeast Asia desperately need new solutions founded on the basis of being open, continuing to learn and innovate, going global - taking on the ground action, and above all, defending the freedom of peoples everywhere.

This same approach, this new politique can and must be tested and tempered in other regions of the world and refined in other challenges. From Central and Eastern Europe, to South America, to Africa, and to the Middle East, the new politique must be explored. Developing new solutions to the major social, economic, environmental and ultimately democratic challenges facing these regions will be required to overcome the suspicions and skepticism of small thinking people found all over the world. This approach is the only way that people have triumphed over fierce opposition in the past. It will continue to be the way of the future.

This new exploration of the 21st century will not be based on oceans, rivers, or undiscovered cities. Rather, this exploration and the discovery that comes with it is an exploration into the heart and minds of people around the world. Changing the lives of people forever and always for the better must be at the heart of this new, democratic approach to addressing these challenges affecting the lives of millions.

There needs to be a dialogue on how to achieve these goals on a national and global level. There needs to be leadership from countries that are willing to dream big things and take the risk of proposing new solutions.

There is no greater trust that can be bestowed to the next generation of new thinkers and doers than for this generation to say - *we trust you with our future.*

APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS

Consultations took place between May and August 2001 in Cambodia. The following persons provided their informed consent to be recognized as sources for the information provided in this report. Another eighty to one hundred people were consulted off the record.

Allan Lemon, Senior Liaison Officer, Australian Federal Police, Phnom Penh.

Chea Pyden, Executive Director, Vulnerable Children Assistance Organization, Phnom Penh.

Hing Srey, Centre Director, Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights, Sihanoukville.

Dr. Hor Bun Leng, Deputy Director, Ministry of Health - National Centre for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology, and STDs: Phnom Penh.

Janet Ashby, Coordinator, National Project Against Trafficking in Women and Children in the Mekong Sub-Region, Phnom Penh.

Khleang Rim, Coordinator, International Labour Organization - International Programme Against Child Labour, Phnom Penh.

Khou Akhra, Executive Director, Health Care Centre for Children, Phnom Penh

Mom Thany, Executive Director, Child's Rights Foundation, Phnom Penh.

Pierre Legros, Regional Coordinator, Agir Pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire, Phnom Penh.

So Sayorn, Manager - Reintegration Program, Agir Pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire, Phnom Penh.

Somaly Mam, President, Agir Pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire - International, Phnom Penh.

Sok Reak Smey, Program Assistant, Law Enforcement Against Sexual Exploitation of Children, Ministry of the Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia, Phnom Penh.

Yim Po, Executive Director, Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights, Phnom Penh.

Yi Soksan, Program Officer, Health Care Centre for Children, Phnom Penh.

Detailed confidential interviews were also conducted with the informed written consent of centre directors and with the informed verbal consent of rescued and recovering child sex slaves and victims of sexual abuse in the following provinces:

- Kandal - Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire: 2 graduates
- Phnom Penh - Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire: 8 residents
- Phnom Penh - Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights: 12 residents
- Sihanoukville - Cambodian Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights: 1 resident

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INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Research Project Title: The Future of Southeast Asia.

Investigator(s): _____

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Participants for the purposes of this research project are chosen based on their experience with the problem of child sexual exploitation and related issues, whether professional or participatory.

Information gathered will be used to create a report containing a demographic and case study of the status of child sexual exploitation in Cambodia as well as any pertinent recommendations. This report will be circulated to relevant government bodies and agencies in Canada and Cambodia, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Interpol, participants in the tourism and internet industries and other applicable organizations and individuals.

Every effort will be made to eliminate any possibility of danger or harm to participants.

Participants will be asked to answer a series of questions in an interview session. Information from the interview will be collected by the investigator(s) by taking notes concerning the circumstances and answers to the questions, and with the expressed verbal consent of the participants, the interview session will be recorded on cassette tape.

Interviews will be conducted by members of The Future Group and in some instances a translator may be present.

Information collected will be stored at the University of Calgary Archives. Only members of The Future Group, or individuals with the expressed written consent of The Future Group will have access to any notes, cassette tapes or photographs collected. Employees of the University of Calgary Archives will be given explicit instructions to this end. Any personal or demographic information collected that is published or made public will protect the identity of participants and will contain no identifying features linking any of the information to a specific individual.

All participants who wish to receive a copy of the published report need only provide The Future Group with an electronic mailing address and The Future Group will ensure that the participant receives a copy of the report.

In situations involving children, the investigator will, as appropriate, explain to the child the research and his or her involvement and will seek his or her ongoing cooperation throughout the project and obtain the informed consent of a legal guardian or, if applicable, primary individual responsible.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release investigators, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact:

Mr. Ben Perrin, Executive Director
The Future Group
P.O. Box 61284 RPO Brentwood
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The Future Group

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(855) 012 827845 (Cambodia)

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Participants' Name

Signature

Date

Investigator's Name

Signature

Date

Witness' Name

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES*Research Guidelines for Residents/Victims*

This information should be recorded, but does not require a direct question for it to be recorded:

- Age
- Gender
- Read, Literate
- Write
- Spoken Languages
- Home country, province, village
- Ethnicity/Nationality
- Size of family
- Composition of family (# of boys, girls, single parent, etc...)
- Position in family (eldest, youngest)
- Role in family (What jobs does he/she perform at home? What was he/she responsible for?)
- Father's Job
- Mother's Job
- Family Income (poor, well-off, etc...)
- How long in brothel?
- When taken from or left home?
- How long since rescued?
- How long in recovery centre?
- How did you arrive in your situation?
- What happened? Nature of Experience

Research Questions for Representatives from Organizations

What is the nature and extent of the problem of sex slavery and trafficking?

- Cambodia, regional, international
- Size
- Scope
- Causes
- Symptoms

What is your organization doing in response to the problem of sex slavery and trafficking?

- Length of operations in Cambodia
- Other countries in Southeast Asia
- Who set the mandate for the organization?
- Administration, how does the organization conduct its operations?
- Projects and Programs that deal specifically with child sex slavery and trafficking
- What segment of the population do these programs serve?
- Does the organization evaluate its programs? If so, how?
- Funding Sources
- What should be done to address this problem in the future?
- What is not being done?
- What needs to be done at the local, national and international levels?
- What are the roles of NGOs, the government and international community to this end?

ARCHIVAL NOTE

Permanent copies of this report are filed at the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia: House #35, Street 178, Sangkat Phsar Thmey III, Khan Daun Penh, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The report has also been distributed to non-governmental organizations in Cambodia, and will be made freely available on The Future Group's website at <www.thefuturegroup.org>.

Interview tapes, photographs, research notes, and other research materials used to support this report will be filed at the University of Calgary archives at 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, Canada. In accordance with rules for ethical research conduct, access to these primary research documents can be only be obtained with the express written consent of The Future Group: PO Box 61284 RPO Brentwood, Calgary, AB, T2L 2K6, Canada.

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