HUMAN TRAFFICKING TRENDS IN ASIA

Migration experiences of Cambodian workers deported from Thailand in 2009, 2010 & 2012

Poipet, Cambodia

UN-ACT
United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons

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Preface

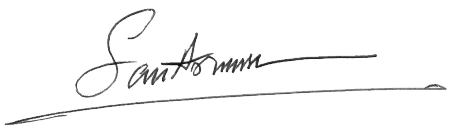
Human trafficking is a pervasive human rights violation and a deplorable crime. Over the past decade, Cambodians have suffered from the effects of severe human trafficking practices. Cambodian women and children have been trafficked within our country and across its borders for sexual exploitation, while Cambodian men, women and children have been trafficked for labour exploitation. Trafficking flows have involved our neighboring countries as well as other countries within this region and beyond it.

The Royal Government of Cambodia recognises that the development of effective and sustainable data collection systems is essential in order to obtain an accurate picture of human trafficking and build appropriate measures to combat it. The data collected needs to be regular and reliable. It needs to be protected to ensure confidentiality and the safety of the individuals involved. And it needs to be converted into information that is useful to policy and operational decision-makers, so that our efforts to combat human trafficking and exploitation bear optimal results.

The Royal Government of Cambodia, in support of the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative Against Human Trafficking (COMMIT), invited UN-ACT's predecessor Project, UNIAP, in 2009 to launch a major research undertaking in Poipet, Cambodia. The study published in 2010 was called *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010.* Since then, we have provided support to further rounds of data collection based on the same methodology resulting in the report *Migration experiences of Cambodian workers deported from Thailand in 2009, 2010 & 2012* published by UN-ACT. We highly value the outcomes of this research, especially as it analyzes trends over time and disaggregates data by gender and other relevant factors.

The Royal Government of Cambodia is committed to using the findings of this research to properly identify victims of trafficking and provide them with the assistance they need. The data collected will also be used to design gender-responsive, effective and targeted prevention activities.

We are very appreciative of the work done by UN-ACT and look forward to providing our support to further such research at human trafficking hot spots in Cambodia.



H.E. Ms. San Arun,
Secretary of State, Ministry of Women's Affairs
Head of Cambodia COMMIT Task Force

Foreword

The United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons (UN-ACT), a project managed by the UNDP Bangkok Regional Hub, is pleased to publish and disseminate the research report *Migration experiences of Cambodian workers deported from Thailand in 2009, 2010 & 2012*. The report, which utilizes a sentinel surveillance research methodology, provides valuable insights in a sector in which significant gaps in data prevail.

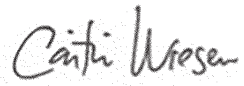
Sentinel surveillance research involves collecting and analysing data from populations selected for their geographic location or other distinction. It was initially used in the field of health and biological research in order to answer specific epidemiological questions. The purpose of applying this methodology for research in the field of human trafficking is to strengthen the evidence base relating to the scale, severity, trends and changes in human trafficking patterns. This should, in turn, allow for the development of more informed, strategic and effective anti-trafficking initiatives.

A sentinel surveillance methodology was piloted in the context of human trafficking in a research project conducted at the Poipet border in Cambodia, in 2008. It was expanded upon the following year and resulted in the report *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010,* published in 2010. The findings from this research provided insights into broker-trafficker networks, financial transactions, debt and deception, and revealed useful metrics such as numbers of potential trafficking victims, their migration routes and areas of destination.

Migration experiences of Cambodian workers deported from Thailand in 2009, 2010 & 2012 draws on the dataset of the original report and puts this into the context of two further datasets collected in 2010 and 2012, using the same methodology. It thereby allows for an analysis of developments over time in the migration experiences of Cambodian workers deported from Thailand, including potential cases of human trafficking.

UN-ACT's commitment to rigorous research is evidenced in one of its four inter-connected areas of work, which has the following objective: *"Policy makers, academia, non-governmental actors and the public have increased access to evidence-based research and knowledge on human trafficking."* UN-ACT is committed to continuing, refining and intensifying research efforts targeting deported irregular migrants and other populations who are seen as vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking. For this purpose, UN-ACT has further developed the original sentinel surveillance research instrument based on past experiences, and will continue to improve it going forward in the interest of strengthening the detailed capturing of deceptive, coercive and exploitative practices related to trafficking in persons.

UN-ACT aims to utilize the findings of this research to develop more targeted and effective counter-trafficking measures in its own future programming. In addition, as it expands its research efforts, UN-ACT hopes that a more accurate and nuanced picture will continue to be generated of the human trafficking situation in the Asian region. This research serves as a first step in this direction with its aim to help the counter-trafficking sector in Cambodia and Thailand to find and assist more victims of human trafficking, bring more of their traffickers and abusers to justice, and prevent more vulnerable people from being deceived and exploited in the future.



Caitlin Wiesen
Chief, Regional Policy and Programme Support
UNDP Bangkok Regional Hub

Ackcknowledgements

UN-ACT would like to express its gratitude and appreciation to the many individuals and organizations that have contributed to the report *Migration experiences of Cambodian workers deported from Thailand 2009, 2010 & 2012*. This research and its recommendations were made possible due to the cooperation of various government departments and officials, NGO partners, United Nations agencies and other international organizations, and, most importantly, the many migrant workers who were interviewed and willing to share their experiences.

Thanks are extended to the National COMMIT Task Force of Cambodia and the Ministry of Women's Affairs, especially Her Excellency San Arun, Chair of the National COMMIT Taskforce and Secretary of State in the Ministry of Women's Affairs, for the continuous support to this and other key research projects on human trafficking over the years.

UN-ACT is also grateful for the support provided by the Cambodian Ministry of Interior in facilitating the data collection for the study. Particular thanks are extended to General Neth Savoeun, Chief National Police Commissioner, and the Immigration Officers in his team.

Our sincere gratitude goes to the dedicated data collection team including field research supervisor Mr. Dan Samedy and his team of eight field researchers: Mr. Chem Vuthy, Ms. Chea Chhivheang, Mr. Chhon Chanthy, Ms. Nak Samneang, Ms. Dan Malinda, Mr. Loeurng Samoeurn, Ms. San Kim Tin and Ms. Lanh Sochinda.

Our genuine appreciation is extended to Dr. Simon Baker for his expert analysis of the collected data and the writing of the research report including concise recommendations for action to key stakeholders. Thank you also to Ms. Mahaxay Manithapone, GIS Programme Officer at the Culture Unit of the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Regional Office for the GIS-based mapping work included in the report.

Our thanks go to World Vision and UN WOMEN for their peer review, valuable feedback and comments on the initial drafts of the report.

UN-ACT would like to thank its donors, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, for their support to the project, without which this research report would not have been possible.

Last but not least, we appreciate the support previously provided to UNIAP by Australian Aid, the Asian Development Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, New Zealand Aid, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency and the US State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, which resulted in the collection of the data that form the foundation of this report.

United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons (UN-ACT)
February 2015

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Acronyms

COMMIT	Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative Against Trafficking
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
UN-ACT	United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons
UNIAP	United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking

Definitions and terms

Human trafficking

Human trafficking is internationally defined in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (also known as the "Palermo Protocol") supplementing the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime. Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2000 and entering into force in 2003, the Protocol defines trafficking as:

- The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons (the act);
- By means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person (the means);[1]
- For the purpose of exploitation (the purpose).

The Protocol notes that "exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."

Irregular migrant

An irregular migrant is an individual who migrates from one country to another without the required legal authorization; or, one who has migrated with legal authorization but remained after that legal authorization expired or was terminated. The term irregular migrant rather than illegal migrant is increasingly used by organizations working in the field of migration such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) because it is seen as more legally accurate as well as less stigmatizing.[2]

Broker

In the context of human trafficking, brokers are the individuals, operating alone or in groups, who facilitate the migration or "movement" of a person from the point of origin to the point of exploitation. Brokers aid the "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt" of migrants. In a human trafficking process there may be more than one broker, and not all brokers are necessarily connected to each other and/or to the environment in which exploitation occurs. In addition, brokers can operate in different ways. They may be close to the trafficked person, such as a neighbour or family member, or a complete stranger. At times, brokers may solicit the trafficked person to work somewhere, but at other times they may be solicited by the person seeking work. While some brokers use force, many others deceive people into situations of exploitation. It is important to remember that brokers are not the only people involved in human trafficking and, indeed, may not be directly involved at all. Migration or movement are not necessarily components of human trafficking, and even where migration or movement is involved, it does not always occur with the involvement of brokers.

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[1] It must be noted that, in the case of children, the 'means' component is irrelevant for a human trafficking case to be constituted.

[2] It has been argued that 'illegality' is closely linked to 'criminality', when, in many countries, not possessing the required papers for a regular stay is not considered a criminal offence, but an administrative infringement. Others have pointed out that classifying an individual as 'illegal' undermines their inherent right to recognition as a human being before the law (Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants. "Why undocumented migrants should not be referred to as 'illegal'", retrieved 8 February, 2014, on http://picum.org/en/our-work/undocumented-migrants/terminology/)

Deportation

Deportation is the removal from a country of a non-citizen whose presence in that country is irregular. In the context of this report, deportation of Cambodian migrants is primarily a result of their irregular status of having entered Thailand without proper authorization such as a visa or work permit, or having entered with proper authorization but having violated the terms of that authorization, for example by working without permission, or staying beyond the visa expiration date. Under Thai law, victims of human trafficking are to be exempt from deportation despite potentially having an irregular immigration status.

Repatriation

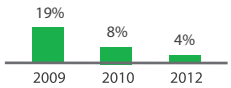
The term repatriation means to return an individual to their country of origin, allegiance or citizenship. In the context of this report, official repatriation is the means by which the Thai Government, after having recognized that a Cambodian national is a trafficked person, who may or may not be an irregular migrant in the country, returns them to Cambodia. Though both deportation and repatriation have the removal of a person from Thailand in common, repatriation goes beyond deportation in that it includes efforts to safely return that person to Cambodia, usually in coordination with Cambodian authorities and sometimes with the assistance of international and/or non-governmental organizations. Official repatriation, therefore, is presumably done with the best interests of the returning individual in mind.

Executive Summary

Key findings

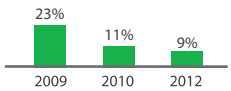
Possibly trafficked

Over the time period of the three surveys there was a marked decline in the proportion of respondents who could be classified as possibly trafficked. The proportion declined from 19 per cent in 2009 to 8 per cent in 2010, and then to 4 per cent in 2012. This change was statistically significant (p<.001). In the 2009 survey, there was a statistically significant difference between male and female respondents (p=.006), but not in the other two surveys. In 2009, 22 per cent of male respondents were classified as potentially trafficked compared to 10 per cent of female respondents.



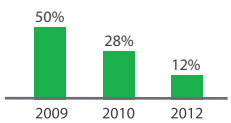
Exploitative working conditions

Based on the respondents' self-reports, there was a marked improvement in the working conditions of the Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand found in this research. The proportion of respondents who indicated that they faced exploitative working conditions declined from 23 per cent in 2009 to 11 per cent in 2010, and then to 9 per cent in 2012. This change too was statistically significant (p<.001). For responses by gender, the difference was only statistically significant in 2009 when 26 per cent of male respondents reported exploitative working conditions compared to 14 per cent of female respondents (p=.015).



Cheated or deceived

The proportion of respondents indicating they had been cheated and/or deceived in their overall work experience in Thailand decreased significantly, from 50 per cent of the respondents in 2009, to 28 per cent in 2010, and to 12 per cent in 2012. This change was statistically significant (p<.001). For responses by gender, there was only a statistically significant difference in 2009, with 54 per cent of males and 37 per cent of females suggesting experiences of cheating and/or deception in that year (p=.004).



Vulnerability

The study indicates that there is not only one vulnerability factor determining if a person will likely become, or is, a victim of trafficking. Further, with declining numbers of trafficked victims, the importance of each factor changes. By 2012, with only 4 per cent of respondents possibly being classified as trafficked, the only factor that increased the probability that a respondent was possibly trafficked was if they had worked on fishing boats.

Occupation

Respondents working on fishing boats were most likely to be trafficked, exploited, cheated and/or deceived over the three surveys. The proportion of respondents in other occupations suffering from such experiences was also high in the first survey, and to some extent in the second survey, however by the 2012 survey, the reported working conditions had improved significantly. Although those working on fishing boats also described improved working conditions by this survey, the rate of improvement was the slowest for all forms of work.

Brokers

Certain types of broker involvement in the recruitment and/or transportation of respondents were in some years associated with higher levels of trafficking. At the same time, other brokers played positive roles in the labour migration experience of respondents.

Age, sex, education

The sex, age and education levels of the respondents did not play a statistically significant role in determining whether the respondents were trafficked, exploited, cheated and/or deceived.

Knowledge

Knowledge about human trafficking did not provide protection to the respondents. Those knowledgeable about trafficking were just as likely to be trafficked, exploited, cheated and/or deceived as those without knowledge.

Life in Thailand

The respondents, on average, rated their life in Thailand as far better than their life in Cambodia before they migrated.

Deported

Not all Cambodian deportees returning from Thailand are being forced to return against their will. Instead, many 'deportees' are people who decide to return to Cambodia, but who do not have proper working documents and are thus deported, rather than being allowed to cross the border by themselves.

Recommendations

- Interventions need to focus on the Thai fishing industry. Cambodian irregular migrants on fishing boats were the most likely to be exploited and/or cheated/deceived compared to those in all other occupations. These interventions need to improve working conditions and ensure that those who have been exploited receive appropriate treatment.

- Further research is required to better understand the roles and types of brokers in labour migration from Cambodia to Thailand. In this study, certain brokers were associated with higher levels of trafficking, whereas other brokers made a positive contribution to respondents' labour migration experiences. More information is hence needed to define interventions targeting those associated with exploitation and trafficking, whilst avoiding undermining others who play a positive role in the migration process.

- Given that the possibly trafficked respondents in this study returned to Cambodia as deportees, officials need to better identify victims so that they gain access to appropriate services.

- Knowledge about human trafficking is not providing protection against the problem. Even though, by the last survey, increasing numbers of Cambodian irregular migrants knew about trafficking, these people were just as likely to be exploited and/or cheated/deceived as those who did not know of the problem. This suggests that trafficking awareness campaigns need to go beyond providing knowledge.

- Additional research that seeks to understand why working conditions in Thailand have improved among Cambodian irregular migrants would be useful.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Overview

Rationale of the study

Human trafficking is a serious crime involving the cheating or deceiving of people into situations of severe exploitation. The Mekong region contains diverse patterns of human trafficking. These patterns are internal and cross-border; highly organized and small-scale; for sex and labour, through both formal and informal recruitment mechanisms, and involve men, women, boys, girls and families.

Trafficked persons can be identified and unidentified. Identified victims are those who are given status as a trafficking victim by a relevant authority, with all the rights and services associated with trafficking victim protection. Unidentified victims, arguably the vast majority, may appear to be illegal migrant workers, subject to criminalization and deportation with no assistance.[3]

Thailand is a key destination country for migrant workers from Cambodia. It is unknown how many Cambodians are trafficked annually to Thailand, as victims of trafficking are not always identified. Some are deported back to Cambodia as irregular migrants without access to support services as outlined above.

The aim of this sentinel surveillance study is to establish estimates of unidentified Cambodian trafficked persons within the deportee population being returned from Thailand; to help better understand migratory patterns; to identify levels of exploitation in various industries; and to document how traffickers operate to put migrants in exploitative situations.

It aims to describe and explain more broadly about home conditions, migration procedures, work experiences and return processes.

This report is a contribution to furthering our understanding about (irregular) labour migration in the Greater Mekong Sub-region, and how it relates to forms of exploitation and trafficking.

Sentinel surveillance research studies on human trafficking

Human trafficking sentinel surveillance is a research series that was undertaken by the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP) and continued by its successor, the United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons (UN-ACT), on irregular migrant workers being deported back to their countries of origin in the Greater Mekong Sub-region. A pilot study published as *Identifying Cambodian Victims of Human Trafficking among Deportees from Thailand* was conducted in 2008 on the Cambodian side of the Aranyaprathet-Poipet border.[4]

The methodology used in the pilot, which involved in-depth, structured interviews utilizing a comprehensive questionnaire specifically designed to identify indications of human trafficking, became the base for future studies. For the subsequent report *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010,* the methodology was further developed with greater emphasis on quantitative data methods.[5]

[3] COMMIT (Undated). (Re)Integration: Perspectives of Victim Service Agencies on Successes and Challenges in Trafficking Victim (Re) Integration in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region. Bangkok: 17.
[4] Olivie, A. (2008). Identifying Cambodian Victims of Human Trafficking Among Deportees from Thailand. Phnom Penh, UNIAP: 47.
[5] United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP) (2010). Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010. Bangkok, UNIAP: 132.

Since then, UNIAP/UN-ACT have undertaken one study on the Vietnam-China border, *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Viet Nam-China Border 2010 Lang Son, Lao Cai, Quang Ninh*,[6] and a study of Lao irregular migrant workers being returned from Thailand.[7]

This research integrates the data of *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010* with two additional datasets collected at the same border in 2010 and 2012, thereby allowing for a trend analysis over time.

Context of migration from Cambodia to Thailand

Thailand has become a key destination country for labour migrants from Cambodia due to its higher level of economic development and thriving labour market, compounded by a lack of opportunities in Cambodia. In 2013, Thailand's estimated gross domestic product per capita was US$9,900,[8] compared to US$2,600 in Cambodia.[9]

This migration process has brought benefits to both source and destination countries: the remittances of migrant workers support their families in Cambodia, and the economic contributions of migrant workers support the Thai economy, as documented by the International Labour Organization (ILO).[10] In 2010, it was estimated that Cambodian migrants sent (US) $151,000,000 back to their country, the equivalent of 1.3 per cent of the country's gross domestic product.[11]

With improved education, Thais have greater relative job expectations,[12] and thus have increasingly shunned the most dangerous, dirty and difficult jobs, such as those in the fishing industry, which are now dominated by migrant workers.[13] In addition, as Thailand has become increasingly industrialized it has undergone a demographic transition where fewer births and deaths have resulted in slower population growth and an older age structure. The shortfalls in Thai employees have been filled by low-skilled migrants from neighbouring countries.[14] The Thailand Development Research Institute projected in 2006 that from 2007 to 2012 some 300,000 unskilled additional workers would be needed for the Thai labour market, while only 33 per cent of that figure would be satisfied by new Thai workers. With the Thai fertility level below the replacement level, there will be fewer Thais available for employment in the foreseeable future,

[6] United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP) (2011). Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Viet Nam-China Border 2010 Lang Son, Lao Cai, Quang Ninh. Bangkok, UNIAP: 66.
[7] Forthcoming.
[8] CIA. (2008). "The World Factbook: Thailand." Retrieved 6 March, 2014, from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/la.html.
[9] CIA. (2008). "The World Factbook: Cambodia." Retrieved 6 March, 2014, from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cb.html.
[10] Jampaklay, A & S Kittisuksathit (2009). Migrant Workers Remittances: Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar. Bangkok: Mahidol University Institute for Population and Social Research, and ILO.
[11] ESCAP (2013). Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Pacific 2013. Bangkok: 300.
[12] Sciortino, R. and S. Punpuing (2009). International Migration in Thailand 2009. Bangkok, International Organization for Migration, International Labour Organization, Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Development Fund for Women, United Nations Population Fund, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund, World Bank and United Nations Country Team in Thailand.
[13] Limanonda, B. and N. Peungposop (2009). Policy Review on Access to Health Care Service and Health Insurance among Migrant Workers in Thailand. Bangkok, Raks Thai: 121 and Press, B. (2011). The PHAMIT Story: The Experience of an HIV prevention project for migrant workers in Thailand. Bangkok, Raks Thai.
[14] Sciortino, R. and S. Punpuing (2009). International Migration in Thailand 2009. Bangkok, International Organization for Migration, International Labour Organization, Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Development Fund for Women, United Nations Population Fund, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund, World Bank and United Nations Country Team in Thailand.
[15] Chalamwong, Y. (2008). Demographic Change and International Labor Mobility in Thailand. PECC-ABAC Conference on Demographic Change and International Labor Mobility in the Asia Pacific Region: Implications for Business and Cooperation, Seoul.

with the Thai economy expected to grow more dependent on migrant labour.

Cambodia's recent history has resulted in a young, demographically skewed population; in 2012, 34 per cent of the population was under 15 years of age. Therefore, there will be an increasing number of entrants available for the Cambodian workforce where opportunities are limited.[16] With a fragile industrial base at home, neighbouring Thailand with its higher national income per capita is an appealing destination.[17]

Despite the unmet demand for workers amongst the national population in some sectors of the Thai economy, the recruitment of migrant workers through formal labour recruitment channels faces considerable challenges, and the costs and time involved in pursuing these channels encourages both migrant workers and employers alike to use informal channels. In addition, a research report by the International Labour Organization in 2008 found that official channels do not necessarily protect workers from exploitation, deception and mistreatment. This is partly because the high costs of formal migration can place regular migrants in a situation of leveraged debt with their employers or recruiters.[18]

Human trafficking and immigration laws

Cambodia and Thailand are members of the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Human Trafficking (COMMIT). As part of the COMMIT Process, six member nations jointly signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2004 committing themselves to cooperation and action against human trafficking, primarily through the implementation of Sub-Regional Plans of Action that include actions to strengthen bilateral cooperation frameworks, improve victim identification and protection capabilities, and other provisions.

Resulting from their involvement in COMMIT, Cambodian and Thai laws, cooperation between the two countries, and the provision of services for trafficked persons have all been enhanced. Both countries have ratified the Palermo Protocol, have developed a series of MoUs related to employment and human trafficking, and have developed Standard Operating Procedures to provide support and protection to trafficked persons.[19]

In Thailand,[20] the Thai Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2008[21] and the Thai Immigration Act of 1979[22] are central to the lives of trafficked victims, who happen to also be irregular migrants. The first of these two laws details the services trafficking victims are entitled to, namely:

- Protection of privacy and identity
- Appropriate housing
- Counselling and legal rights
- Medical treatment
- Education and training
- Consideration of age and gender
- Protection of physical safety of a trafficked person
- Compensation
- Right to remain permanently or temporarily

[16] Population Reference Bureau. (2013). "2013 World Population Data Sheet." Retrieved 29 December, 2013, from http://www.prb.org/pdf13/2013-population-data-sheet_eng.pdf.
[17] International Organization for Migration (2010). Analyzing the impact of remittances from Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand on local communities in Cambodia. Phnom Penh.
[18] International Labour Organization (2008). An Honest Broker – Improving cross-border recruitment practices for the benefit of Government, Workers and Employers. Bangkok: ILO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific.
[19] Baker, S. and A. Jersild (2013) (Unpublished). Independent Evaluation of the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative Against Human Trafficking (COMMIT) Process. Bangkok, COMMIT: 120.
[20] This section predominantly deals with Thailand, as the respondents' experiences related to victim identification, deportation, etc. in the study are limited to the Thai context. It is understood that a complete analysis of a person's victim identification, deportation experience, etc. would require the inclusion of the Cambodian context as well. The nature of the research, however, did not allow for this to be captured.
[21] Anti-Trafficking inn Persons Law B.E. 2551 (2008).
[22] Immigration Act B.E. 2522 (1979).

- Repatriation
- Protection from prosecution

The Immigration Act details the country's policies on deportation from Thailand. It stipulates that, in cases in which an alien "enters or comes to stay in the Kingdom without permission, or when such permission expires or is revoked, [a] competent official will deport such alien out of the Kingdom." The Act also permits competent officials to detain aliens prior to deportation for up to 48 hours, which can be extended to a total detention time of seven days provided that reasonable reasons are documented.[23] In addition, the expenses for detention and/or deportation may, under certain conditions, be charged to the irregular migrant.

Once in contact with law enforcement authorities, the experience of trafficked persons with an irregular migration status can be very different and is dependent on whether or not they are identified as trafficked, and which law is applied to them as a result. In general, all identified irregular migrants in Thailand should go through a trafficking victim identification process upon their arrest, separating trafficked persons from the irregular migrants to be deported.

Considering such victim identification procedures for irregular migrants in Thailand, no trafficked persons should generally be identified in the deportee population returned from Thailand to Cambodia and interviewed for this research. The potential trafficking cases revealed in this study may refer to shortcomings in the victim identification procedures in place.

At the same time, trafficked persons sometimes intentionally forgo such identification in the screenings, knowing that as irregular migrants they will be deported within a few days of their arrest, whilst as trafficked persons they are likely to go through a rehabilitation and protection scheme during legal proceedings, in which they appear before court as witnesses. The criminal justice process takes time, although the trafficked persons' participation is voluntary.

A quick return through deportation has a number of advantages, such as being able to re-unite with families or to search for employment opportunities, including often by returning to Thailand. If financial considerations are of high relevance, as is often the case with foreign migrant workers, lengthy protection systems coupled with participation in legal proceedings that require the person's presence can become a burden, with irregular migrants at times attempting to avoid giving actual accounts of their situation in victim identification procedures.

[23] Detention beyond 7 days requires a Court order.

Map of Cambodia with Poipet border crossing indicated

Source: Greater Mekong Subregion Atlas of the Environment (2nd Edition). Download at www.gms-eoc.org

Methodology

This report is based on three surveys undertaken in 2009, 2010 and 2012 with Cambodian irregular migrant workers deported from Thailand via the Aranyaprathet-Poipet international border checkpoint. Poipet, the Cambodian side of the border, was chosen for the research because it is by far the most utilized site for receiving irregular Cambodian migrants being deported from Thailand.

Interviewing deportees as they arrived at the border crossing was believed to be the most effective method of reaching this population, as they usually disperse to different parts of the country after registration at the border, or attempt to immediately return to Thailand.

The Immigration Office proved to be the most practical site for the study's interviews. Deportees often head directly to taxi and bus stands after leaving the Immigration Police post, and there is little privacy in between those two points. Thus, it was ultimately determined that there was greater privacy behind the gates of the Immigration Police Station rather than outside where there were many people.

With interviews being conducted at the Immigration Police post, however, the data collectors had to be mindful that the proximity to immigration police officers had the potential to hinder interviewees' willingness to share information. Fortunately, immigration police and anti-human trafficking officers agreed to not interfere or come near any of the interviews, and allowed researchers to set up comfortable interviewing stations, with table space for refreshments and personal belongings.

On any day, the number of trucks carrying deportees varied between zero to five, although usually, there were three trucks per day. Each truck carried between 20 and 60 deportees. When a truck arrived from Thailand, it went into the Poipet immigration compound and the deportees were asked to sit in rows.

Respondents were recruited randomly as they lined up to be processed at the Immigration Police Station. UNIAP researchers selected a randomized sample by requesting interviews with each third person in line. They sought informed consent by telling prospective respondents that they were interested in hearing about their experiences abroad, and that the researchers worked for UNIAP and not for the immigration police or the Government. Further information about the nature of the interview was shared, including that the interviews were voluntary, that respondents could stop the interview at any time, and that they did not have to answer questions that made them uncomfortable.

If the person volunteered, the researchers reviewed two additional screening criteria – the respondent had to be aged 16 or older, and had to have just returned from working in Thailand. If the person did not meet the three screening criteria (informed consent, age 16 or older, and just returned from working in Thailand), the researchers continued on by counting another three.

On some occasions when more than one truck carrying deportees arrived at the same time, it was not possible to sample all groups of deportees. In this case, only the deportees of one truck were interviewed. Also, some deportees arrived

after 5:00 p.m. and were not included in data collection, seeing that they still had onward journeys at late hours of the day.

Categories covered by the questionnaire

The questionnaire focused on seven areas:

- Background of respondents
- Journey to Thailand, including recruitment, transport and harbouring
- Living and working conditions in Thailand
- How the respondents left their employment and returned to Cambodia
- Who was possibly trafficked
- Future plans
- Knowledge about human trafficking

Defining respondents as being possibly trafficked

The study defined a respondent as being possibly trafficked if that person was both exploited at their workplace and had been tricked and/or deceived. A respondent was categorized as being exploited if she or he rated three or more of the following as poor or very poor: their bosses, working conditions, the level of violence at work, safety at work and the level of freedom of movement at their work. The respondents were also asked if they believed they were tricked and/or deceived.

The respondents are being defined as possibly trafficked, rather than trafficked, because the information provided by the survey respondents are self-reports, and their statements – both positive and negative – have not been triangulated.

The definition of being possibly trafficked used in this study, which combines three datasets, is slightly adjusted to the version applied in the *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance: Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010* report. In the 2009-2010 report, respondents were defined as being exploited if they rated their working conditions as poor or very poor. Given that the classification of the respondents as either possibly trafficked or not is exclusively based on self-reports, it was decided to include extra data points to reinforce the definition.

Data entry and analysis

The data from the three surveys were entered into SPSS by two bilingual Cambodians, who translated the Cambodian-language responses into English as they entered the data into the statistical database. Data were analysed using SPSS 10 for Windows.

Throughout this report, a p-value of less than 0.05 is given when a statistical significance exists between two variables. A p-value of 0.05 has been used to mark levels of significance at the 95 per cent level. The lower the p-value is, the greater the probability that the relationship between two variables is not a consequence of chance.

The sample frame

In 2008, Cambodian Immigration authorities predicted that approximately 130,000 Cambodians would be deported from Thailand in that year; and that more than 100,000 of these would be returned through the Poipet international checkpoint.[24] The remainder, approximately 30,000, would be deported through the Trat-Koh Kong international checkpoint. Sampling for the 2009 survey, and thus for the 2010 and 2012 surveys, was based on these figures. The sample

[24] From interview with Phnom Penh Immigration Police.

Table 1: Number of Cambodian deportees and sample size: 2009, 2010 and 2012

Year	Male Deportees		Female Deportees		Total Deportees	Sample	Males		Female	
	N	%	N	%			N	%	N	%
2009	60,693	66.5	30,575	33.5	89,096	400	298	74.5	102	25.5
2010	68,630	65.6	36,043	34.4	104,673	405	317	78.3	88	21.7
2012	67,422	66.1	34,580	33.9	102,002	402	297	73.9	105	26.1

size was calculated beforehand through an *a priori* power analysis indicating that 380 or more deportees would need to be randomly sampled and interviewed to ensure that the results and conclusions could be taken to represent the nature of the larger population of 100,000-130,000.[25]

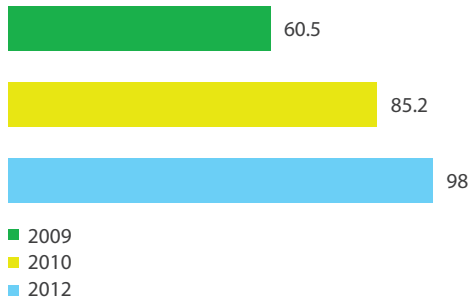
As it turned out, the 2008 estimation proved to be considerably higher than the actual number of deportees returned to Cambodia in 2009, but accurate for both 2010 and 2012. Cambodian Immigration declared that, in 2009, 89,096 irregular migrants were returned through the Poipet border, and only 452 through Koh Kong. In 2010, the total number of deportees through the Poipet checkpoint was 104,673, and in 2012, there were 102,002. As a result, the size of the samples, 400 in 2009, 405 in 2010 and 402 in 2012 *(Table 1)*, was more than sufficient from the perspective of statistical power.

Study limitations

Despite the research team's efforts to ensure the collected sample was representative of Cambodians being deported from Thailand, a number of limitations remained.

Importantly, not all of those interviewed indicated that they were deported. In 2009, close to 40 per cent of the respondents declared that they were not deportees as they had not been captured in a police raid nor were they detained as they returned to Cambodia *(Figure 1)*. In 2010, this figure fell to 15 per cent, and by 2012 the proportion had further fallen to 2 per cent. This difference was statistically significant ($p<.001$). Even though these people – both males and females in equal numbers – indicated that they had not been captured nor detained, they were crossing the border amongst deportees, and so had somehow become part of this distinct group without perceiving themselves in that way.

Figure 1: Percentage of respondents indicating they had been deported, by survey



[25] Ideally, for an estimated population size of 130,000, and to achieve the statistical power of a 5 per cent margin of error with 95 per cent confidence intervals, a sample size of 384 is required. However, for ethical reasons deportees younger than 16 were not interviewed, so the age distribution of the deportees is not representative.

Not capturing deportees, particularly in 2009 and 2010 when so many of the respondents indicated they were returning home independently, is a weakness in this study. This is particularly the case as in the two surveys, the non-deportees experienced significantly better working conditions in Thailand compared to those who indicated that they were deported. In addition, they were significantly less likely to have experienced exploitation at work (p=.002 in 2009 and .038 in 2010), and significantly less likely to have been trafficked (p=.019 in 2009 and .038 in 2010).

It is not clear why so many people in the sample were not deportees, or why they did not perceive themselves in that way, particularly in 2009. However, over time this was corrected.

Another limitation is that the data collection process over-sampled males and correspondingly under-sampled females. According to official figures, around two thirds of deportees in each year of the surveys were males, however in the three surveys the corresponding proportion of males was around three quarters *(Table 1)*. Although the data collection team randomly selected every third person, the final result was a sample skewed towards male respondents.

Furthermore, each survey sample size, although sufficient for determining who was possibly trafficked, was not large enough to make comparisons between the different types of work, and their working conditions, without possible distortions resulting from the small number of sample cases. The respondents worked in six different categories: farming, construction, domestic, factory, fishing boats, service and 'other'. Taking domestic work for an example, in 2009 and 2010, only five and four respondents respectively worked in this sector, and in 2012 there were 16 people. The 2010 respondents had overwhelming negative experiences, while the 2012 group had positive experiences. It is not possible to determine if the dramatic differences in experiences of those in domestic work resulted from inherent differences in the work in the various years, or are a result of chance because of sampling so few people.

It is for these reasons that the information about working conditions based on the type of work is at times presented for all three surveys combined. Nevertheless, the data disaggregated by year is also presented in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5.

PART II: FINDINGS

Background of the respondents and home conditions

Sex structure of the respondents

In each of the three surveys, around three quarters of the respondents were males and one quarter were females. In 2009, the breakdown was 74.5 per cent males and 25.5 per cent females. In 2010, the proportion of males was 78 per cent and females 22 per cent, while in 2012 the proportions were 74 and 26 per cent, respectively, for males and females. As noted above, the proportion of males and females in this study diverts from the sex breakdown of Cambodian migrants deported from Thailand as indicated in the official Cambodian deportation statistics.

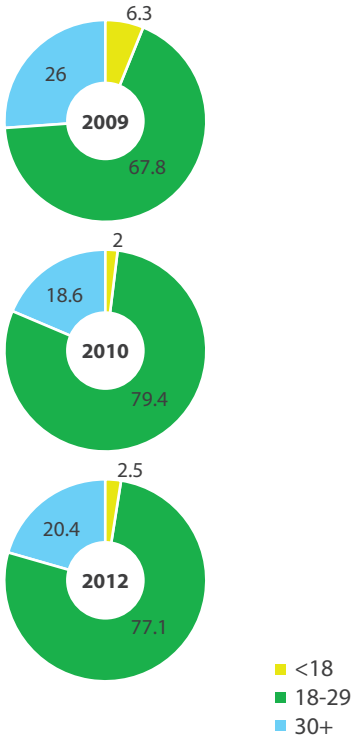
Age structure of the respondents

The mean age of the respondents returning to Poipet was 26 in 2009, declining to 25 in 2010 and 2012. Most of the respondents were aged between 18 and 29, accounting for between 66 to almost 80 per cent of interviewees, depending on the survey *(Figure 2)*. Nearly all the respondents were aged less than 40; this was the case for 95 per cent of the male, and 90 per cent of the female respondents.

Comparing the age structure of the respondents in the three surveys there was a statistically significant difference ($p<.001$). Although in each of the three surveys the respondents were concentrated in the 18-29 age group, in 2010 and 2012 the proportion in this age group was 10 per cent or more than in 2009. In 2009, more of the respondents were in the youngest and oldest age groups (younger than 18 or older than 30), compared to the other two surveys. In the first survey, the proportion of children was the highest, accounting for 6 per cent of respondents, compared to 2 per cent in 2010 and 3 per cent in 2012.

In each survey, it was decided not to interview children less than 16 years of age due to ethical concerns. When randomly selecting respondents, if the selected person was aged less than 16 years, he/she was not selected, which has possibly resulted in an under-sampling of the number of children actually deported from Thailand. In 2012, children represented 10 per cent of those deported at the Poipet border crossing.

Figure 2: Age of the respondents, by survey



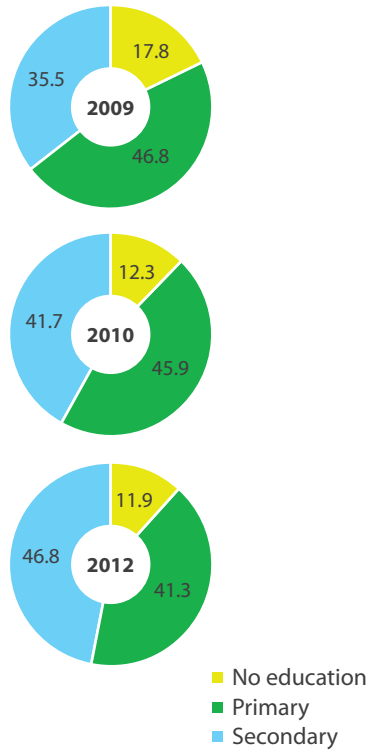
Comparing the age and sex of the respondents in the three surveys, there was no statistically significant difference in the first two surveys, but there was in 2012 (p=.002). In that survey, over 80 per cent of the male respondents were aged between 18 and 29, compared to only 66 per cent of the female respondents.

Education levels of the respondents

The education levels of the respondents in the three surveys were markedly different, with respondents being better educated on average in each subsequent survey (p=.008). In 2009, close to 20 per cent of the respondents had no education, but in both 2010 and 2012, this had dropped to 12 per cent *(Figure 3)*. By 2012, for the first time, the biggest group of respondents were those who had at least entered the secondary education system.

There was also a statistically significant difference (p<.001) between male and female respondents and their levels of education in each of the surveys, although this difference narrowed between the surveys. In the 2009 survey, the proportion of female respondents indicating that they had no education (28 per cent) was twice that compared to their male counterparts (14 per cent). Also, the proportion of male respondents who had at least entered secondary education was close to twice that of the female respondents, with 41 per cent of male respondents and 21 per cent of the females in this group. In 2010, the proportion of male and female respondents who had no education declined, and the proportion with at least secondary education increased, but the difference between the two sexes remained statistically significant (p=.011). By 2012, the proportion with no education had declined to 15 per cent for females and 11 per cent for males. The proportion of males with at least some secondary education had increased to 51 per cent, while for females the proportion rose to 36 per cent. The difference remained statistically significant (p=.038).

Figure 3: Respondents' education levels, by survey



Marital status of the respondents

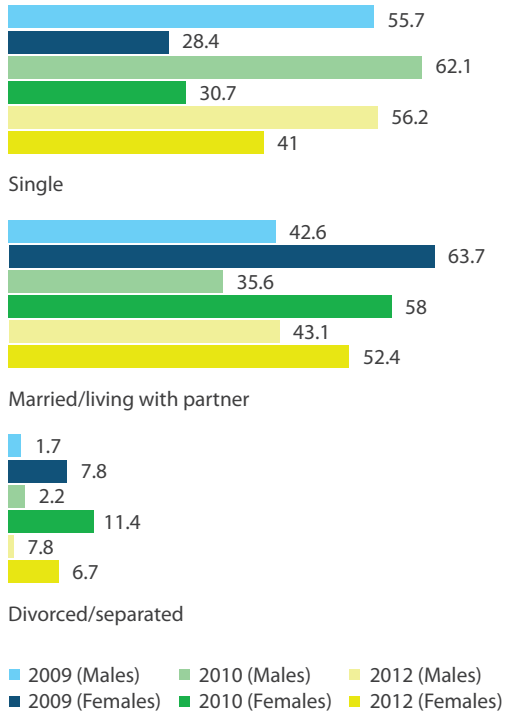
There was no statistically significant difference between the marital statuses of the respondents in the three surveys. In each survey, there were slightly more respondents who were single than married (including a few cases who indicated that

they were unmarried, but living with a partner). Further, in each round there was also a small group who indicated that they were divorced, separated or widowed.

Nevertheless, there was a major difference between male and female respondents in each survey and whether they were single or married ($p<.001$ in the three surveys). The male respondents were far more likely to be single, while the females were more likely to be married or to be divorced, separated or widowed *(Figure 4)*. For the male respondents, 56 per cent were single in 2009, 62 per cent in 2010 and 56 per cent in 2012. Among the females, in the corresponding years, 71 per cent, 69 per cent and 59 per cent were married or had been previously married.

Although male respondents were more likely to be single, over time an increasing proportion of the female respondents were also single. In 2009, the proportion of single females was 28 per cent, but this had increased to 31 per cent in 2010 and to 41 per cent by 2012.

Figure 4: Marital status of the respondents, by sex and survey



Where the respondents were from within Cambodia

The majority of the respondents were originally from Banteay Meanchey Province, but over time the dominance of this province declined. In 2009, 42 per cent of the respondents were from there, but by 2010 the proportion was 36 per cent, and in 2012 it was 29 per cent. The main official land crossing between Cambodia and Thailand, the Poipet crossing, is located in Banteay Meanchey Province.

Apart from Banteay Meanchey, the other most common provinces where the respondents came from were Battambang, accounting for around 17 per cent in each survey; Siem Reap, which increased from 10 to 14 per cent between 2009 and 2012; Kampong Cham with around 7 per cent of respondents in each survey; and Prey Veng, which also accounted for around 7 per cent in each survey. The changing pattern in the three surveys of where the respondents were originally from was statistically significant ($p<.001$).

An important change over the three surveys was that, although the respondents were most likely to be living close to the Cambodia-Thai border, increasingly they were traveling further to get to the border. In 2009, 62 per cent of the respondents were from a Cambodian province located next to the border. In 2010, this proportion had declined to 60 per cent and by 2012 the corresponding figure was 53 per cent. This change was

statistically significant (p=.026).

The female respondents were statistically significantly more likely to come from Banteay Meanchey, while male respondents were more likely to be located further from the official border point. In 2009, 53 per cent of female respondents came from Banteay Meanchey, compared to 38 per cent of the males (p=.013); in 2010, the proportion of females and males coming from this province was 46 and 33 per cent, respectively (p=.038); while by 2012, the proportions had further declined to 39 and 26 per cent, respectively (p=.009).

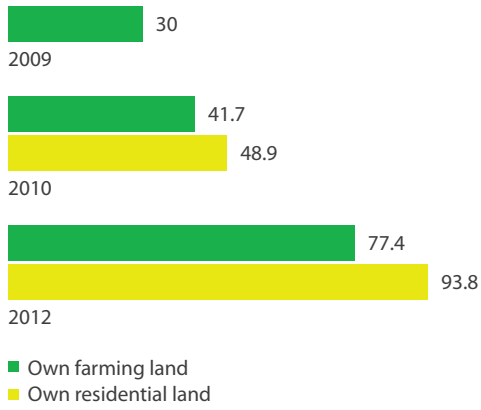
Land ownership in Cambodia

A substantial shift in land ownership took place over the three surveys (p<.001). In 2009, the majority of residents were landless, with only 30 per cent of them owning farmland *(Figure 5)*. In the 2010 survey, this increased to 42 per cent, and by 2012 the proportion owning farming land was 70 per cent.

There was a statistically significant difference between the sexes and whether they owned farming land in 2009 and 2012, but not in 2010. In 2009, females were more likely to own farming land than males, but by 2012 this had reversed. In 2009, 38 per cent of female respondents owned land, compared to 27 per cent of the male respondents (p=.035). By 2012, 81 per cent of the male respondents owned farming land, compared to 67 per cent of the females (p=.002).

Similarly, the proportion of respondents owning residential land jumped from under 50 per cent in 2010 to 94 per cent in 2012 (p<.001) (Figure 5). In terms of residential land ownership, there was no statistically significant difference between males and females.

Figure 5: Percentage of respondents owning farming and residential land, by survey



Note: In 2009, no data were collected on if the respondents owned their residential land.

This marked shift in land ownership may reflect the Cambodian Government's efforts to ensure land entitlements to its citizens, through a programme to measure and provide land ownership for the landless. The project intensified in 2012 as the Prime Minister recruited around 2,000 students to help speed up the work across the country.[26]

Based on the marked changes in land ownership between the three surveys, the respondents would have been financially more secure in the later than the earlier surveys. A potential benefit of this greater wealth is that it might protect migrant workers against exploitative labour practises in Thailand, as they may be in a less desperate situation to take any work.

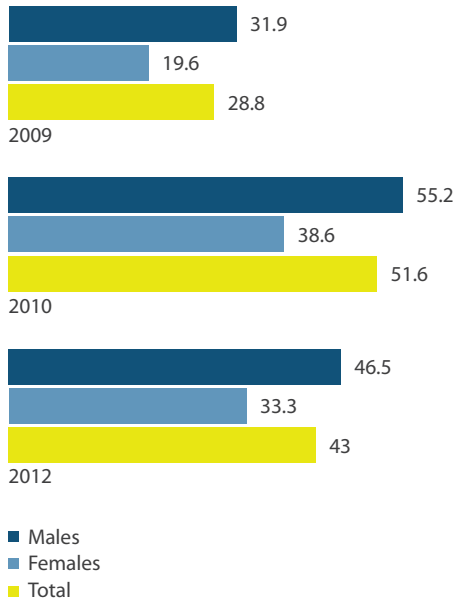
[26] Personal correspondence with UNIAP staff Cambodia

Quality of life in Cambodia before migrating

Overall, the respondents in the three surveys regarded their quality of life, pre-migration to Thailand, as being poor *(Figure 6)*.[27] Nevertheless, there was a statistically significant change (p=.001) in the proportion of respondents indicating this over time. In 2009, only 29 per cent of the respondents indicated their lives in Cambodia were fair to good. By 2010, this proportion had increased to 52 per cent, but by 2012 it had declined back to 43 per cent.

The female respondents were more likely than the males to indicate their quality of life in Cambodia was poor, prior to migrating to Thailand. In 2009, only one in five regarded life in Cambodia as being fair or good compared to close to a third of the males (p=.018). Both female and male respondents in the 2010 survey regarded their life in Cambodia as being better than respondents in the previous year, with over half of the males and nearly 40 per cent of the females saying their lives had been fair to good. This difference between the two sexes was statistically significant (p=.006). In the final survey, both females and males saw their lives as being less positive than in 2010, but better than in 2009; fewer than half of the males thought their quality of life in Cambodia had been positive, while only a third of the females thought this to be the case. The difference between the sexes was statistically significant (p=.019).

Figure 6: Percentage of respondents indicating their quality of life in Cambodia was fine or good before migrating to Thailand, by sex and survey



What work they were doing in Cambodia before migrating to Thailand

Before migrating to Thailand the majority of the respondents were farmers, and over time this proportion increased statistically significantly, from 57 per cent in 2009 to 60 per cent in 2010 and 65 per cent in 2012 (p=.001) *(Figure 7)*. There was no statistically significant difference between the male and female respondents in the type of work that they did before they migrated to Thailand.

For most of the respondents, working in agriculture was subsistence work. This was the case for 86 per cent of them in 2010 and 88 per cent in 2012. No such information was collected in the 2009 questionnaire.

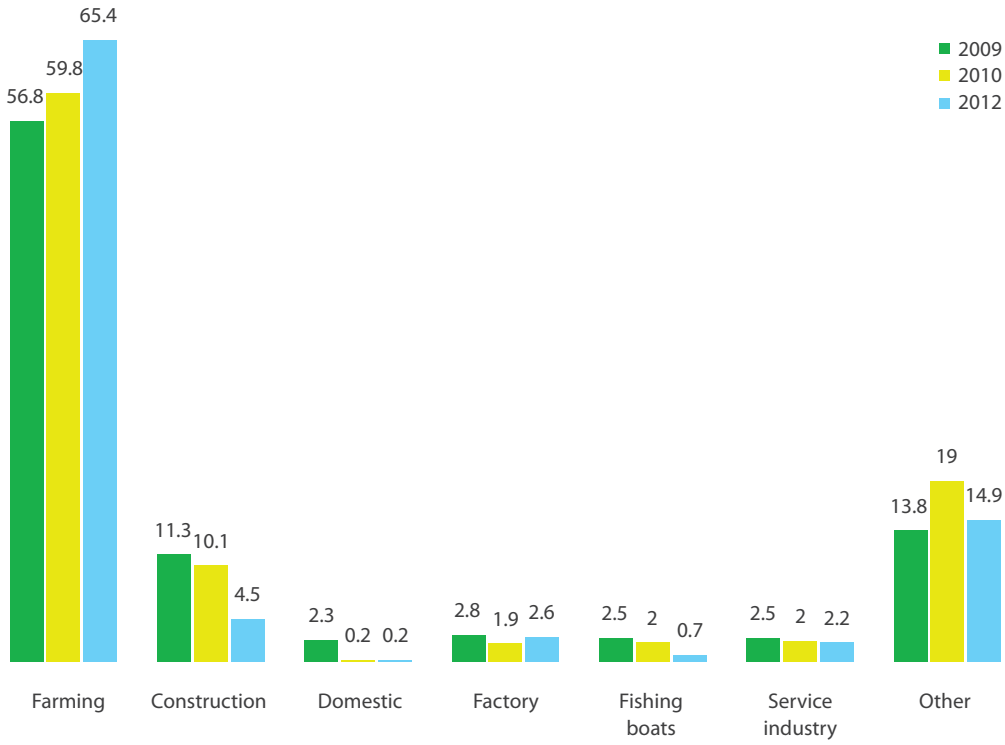
[27] In the survey questionnaire, the respondents were asked to rate their quality of life on a five-point scale of very poor, poor, fair, good and very good. For this report the rating was converted into a two-point scale of poor and fair to good.

After agriculture, the next biggest form of employment was 'other' work. This category accounted for between 14 and 19 per cent of the work undertaken by the respondents. Unfortunately, this category was pre-coded by the data collectors making it impossible to determine exactly what it includes.

Had previously migrated to Thailand

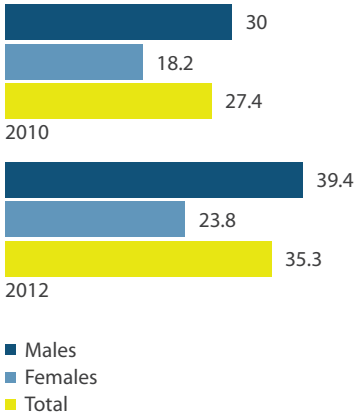
A minority of the respondents had previously migrated to Thailand before this trip resulting in their deportation, and hence the interview. This was the case for 27 per cent in 2010 and 35 per cent in 2012 *(Figure 8)*, with the difference being statistically significant (p=.015).

Figure 7: Type of employment before migration, by survey



Note: A small number of respondents were unemployed before going to Thailand and are not included in the above figure.

Figure 8: Percentage of respondents who had previously migrated to Thailand, by sex and survey



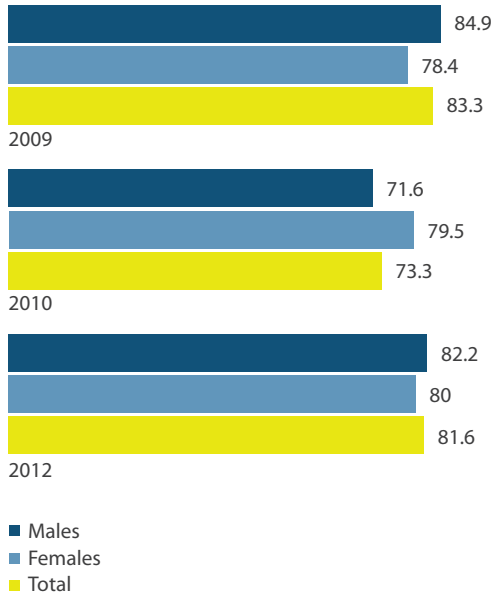
Note: In the 2009 survey this question was not asked.

In both of these surveys, male respondents were more likely to have previously migrated to Thailand than females. In 2010, 30 per cent of males had already been there compared to 18 per cent of females. In 2012, the respective proportions were 39 and 24 per cent. Both of these differences were statistically significant (p=.028 and p=.004).

Knowing anyone who had travelled to Thailand

Before migrating, the majority of the respondents knew of other people who had migrated to Thailand. In 2009, this was the case for 83 per cent of respondents, while in 2010 it was 73 per cent, and in 2012 it was 82 per cent *(Figure 9)*. This difference was statistically significant (p=.001). There was no statistically significant difference between male and female respondents and whether they knew anyone who had previously migrated to Thailand.

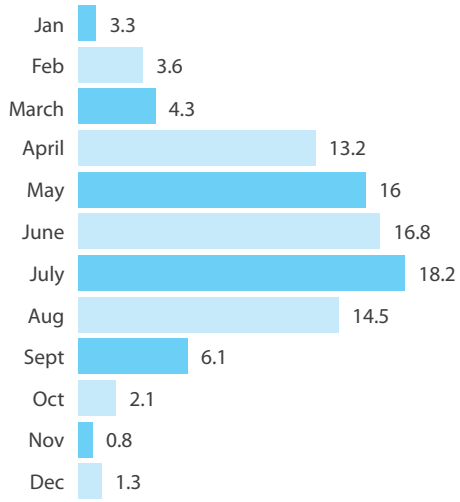
Figure 9: Percentage of respondents who knew someone else who had migrated to Thailand, by sex and survey



Knowing someone who has already migrated to Thailand may be a protective factor against ending up in exploitative working conditions. Being able to ask fellow villagers about their journeys and stays in Thailand could be a possible way of avoiding some of their worst experiences. However, it is not possible to determine from the data of this study if knowing someone who had migrated to Thailand simply means that the respondent is aware of someone having left the village to migrate, or that they have actually talked to this person about their migration experiences.

There was a strong seasonal pattern in the movement of the respondents from Cambodia to Thailand. The majority of the migration took place between April and August *(Figure 10)*, with close to 80 per cent of all movements taking place in these five months.

Figure 10: Percentage of respondents migrating to Thailand, by month – three surveys combined



For many of the respondents it is likely that once they have completed rice planting in Cambodia, which is usually completed in April or May, they would have no more intensive farming work until the harvest, which takes place about five months later. During the off-peak labour intensive periods on the farm, they would be free to seek other employment opportunities, such as in Thailand.

Using brokers

The respondents were asked if they used a broker to get to the Cambodian-Thai border, and whether they then used a broker to get across the border and to their destination. From the data collected it is not clear if the broker was the same person from the start of the migration process to the destination, or whether different brokers were used at different stages.

To reach the Cambodian-Thai border, around 60 per cent of respondents used a broker in each of the three surveys *(Figure 11)*, and thus, there was no statistically significant difference. However there was such a difference between the sexes in 2009 and 2012, but not in 2010. In 2009, over two thirds of the male respondents used a broker to get to the border, while under half of the females did ($p<.001$). In 2012, 62 per cent of males and 48 per cent of females employed a broker to get them to the border ($p=.010$).

Figure 11: Percentage of respondents using brokers to get to the Cambodian-Thai border, by sex and survey

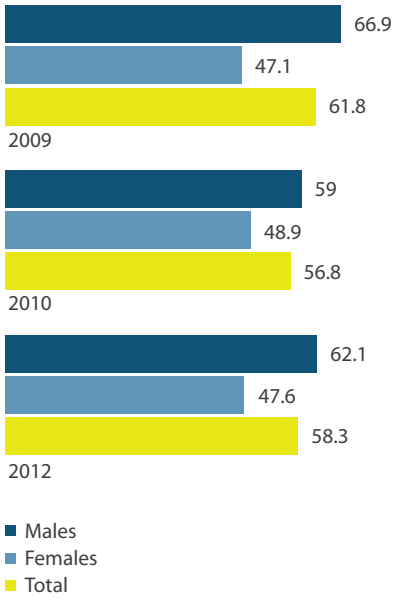
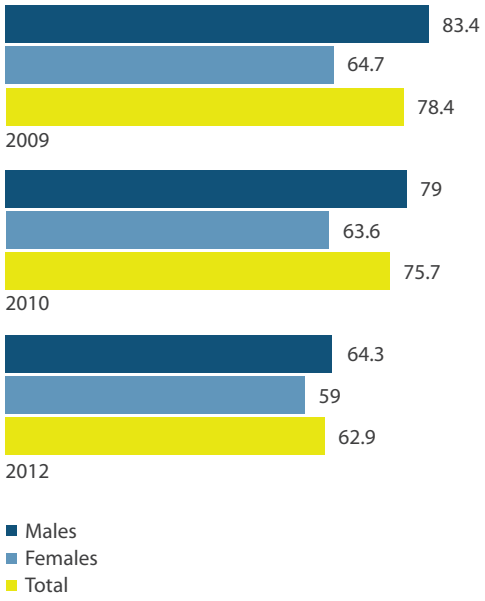


Figure 12: Percentage of respondents using brokers to get to their employment, by survey



To get to their place of employment in Thailand, there was a statistically significant difference between the proportions of respondents using a broker over the three surveys. In 2009, 78 per cent of the respondents used a broker for this purpose; in 2010, 76 per cent did; however, by 2012, the figure had declined to 63 per cent ($p<.001$).

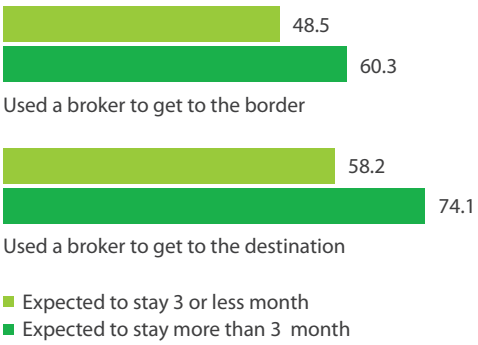
In 2009 and 2010, the male respondents were more likely to use a broker to get to their place of employment in Thailand than the female respondents. In 2009, 83 per cent of the male respondents used a broker for this purpose, compared to 65 per cent of the females ($p<.001$) *(Figure 12)*. In 2010, the respective proportions were 79 and 64 per cent ($p=.003$). By 2012, although more males than females relied on broker services, the difference was not statistically significant.

There was no statistically significant difference between whether the respondents used a broker or not, and if they ended up working in the kind of job that they expected. Those using a broker were just as likely to end up in the job they expected as those not using a broker. This was the case for getting to the Cambodian-Thai border, and also for getting to their final destination.

Expectations of how long the residents expected to stay in Thailand did influence the respondents' decision on whether or not to use a broker. The longer they expected to stay in Thailand, the more likely they were to use a broker. To get to the Cambodian-Thai border, just under half of those expecting to be in Thailand for three or less months used a broker *(Figure 13)*. Among those who expected to stay longer than this period, 60 per cent used

a broker. This difference was statistically significant (p=.009). Such a statistically significant difference also existed for the respondents and whether they used a broker to get to their final destination in Thailand (p<.001). Among those expecting to stay in Thailand for three or less months, 58 per cent used a broker. However, for those who expected to stay longer than this, nearly 75 per cent used a broker.

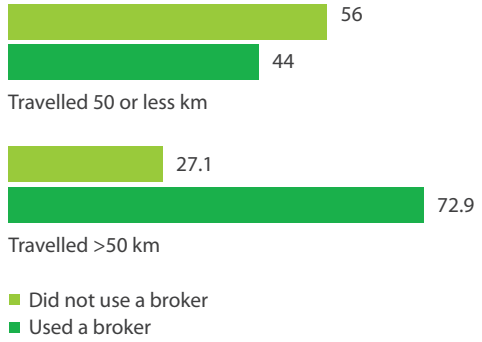
Figure 13: Whether the respondents used a broker, by how long they expected to stay in Thailand – three surveys combined



There was no statistically significant difference in whether they used a broker or not, and how far they had to travel to get to the Cambodian-Thai border. Having the language skills and knowledge about their own country may have meant that distance to the border was not an important obstacle, and thus, this was not a factor in determining whether they would use a broker or not.

However, the distance the respondents had to travel in Thailand did influence their decision to use a broker or not. Only 44 per cent of the respondents who travelled 50 km or less into Thailand used a broker *(Figure 14)*. For those travelling further into Thailand, 73 per cent of them used a broker. This difference was statistically significant (p=.001).

Figure 14: How far the respondents travelled into Thailand, by whether they used a broker or not – three surveys combined



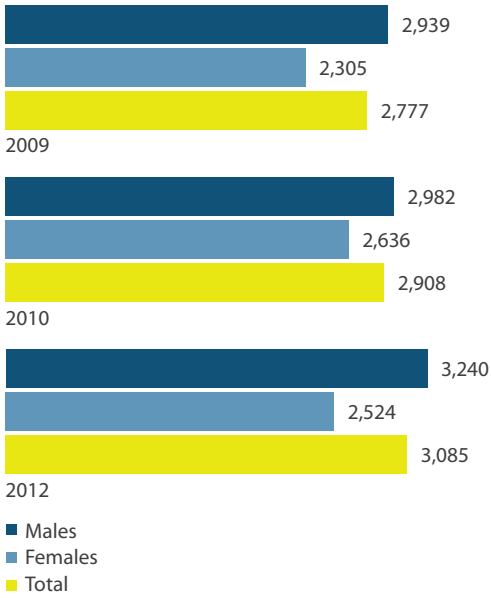
There was a significant statistical difference (p<.001) between the three surveys in terms of distance travelled to get to their employment by the respondents. In 2009 and 2012, around 10 per cent travelled less than 200 km, but in 2010, the equivalent proportion travelling this distance was 2.5 per cent.

Cost to get to the respondents' workplaces in Thailand

Migrating, the respondents had a range of costs including transport and broker fees. The average cost of getting to their place of employment increased in each survey. The average cost per person in 2009 was 2,777 baht, while in 2010 this increased to 2,908 baht, and in 2012 the cost was just over 3,000 baht *(Figure 15)*. In each survey, the male respondents were paying more, on average, than the female respondents. This difference in payments is likely to be caused by the greater proportion of the male respondents using a broker to get to the border, and the greater distance that they had to travel to get to the border (see above).

The cost of migrating would have been paid off in less than a month, or a bit longer, depending on which year they travelled. As discussed below, the average monthly income while working in Thailand varied between the surveys, but over the three surveys the average was greater than 3,000 baht per month.

Figure 15: Mean cost to get to the border, by sex and survey



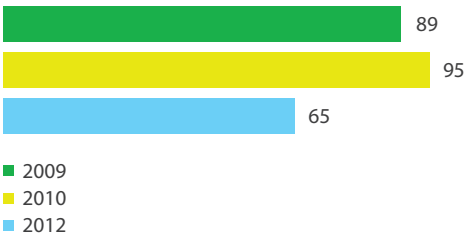
Living and working conditions in Thailand

This section of the report reviews the respondents' connections to Cambodia while in Thailand, whether they were regular or irregular migrants, how long the respondents stayed on average in Thailand, their quality of life while in Thailand and the type of work they undertook along with their working conditions. Working conditions include the number of hours and days they worked, their salary, whether they were paid or not, what deductions were made and their attitudes about their bosses, levels of violence and safety, levels of freedom of movement at work, and other conditions.

Connections to Cambodia while in Thailand

There was a marked change over the three surveys on whether the respondents sent remittances back to Cambodia or not ($p<.001$). In 2009 and 2010, around 90 per cent of the respondents sent remittances to Cambodia, but in 2012, the proportion was only 65 per cent *(Figure 16)*. There was no statistically significant difference between male and female respondents and whether they had sent remittances. This was also the case based on what type of work the respondents had in Thailand.

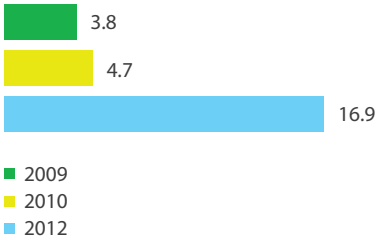
Figure 16: Percentage of respondents indicating they sent remittances back to Cambodia, by survey



Registered or not

In 2009 and 2010, over 95 per cent of the respondents said they were irregular migrant workers *(Figure 17)*. In 2012, this percentage dropped statistically significantly to around 83 per cent ($p<.001$). There was no statistically significant difference between male and female respondents in whether they suggested to have had formal working documents or not.

Figure 17: Percentage of respondents indicating to have had formal working documents, by survey



In 2010, of the 19 people reportedly with working documents, 10 (53 per cent) were detained after a raid. In 2009, of the 15 people who indicated they had working documents, 73 per cent were arrested after a raid. And, in 2012, of the 68 respondents allegedly with working documents 67 (99 per cent) were arrested after a raid.

It is unclear from the data why those claiming to have working documents were deported; further research is needed to explain this phenomenon.

Length of time the respondents spent in Thailand

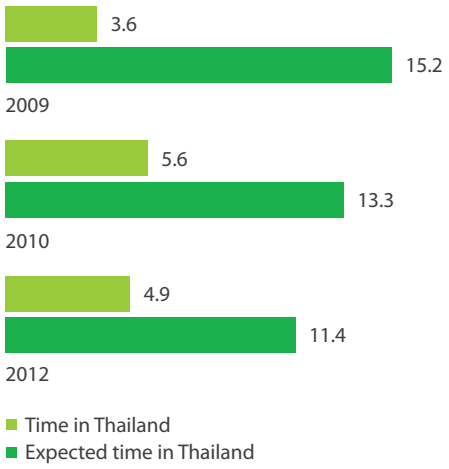
The average time the respondents stayed in Thailand was 3.6, 5.6 and 4.9 months in the 2009, 2010 and 2012 surveys, respectively *(Figure 18)*. Combining the three surveys together, there was a small group (4.6 per cent of the respondents) who stayed in Thailand for more than one year, with two people staying there for 10 years. On the other hand, 12 per cent of the respondents reported staying in Thailand for less than one month.

On average, those who had stayed in Thailand the longest were those who had been detained in a raid. Their average time in Thailand was 5.2 months (for the three surveys combined). This was followed by those who had escaped from exploitation, who on average stayed for 5.1 months. Those who left their work independently stayed on average for 4.4 months, and the group 'other' that included those who became ill and were unable to work, stayed the shortest, on average for 4.2 months.

It is unclear why the respondents who were not captured in a raid stayed in Thailand for such a short time. Their expectations were to stay in Thailand, on average, for over a year in 2009 and 2010, and for just under a year in 2012 *(Figure 18)*. As noted below, on average, the respondents rated their quality of life in Thailand as better than in Cambodia. Those who independently quit their employment may have decided to return home for family reasons, or to undertake seasonal farm work before perhaps going to Thailand again.

Another possibility is that those caught in police raids may not have had the necessary networks and skills to avoid such events. As Cambodians spend longer in Thailand they possibly improve their language skills and general ability to assimilate into the Thai population, decreasing the chances they will be caught in a raid. Further, irregular migrant workers, who have established a good reputation and a good relationship with their employers, if caught in a raid, may be released if the employer pays a fine.

Figure 18: Mean number of expected and mean actual months in Thailand, by survey



Employment in Thailand

The construction sector provided the most common employment for the respondents. In 2009, this form of employment accounted for 46 per cent of the respondents' work *(Figure 19)*. In 2010 and 2012, the proportion of respondents in this field increased to around 55 per cent. Farming was the next biggest employer of the respondents accounting for 21 per cent in 2009, 16 per cent in 2012, but only 5 per cent in 2010. This was followed by factory work, with the proportion of respondents working in this sector increasing from 8 per cent in 2009 to 14 per cent in 2010, and 15 per cent in 2012. Factory work included those working in garment factories, those working in food factories, including seafood processing factories and 'other' factories. The next group were those working on fishing boats, accounting for 12 per cent of the respondents in 2009 and 2010, and 7 per cent in 2012.

There were statistically significant differences in the numbers of respondents employed in construction (p=.001), domestic (p=.007), factories (p=.005), fishing (p=.014) and 'other' (p<.001), but not in farming and the service industry over the three surveys. The marked change in 'other' resulted in better pre-coding by the data entry team, because in 2012 there were no 'other' forms of work.

Figure 19: Type of employment, by survey

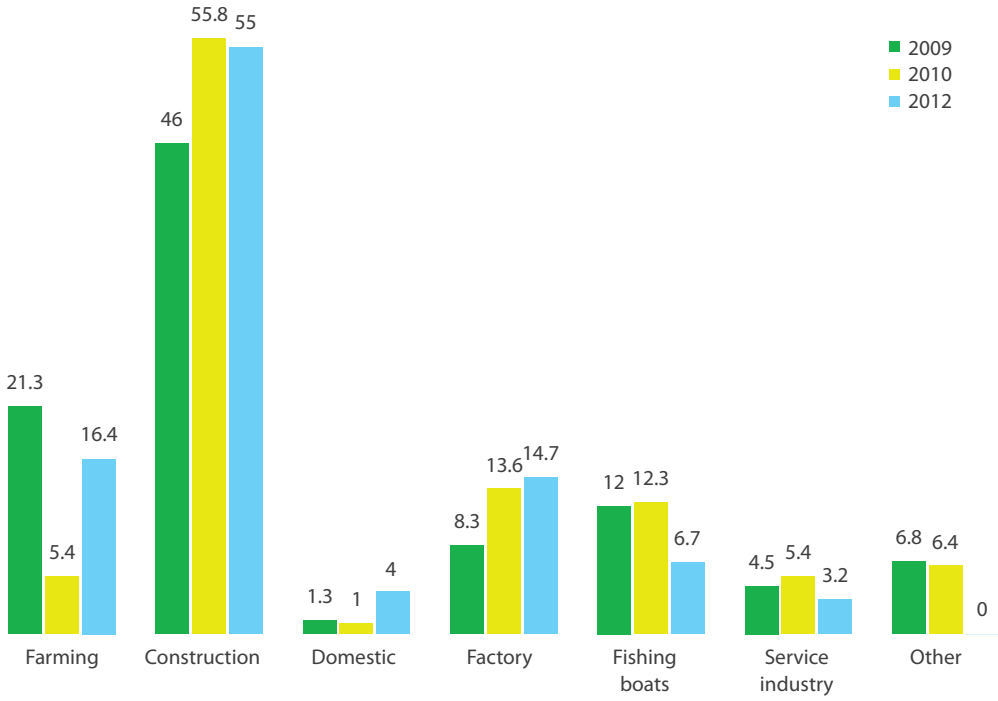
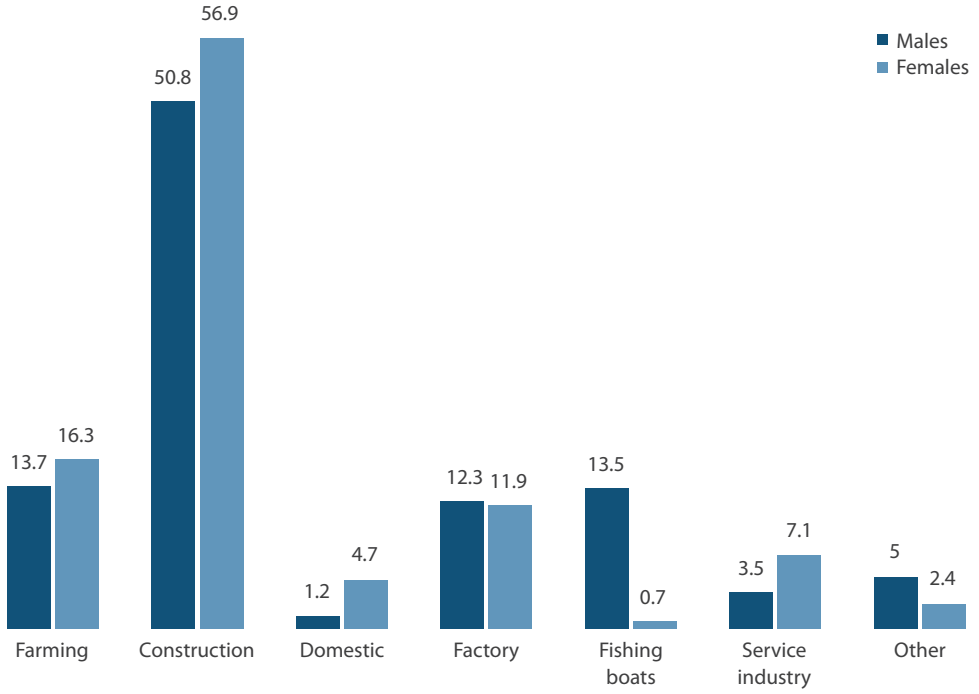


Figure 20: Type of employment, by sex, for the three surveys combined



Comparing the male and female respondents over the three surveys, males were more likely than females to be working on fishing boats, accounting for 14 per cent of male respondents compared to 1 per cent of female correspondents *(Figure 20)*.[28] The female respondents were more likely to be working in farming, construction, domestic and the service industries. Working in factories accounted for 12 per cent of both the male and female respondents.

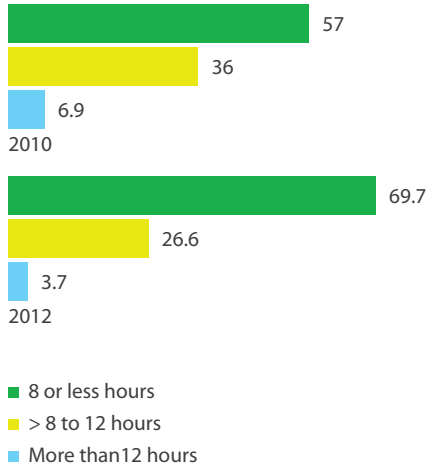
Reflecting the changes in employment of the respondents over the three surveys, there were significant changes in the employment of males and females. Of the seven categories of employment, there were six significant changes in the employment of males. For farming, domestic work (11 cases) and 'other', these changes were highly significant ($p<.001$). There were also changes in factory work ($p=.007$), on the fishing boats ($p=.026$) and service work ($p=.046$). Only in construction did the employment of males remain constant. For females, there were statistical changes in farming ($p<.001$), construction ($p=.033$) and factory work ($p=.012$).

Number of hours worked per day

There was a statistically significant difference between the number of hours worked as recorded in the 2010 and 2012 surveys (p=.001). No data on working hours were collected in the 2009 survey. The proportion of respondents working 8 or fewer hours increased from 57 per cent to 70 per cent between the two surveys *(Figure 21)*, while those working more than 12 hours declined from 7 per cent in 2010 to 4 per cent in 2012.

Working eight or fewer hours was not perceived as being advantageous by all the respondents. Of those working eight hours or less in 2010, 7 per cent indicated that this was not desirable. In 2012, the proportion was 6 per cent. Similarly, not all those working more than 12 hours a day saw this as being a negative. In 2010, a quarter of the respondents working these 12 hours a day indicated that this was positive. In 2012, the proportion indicating this was 40 per cent. The respondents holding these views are likely to have wanted to work long hours to earn as much money as possible.

Figure 21: Hours worked per day, by survey



Note: No data was collected in the 2009 survey on hours worked.

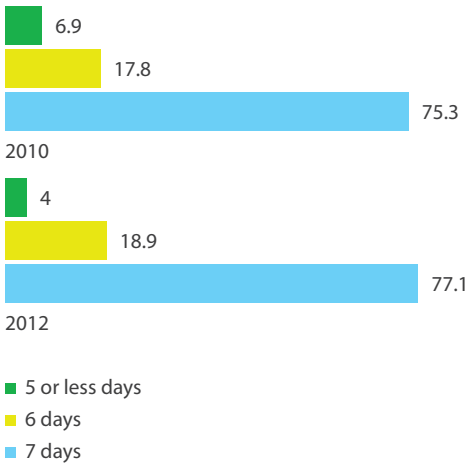
Overall, the working hours of the male and female respondents were similar. However, there was a statistically significant difference between the hours worked by type of employment (p<.001). Those employed on fishing boats had the highest proportion of respondents indicating they worked over 12 hours per day, with 21 per cent of them reporting so. Those in domestic work also had very similar working hours, with 20 per cent indicating they worked these hours. It must be noted that the sample size for domestic work was small, with only 20 respondents combined in 2010 and 2012 working in this field. The sector that had the smallest proportion of respondents indicating that they worked more than 12 hours was the construction industry, where less than 1 per cent was doing so. Table 2 gives details of the proportion of respondents working 12 hours or more by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Number of days worked per week

Over 90 per cent of the respondents worked more than five days a week in both 2010 and 2012 *(Figure 22)*. This question was not asked in the 2009 survey. There was no statistically significant difference between the sexes and how many days per week they worked.

For the three surveys combined, those working on fishing boats had the highest proportion of respondents working every day, with 90 per cent of them doing so. Those working in construction, domestic service and farming had the next highest proportion of respondents working seven days each week, with around 80 per cent doing so. This was followed by the service industry and those working in 'other' fields, in which 69 and 54 per cent, respectively, worked every day. Those working in factories were the least likely to be working seven days a week, with half of them doing so. These differences were not statistically significant. Table 2 gives details of the proportion of respondents working seven days a week by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

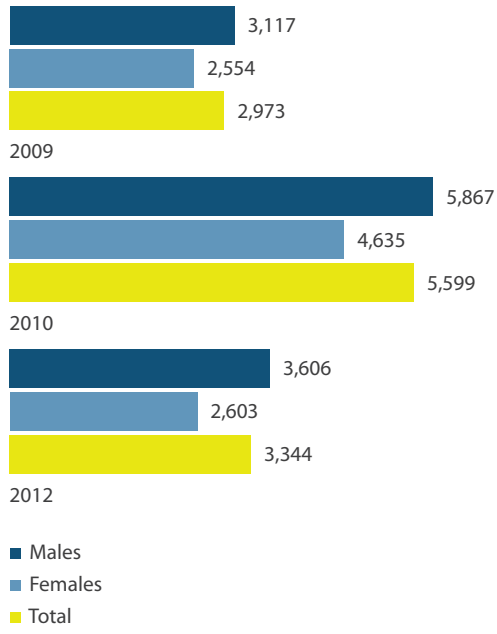
Figure 22: Percentage of respondents working 5 or fewer days; 6 days; or 7 days per week, by survey



Salary

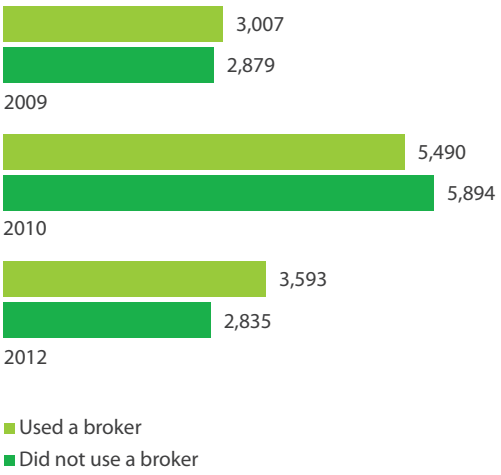
The average monthly salary was 2,973 baht in 2009, 5,599 baht in 2010 and 3,344 in 2012 *(Figure 23)*. Over the three surveys, the average monthly salary was 3,978 baht. In each of the surveys, male respondents earned more than their female counterparts. In both 2010 and 2012, this difference was over 1,000 baht and statistically significant ($p<.001$ in 2010 and $p=.017$ in 2012).

Figure 23: Mean monthly salary (Baht), by sex and survey



In both the 2009 and 2012 surveys, the respondents who indicated that they used a broker to get to their place of employment earned more than those who did not *(Figure 24)*. While in 2010, i.e. the survey in which the respondents indicated that they earned the most, the pattern was reversed. The year with the greatest difference was 2012, with those using a broker to get to their place of employment earning over 750 baht more per month. The difference in means in 2012 was significant (p=.049). There were no statistically significant differences between the mean monthly wages of the respondents and if they used a broker to get to the Cambodian-Thai border.

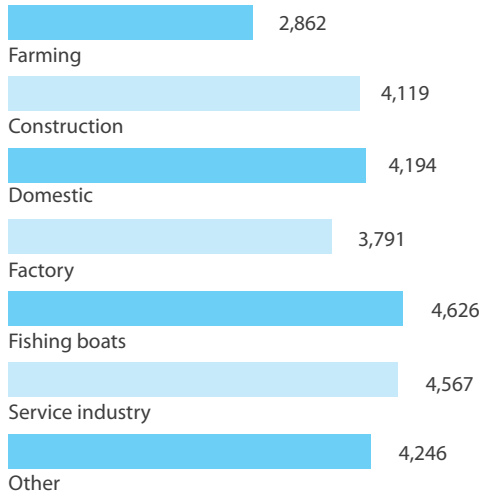
Figure 24: Mean monthly salary (Baht), by whether the respondents used a broker to get to their place of employment and survey



Combining the three surveys, those who worked on the fishing boats earned the most money. It was in this work that the greatest proportion of respondents worked 12 hours or more, and seven days a week. On average, over the three surveys, they earned over 4,600 baht per month *(Figure 25)*.

Respondents in the service industry, on average, earned the second highest income with an average around 4,500 baht per month. This was followed by those working in 'other' sectors, and then by domestic workers who had the second highest proportion working more than 12 hours per day, and the third highest proportion working seven days a week. The respondents working in agriculture, on average, earned the least, with a salary of 2,862 baht. The difference in mean salary by type of work was statistically significant (p<.001). Table 2 gives details of the respondents' mean monthly wages by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Figure 25: Mean monthly salary (Baht), by work type for the three surveys combined

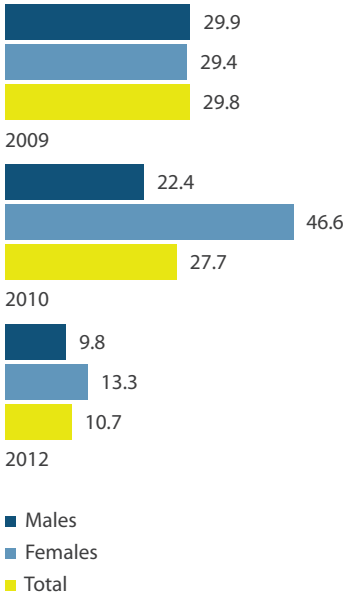


Not being paid

A substantial proportion, but a declining one, indicated that they never received their wages. In 2009, 30 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were never paid for the work they undertook in Thailand *(Figure 26)*. In 2010, this proportion declined slightly to 28 per cent. However, by 2012 it had declined to just over 10 per cent, making the change over time statistically significant (p<.001).

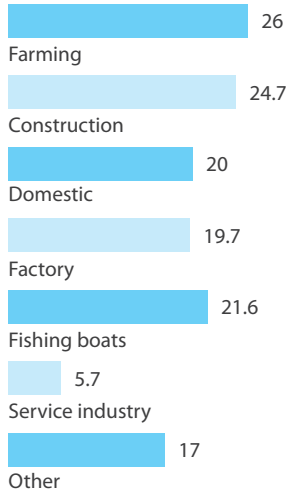
In 2010, there was a statistically significant difference (p<.001) between male and female respondents in whether they received their wages or not. Close to half of the female interviewees indicated they did not receive their wages that year *(Figure 26)*, whilst only 22 per cent of male respondents alleged that they had not been paid. In the two other surveys, there was no statistically significant difference between the sexes and whether they received their wages or not.

Figure 26: Percentage of respondents indicating they were not paid, by sex and survey



Over the three surveys, there was also a statistically significant difference (p=.039) between those not being paid and the type of employment they undertook. Those working in farming, the sector which, on average, paid the least, were the most likely not to receive their payments, with 26 per cent indicating this to be the case *(Figure 27)*. This was closely followed by those working in construction, as a quarter of the respondents doing this work reported that they did not receive their payments. The service sector had the lowest proportion of people indicating they had never been paid, with 6 per cent. Table 2 gives details of the proportion of respondents not being paid by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Figure 27: Percentage of respondents indicating they were not paid, by employment for the three surveys combined

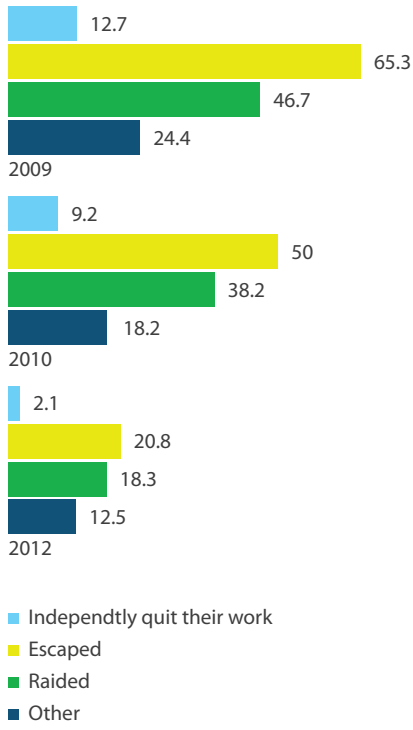


Not being paid was both related to how long they had spent in their employment (this study uses time in Thailand as a proxy for time spent in employment), and also how they left their place of employment.

A good proportion of those who had not been paid had been in their position for less than one or less than two months. For example, in 2009 those people who had been in Thailand for two or fewer months accounted for 44 per cent of all people who had not been paid; in 2010 it was 47 per cent, and in 2012 it was 63 per cent. In 2009, there was no statistical significance between how long the respondents worked and whether the respondents were paid, but there was in 2010 ($p<.001$) and in 2012 ($p<.009$).

Respondents who left their work independently were the ones most likely to be paid *(Figure 28)*. In 2009, 13 per cent of them indicated they were not paid; this dropped to 9 per cent in 2010, and 2 per cent in 2012. Those least likely to be paid were those who had escaped from their work. In 2009, close to two thirds of respondents indicated they had not received their wages; this declined to 50 per cent in 2010, and then to 20 per cent in 2012. People caught in raids were the next most likely group not to have been paid. In 2009, close to half of these respondents were not paid for their work, falling to 38 per cent in 2010, and 18 per cent in 2012. There was a statistically significant difference between whether respondents received their pay or not, and how they left their employment in each of the three surveys ($p<.001$ in each survey).

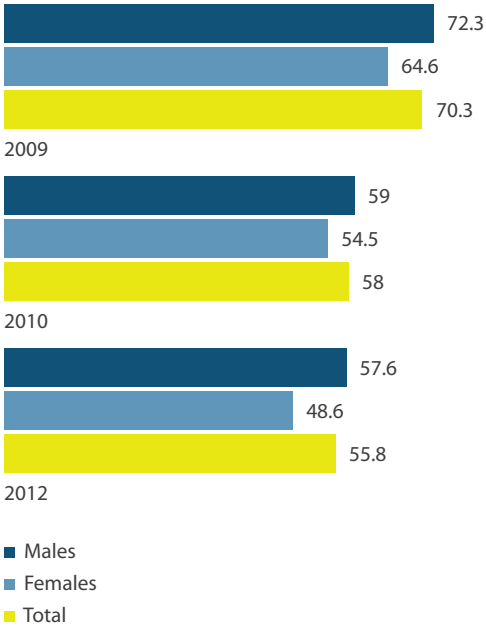
Figure 28: Percentage of respondents who were not paid, by how they left their employment and survey



Salary deductions

The proportion of respondents who indicated that they had deductions taken from their salary fell from 70 per cent in 2009 to 58 per cent in 2010, and to 56 per cent in 2012 *(Figure 29)*. This difference was statistically significant ($p<.001$). In each survey, a greater proportion of male than female respondents had deductions from their salaries, although the difference was only significant in 2012 ($p=.007$).

Figure 29: Percentage of respondents indicating they had deductions taken from their salary, by sex and survey



The respondents indicated a range of reasons why deductions were made from their salaries. This included payments to the police, for electricity and/or water, food, housing, registration, alcohol, penalties and broker costs that the employer had paid. The research is not in a position to verify if the money allegedly deducted by the employer to pay the police or other costs was in fact used for such purposes.

Table 2: Respondents' working conditions by survey (percentage)

Survey	Agriculture	Construction	Domestic	Factory	Fishing	Service	Other
Worked more than 12 hours per day							
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2***	4.5	.9	75	10.9	20	18.2	7.7
3***	6.1	.5	6.3	1.7	22.2	15.4	-
Working seven days a week							
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2***	86.4	80.1	100	52.7	84	72.7	53.8
3***	77.3	83.3	75	47.5	100	61.5	-
Mean monthly salary							
1	2,193	3,208	2,900	2,702	3,139	3,554	3,498
2***	3,564	5,824	5,550	5,373	5,503	6,805	5,559
3*	3,491	3,133	4,259	2,926	5,643	2,183	-
Not paid							
1	36.5	30.4	20	30.3	22.9	16.7	25.9
2***	40.9	30.5	100	29.1	24	0	7.7
3	7.6	14	0	5.1	14.8	0	-

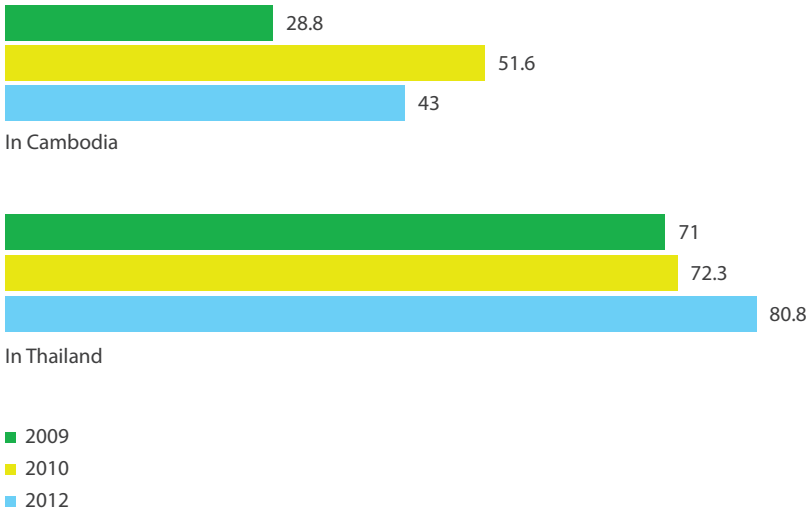
*p-value < 0.05, **p-value <0.005, ***p-value <0.001

Impressions of life in Cambodia and Thailand

Despite long working hours and at times difficult working conditions, the vast majority of the respondents regarded life in Thailand as better than what they had experienced in Cambodia before departing *(Figure 30)*. In addition, the proportion of those with a positive attitude about life in Thailand increased statistically significantly over time, rising from 71 per cent in 2009 to 81 per cent in 2012 (p=.002).

In each of the surveys, the female respondents had a more positive attitude about the quality of life in Thailand compared to their male counterparts. Nevertheless, this was statistically significant only in 2009, when 80 per cent of them held this opinion compared to 68 per cent of the males (p=.015).

Figure 30: Percentage of respondents indicating their quality of life in Cambodia (pre-migration) and while in Thailand was fine or good



Ratings of working conditions in Thailand

The three surveys asked the respondents to self-assess their working conditions in Thailand by rating on a five-level scale of: very poor, poor, fine, good and very good. They were asked to do so for their views of:

- their boss/supervisor
- working conditions
- violence in the workplace
- work safety
- restrictions on their movements at work

For this study, the five-level scale was converted into dichotomous variables of poor (poor and very poor) and good (namely fine, good and very good). Below are details of the respondents' attitudes for these five categories.

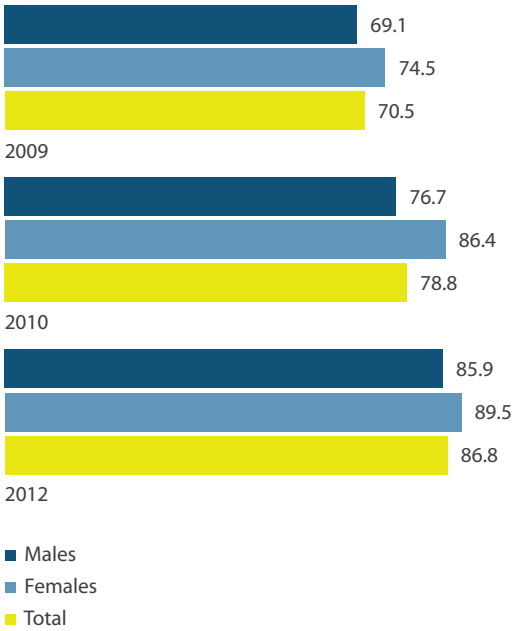
Bosses

In each of the three surveys, a majority of the respondents rated their bosses in a positive light. Further, over time this proportion increased, rising from just above 70 per cent in 2009 to 79 per cent in 2010, and then close to 90 per cent in 2012 *(Figure 31)*. This change was statistically significant ($p<.001$).

In each survey, female respondents rated their bosses more positively than males. Only in 2010 though, when 77 per cent of males and 86 per cent of females expressed positive attitudes about their bosses, was this difference statistically significant ($p=.049$).

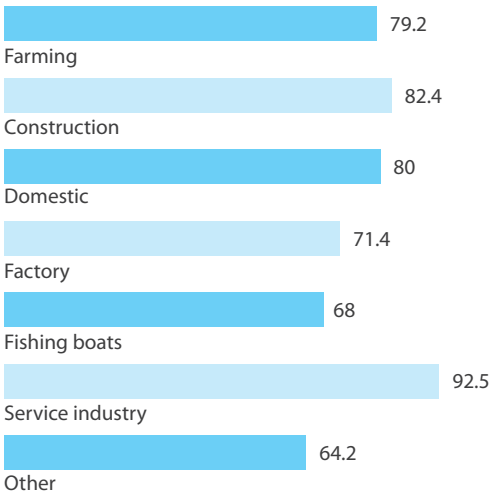
For the three surveys combined, respondents in the service industry rated their bosses the best, with 93 per cent having positive views of them *(Figure 32)*. This was followed by those in the construction industry (82 per cent) and domestic work (80 per cent). Respondents working in 'other' rated their bosses as the least positive with only 64 per cent of them reporting positive views. Bosses of those working on the fishing boats (the respondents could have been referring either to their captains or possibly to a boss back at the port) received the second lowest positive score, with 68 per cent

Figure 31: Percentage of respondents rating their bosses and/or supervisors as fair to good, by sex and survey



of respondents rating them positively. These differences were statistically significant (p<.001). Table 3 gives details of how the respondents rated their bosses, by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Figure 32: Percentage of respondents rating their bosses positively, by three surveys combined



Working conditions

There was a marked improvement between the three surveys in how the respondents rated their working conditions. In 2009, two thirds of those interviewed rated their working conditions positively *(Figure 33)*. This increased to 72 per cent in 2010 and to 87 per cent in 2012; a change that was statistically significant (p<.001). Female respondents were more positive about their working conditions in each round compared to their male counterparts, though these differences were not statistically significant.

Comparing the respondents' employment type for the three surveys combined, those who worked in the service industry had the most positive attitude about their work. This was the case for 91 per cent of the respondents working in this sector *(Figure 34)*. The group with the least positive attitudes about their working conditions were those working in 'other' and on the fishing boats, with fewer than 60 per cent of them being positive about their working conditions. These differences were statistically significant (p<.001). Table 3 gives details of how the respondents rated their working conditions, by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Figure 33: Percentage of respondents rating their working conditions as fair to good, by survey

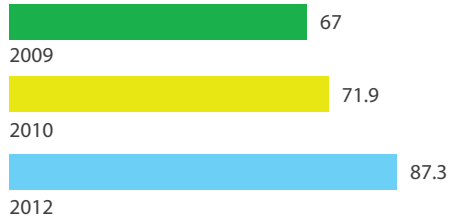
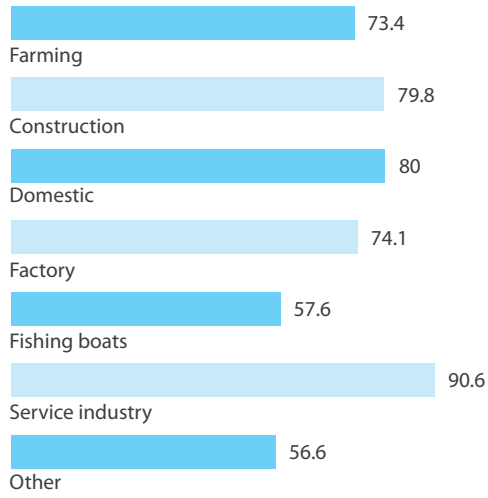


Figure 34: Percentage of respondents rating their working conditions as fair to good, by industry for the three surveys combined



Violence

The level of violence in the workplace as reported by the respondents improved from the first survey in 2009, when 19 per cent of the respondents indicated that violence at work was a problem *(Figure 35)*. This declined to 9 per cent in 2010, before increasing to 11 per cent in 2012. The difference between the three surveys was statistically significant (p<.001).

Male respondents were more likely to report problems of violence in their workplaces compared to females. This difference was statistically significant in 2009 (p=.014) and 2012 (p=.046), but not in 2010 when the respondents indicated the problem of violence was lowest.

For the three surveys combined, respondents working on farms, in the service industry and in factories had the fewest reports of violence, with less than 10 per cent of respondents indicating this to be a problem *(Figure 36)*. The fishing industry had the worst score, with just over a quarter of the respondents who worked on the boats indicating that violence was a problem. These differences were statistically significant (p<.001). Table 3 gives details of how the respondents rated the level of violence at their workplace, by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Figure 35: Percentage of respondents indicating the level of violence at their workplace was fine to non-existent, by sex and survey

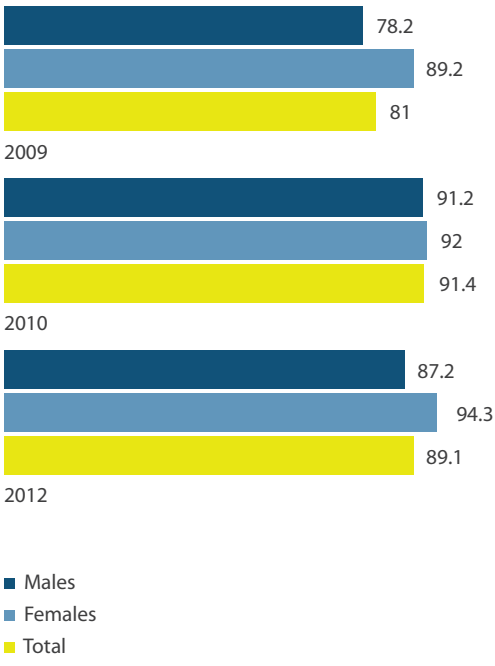
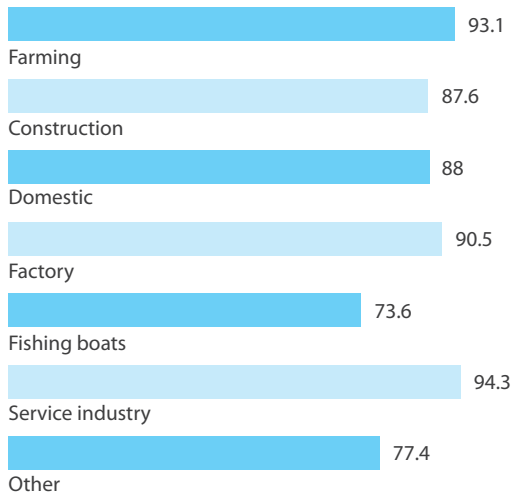


Figure 36: Percentage of respondents indicating the level of violence at their work was fine to non-existent, by industry for the three surveys combined



Safety at work

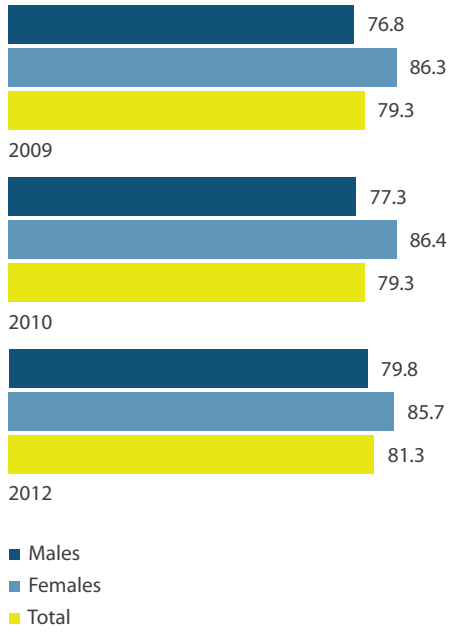
Little is known about the occupational health and safety of migrant workers in Thailand. Yet, given that migrant workers are often carrying out the most dangerous, dirty and difficult jobs, it would not be surprising if they experienced high rates of accidents and injuries. Further, they are not covered by any welfare scheme or other form of compensation in the case of an

accident, injury or death. The only formal occupational accident statistics available in Thailand are those published by the Office of the Workmen's Compensation Fund, Ministry of Labour. But, these figures are scanty, under-reported and unlikely to include accidents experienced by migrants in general, and in particular, unregistered migrants, that is, those most likely to be working in dangerous jobs.[29]

What we know about the occupational health of migrant workers in Thailand comes from a series of case studies. In a 2000 study on the sexuality, reproductive health and violence experienced by migrants from Myanmar, 40 per cent of the participants indicated that they had had an injury, while in their Chiang Mai sample, close to 90 per cent of the migrants reported a work injury within the six months prior to the survey.[30] A 2009 report determining how to provide health financing for migrant workers indicated that the major health concerns of migrant workers included skeletal or muscular injuries due to heavy workloads and poor occupational health and safety standards.[31] A health survey in Myanmar indicated that many respondents who had worked in Thailand had chronic skin diseases induced by exposure to nitric acid and other acidic materials.[32]

In each of the three surveys, the proportion of respondents who indicated that their workplaces were safe stayed constant at around 80 per cent, leaving one in five respondents expressing concerns about work safety *(Figure 37)*. Female respondents reported higher levels of work safety than their male counterparts, a difference that was statistically significant in 2009 (p=.043), but not in 2010 and 2012.

Figure 37: Percentage of respondents rating safety at their workplace as fair or good, by sex and survey



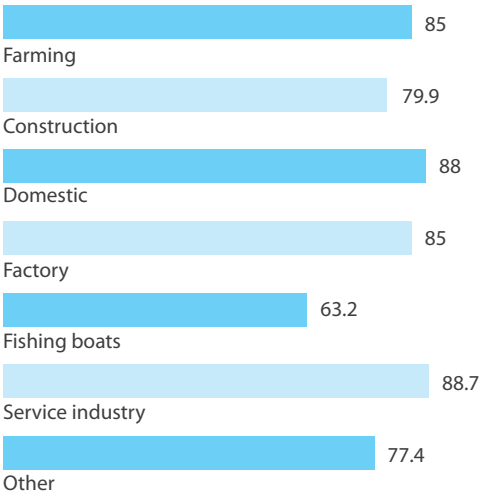
Differences between male and female respondents in reported levels of work safety are due (in part) to gender differences in employment. Respondents in all the occupations, except for those on the fishing boats, reported levels of work safety in or close to the 80 per cent range *(Figure 38)*.

For the three surveys combined, the two industries with the highest ratings for work safety were the service and domestic sectors. In both of these industries, more females than males were employed.

[29] Baker, S., C. Holumyong, et al. (2010). Research gaps concerning the health of migrants from Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar in Thailand. Bangkok, Institute of Population and Social Research and WHO.
[30] Caouette, T., K. Archavanitkul, et al. (2000). Sexuality, Reproductive Health and Violence: Experiences of Migrants from Burma in Thailand. Nakhonprathom, Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University.
[31] Srithamrongsawat, S., R. Wisessang, et al. (2009). Financing Healthcare for Migrants: A Case Study from Thailand. Bangkok, International Organisation for Migration.
[32] Mekong Environmental Poverty Partners Alliance. (2009). "Burmese Health Survey." Retrieved 5 January, 2010, from http://www.meppa.org/health/.

Only 63 per cent of those working on the fishing boats indicated that their working conditions were safe, leaving over a third of respondents in this industry expressing negative attitudes about their work safety. Of the 125 respondents working in this field, 123 were males. These differences between the safety ratings by workplace were statistically significant (p<.001). Table 3 gives details of how the respondents rated their work safety by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Figure 38: Percentage of respondents rating safety at their workplace as fair or good, for the three surveys combined

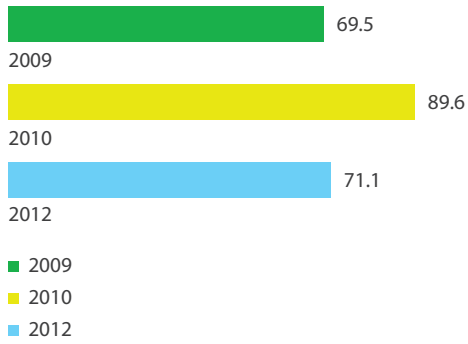


Levels of freedom of movement at work

In this study, the respondents were asked two separate questions; first, they had to rate their level of freedom of movement, and second, they were asked if there were any restrictions on their movement, such as, if there were locks, guards, or fences, or if their passports had been removed, etc.

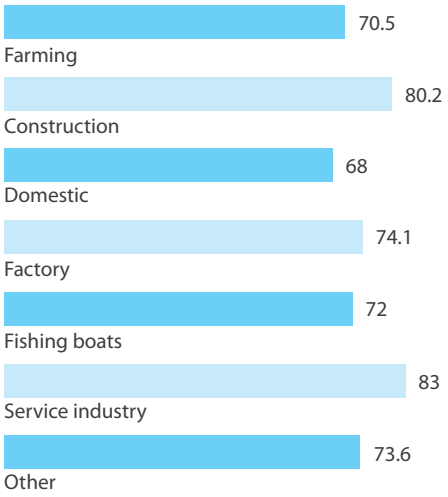
There was a statistically significant difference (p<.001) between the respondents in the three surveys and their assessment of their levels of freedom of movement at their workplaces. A marked increase in the numbers of respondents rating levels of freedom of movement as positive occurred in 2010 compared to 2009 *(Figure 39)*, before dropping again to just above 2009 levels in the most recent study. In 2010, 90 per cent of the respondents rated their freedom of movement at work as positive, compared to 70 per cent in the other two surveys. There was no significant difference between male and female respondents in the three surveys about their rating of freedom of movement at work.

Figure 39: Percentage of respondents rating freedom of movement at their workplace as fair to good, by survey



For the three surveys combined there was a statistically significant difference by the type of work (p=.049). Respondents working in the service and construction sectors rated their work as having the highest levels of freedom of movement, with over 80 per cent of the respondents describing this as fair to good *(Figure 40)*. The sectors which scored the lowest on freedom of movement were domestic work, farming and fishing with only 68, 71 and 72 per cent, respectively, defining their freedom of movement as fair to good. Table 3 gives details of how the respondents rated their levels of freedom of movement by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

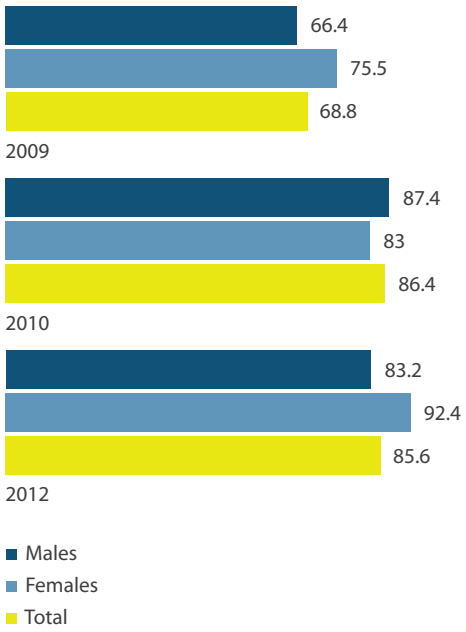
Figure 40: Percentage of respondents rating levels of freedom of movement at their workplace as fair to good for the three surveys combined



For the second question if there were restrictions on their movement at work with locks, guards, etc., there was a marked improvement: just under 70 per cent of respondents indicated that they had no restrictions on their movements at work in 2009 *(Figure 41)*, which subsequently increased to 86 per cent for the next two surveys. These differences were statistically significant (p<.001).

There were variations between male and female respondents, and the extent to which they indicated that there were restrictions on their freedom of movement at work, but only in 2012 was this difference statistically significant (p=.021). In that survey, 92 per cent of the females indicated that there were no such restrictions, while only 83 per cent of the males indicated the same.

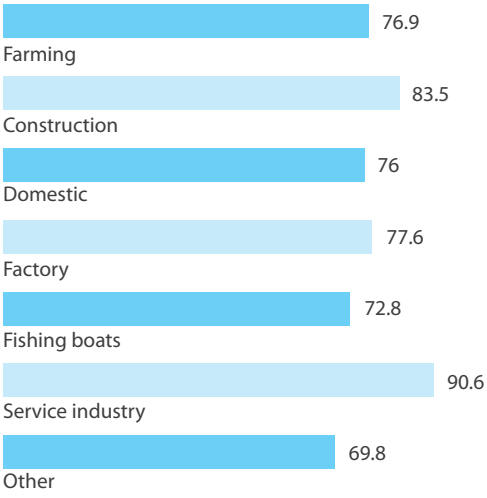
Figure 41: Percentage of respondents indicating that there were NO restrictions on their movements at their workplace, by survey



With the three surveys combined, there was a statistically significant difference between the types of work and whether there were restrictions on their freedom

of movement at their workplace (p=.006) *(Figure 42)*. The service industry scored the best, with 91 per cent of the respondents indicating there were no such restrictions at their workplace, while it was the fishing and 'other' sectors that scored the worst, with only around 70 per cent of respondents indicating there were no restrictions on their movements.

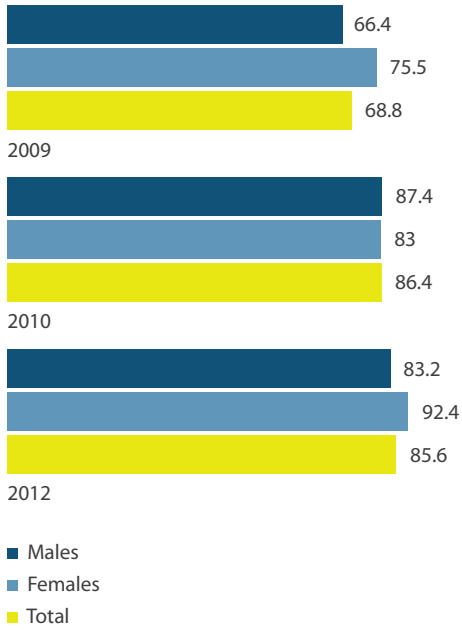
Figure 42: Percentage of respondents indicating that there were NO restrictions on their movements at their workplace, by industry for the three surveys combined



Freedom to quit their employment

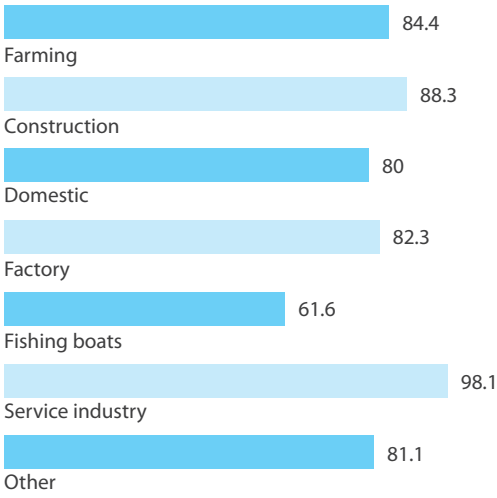
The majority of the respondents indicated that they were able to quit their positions if they so desired; nevertheless, there was a substantial group who suggested that they were unable to do so. In 2009, just under 80 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were free to quit their employment if they so desired *(Figure 43)*. This increased to 85 per cent in 2010, and to just under 90 per cent in 2012. These differences were statistically significant (p<.001). However, there was no statistically significant difference between the sexes on this question.

Figure 43: Percentage of respondents who indicated that they were free to quit their employment, by sex and survey



Combing the three surveys, there was a statistically significant difference between the types of work and the respondents' ability to freely quit their employment (p<.001) *(Figure 44)*. The service industry scored the highest, as all but one person felt they could quit their work if they so desired. Respondents working on the fishing boats were the least likely to indicate they could freely quit their employment, with 62 per cent reporting they could.

Figure 44: Percentage of respondents who indicated that they were free to quit their employment, by industry for the three surveys combined



For those who indicated that they were unable to leave their employment, the main reason was that they had not paid off their debts. However, they suggested they would be able to do so once these fees were paid.

A small but alarming group indicated that guns would be used against them, or that they would be killed, if they tried to leave their employment. This was the case for four respondents in 2009 and five in 2010. In 2012, no one reported this. Further, 11, 18 and 4 respondents in 2009, 2010 and 2012, respectively, indicated that if they tried to leave their employment the employer would threaten to call the police to arrest them.

Table 3: Percentage of respondents rating various aspects of their working environment as fair to good

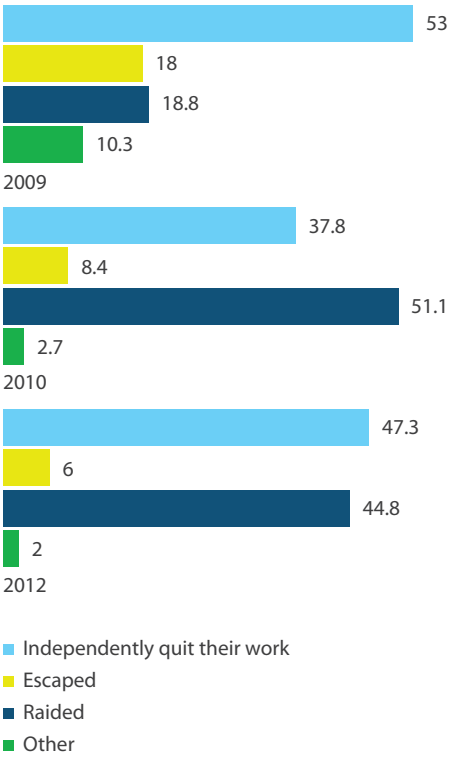
Round	Agriculture	Construction	Domestic	Factory	Fishing	Service	Other
Bosses							
1	69.4	70.7	60	60.6	77.1	88.9	63
2***	59.1	88.5	25	65.5	64	90.9	65.4
3***	98.5	86	100	83.1	59.3	100	-
Working conditions							
1	68.2	68.5	60	69.7	56.3	88.9	55.6
2**	40.9	78.3	75	65.5	64	86.4	57.7
3***	90	91	87.5	84.7	48.1	100	-
Level of violence at their work							
1	88.2	79.3	80	87.9	75	83.3	70.4
2***	95.5	95.1	50	90.9	76	100	84.6
3***	98.5	86.9	100	91.5	66.7	100	-
Safety at their work							
1	84.7	77.7	80	84.8	68.8	88.9	77.8
2	81.8	81.4	100	80	66	81.8	76.9
3***	86.4	80.1	87.5	89.8	48.1	100	-
Level of freedom at work							
1	67.1	73.4	60	66.7	60.4	77.8	66.7
2***	72.7	92.9	25	90.9	88	95.5	80.8
3	74.2	72.9	81.3	62.7	63	69.2	-

*p-value < 0.05, **p-value <0.005, ***p-value <0.001

How the respondents left their employment and returned to Cambodia

Over the three surveys there was great variation in how the respondents left their work (p<.001) *(Figure 45)*. In 2009, over half of the respondents stated that they had independently quit their work and decided to return to Cambodia. Nevertheless, a proportion of them were detained as they attempted to return to Cambodia for not having the required documents.[33] Close to 20 per cent of the respondents in this survey were captured in a raid. Another significant group had escaped from exploitative working conditions and had either turned themselves in to the authorities, or had tried to return to Cambodia and were then detained for not having the required papers. Finally, 10 per cent of the respondents returned to Cambodia for 'other' reasons, such as being too ill to work. No matter how or why the respondents returned, all of them ended up crossing the border amongst deportees.

Figure 45: How the respondents left their employment, by survey



The respondents in 2010 were different from their 2009 counterparts, as over half of them were detained after a raid. Comparing the same two survey years, the proportion escaping from exploitative employment had declined to 8 per cent, and the number independently quitting their job had also fallen, from 53 to 38 per cent.

By 2012, the proportion detained after a raid was 45 per cent, lower than the 2010 figure, but higher than in the 2009 survey. The proportion that escaped from exploitive work had declined further and accounted for 6 per cent of the respondents, while the proportion of respondents independently quitting their work was 47 per cent.

[33] Thai authorities check both buses and trains heading to Cambodia, and will detain those without required documents.

There was no statistically significant difference between how the respondents left their employment and their sex. This was the case in all three surveys.

For the three surveys combined, there was a statistically significant difference between how the respondents left their work as well as the type of work (p<.001) (*Figure 46*). Domestic workers were the ones most likely to independently quit their employment, with 80 per cent of them doing so. Those working on the fishing boats were the most likely to have escaped from exploitative working conditions, with 22 per cent of the respondents doing this. Service workers were the most likely to be deported, as close to half of them left Thailand as deportees.

Although those working on the fishing boats were the most likely to have escaped from their employment when the three surveys are combined, this was not the case in each survey. In the 2009 survey, factory workers were the most likely to have escaped, with close to one in three of them doing so *(Table 4)*. In the second survey, domestic workers were the most likely to have escaped with 50 per cent doing this – however this was only two out of four cases. By 2012, the proportion of respondents escaping had fallen to 5 per cent or less, except in fishing where the proportion had increased to 30 per cent.

Figure 46: How respondents left their work, by employment for all three surveys combined

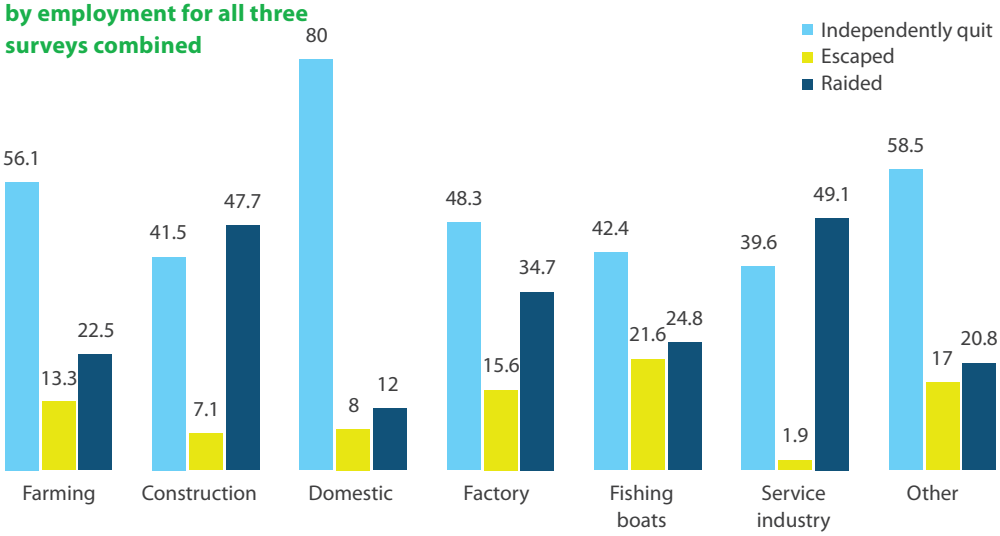


Table 4: Proportion of respondents escaping from their employment by survey (percentage)

Round	Agriculture	Construction	Domestic	Factory	Fishing	Service	Other
1*	21.2	13	0	30.3	25	5.6	25.9
2***	13.6	4	50	20	14	0	7.7
3***	3	5.4	0	3.4	29.6	0	-

*p-value < 0.05, **p-value <0.005, ***p-value <0.001

Respondents who were possibly trafficked

To determine whether any of the respondents were possibly trafficked, this study first seeks to establish who was exploited at their workplace, and second, who was also cheated and/or deceived.

Exploitative working conditions

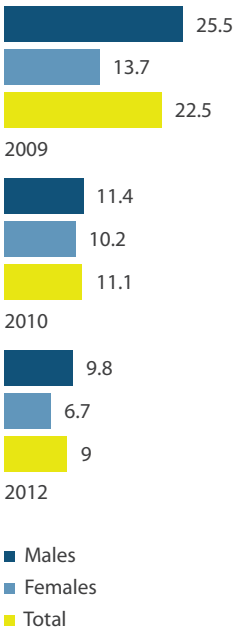
As noted in the methodology section of this paper, respondents classified as having exploitative working conditions were defined as those rating three or more of the following as poor or very poor:

- their bosses
- their work conditions
- the level of violence at work
- their safety at work
- levels of freedom of movement at their work

Based on the respondents' self-reports, there was a marked improvement in the working conditions of Cambodian migrant workers deported from Thailand. The proportion of respondents who indicated that they had exploitative working conditions declined from 23 per cent in 2009 to 11 per cent in 2010, and then to 9 per cent in 2012 *(Figure 47)*. This change was statistically significant ($p<.001$).

In 2009, there was a statistically significant difference between the male and female respondents in terms of the proportions working under exploitative conditions. In that year, over a quarter of all male respondents indicated they were working under exploitative conditions, while 14 per cent of the female respondents indicated the same ($p=.015$).

Figure 47: Percentage of respondents indicating to have had exploitative working conditions, by sex and survey

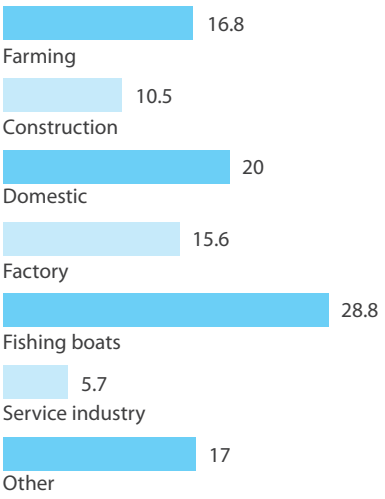


In terms of employment, it was those working on fishing boats who reportedly had the most exploitative working conditions. Over the three surveys, slightly less than 30 per cent of the respondents who had undertaken this work indicated that they were working under such conditions *(Figure 48)*. Unlike the other forms of work, in which levels of exploitation decreased from the first to the third surveys, levels of reported exploitation on the fishing boats increased from 27 per cent in 2009 to 41 per cent in 2012 *(Table 5)*.

The second type of work with the highest reported levels of exploitation over the three surveys was domestic work at 20 per cent. Caution needs to be taken in reviewing this result because in 2010, when there were only four respondents doing domestic work, three out of the four indicated that they suffered from exploitative conditions. Yet, in 2012 not one person doing this work reported such conditions *(Table 5)*.

The industries with the least reported exploitative working conditions over the three surveys were the service industry (6 per cent) and the construction industry (just over 10 per cent). The difference between types of work and levels of reported exploitation was statistically significant (p<.001).

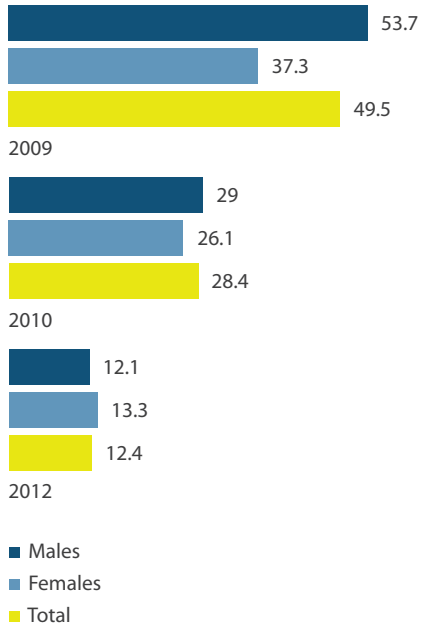
Figure 48: Percentage of respondents indicating they had exploitative working conditions, by employment for the three surveys combined



Cheated and/or deceived

The proportion of respondents indicating they had ever been cheated and/or deceived in their overall work experience in Thailand decreased dramatically, from half of the respondents indicating this in 2009, to 28 per cent in 2010, and to 12 per cent in 2012 (p<.001) *(Figure 49)*. There was a major difference between male and female respondents in 2009 as to whether they felt cheated and/or deceived, with 54 per cent of males and 37 per cent of females indicating this (p=.004). In the other two surveys there was no statistically significant difference between the sexes in this context.

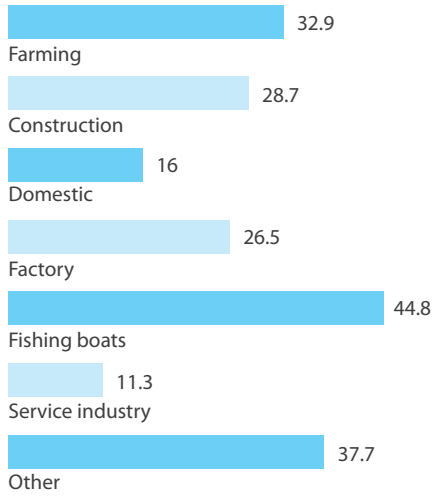
Figure 49: Percentage of respondents indicating they were cheated and/or deceived, by sex and survey



There was also a marked difference between indicated levels of being cheated and/or deceived by type of employment. Over the three surveys, the service industry had the lowest rate of respondents indicating cheating and/or deception (11 per cent) *(Figure 50)*. This was followed by the domestic sector at 16 per cent. The work type with the highest proportion of respondents indicating that they had been cheated and/or deceived was the fishing industry with 45 per cent.

Table 5 shows the changes in the proportion of respondents being cheated and/or deceived from the first to the third surveys. In the first survey there was no statistically significant difference between whether or not they had been cheated and/or deceived by type of work, but there was such a difference in both 2010 and 2012 ($p<.05$). In the first round, all occupations had high levels of respondents indicating they had been cheated and/or deceived. However, by the 2012 survey, the proportion declaring this had fallen to 10 per cent or less, except for those working on fishing boats where 30 per cent still reported cheating and/or deception.

Figure 50: Percentage of respondents indicating they were cheated and/or deceived, by employment for the three surveys combined

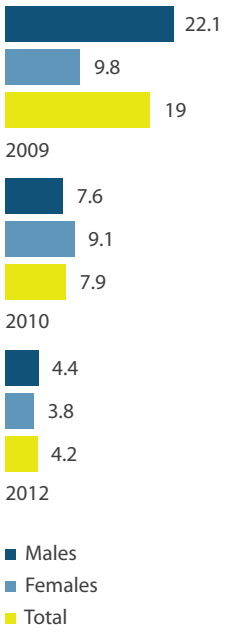


Trafficked

As noted at the start of this report, based on the data collected it is not possible to determine with certainty who was and who was not trafficked, particularly given that the data is based on self-reports and the information has not been further triangulated. However, it is likely that trafficked victims would be a sub-set of those respondents reporting to have experienced exploitative working experiences, and who felt cheated and/or deceived during their work experience in Thailand.

Positively, over the three surveys, there was a marked decline in the proportion of respondents who could be classified as being possibly trafficked ($p<.001$). The proportion declined from 19 per cent in 2009 to 8 per cent in 2010, and then to 4 per cent in 2012 *(Figure 51)*.

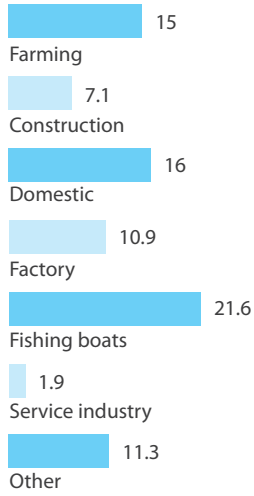
Figure 51: Percentage of respondents who were possibly trafficked, by sex and survey



In 2009, there was a statistically significant difference between male and female respondents and whether they could be classified as being trafficked (p=.006), but not for the other two surveys. In the first survey, 22 per cent of male respondents could be classified as trafficked persons, compared to 10 per cent of the females.

Over the three surveys, the form of employment that had the highest proportion of respondents who could be possibly classified as trafficked was the fishing sector. Over one in five respondents who had worked on fishing boats indicated that they had worked in exploitative working conditions, and also that they had been cheated and/or deceived during their work experience in Thailand *(Figure 52)*.

Figure 52: Percentage of respondents who were possibly trafficked, by employment for the three surveys combined



This was followed by the domestic sector, with 16 per cent of respondents being in this situation. The sector with the smallest proportion of respondents meeting these conditions was the service sector with 2 per cent, followed by the construction sector with 7 per cent of respondents. This difference was statistically significant (p<.001). Table 5 below details the proportion of respondents who were possibly trafficked by their type of work for each of the three surveys.

Table 5: Percentage of respondents being exploited, cheated and/or deceived and trafficked, by type of work

Round	Agriculture	Construction	Domestic	Factory	Fishing	Service	Other
Exploitative working conditions							
1	22.4	21.7	40	27.3	27.1	5.6	22.2
2***	36.4	3.5	75	16.4	24	9.1	11.5
3***	3	8.1	0	8.5	40.7	0	-
Cheated and/or deceived							
1	51.8	51.1	40	48.5	52.1	16.7	51.9
2*	40.9	24.8	50	30.9	46	9.1	23.1
3*	6.1	14	0	10.2	29.6	7.7	-
Trafficked							
1	21.2	17.4	40	27.3	20.8	5.6	14.8
2***	31.8	2.7	50	7.3	22	0	7.7
3***	1.5	3.2	0	5.1	22.2	0	-

*p-value < 0.05, **p-value <0.005, ***p-value <0.001

A statistical model based on the data from the three surveys was created (see Annex 1 for the full details of the model) to determine vulnerability factors for being trafficked. The model consisted of five themes with the following factors:

1. Demographic and socio-economic factors

- Their sex, age, education and marital status (demographic factors), as well as if they owned agricultural land in Cambodia and how they rated their life in Cambodia before migrating to Thailand (socio-economic factors)

2. Knowledge about Thailand and human trafficking

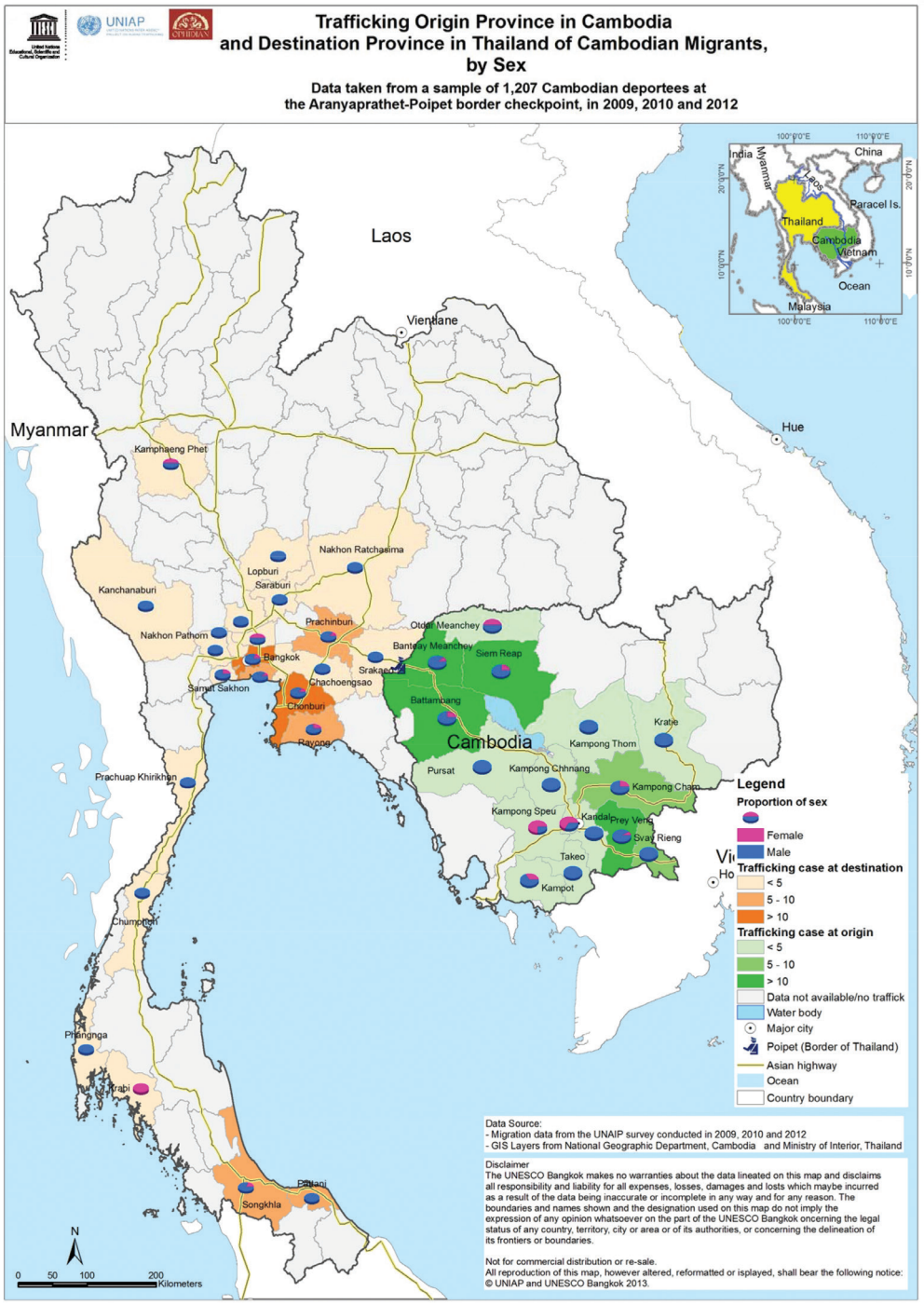
- Did they know anyone who had migrated to Thailand before they migrated themselves, how many times they had been to Thailand and whether they knew what human trafficking was (the last two questions were not asked in 2009 and thus not included in the 2009 model)

3. How they got to Thailand

- Who told them about their job in Thailand, the distance from their village to the Cambodian-Thai border and whether they used a broker to get to that border and to their final destination

4. Their experiences in Thailand

- How long they spent in Thailand, what type of work they had in Thailand and how they left their employment


Trafficking Origin Province in Cambodia
and Destination Province in Thailand of Cambodian Migrants,
by Sex
Data taken from a sample of 1,207 Cambodian deportees at
the Aranyaprathet-Poipet border checkpoint, in 2009, 2010 and 2012
UNIAP
Laos
Vientiane
Myanmar
Hue
Cambodia
Thailand
Kamphaeng Phet
Nakhon Ratchasima
Lopburi
Saraburi
Kanchanaburi
Nakhon Pathom
Prachinburi
Bangkok
Samut Sakhon
Chachoengsao
Chonburi
Rayong
Prachuap Khirikhan
Chumphon
Phangnga
Trabi
Songkhla
Pattani
Oddar Meanchey
Banteay Meanchey
Siem Reap
Srakaeo
Battambang
Kratie
Kampong Thom
Pursat
Kampong Chhnang
Kampong Cham
Kampong Speu
Kandal
Prey Veng
Svay Rieng
Takeo
Kampot
Legend
Proportion of sex
Female
Male
Trafficking case at destination
< 5
5 - 10
> 10
Trafficking case at origin
< 5
5 - 10
> 10
Data not available/no traffick
Water body
Major city
Poipet (Border of Thailand)
Asian highway
Ocean
Country boundary
India
Myanmar
China
Paracel Is.
Thailand
Cambodia
Vietnam
Ocean
Malaysia
N
0 50 100 200
Kilometers
Data Source:
- Migration data from the UNAIP survey conducted in 2009, 2010 and 2012
- GIS Layers from National Geographic Department, Cambodia and Ministry of Interior, Thailand
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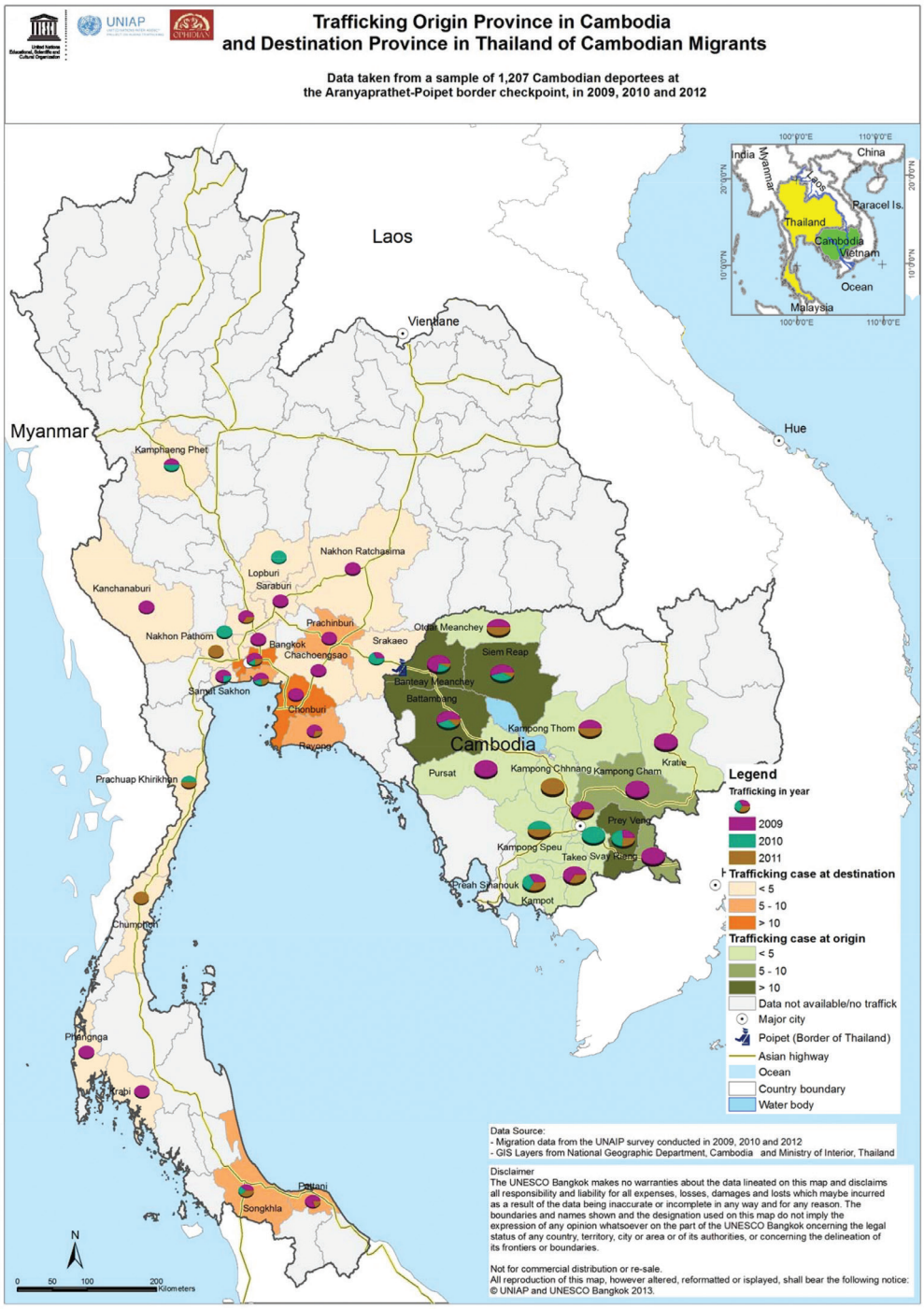
Trafficking Origin Province in Cambodia
and Destination Province in Thailand of Cambodian Migrants
Data taken from a sample of 1,207 Cambodian deportees at
the Aranyaprathet-Poipet border checkpoint, in 2009, 2010 and 2012
UNIAP
Laos
Vientiane
Myanmar
Hue
Kamphaeng Phet
Nakhon Ratchasima
Lopburi
Saraburi
Kanchanaburi
Nakhon Pathom
Prachinburi
Bangkok
Srakaeo
Chachoengsao
Samut Sakhon
Chonburi
Rayong
Oddar Meanchey
Siem Reap
Banteay Meanchey
Battambang
Kampong Thom
Cambodia
Kratie
Pursat
Kampong Chhnang
Kampong Cham
Prey Veng
Kampong Speu
Takeo
Svay Rieng
Preah Sihanouk
Kampot
Prachuap Khirikhan
Chumphon
Phangnga
Krabi
Pattani
Songkhla
India
China
Myanmar
Laos
Paracel Is.
Thailand
Cambodia
Vietnam
Ocean
Malaysia
Legend
Trafficking in year
2009
2010
2011
Trafficking case at destination
< 5
5 - 10
> 10
Trafficking case at origin
< 5
5 - 10
> 10
Data not available/no traffick
Major city
Poipet (Border of Thailand)
Asian highway
Ocean
Country boundary
Water body
N
0 50 100 200
Kilometers
Data Source:
- Migration data from the UNAIP survey conducted in 2009, 2010 and 2012
- GIS Layers from National Geographic Department, Cambodia and Ministry of Interior, Thailand
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In all three surveys, the 'demographic and socio-economic factors' (theme 1) and their 'knowledge about Thailand and human trafficking' (theme 2) had no significant impact on whether or not the respondents were victims of human trafficking. However, the statistical model does suggest that 'how the respondents got to Thailand' (theme 3) and their 'experiences in Thailand' (theme 4) played significant roles in each of the three surveys.

In 2009, the respondents who were told about their job in Thailand by a family member, or if it was they themselves who decided to get the job, were 59 per cent less likely to be trafficked than those who were told about their job by a broker or recruiter ($p<.05$). Further, compared to brokers and recruiters, those who were informed about their job by their employer and/or supervisor were 72 per cent less likely to be trafficked. In the same survey, those who used a broker to get to the Cambodian-Thai border were over two times more likely to be trafficked than those who did not ($p<.05$).

For agencies developing interventions in Cambodia to combat human trafficking, one such intervention should be to focus on broker involvement in labour migration to Thailand. Importantly though, further research is needed to understand the roles and influences of different types of brokers in the migratory process. As highlighted at the beginning of this report, brokers are not always knowingly involved in the end exploitation of a trafficked person, which is an important consideration when designing responses to their role in human trafficking cases.

In addition, some brokers made positive contributions to the migration experiences of respondents, as suggested for example by the higher income levels of those using brokers to get to their place of employment in the 2009 and 2012 samples *(see Figure 24)*. Hence, a more nuanced understanding of brokers is required to determine which ones need targeting through anti-trafficking interventions and how, and to avoid undermining those who in fact play a positive role in the migration process and experiences.

Further, in 2009, the time the respondents spent in Thailand influenced whether they were trafficked or not. The longer they were in Thailand, the less likely they were trafficked by 26 per cent ($p<.05$).

Finally, in the 2009 model, how the respondents left their employment was an important indicator of whether or not they were trafficked. Those who independently quit their workplace, were deported, or who left through some other means, were all far less likely to be trafficked compared to those who escaped from their workplace. They were 79 per cent ($p<.001$), 74 per cent ($p<.005$), and 82 per cent ($p<.005$), respectively, less likely to be trafficked. In the 2009 survey, 18 per cent of the respondents had escaped from their employment.

Based on this information, it may be worth asking questions on how respondents exited their workplace in victim identification screenings where more thorough interviews about signs of deception/cheating and exploitation are difficult to conduct with all irregular migrants.

In the 2010 model, those who were told about the job by a family member, and those who said it was their own idea to take the job, were 76 per cent less likely to be trafficked than those who were told about the job by a broker or a recruiter ($p<.05$). However, unlike in the 2009

model, there was no statistically significant difference between those being told about the job by their employer or supervisor, and those told by a broker or recruiter.

Further, unlike in the 2009 model, in 2010 using a broker or not to get to the Cambodian-Thai border did not significantly influence the probability of being trafficked. And, the time the respondents were in Thailand was not significant either.

The type of work the respondents undertook in 2010 (but not in 2009) did influence the probability that they were trafficked. Those working in farming, construction, domestic and 'other' were 78 per cent less likely to be trafficked than those working on fishing boats ($p<.005$). Further, those working in factories and in the service industry were 96 per cent less likely to be trafficked compared to those working on fishing boats ($p<.005$).

How the respondents left their employment was also a factor influencing the probability that respondents were trafficked in 2010. Those who independently quit their employment were 88 per cent less likely to be trafficked compared to those who had escaped their employment ($p<.005$), while those who were deported were 89 per cent less likely to be trafficked in comparison to those who had escaped ($p<.001$). In 2010, the proportion of respondents who had escaped from their work had declined to 8 per cent, but it was still a significant indicator of whether someone was a trafficking victim or not.

In the 2012 model, the only indicator of trafficking was whether the respondents worked on fishing boats. Respondents working on farms, at construction sites, as domestic workers or in other occupations were 99 per cent less likely to be trafficked compared to those on fishing boats ($p<.005$). At the same time, those working in factories and in the service industry were 97 per cent less likely to be trafficked compared to those on fishing boats ($p<.005$).

This statistical model indicates that there is no one vulnerability factor determining if a person will likely become, or is a victim of trafficking. Further, with declining numbers of trafficked victims in the sample, the importance of each factor changes. By 2012, with only 4 per cent of respondents being classified as possibly trafficked, there were no factors in the study indicating whether a person was likely to become a victim. Nevertheless, the model suggests that anti-trafficking interventions should focus on fishing boats.

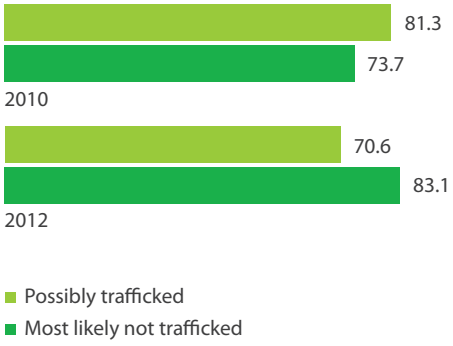
Knowledge about human trafficking

Organizations working to combat human trafficking have been attempting to educate both people who are about to migrate, and those who have already done so, about the dangers of human trafficking. It is hoped that educating those at risk about the phenomenon, along with skills about how to ensure that they can protect themselves, will be a form of protection.

In both the 2010 and 2012 surveys, the respondents were asked if they knew about human trafficking. In 2010, three-quarters of the respondents indicated that they knew what human trafficking was, and by 2012 this figure had increased to 83 per cent. This change was statistically significant (p=.004) and may suggest that organizations working on human trafficking have managed to reach greater numbers of rural Cambodians.

Unfortunately, the data from these two surveys does not suggest that knowing about human trafficking provides any real protection from labour exploitation and being cheated and/or deceived. In 2010, 81 per cent of those who could be classified as being possibly trafficked knew about human trafficking, compared to close to three quarters of those who most likely were not trafficked *(Figure 53)*. In 2012, the pattern was reversed with 71 per cent of those possibly trafficked knowing about the phenomena compared to 83 per cent of those who were most likely not trafficked. These differences were not statistically significant.

Figure 53: Percentage of respondents who knew about the issue of trafficking by whether they were possibly trafficked or not, by survey



Conclusions

The living and working conditions of the respondents in both Cambodia and Thailand improved significantly over the three surveys. By 2012, the respondents were far more likely to own land and their own homes back in Cambodia than the 2009 respondents. Further, by the final survey in 2012, the Cambodian irregular migrants reported better working experiences in Thailand, with far fewer respondents working under exploitative conditions, being cheated/deceived, and possibly being trafficked victims than their counterparts in the earlier survey.

In Cambodia, the proportion of respondents owning farming land increased from 30 per cent in 2009 to over three quarters by 2012. A similar jump occurred with residential ownership, which increased from just under 50 per cent in 2010 to 93 per cent in 2012. Those rating their quality of life as fair to good in Cambodia increased from only 29 per cent in 2009, to 52 per cent in 2010, before falling back to 43 per cent in 2012.

Compared to the respondents in the 2009 survey, findings in the 2012 survey indicate that most were paid more for their work in Thailand (although not as much as those in the 2010 survey); that significantly fewer did not get paid; that more rated their bosses as fair to good; that more were content with their working conditions; that fewer faced problems of workplace violence; and that more indicated they could quit their employment if they so desired.

The proportion of respondents rating their quality of life as fair to good in Thailand increased from 71 per cent of the respondents in 2009 to 81 per cent in 2012. Further, the majority of respondents regarded life in Thailand as better than what they had experienced in Cambodia before departing.

Reflecting this positive change over time, the proportion of respondents who indicated that they worked under exploitive conditions fell significantly from 23 per cent in 2009 to 11 per cent in 2010, and to 9 per cent in 2012. The proportion of respondents who felt cheated and/or deceived declined from 54 per cent in 2009 to 28 per cent in 2010, and to 12 per cent in 2012. Similarly, the proportion of respondents who were possibly trafficked fell from 19 to 8 and then to 4 per cent in 2009, 2010 and 2012, respectively.

Given that so many changes took place over the three surveys, the factors contributing to why some people were possibly trafficked and others were not differed in each survey. In 2009, if the respondent had been told about their job in Thailand by a broker or recruiter; if they had used a broker to get to the Cambodian-Thai border; if they were in Thailand for a short time; or if they had escaped from their employment, they were more likely to be possibly trafficked.

In 2010, being told about the job by a broker or a recruiter, and if the respondent had also escaped from their employment, were indications that they were more likely to have been possibly trafficked compared to other respondents. Working on fishing boats additionally increased the probability that a respondent had been possibly trafficked. In 2012, the only factor that significantly increased the probability that a respondent was possibly trafficked was if they had worked on fishing boats.

The fishing industry was the form of work most likely to have possibly trafficked victims. The working conditions were the poorest, except for the salary that they received, which was the highest. Cambodians doing this work were being rewarded with relatively good pay, but they were at a greater risk of a range of poor working conditions.

Not all Cambodian deportees being returned from Thailand are being forced to return against their will. Instead, many of the 'deportees' are people who decide to return to Cambodia, but who do not have the proper working documents, and are thus deported rather than being allowed to cross the border by themselves. Nevertheless, it is their desire to return to Cambodia.

The results suggest that the factors leading people into exploitative working conditions and into becoming victims of trafficking are subject to change. Still, possible interventions to combat trafficking in persons may be best targeted at brokers informing people about work and those who take Cambodians to the Cambodian-Thai border, as well as at fishing boats operating in Thailand. Men who had worked on the fishing boats were the group most likely to be trafficked.

However, brokers are not always knowingly involved in the end exploitation of a trafficked person, which is an important consideration when designing responses to their role in human trafficking cases. In addition, some brokers made positive contributions to the migration experiences of respondents, as suggested for example by the higher income levels of those using brokers to get to their place of employment in the 2009 and 2012 samples. Hence, more research is required to determine which types of brokers require targeting through anti-trafficking interventions and how, and to avoid undermining those who in fact play a positive role in the migration process and experiences.

It is beyond the scope of this study to determine what factor or factors have caused these significant improvements in the working lives of the Cambodian irregular migrants deported from Thailand. Nevertheless, it is clear from the data that by 2012 Thai employers, on average, were providing better working conditions and treating their employees far better than they were in 2009.

Annex: Logistic regression results

Independent variables	2009	2010	2012
Demographic factors			
Sex (ref: male)	0.64	1.44	0.81
Age (continuous)	0.98	0.92	1.01
Education (continuous)	1.04	1.07	1.00
Marital status (ref: single)			
Married, Living with partner , Divorced, Separated, etc.	0.75	1.28	1.90
Socioeconomic factors			
If they own residential land (ref: no)	1.11	0.88	0.69
Quality of life in Cambodia (ref: bad)	0.64	0.53	0.13
Knowledge about Thailand			
Knew others who had migrated before they migrated? (ref: yes)	1.08	2.86	3.00
How many times they had been to Thailand? (ref: they had not been to Thailand before this trip)			
One other time apart from this last trip and 2 or more times apart from this last trip	-	1.30	0.29
If they are aware of what human trafficking is (ref: no)	-	1.12	0.19
Getting to Thailand			
Who told you about the job? (ref: Broker/recruiter)			
Friend/fellow villager/other	1.35	0.44	8.58
Family member/My idea	**0.41***	**0.24***	2.31
Employer/Supervisor	**0.28***	0.27	0.47
Distance to Cambodian border (cont.)	1.00	1.00	1.00
If they used a broker to get to the Cambodian-Thai border (ref: yes)	**2.12***	1.00	2.29
Time in Thailand			
Time in Thailand (cont.)	**0.84***	0.94	1.01
Their employment in Thailand (ref: fishing boats)			
Farming, Construction, Domestic and Other	1.18	**0.22****	**0.01****
Factory work and Service industry	1.16	**0.04****	**0.03****
Whether they paid the police or not (ref: no)	1.21	1.11	0.70
How they left their workplace (ref: escaped)			
Independently quit	**0.21*****	**0.12****	1.17
Deported	**0.26****	**0.11*****	1.47
Other	**0.18****	0.40	2.15
N	361	358	360
-2log likelihood	**295.624*****	**152.525*****	**71.376****
R^2	0.15	0.14	0.11

*p-value < 0.05 **p-value <0.005 ***p-value <0.001