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“I Don’t Want the Next Generation of Children to Be in Pain Like Me”: The Chab Dai Ten-Year Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project on Sex Trafficking Survivors in Cambodia

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Abstract

The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project started in 2010 and is the only research project of its kind listening to sex trafficking victims over ten years. The project was started in Cambodia by Chab Dai (translated “Hands Together”), a coalition of Non-Government Organisations since 2006 who have focused on human trafficking. The project was founded with the express purpose of listening to the survivors’ voices and recording their experiences in order to better understand their physical, emotional and spiritual needs during their initial recovery in shelters and reintegration back into their communities. The team of researchers and the participants, all of whom willingly volunteered to tell their stories and remain anonymous, formed trusting relationships that allowed for the information provided for research to be rich and personal.

This project used a mixed methodology of both qualitative and quantitative research methods over the course of the decade in order to gain a more holistic view of the survivors’ stories. The data obtained from the research was fed back to the NGOs who were supporting the participants and they have found it valuable to adapt and evolve their aftercare programs to more precisely be tailored to the individual needs of each victim. The results were also presented in technical documents to Government policy makers, UN agencies, academic institutes and other international NGOs. This special edition of *Dignity* is another attempt to get the information out to the global abolition movement. A primary challenge was to maintain contact with the survivors over such a long period but the fact that this was achieved in a complex environment shows that it can be done and is worth it for all involved.

Keywords

Cambodia, sex trafficking, sexual exploitation, sexual violence, longitudinal research, reintegration

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Acknowledgements

We dedicate this series of papers to the founder of the Butterfly Longitudinal Re/integration Research Project Siobhan Miles, who died unexpectedly in 2016. All of this would not have been possible without her delightful joy and care for the children of Cambodia. All the Survivors who contributed to the project and remain anonymous The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project team: Orng Long Heng 2010 - 2013, Heang Sophal 2011- 2014, Lim Vanntheary 2011-2019, Dane So 2012-2013 & 2020, Sreang Phaly 2013-2020, Nhanh Chanththa 20014-2019, Bun Davin 2015-2017, Phoeuk Phellen - 2015-2019, Ou Sopheara 2016-2019, Kang Chimey 2017-2019. Project Manager: Lim Vanntheary Assistant Project Managers: Nhanh Chanththa and Ou Sopheara Project Administrator: Sreang Phaly Supervisors: Siobhan Miles 2009-2016, James Havey 2017-2020 Academic Advisors: Laura Cordisco-Tsai, PhD; Glenn Miles, PhD Research Consultants: Jarrett Davis, Tania DoCarmo, Tricia Hester, John Morrissey, Todd Morrison, Julia Smith-Brake and Hanni Stoklosa. Research Technology Consultant: So Dane Graphic Designers & Visual Artists: Paul Austria, Amanda Daly, James Havey, and Sreang Phaly Donors: Thank you to ACCI, Change a Path, Earth Hair Partners, Hope for the Nations, Imago Dei Fund, Isaac Charitable Foundation, Karakin Foundation, Love 146, Sharon Ann Jacques, Stewardship, Stronger Philanthropy, Stronger

Together, Tenth Church, TGCF, World Charitable Foundation -Vaduz, World Hope, World Vision and all of the anonymous and individual donors for their continued financial support. Assistant Programs: Agape International Mission (AIM), American Rehabilitation Ministries (ARM), Bloom Asia, Cambodian Hope Organization (CHO), Citipointe International Care and Aids, Daughters of Cambodia, Destiny Rescue, Garden of Hope in Cambodia, Hagar Cambodia, Health Care Centre for Children (HCC), Hope for Justice, International Justice Mission (IJM), Pleroma Home for Girls, Ratanak International, World Hope, and World Vision.

Authors

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CHILDREN TO BE IN PAIN LIKE ME”: THE CHAB DAI
TEN-YEAR BUTTERFLY LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH
PROJECT ON SEX TRAFFICKING SURVIVORS IN
CAMBODIA**

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DEDICATION TO SIOBHAN MILES

The authors dedicate this special issue of *Dignity* to Siobhan Miles. Siobhan Miles, BSN, MSN, was a Nurse Practitioner/Physician Assistant with experience in Site 2 refugee camps, refugee clinics in San Francisco and Cambodia, HIV clinics in Cambodia and the UK. She was a co-founder of the Butterfly Project, working with enthusiastic but untrained Cambodian social workers. Her compassionate and intelligent approach enabled a complicated program to become established in collaboration with 15 different NGOs and 128 survivors. The research team loved and respected her. When she was recovering from breast cancer, she handed over the leadership to the Cambodian staff, demoting herself from manager to full-time, and then, to part-time advisor. During this period, she also began her PhD studies, focusing on a cohort of the Butterfly Project. She died unexpectedly in 2016 of sepsis following pyelonephritis. Her biography, *Dancing in the Light: The Extraordinary Life of Siobhan Miles*, written by her widower, Glenn Miles, is available from Amazon books.

ABSTRACT

The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project started in 2010 and is the only research project of its kind listening to sex trafficking victims over ten years. The project was started in Cambodia by Chab Dai (translated “Hands Together”), a coalition of Non-Government Organisations since 2006 who have focused on human trafficking. The project was founded with the express purpose of listening to the survivors’ voices and recording their experiences in order to better understand their physical, emotional and spiritual needs during their initial recovery in shelters and reintegration back into their communities. The team of researchers and the participants, all of whom willingly volunteered to tell their stories and remain anonymous, formed trusting relationships that allowed for the information provided for research to be rich and personal.

This project used a mixed methodology of both qualitative and quantitative research methods over the course of the decade in order to gain a more holistic view of the survivors’ stories. The data obtained from the research was fed back to the NGOs who were supporting the participants and they have found it valuable to adapt and evolve their aftercare programs to more precisely be tailored to the individual needs of each victim. The results were also presented in technical documents to Government policy makers, UN agencies, academic institutes and other international NGOs. This special edition of *Dignity* is another attempt to get the information out to the global abolition movement. A primary challenge was to maintain contact with the survivors over such a long period but the fact that this was achieved in a complex environment shows that it can be done and is worth it for all involved.

KEYWORDS

Cambodia, sex trafficking, sexual exploitation, sexual violence, longitudinal research, reintegration

THIS ARTICLE PROVIDES A GENERAL OVERVIEW of the Butterfly Longitudinal Re/integration Research Project (the Butterfly Project). It seeks to inform readers about: how the project became established; the development of the research’s cohort and methodology; some of its key findings and recommendations to stakeholders; and the future of the project and its data. The Butterfly Project methodology described in this article constitutes the core research methods highlighted in the subsequent articles in this special edition of *Dignity: A Journal of Analysis of Exploitation and Violence*.

Cambodia is a source, transit and destination country for victims of human trafficking. International trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes occurs primarily from Cambodia to Thailand and Vietnam, and from Vietnam into Cambodia (U.S. State Department, 2020). The U.S. State Department Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report (2020) suggests that, “all of Cambodia’s 25 provinces are sources for human trafficking” (p. 140). Sex trafficking is largely hidden, where Cambodian and ethnic Vietnamese men, women and children, more specifically girls, are moved from rural areas to cities and tourist destinations. In these new locations, they frequently work in beer gardens, massage parlors, salons and karaoke bars where they are expected to sell sexual services to their clients (Davis, et al., 2021; Miles & Alsiyao, 2019; Miles, Clark et al., 2020; Davis & Miles, 2014).

In 2008, the Royal Cambodian Government introduced the Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation criminalizing all forms of human trafficking. A 2012 desk review of trafficking prevalence studies by UNICEF concluded that, according to data collected from NGOs across the country, about 37% of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation were children (UNICEF, 2012, p. 89). Though it is commonly known that the sexual exploitation of women, men, transgender

individuals, and children continues to this day throughout Cambodia, it is difficult to accurately estimate the pervasiveness of the problem due to the covert nature of the sex industry.

About 2003, a large number of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) came to Cambodia with the purpose of setting up shelters for victims of sex trafficking following an international news item on sex trafficking of young girls in Cambodia (GoTEFL Asia, 2017). At the start of this project, about 17 shelters were in Cambodia, 14 of which agreed to be part of the Butterfly Project. The programming and quality of shelter care available varied. Chab Dai, which started in 2006, expedited the process of learning about these organizations through networking and support. For more information on shelter care see the Butterfly Project's 2018 technical report 'Experiences in Shelter Care' (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018).

FOUNDING THE BUTTERFLY LONGITUDINAL RE/INTEGRATION RESEARCH PROJECT

The idea for the Butterfly Project was formulated in 2009 when Helen Sworn, the founder of Chab Dai Coalition, and Siobhan Miles, a nurse practitioner, in addition to other stakeholders and practitioners in Phnom Penh's anti-trafficking community were discussing Reimer et al.'s (2007) research, 'The Road Home: Toward a model of reintegration and considerations for alternative care for children trafficked for sexual exploitation in Cambodia'. Attendees noted that little was known about what happened to the survivors after they left the shelter program. In fact, beyond a singular phone call, survivors were often not followed after they had left the shelter.

The Butterfly Project commenced in 2010. The express purpose of this study was to listen to the survivors' voices and record their perceptions and experiences in order to better understand their physical, emotional, spiritual and economic needs during their initial recovery in shelters, re/integration back into their communities, and life beyond the support of NGOs. Since then, the Butterfly Project followed the lives of 128 child and adult survivors of human trafficking, exploitation, and/or abuse. This study sought to examine whether freedom from their exploitative history was truly free and what factors contributed to its (non-) sustainability.

Staffing the Butterfly Project

Helen Sworn sought initial funding to employ Siobhan Miles as the research project's manager and Glenn Miles PhD, as its academic advisor. One challenge for recruiting staff was that during the genocide in Cambodia in the seventies most academics and teachers were murdered as they were considered to be the elite. Subsequently, it took time for the universities to recruit trained faculty. Apart from one graduate program in social work, few social science graduate programs exist in Cambodia; most remain at the undergraduate level (e. g. bachelor degrees in sociology). This has meant that the Butterfly Project's staff of Cambodian researchers had to be mostly recruited from NGO programs. Some therefore had a relevant degree or took one on sometime while working on the project. Others had equivalent experience in their previous NGOs.

An advantage of hiring practitioners, as compared to academics, was that they better understood how to work alongside NGOs. One key aspect of recruiting was ensuring that the research team members were excellent communicators and were not prejudiced towards women, girls, and boys who had been sexually exploited. Three

Cambodian staff were recruited over the course of the first year and ten local staff were recruited over the ten years.

NGO Partnerships

The NGO staff recruited the survivor-participants of this study through the support of 15 Assistant Programmes (APs); two community-based and thirteen residential (shelter) aftercare programmes within the Chab Dai Coalition. Six shelters specific to survivors of sex trafficking were invited to participate but chose not to.

Memorandums of Understanding (MoU) were carefully written and adapted for each organisation involved to ensure the protection and confidentiality of all survivors over the course of the project. From the recruitment of study participants, providing areas of knowledge gaps to be studied, to participating in the presentation and dialogue of the research's findings and recommendations, the Butterfly Project would not be as relevant and impactful without these organizations' commitment to survivor-informed care.

Funding the Butterfly Project

We understood that it would be unlikely to obtain consistent funding, even promises of funding, for a ten-year period, though Helen Sworn hoped that procuring funds would be easier once the research was developed. While this was true to some extent, research funding continued to be challenging to access throughout the years. The Butterfly Project has always concentrated on the grassroots, survivor-facing NGOs, therefore academic funding was not sought because these sources always came with 'strings attached' (i. e. academic institutions taking ownership of the data). Instead, Chab Dai wished to maintain the freedom to develop and evolve the Butterfly Project according to the needs of their survivor-participants and assistants.

The Butterfly Project is grateful to a range of trusts and organizations that recognized the value of the research. A total of \$693,000 USD was contributed over the ten years from ACCI, Change a Path, Earth Hair Partners, Hope for the Nations, Imago Dei Fund, Isaac Charitable Foundation, Karakin Foundation, Love 146, Sharon Ann Jacques, Stewardship, Stronger Philanthropy, Stronger Together, Tenth Church, TGCF, World Charitable Foundation -Vaduz, World Hope, World Vision and a number of anonymous and individual donors. These organizations and the people in them have shared in the project's foundational belief that knowledge and survivor voices are essential for a brighter future caring for victims of trafficking.

METHODOLOGY

The Butterfly Project is a Prospective Panel longitudinal study (Babbie, 2007; Menard, 2002), designed to interview the same 128 survivors of human trafficking, exploitation, and/or abuse over the course of the 10-year project - a first of its kind globally. The Butterfly Project used a mixed-methods approach in its data collection through individual survey interviews with both open- and closed-ended questions. This allowed for a diversity of ways that respondents could volunteer their stories to the research team. Qualitative and quantitative longitudinal surveying, where multiple interviews took place two or three times every year over the course of the project cycle (ten years), allowed a deep sense of trust to develop between the researcher and participants.

A range of topics were covered throughout the life of the project, with the main longitudinal themes being economics, relationships, mental and physical health, and

spirituality. Moreover, Assistant Programmes working with survivors of human trafficking periodically gave feedback to the Butterfly Project researchers with respect to topics about which they needed more information. These were then developed into questions to be asked during the interviews with the results reported back to the NGOs. Some of these specific topics included stigma, filial piety, and justice.

DATA COLLECTION AND MANAGEMENT

Due to the ever-changing nature of the survivors' situations and the needs of the aftercare community, including changes in government policy, the methodology and approach of the Butterfly Project adapted throughout the decade. From 2011 to 2013 the major focus was on quantitative data administered through quarterly surveys and annual reporting. Each annual report addressed the research themes investigated (i. e. details from relationship and sex, economics, health, and spirituality, to name a few) (Miles & Miles, 2010, 2011).

For a number of intersecting reasons, in 2014 the Butterfly Project shifted its methodology to bi-annual qualitative interviews and quantitative longitudinal surveying, in addition to smaller reports focused on a singular theme (Miles et al., 2014). This latter reporting style was in response to requests from the Assistant Programmes NGOs of the project who gave feedback that the annual reports had been too broad and dense to be practical.

Furthermore, this change was necessary because of the deepening trust between the researchers and participants, resulting in the respondents feeling comfortable sharing their experiences more in depth than what the restrictive quantitative survey elicited. In response, the team developed qualitative in-depth interview schedules consisting primarily of open-ended questions. This tool was also congruent with many of the participants now being adults, allowing them to discuss their experiences and feelings more thoroughly. The Butterfly Project research team summarized the need for a shift in its 2014 methodology reflection paper, "In the light of the overall purpose of this research, which is to listen to the perspectives and experiences of victim/survivors, the team believes at this point in the study, a stronger focus on a qualitative approach is more appropriate for capturing the nuances and complexity of people's lives" (Miles, 2014, p. 5).

This new methodology was more flexible if a participant could not meet with the researchers for both biannual interviews, both research tools could be covered in one - though lengthy - interview per year. From 2011 to 2013, many participants still resided in or were newly reintegrated from their aftercare programs, leading to reliable access to each participant. However, shortly after the Butterfly Project commenced, the Royal Government of Cambodia (2011) updated the length of time that survivors could reside in aftercare shelters, resulting in many participants returning back home or seeking alternative care outside of the shelter. This made following-up with the study participants more challenging for the research team.

Once the methodology changed to biannual rounds of data collection, in-depth interviews were held during the first round of interviews in quarters 1 and 2 of the year. These qualitative-based interviews relied on open-ended questions. While sections of the questionnaire remained the same year-to-year, i. e. 'how is your health?', 'how is your family?' etc., most of the questions changed in accordance to feedback from the Assistant Programmes with respect to what knowledge they were seeking. For example, this led the team to ask in detail about their finances and debt in 2014, and experiences with the justice system in 2017.

The second round of interviews each year, called the 'cross-check' survey, gathered mainly quantitative longitudinal data. Asking the same questions from year-to-year the team built a compilation of data that portrayed the realities faced by each participant over the course of the project; from their monthly income, their relationship status, whether they were feeling emotionally and/or physically better than the previous year, etc. This data could be easily mapped to compare variables based on year, gender, age, and income.

In addition to the aforementioned surveys, the team also collected data from phone calls with the participants and conversations with the Assistant Programmes about particular respondents. Researchers wrote debriefing notes after every interview and team meetings after trips to the field to interview participants from similar geographical locations.

The amount of data collected over the course of the Butterfly Project was significant and concerted efforts were made to keep it organized, accessible and confidential. With one team member appointed as the Project Administrator to manage the data, the Butterfly Project stored all physical copies of interviews in individual binders for each participant. Digital files were backed-up to external hard drives and also a project computer that was not connected to the internet so as to safeguard from malware and regulate access. Researchers were given access to files as needed through the oversight of the Project Administrator.

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS

The participants were recruited through 14 aftercare programmes for young women, girls and boys, aged 12-30 years. The study required potential participants to fit two parameters: 1) Having experienced human trafficking, exploitation, and/or abuse defined in the UN 2000 Palermo Protocol; 2) Must be from and re/integrating back to one of five main provinces throughout Cambodia; Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Battambang, Kampong Som, Kampong Cham. The definition of human trafficking can be found in Article 3 of the 'Palermo Protocol' (OHCHR, 2000). As for the second requirement, participants must re/integrate back into one of the five most populated provinces in Cambodia to assist the team's efforts in sustaining contact with the participant throughout the duration of the project and especially upon the participants re/integration from the shelter. Though this recruitment limitation was an attempt to mitigate the possibility of losing contact with participants upon re/integration, we did not foresee how much of a major consideration the cohort's mobility would be throughout this project.

The Associate Partner NGOs performed initial assessments of their clientele and referred only those who fit the two recruitment parameters. In total, more than 400 potential research participants were referred. The Butterfly Project team vetted each potential participant to ensure that they truly fit these requirements, as some NGOs apparently referred all of their clients. Upon a second round of vetting, 128 of those referred to the study fit both requirements. However, even after all of the effort vetting each potential respondent to fit the study's recruitment requirements, over the course of time, it became apparent at different later stages in the program that 18 of these 128 were not actually exploited according to the 2000 'Palermo Protocol' definition of human trafficking (OHCHR, 2000).

Participants without an exploitation history resided in NGO aftercare shelters for trafficked adults and/or children for many reasons including: their families were unable to care for them; they were at-risk of being trafficked due to family's economic

desperation; their sibling had experienced trafficking or abuse or; they were caught in a police raid of their workplace before they had sold sex. In an extreme example, one female respondent described how prosecutors had medical practitioners falsify records about her virginity so that they could build a larger case against a perpetrator who had assaulted her sister:

They brought me there to see if I am still a virgin... Since I was very young, I did not understand what it meant. I just followed what they told me to do. The doctor reported that I am still a virgin. However, my lawyer told the record person, 'no need to document that I am still a virgin.' (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, p. 66).

It is possible that some shelter staff did not understand the exploitation history of these clients. Some residents may have been pressured to say that they were sexually exploited, as shelters were sometimes given funds to specifically assist children who were sex trafficked. These participants disclosed their misrepresented exploitation histories to the Butterfly Project researchers often years into the project, after their data had already been included in previous analysis. It was, therefore, not possible to remove them from the data set. However, these participants often shared significant knowledge about their peers who were trafficked. For example, some were siblings of trafficking survivors who were at high-risk to being trafficked themselves. They were treated the same as their peers residing in shelters and experienced similar stigma and socio-economic challenges in the community, similar to those faced by persons who had been trafficked because they had been considered as trafficked even if they were, in fact, not.

PARTICIPANT RETENTION

The Butterfly Project research team worked to develop trustworthy and long-lasting relationships with the survivor participants and their families in order to minimize attrition over the years of the project. This was challenging, as some left the country, lost their phones, changed addresses, or were otherwise unreachable due to various circumstances outside of either the survivors' or the staff's control. Some survivors were unwilling to continue with the study fearing stigma from community members and family because an NGO staff member continued to meet with them. However, the majority of survivors stayed in touch, allowing the Butterfly Project team to track the outcomes of their aftercare. Activities of updating contact records became a constant and intentional work of the Butterfly Project, continuously reviewing every respondent's contact information, requesting participants to update the team each time their phone or address changed. Facebook became an important tool in keeping contact with each participant over the years as it is a standard form of communication throughout Cambodia, and as more participants acquired smartphones.

Due to the efforts made by the staff to build trust and keep communications with each survivor open, in 2018 - nearly a decade after the beginning of the program - 71% of survivors were still in touch with the research team. While this was a complicated process that required continuous effort from the research team and participants, it resulted in deeper interactions, and the information from the respondents was richer and more detailed.

In the last two years of the project (2019-2020), after data collection was completed, the team has continued to offer support to the participants and their

communities through referral services, while also celebrating the completion of the project with the 91 survivors who remained in the study through its end.

DATA ANALYSIS

As mentioned previously, the data analysis was performed using a variety of methods. Each paper's author allowed the data and research questions to guide how best to analyze. The majority of the project used a fluid mixed methodology. However, in the later years of the Butterfly Project, especially as the qualitative data set became so substantial, authors primarily used qualitative analysis. This approach allowed for the survivor's voices to be the prominent communicator, not the author's perspectives.

In 2019, the Butterfly Project investigated the entire cohort to identify who gave the most consistent interviews; more specifically, which participants had not missed an interview over the entirety of the project. Ninety-one of the original 128 respondents were still active in the last year of data collection, 2018. Of these 91, 52 participants never missed an interview; thus, having a complete data set over eight years of data collection (2011-2018). This cohort of 52 were used for the longitudinal analysis of quantitative data; with the ability to display experiences, perceptions, and any changes consistently and thoroughly over the course of the project.

REPORTING RESULTS

The Butterfly Project was designed to gain insight into how the survivors' reflections could inform survivor care programming, local and national government, and other similar research programs. The research topics were driven primarily by the requests of the NGO community. Information was continuously shared with the 14 aftercare programs working with the clients, including round table meetings with partner organizations and in national, regional and international conferences around the globe, from 2010 to the present. In 2020 alone, Butterfly Project research was presented in seven international conference presentations, mostly online.

Technical reports in English and Khmer languages were the main substantive form of communicating the study's findings and recommendations over the course of the project. These were made available physically, and digitally through the Chab Dai website (www.chabdai.org/butterfly). Upon receiving feedback from the Assistant Programmes, the Butterfly Project changed its communications technique to smaller, thematic reports, detailing one theme at a time (i. e. stigma, economics, boys, shelter care, etc.)

In recent years, to reach larger audiences, the Butterfly Project has collaborated with academic researchers to analyze the data and publish the results in peer reviewed journals. The team illustrated its "Top 10 Findings" - a document that was composed on the request of donors to advocate for Butterfly Project funding in a concise manner (Havey et al., 2018). The accessible and visual findings brought international attention to the project and readership from practitioners who may not have had the time nor ability to digest the thematic reports (Havey, 2018).

ETHICAL FRAMEWORK

The Butterfly Longitudinal Research project adhered to several ethical research protocols to make sure it, "did no harm" to the participants and research team members (Zimmerman & Watts, 2003; Taylor & Latonero, 2018; Ennew & Plateau, 2004; CP MERG, 2012; UNIAP, 2008). The Butterfly Project's ethical protocols echo

guidelines and frameworks set forth by academic institutions experienced in working with survivors of human trafficking, exploitation and sexual abuse.

One foundational activity of the project's ethical framework was to apply annually for ethics approval from the National Ethics Committee of the Royal Government of Cambodia, Ministry of Health (NEC). This built legitimacy and trust for the study from colleagues, audiences, policymakers, and donors. Even though the annual ethics approval process was time-consuming, it was necessary to protect the research participants, the protect team members and the Chab Dai Coalition as they handled legally sensitive data.

The Butterfly Project provided referral services for its participants when the need arose. Respondents could phone a project number day or night to speak with a team member. The BLR researcher would obtain permission and document the phone call as part of qualitative data collection. If any needs were discussed during the conversation, the researcher would subsequently seek interventions for participants among partner NGOs. Taylor and Latonero (2018) suggest that the research team needs to be, "prepared to provide information in a woman's native language and the local language (if different) about appropriate legal, health, shelter, social support and security services, and to help with referral, if requested" (p. 12). For example, if a participant had a health problem and had no resources, they would inform the researchers via the BLR project's phone number; the team would locate and provide information about a hospital that provided free healthcare.

Voluntary participation is a multi-faceted principle beyond the respondent agreeing to being interviewed from the beginning of each point of data collection. In the Butterfly Project, each participant had the ability to refuse to answer any question and could stop participating in the study at any time (Marshall et al., 2014). The participants of the Butterfly Project understood that their continued participation in this study was voluntary as their written consent was requested annually and verbal consent was asked and recorded before every interview. Having a robust definition of voluntary participation benefitted the Butterfly Project by: 1) complying with global ethical sociological research standards; 2) the information from participants can be accepted as more trustworthy than if there was a monetary exchange for their stories and; 3) unhealthy habits would not be bankrolled through funds provided by the Butterfly Project.

In protecting the identity of research participants, the Butterfly Project researchers committed to strict parameters with respect to photos, any form of media, data management and interviews. Zimmerman and Watts (2003) state that, "protecting confidentiality is essential to ensuring both a woman's safety and the quality of the information she provides" (p. 18). None of the data and information were shared publicly and participant identities were only known by the Cambodian research team (Taylor & Latonero, 2018). Pictures of participants were not taken without permission and publishing their photos - especially on social media platforms - was strictly prohibited in order to create a space where the participants feel safe and comfortable answering interview questions and promoting the participant's individual dignity and rights to privacy (Zimmerman & Watts, 2003). Only the Butterfly Project team members and contracted consultants were allowed access to the study's data throughout the years and specific measures were taken to ensure that neither the physical nor digital stores were lost. One further consideration was the need for a trusted driver to uphold the project's standards of confidentiality when transporting researchers to interview locations, many of which were at participant's homes.

Beyond defining the aforementioned values to protect the dignity of research participants, we created protocols to protect the safety of each research team member, through: ensuring that underage participants' families grant permission for their child to be interviewed (Zimmerman & Watts, 2003); there were always at least two researchers with a participant at any given time (Ennew & Plateau, 2004; CP MERG, 2012; Robin & Rachan, 2019, p. 12); and the research pair has at least one working mobile phone while in the field.

As Bryant and Landman (2020) suggest, "The level of trauma victims of human trafficking experience can make an effective evaluation more difficult". They cite several studies (Hossain et al. 2010; Kiss et al., 2015) suggesting that those who have experienced trafficking show high levels of depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder. This can make it difficult for participants to engage in evaluation processes and research studies. Due to this, it is crucial that any study of this nature develops and adheres to a robust set of ethical parameters. It is hoped that by communicating these in detail, future studies seeking to replicate the Butterfly Project may use these as a framework for developing their own.

TEN KEY FINDINGS

After nine years of study and 4,500+ files of data collected, while in preparation for the final report and closing of the Butterfly Project, the team developed an illustrated report of what were found to be the project's *Top 10 Findings...so far...* (Havey et al., 2018). These include a range of the thematic topics about which survivors were interviewed in the research leading up to its final year of data collection.

1. TRUST OF PARTICIPANTS

One of the main reasons for the change in the Butterfly Project's methodology in 2014 was to better develop trust between the participants and researchers, leading to richer and more authentic interviews over the years (Miles et al., 2014; Davis et al., 2016; Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018). Exemplifying this phenomenon was the way in which the male cohort opened up to the research team during interviews. Due to social norms of masculinity and males not speaking on their feelings or emotions, the male participants originally gave one-word answers to the researchers; or, instead of asking for clarification, they would simply answer affirmatively without providing any additional information. The Butterfly Project researchers discussed how the interviews, burgeoning relationships, and trust in the project's ethical framework provided the space for the boys to provide details on their experiences and perceptions:

The research team strives to provide a safe space in which the boy's thoughts and emotions can be validated as real and important. This kind of space seems to be starkly contrasted to the kind of environment that many of the male cohort live in from day-to-day (Davis et al., 2016, p. 25).

The participants responded well to knowing that the information they provided during the interviews could improve programming for human trafficking survivors such as themselves. This female respondent highlighted this point in 2016 when asked how she felt about participating in the Butterfly Project:

There are many children who like this [participating in the Butterfly Project interviews]. I like it very much because we have a lot of chances to say/share what we never tell others. But when I meet with you, I can tell you and you

not only listen to me, but you also bring my idea to practice. I am really thankful for this. (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, p. 158).

2. VIOLENCE AND BULLYING AMONG BOYS IN SHELTERS

Due to many factors, including the cohort of male participants being small in number, cultural mores against males expressing what could be seen as emotional weakness and the cohort being younger on average than the female cohort, there is less detailed data about the male participants compared to the female cohort.

One shared experience and direct recommendation from all the male participants was with respect to the aftercare shelters. The shelters for the male participants were the sites of emotionally and physically violent episodes, including bullying, xenophobia, and elitism. One respondent recommended that boys in the shelters need to be separated along age and maturity lines, because the physical, mental, and sexual maturation was severely different between 12 and 16 year-old males (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018; Davis et al., 2016).

At first, staying there [at the shelter for abused boys] was easy because we were the same age and we respected each other...It [trouble] started after the big boys came. (Cordisco-Tsai et al., 2018, p. 170).

3. UNINTENTIONAL STIGMA

The participants' associations with human trafficking aftercare programmes unintentionally exposed them to stigma from their families and/or communities. Because of these respondents' associations with the NGOs and living at the shelters for years, the community into which they have been re/integrated may see them as being promiscuous, having bad "*kharma*", or as coming from low-income families (Morrison et al., 2014; Morrison et al., 2015; Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018).

I did not want my reputation to be bad because there was an organization that sent me home. They [neighbors] do not speak ill about me, but when they saw that the organization sent me there, they knew I worked for a bad workplace. (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, p. 155).

Understanding that associating with NGOs brings a certain level of stigma against their clients, service providers need to be prudent and honest in assessing who and how they work in a community. Some organization's did not hide the fact that they were working with sex workers especially those who had vocational training programs in waitressing or making clothes. The problem was that while well-intentioned, these types of programmatic communications made the wider community aware of the backgrounds from which these clients came; something the participants likely preferred to conceal and leave behind (Miles, S. & Reimer, under review).

4. SHOCK UPON RE/INTEGRATION

There was a real sense of 'shock' once participants were re/integrated back into the community because of their family's daily needs (i.e. money for food, stable housing, stable education, and skills training) that they had not faced while living in the shelter. Testament to this 'shock' was the spike in feeling the effects of poverty among 79% of the male cohort within the first six months of leaving the shelter and re/integrating back into the community, as opposed to 47% feeling these effects while living in the shelter (Davis et al., 2016). During the first two years of living in the community

again, one in five boys stated they lacked adequate food, nearly half said they have insufficient education for sustainable employment, and a third was unable to return to their immediate family due to poverty (Davis et al., 2016).

Once this shock was relieved and some semblance of stability was observed by the NGO, the participants' cases were closed and access to the wealth of resources the NGO provided was cut-off. This has led participants wondering why they were treated like family within the shelter but felt 'dropped' back in the community (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018). A female participant addressed this phenomenon directly, calling on NGOs that work with children and youth to continue offering emotional and financial support well beyond their time within the shelter:

All organizations, if they help the children, please help them to become successful and do not abandon them. In addition, please do not think that those children who have a job and can stand strong, that is not right. On the other hand, they have to visit them or their family to know the reality of their situation. (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, pp.179-180).

Added to this shock were feelings of cultural and spiritual isolation from the community. The Assistant Programmes from which participants received residential services were all Christian and, upon their re/integration, many participants described feeling spiritually isolated due to: the community being Buddhist and no place to practice Christianity; stigma against Christianity among community members and family; and vice versa, where the Christian staff at these residential care facilities had a stigma against Buddhism that appeared to have passed on to their clients.

Before I was a Christian but now I am a Buddhist. My father pressured me to burn the incense and hasn't allowed me to go to the church (Miles, S., et al., 2012; p. 110).

5. NGOS GAVE LITTLE COMMUNICATIONS OR SUPPORT TO A CLIENT'S FAMILY

Building on the previous finding, NGOs rarely worked with the families of the participants while living in the shelter, before and during re/integration. One way the repercussions of this separation manifested were through participants feeling undeserving of the services given to them while in the shelter and wishing that their family could have access to the same. In some instances, this led participants to leave the shelter out of a semblance of solidarity with their families (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018).

If they want to help the children, I want them to help from their heart. It means to not only help children, but to connect the help with their family or relatives. If they can help the children's family, it is going to be one piece of their success. (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, p. 178).

Some children requested not only to help them, but to help their families as well, but the organization can't help their family. The organization can help girls who were victims (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, p.178).

Some participants who reintegrated described their frustration and stress at the lack of assessment and financial support in their re/integration packages, which meant that they found it difficult to stay in school or training programs upon leaving the shelter. They often found themselves in the same impoverished circumstances

prior to their exploitation, and the ongoing education of participants was often compromised during the re/integration process. One female participant described in detail her frustration with inadequate re/integration support:

The reintegration assistance is not enough. Twenty USD a month and a bicycle is not enough money for me to continue studying. The shelter social workers come for less than ten minutes every few months so they do not know my difficulty (Miles et al., 2012, p. 89).

6. FREQUENT MIGRATION

Due to a lack of proper re/integration protocols, oversight in the stabilization of the family, and limited community resources, participants were forced to 'move where the opportunities are' - this being in or out of country, multiple times a year, and/or without proper social support, increasing their vulnerability to re-exploitation.

Almost no participant stayed with their same family unit over the course of the first three years of the study. One participant moved four times in one year; the first push to move was because she and her stepmother did not get along. Other reasons for moving, and indicative of the entire cohort were: stigma from neighbors, marriage, work or education opportunities (Morrison et al., 2014).

While it is impossible to plan for every situation, it is important that NGOs work to re/integrate their clients into families and communities that appear to promise long-term stability and opportunities for growth. Sixty-eight percent of the male cohort had significant housing instability within the first two years of re/integration back into the community, with one boy stating that he had to quit school upon re/integration because the community where his immediate family resided did not have a secondary school for him to attend (Davis et al., 2016).

The high mobility of the cohort needed to be addressed consistently throughout the project. The Butterfly Project researchers were perpetually updating the participants' contact information and planning logistics to meet together for interviews. In the final year of data collection in 2018, at least 20 participants had moved residences. This is a major consideration for research projects seeking to replicate the Butterfly Project; one that requires a carefully thought-out framework for sustainability.

7. LACK OF SOCIAL CAPITAL TO OVERCOME CHALLENGES

Life for the participants outside of the shelters was, and continues to be, difficult. Poverty, mental and physical illness, abusive relationships, and deaths of loved ones are only some of the issues the cohort has faced upon re/integration. While with the NGOs, many services and activities assisted the respondents to cope with the traumas they faced in response to their past exploitation. These were no longer available when they were re/integrated. It is assumed that one reason that social workers could not give more time or substance to each client during their visit was due to the sheer numbers in their caseloads.

This issue was exacerbated once the respondents' cases were closed by the NGO as they felt that all support was then 'cut-off' and they were without any mental health services in the community. Among the male participants, nearly half described some deteriorating mental health as time progressed beyond them leaving the shelter (Davis et al., 2016). Heart-breakingly, one man committed suicide due to his severe depression; fueled in part by debt, physical disability and substance abuse.

In 2016, a female participant gave honest feedback for the aftercare service providers about the anxiety she felt when her case was closed. It is pertinent that aftercare programmes heed her call for continued access to support services, especially in contexts where the immediate family is cause for stress and danger, and law enforcement may be unreliable.

The shelter came to close my case. They said they will stop visiting me. I didn't know how to think about them. I asked, "What if I got a lot of violence in my family?" They said, "Just leave it to the local authorities to solve." I said, "It is good that I still have your organization [Butterfly Project]. What if you also finish your deadline with me? I don't know who I can meet with. I'm worried that I will have another case again. I am afraid of the violence and my mother will hit me and because she knows that the organization stopped with me, she can do whatever she wants. If you stop with me, I don't know who I can report to. I only have one [phone] number and if they stop contacting me, I don't know what to do. That is why I don't want you [Butterfly Project] to stop with me. I want to continue to meet with you because the shelter already finished their deadline with me, so please don't finish your meeting with me as well (Cordisco Tsai et al., 2018, p. 143).

As stated previously, the Butterfly Project researchers heard many respondents comment that they were willing to meet with the team over the years because they saw them as the only people who actively and confidentially listened to their stories and emotions. Staff members from the Assistant Programmes noted this as well. In feedback to the Butterfly Project, they spoke of respondents who ran away from their shelters stating that they would continue to participate in the Butterfly Project, as they see it as a sufficient and trusted support system.

8. PARENTS SEE SHELTERS AS BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR CHILDREN

It also came to light that the mothers and families of many participants who have been re/integrated into the communities wished them to be taken back by the NGO shelter program. While with an NGO, the families know that their children are given the care and resources that they cannot provide due to the instability of their livelihoods. However noble the families' intentions, these sentiments, essentially wanting an NGO to raise their children, left the participants feeling unwanted at home. In one instance, an 18 year-old male respondent described feeling confused when his mother did not want him to come home from the shelter. Initially, his parents stated that they did not want their child back home with them because of poverty. The researchers later found out from the boy's stepfather that:

We didn't really want [this respondent] to come home yet when the aftercare center sent him back. This boy is not like the other kids. I previously sent him to another shelter in [the] province [for vocational training], but he ran away (Davis et al., 2016, p. 16).

While the reasons that parents did not accept their children varied from case-to-case, financial instability and debt were the predominant reasons. In 2018, the final year of data collection for the Butterfly Project, 22 respondents were in some debt, with two participants reporting that their debts amounted to about \$12,000 USD. Debt and financial anxiety is discussed in detail in a 2015 Butterfly Project (Smith-Brake et al., 2015), in which the authors discuss how debt was pervasive throughout

the cohort, and the majority of the participants who experienced debt also discussed the recurrence of debt; that there was always a need to repeatedly borrow money. While the 2012 data shows that the average debt within a family is about \$1000 USD, this had more than doubled by 2018 with the average debt among the 22 longitudinal participants being more than \$2,500 USD.

9. ONGOING EXPLOITATION

As of 2017, the Butterfly Project researchers assessed that at least 23 out of 64 female participants who had stayed in a shelter program and subsequently re/integrated back into the community had been, or are currently, re-exploited in both sexual and labor circumstances (Havey et al., 2018).

In 2013, the annual report described how one participant worked at a Karaoke Television Club (KTV) selling sex because she was, “deeply disappointed with the shelter’s re/integration financial support” (Miles et al., 2013, p. 67). This participant was able to connect with the Assistant Programme once when she left the KTV. However, by the time the Assistant Programme followed up with her at the police station, she had changed her mind. This left the Assistant Programme employees wondering whether the police were colluding with the owner of the KTV. Due to the control this KTV owner exerted over their employees, and the Butterfly Project participant specifically, the researchers unfortunately lost contact with her for the remainder of the study (Miles et al., 2013).

In 2018, when the participants were asked if they felt exploited in their work, at least seven stated affirmatively, with three citing that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. These seven individuals worked in: a professional office, an apprenticeship at an NGO, restaurant, nightclub, garment factory, and as a porter for tourists’ luggage. Eight participants worked in the entertainment industry in 2018; two of this group disclosed that they continued to sell sex.

The reasons why these participants continued to feel exploited or to find themselves in exploitative situations again cannot be ascertained by one or two variables. Rather, this outcome is due to the intersection of many factors including unhealthy relationships, the lack of adequate education or training, unstable mental or physical health, and the needs of dependents, to name a few.

10. SUCCESS AS STABLE INCOME

Of the 20 interviews conducted in February 2018, the Butterfly Project researchers assessed that only five participants have stable livelihoods. The factors considered in this assessment were whether the respondent had healthy social support, stable and enough income, safe living environments, and stable emotional and physical health. During 2018’s round of qualitative interviews, all of the participants were asked, ‘In your perception, what does a successful life look like?’ A majority of the cohort responded with answers along the theme of a stable and good income. This is indicative of the cohort’s priorities that were evoked themselves or thrust on them by family and/or society.

Justifiably, many human trafficking aftercare programmes focus on education, vocational training and income generation. The cohort’s vocational training programmes ranged from beadwork to making cakes, motorcycle repair to traditional Khmer dance. The most common skills training were salon training and sewing for women, and motorcycle and electrical appliance repair among the male cohort. By the

end of data collection for the Butterfly Project, it was surprising how a small portion of the cohort was employed in a field that utilized their vocational training.

The Butterfly Project researchers celebrate the fact that two of the cohort had matriculated to and, subsequently, graduated from university. However, the lower education levels of the entire cohort suggests the need for greater efforts in sustainable access to formal education after re/integration back into the community. At least 30 individuals had not received a Grade 9 education, the level that the Cambodian government guarantees subsidy to for every Cambodian per Article 68 of the Constitution (Open Development Cambodia, 2018). Two participants had not received any formal education and one participant stated that she remains illiterate.

It appears that many of the Butterfly Project cohort still rely on employment by their Assistant Programme in apprenticeship roles, not graduating and moving into higher paid fields within the private sector. This being said, four participants had moved into formal work within the NGO from which they had previously received services, working as counsellors and accountants. Of the 52 longitudinal cohort, 44 were employed in 2018. Of these, the largest group (9) were employed as apprentices within their Assistant Programme, as previously mentioned. The second largest group (8) was employed by entertainment services; KTVs, casinos, bars, and nightclubs. Many of this group reside in Sihanoukville, a popular tourist destination for its casinos and beaches, both of which invigorate the city's sex industry (Davis, Miles, Eno, & Rowland, 2021). While only two of the participants who work in entertainment disclosed that they sell sex, this is a high-risk industry for sexual exploitation as the expectation to provide sexual services to clients of KTV bars and nightclubs (Miles & Alsiyao, 2019), and massage parlours (Miles, Clark et al., 2020; Davis & Miles., 2014) is well documented.

The following quote from a female participant offers a poignant recommendation to aftercare centres seeking to provide their clients with vocational training. She stated the importance of vocational training from accredited institutions outside of the residential care facility. This provides clients with the opportunity to receive certification from respected institutions and develop social capital throughout the community. Many participants described how the shelters felt rather like prisons because of the lack of access to the outside world and community. Thus, sending clients to vocational training institutions and integrating them with students from all across the community is a way to minimize these feelings of isolation and separation.

If they want to provide skills for women, they should allow us to study for the whole day. Please don't ask us to learn how to sew bags for half-day and salon half-day. Time is quite short in a half-day, as we just sit there, the time is over. To make the skill helpful, they should focus on the training skills and conduct specific training. They should provide certificates to the participants to make it easier for them when they open the shop. Participants should finish their course with good training skills no matter what they learn. I think outside [training] is better. They know more than the inside trainer. Moreover, they are more professional with salon skills. If we take outside training, we get the certificate for this course, but if we take training inside the shelter, we get only a certificate from the shelter" (Cordisco-Tsai et al., 2018, p.184).

Further, accredited programmes may provide higher-quality skills training, which provide its graduates with opportunities at businesses that provide high-level services for which they charge a premium which likely translates into higher income for the client. On hearing this information one Assistant Programme staff member

agreed, reflecting that bead-making jewelry skills that create products sold for \$1 USD in the local market are unlikely to pull someone out of poverty, thus, leaving them at a continued risk for re-exploitation.

The Butterfly Project recommended that vocational training be not only of a quality that is sought by employers, but also that the skills match the local market demand for products, services, and technical needs. Female participants spoke of how they were taught hair and make-up skills while in their aftercare programme, and even got support to start their own business in their home communities upon their re/integration. However, when back in their rural hometowns, there was little money or clientele as the community consisted of poor rice-farmers who would only seek beautician services on special occasions, thereby, not creating the possibility of a sustained income.

In 2015, the Asia Development Bank (ADB) and International Labour Organization (ILO) investigated the skills gap among Cambodians in order to improve information flows within the country's labour market (Asia Development Bank and the International Labour Organization, 2015). Many of the Butterfly Project participants re/integrated into rural agricultural communities that rely on seasonal rice crops for employment and income. In their study, ADB and ILO perceived that rural Cambodia needs industrial diversification, with the main enterprises outside of agriculture being: grain mills, sugar production, garments and footwear manufacturing, textile weaving, structural metal products, and distilling and blending of spirits (2015, p. 58).

After the Butterfly Project suggested the need for market-driven vocational training in 2018, one Assistant Programme expressed the need for continued information on this topic as they did not have the resources to either perform this market research themselves or interpret a high-end economic study's findings into programmatic change. Thus, the Butterfly Project recommendeds that the private sector drive the continued study and communications through publishing literature and presentations that bridges this knowledge gap between the private sector and vocational training programmes, as this will support the labour force throughout Cambodia.

PROGRAM AND POLICY CHANGE

Annual round tables were held with the Assistant Programmes as the main forum to discuss the findings of the different technical papers' themes. These were intended to ensure that the Butterfly Project reports were relevant to the Assistant Programmes' needs. Chab Dai was aware that many Assistant Programmes developed policies that addressed aspects identified from this study such as addressing stigma from staff and community members, bullying within the shelter, and the importance of stabilizing the entire family to mitigate the possibility of re-exploitation. In a 2020 paper evaluating the entirety of the Butterfly Project, a stakeholder summarized their opinions about the study's findings and recommendations, "Much of the research, particularly the quotes from survivors, has helped shape thinking about what is important and what is not important in aftercare services and even areas where more focus is needed" (Miles et al., 2020b, p. 32).

Notably, one theme of recommendations reiterated throughout the Butterfly Project reports was with respect to policies safe-guarding children and vulnerable persons in survivor-care programmes. These need to be standardized globally, as non-compliance is intolerable and has led to dire consequences. Robust safeguarding policies require protocols for background checks during the onboarding of staff and volunteers, regular reviews of staff's performance against these safeguarding measures,

and updates to these policies that are well communicated and understood among all staff. All staff and volunteers of an aftercare programme need to be made aware of the different types of potential abuse - physical, sexual and spiritual; and this training is signed by attendees upon completion (Miles et al., 2020a).

The Assistant Programme staff often commented that the research constituted a 3rd-party evaluation for their projects. Not only did the Assistant Programmes receive information from their former clientele, but this information was with respect to both strong and weak practices of their's, or other's, survivor-care programmes. This information may have remained hidden because of the lack of resources for consistent follow-up with former clients about how they were faring post case-closure. The clients deeply trusted the Butterfly Project. One social worker at a shelter Assistant Programme told the Butterfly Project team that even the clients who had run away from their shelter told them that they "love to continue to meet with the Butterfly Project" (Lim et al., 2018). Another barrier to the Assistant Programmes receiving authentic feedback from their clients was the sentiment of, 'do not bite the hand that is feeding you,' meaning, that these clients were receiving free shelter, food, and education from their NGO programmes, thus, they preferred not to give feedback, because it be perceived as unappreciative of the services. Further, the respondents did not trust that their feedback would remain confidential.

In addition to the roundtables for Assistant Programmes, and as mentioned previously, the Butterfly Project's findings and recommendations were presented at meetings and conferences around the globe to a swath of stakeholders and audiences. Examples of how the information was applied included, when building their own housing programme for female survivors attending vocational training, one attendee of a presentations asked; 'of the Butterfly Project participants who were formally sex-workers, how much remittance would they send to their families every month?' They used the answer in their programme structure and funding proposals. Other Assistant Programmes approached the Butterfly Project, describing how they had used the research for their own advocacy to donors and government (Lim et al., 2018).

Staff from the Royal Government of Cambodia Ministry of Social Affairs were actively involved in research presentations and received the project reports. Indeed, the process of ethical approval by the Ministry of Health Ethical Committee meant that Chab Dai was obliged to keep them informed of the Butterfly Project progress on an annual basis. The Royal Cambodian Government's evolution to more community-based approaches for survivor aftercare was strengthened by the Butterfly Project results and recommendations (Hamilton et al., 2017; Transparency International Cambodia, 2011).

The Butterfly Project's Assistant Programmes changed substantially over the course of the project, compliant with the Royal Cambodian Government's standards and informed by the feedback given to them from clients via the Butterfly Project. Originally, the Butterfly Project was associated with 15 NGOs; 13 shelters and two community-based programmes. By 2019, there was considerable change in the Assistant Programmes available, with seven shelter programmes, eight community-based programmes, and three vocational training programmes. Chab Dai are of the opinion that shelters in Cambodia and overseas have changed the ways that they provide community care after survivors leave as an outcome of the Butterfly Project. In 2018, an Executive Director of an Assistant Programme recognized the Butterfly Project for its dedication to bringing about positive change within survivor aftercare through survivors' voices, "Butterfly has been a part of the movement of raising standards of shelter

care... [It] is exemplary of the length of time required to build trust and achieve full recovery" (Lim et al., 2018).

Because of the precedents set by the Butterfly Project, the team has met with numerous organizations and researchers with respect to building their own longitudinal research projects. Inspiration for these projects appears driven by the Butterfly Project's goal to develop a deep sense of trust between the participants and the research team. The locations and topics of these studies include a longitudinal study on survivors of sex trafficking in Nepal (Salvation Army); research on exploitative labour practices among migrants from Uganda and Sierra Leone in the Middle East (Willow Intl.); and also, human trafficking prevention research in Thailand (The Freedom Story).

CONCLUSION

Importantly, the aftercare of human trafficking victims is never short-term and can last for months or years. Survivors can be children or adults and belong to a wide range of race, ethnicity, class and genders; as such, their aftercare must be tailored to each person. When survivors leave the shelter and subsequently complete their re/integration programme, their needs do not suddenly stop. Care beyond aftercare programmes must be carefully considered, with particular attention paid to incrementally phasing out program support to clients and their families. The community to which survivors return must also be prepared; the emotional, spiritual and physical needs of all those involved must be considered and supported as these each directly affect a client's sustainability in the community, away from re-exploitation and/or continued NGO support.

While keeping survivor-voices at its heart, this study sought to find out, 'what happens to survivors of human trafficking after they were taken in by an NGO (or not) and subsequently re/integrated back into the community? Is freedom truly free and what are the challenges to its (non-) sustainability?' The Butterfly Project continues to bring these voices to NGOs and practitioners throughout the world, in the hope that programmes develop and shape their structures and activities around the needs of their clientele. In 2020, one Assistant Programme told the Butterfly Project:

I got the opportunity to hear the voice from clients to improve services, and internal strengthening capacity to work more effectively for rehabilitation of survivors and reintegration to their community (Miles et al., 2020b, p. 31).

Butterfly Project's data and legacy have many applications that are not yet fully addressed. Beyond its published findings and recommendations, this research hopes to inspire practitioners and aftercare programmes to adopt client-voiced programme evaluations. This is one way of ensuring that survivor voices are continually sought and addressed when building-out and reviewing programmes. It is hoped that this data influences research and academia in numerous ways, including establishing curricula for sociology students in Cambodia where research method is an underdeveloped study focus. Finally, it is hoped that the Butterfly Project inspires communication between the private sector and NGOs with respect to employment market needs. This will allow for aftercare and vocational training to remain relevant to the context of the society's economy and offer a greater chance of a client obtaining gainful employment after their care from an NGO has concluded.

Commonly understood within the anti-trafficking community, it 'takes a village' to raise a victim of human trafficking, abuse, and/or exploitation out of their traumatic past into a stable life. The Butterfly Project researchers stress the importance of this

sentiment; that an NGO should not believe that they alone can address all of their client's needs. NGOs must create partnerships among various community members and diverse stakeholders in survivor aftercare to avoid feelings of abandonment if the relationship with the client is not able to continue. Programs working with survivors need to partner with a multitude of service-providers, community leaders, government agencies, and private sector employers that can simultaneously and systematically offer specialized services to address each need a client may require.

THE FUTURE OF THE BUTTERFLY PROJECT

At the end of 2019, all of the Cambodian researchers were interested in maintaining the relationships they had built with the participants. Since the close of the Butterfly Project in 2020, they have transitioned to new roles and organizations, nevertheless, former team members retain a lasting passion for this work. One of the main reasons for the participants to continue with the study was that they wanted their stories to be told so that others could benefit from them. This demonstrates the duality of the project - the participants believe that they matter, and the researchers enjoy knowing and caring about the people involved.

The possibility of performing future rounds of data collection to conduct decade-wide comparisons remains. Currently, the largest gap of the Butterfly Project data is between the years 2012 & 2018, with the majority of the participants residing in a shelter in 2012. Looking ahead, a round of longitudinal data collection in 2022 to compare with 2012's data could provide comparisons of the cohort between their life in the shelter to being far removed from their association with any NGO programming a decade later. Keeping a biannual connection with the participants as a way of making sure contact information is up-to-date, would also allow for another year of data collection in 2025. With the majority of participants newly re/integrated back into their communities in 2015, 2025 would be an opportune year to understand how the participants' livelihoods fared while solely being in the community. Both of these iterations of the Butterfly Project would seek to address, and substantiate with data, the continued long-term challenges that could be addressed during a survivor's aftercare.

Until then, there are many more publications and communications to produce than the Butterfly Project offers already. The former managers of the Butterfly Project are in the process of identifying topic areas and contributing authors for the continued publication of technical reports and academic articles.

As mentioned, one key finding in the final evaluation (Miles et al., 2020b) was that the participants were keen that their stories could be used to help prevent other children from experiencing similar circumstances. Understanding that the wider Cambodian populace may not find the technical reports in an accessible language, the team anonymized case studies from the Butterfly Project data to be developed into a series of videos, comics and coloring books to engage these topics with vulnerable children and youth. The intention of using these are to challenge stigma against sexually exploited and impoverished persons, become an education tool on child rights and, also, to assist human trafficking prevention efforts.

This research could enrich Cambodian social work students (e.g. Masters in Social Work at the Royal University Phnom Penh) through producing a curriculum on research methodology, data collection, critical analysis, research technology and academic writing. Critical thinking skills have long been sought by employers throughout Cambodia. This curriculum could be a pathway for students to learn about relevant

social justice issues in their country, break down stigma against victims and survivors, while also further developing their skills in situational analysis and action planning.

Though there are many challenges for the future of the project, funding being the largest factor, the Butterfly Project continues to communicate its findings and recommendations through diverse methods. The project hopes to promulgate its interviewing techniques that build trust and openness, as this produced detailed and relevant data to improve survivors' lives in their communities.

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We dedicate this series of papers to the founder of the Butterfly Longitudinal Re/integration Research Project Siobhan Miles, who died unexpectedly in 2016. All of this would not have been possible without her delightful joy and care for the children of Cambodia. All the Survivors who contributed to the project and remain anonymous The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project team: Orng Long Heng 2010 - 2013, Heang Sophal 2011- 2014, Lim Vanntheary 2011-2019, Dane So 2012-2013 & 2020, Sreang Phaly 2013-2020, Nanh Channtha 2004-2019, Bun Davin 2015-2017, Phoeuk Phellen - 2015-2019, Ou Sopheara 2016-2019, Kang Chimey 2017-2019. Project Manager: Lim Vanntheary Assistant Project Managers: Nanh Channtha and Ou Sopheara Project Administrator: Sreang Phaly Supervisors: Siobhan Miles 2009-2016, James Havey 2017-2020 Academic Advisors: Laura Cordisco-Tsai, PhD; Glenn Miles, PhD Research Consultants: Jarrett Davis, Tania DoCarmo, Tricia Hester, John Morrissey, Todd Morrison, Julia Smith-Brake and Hanni Stoklosa. Research Technology Consultant: So Dane Graphic Designers & Visual Artists: Paul Austria, Amanda Daly, James Havey, and Sreang Phaly Donors: Thank you to ACCI, Change a Path, Earth Hair Partners, Hope for the Nations, Imago Dei Fund, Isaac Charitable Foundation, Karakin Foundation, Love 146, Sharon Ann Jacques, Stewardship, Stronger Philanthropy, Stronger Together, Tenth Church, TGCF, World Charitable Foundation -Vaduz, World Hope, World Vision and all of the anonymous and individual donors for their continued financial support. Assistant Programs: Agape International Mission (AIM), American Rehabilitation Ministries (ARM), Bloom Asia, Cambodian Hope Organization (CHO), Citipointe International Care and Aids, Daughters of Cambodia, Destiny Rescue, Garden of Hope in Cambodia, Hagar Cambodia, Health Care Centre for Children (HCC), Hope for Justice, International Justice Mission (IJM), Pleroma Home for Girls, Ratanak International, World Hope, and World Vision.

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James Havey (james.havey@chabdai.org) is the Project Advisor for the Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project. While in Cambodia, James was an Anti-Human Trafficking researcher and LGBTQ advocate, studying topics covering Transgender sex-working communities, the Demand for the sex industry, and the abuse of men and boys. A part of his work in Phnom Penh focused on building dialogue and bridges between the LGBTQ and Christian NGO communities. Currently, James is in London employing his work from Cambodia to affect change in corporate social responsibility and supply-chain sustainability.

Siobhan Miles, MSN, NPC (1959-2016) was a PhD candidate at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and project manager of the Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project, when she died

unexpectedly in 2016. Siobhan was a nurse practitioner, physician's assistant and sociologist who worked in Cambodia from 1992-1993, 2000-2005 and 2009-2015. She is deeply missed. Eliza Piano (eliza_piano@hotmail.com) is a MA student in Global Development at the University of Leeds who is currently focusing on child development and education. She has experience working internationally and in the UK with a wide range of charities and third sector organisations. She is particularly interested in working to create links between countries so that knowledge and expertise in education, development and policy can be shared across borders.

Lim Vanntheary (lvanntheary@gmail.com) holds a double bachelor's degree in Sociology and English Education in addition to a Master of Development Studies, all from the Royal University of Phnom Penh. Beginning work on the Butterfly Longitudinal Research in 2011 as part of Butterfly's original research team and from 2015-2019, Vanntheary was leading the Research Project as Project Manager and Researcher. Now, she is a Project Assistant at the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

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Sreang Phaly (sreang.phaly@gmail.com) holds a Bachelor of Art in Sociology from the Royal University of Phnom Penh. He started working in the Butterfly Research in 2013 as Project Administrator/Researcher and is currently the only remaining staff member with the Butterfly project as Project Closeout Coordinator to pack and process all Butterfly 'Big Data' for future use by researchers.

Ou Sopheara (sophearaou@gmail.com) began with the Butterfly team in March, 2016. His work specifically focused on conducting interviews, building surveys and data: transcription, translation, and analysis. In 2015, he graduated as a Bachelor of Sociology from Royal University of Phnom Penh's School of Social Sciences and Humanities. Aside from research, traveling is Pheara's favorite activity. Now, he has moved to work as Assistant Project Manager of Coalition Project, another project in Chab Dai Coalition.

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