



'I know I cannot quit.'

The Prevalence and Productivity Cost of Sexual Harassment to the Cambodian Garment Industry

March 2017



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Suggested Citation

CARE International (2017). *'I know I cannot quit.'* *The Prevalence and Productivity Cost of Sexual Harassment to the Cambodian Garment Industry*. Canberra: CARE Australia.

An electronic version of this report, is available at www.care-cambodia.org and www.care.org.au

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“Sometimes, of course I think about not going to work anymore because of this [sexual harassment]. But then I think about my family condition and I know I cannot quit.”

-Female garment worker

Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Executive Summary.....	2
1. Introduction	11
1.1 Introduction	11
1.2 Background	11
1.3 Costs of sexual harassment in the workplace	12
2. The Cambodian context	14
2.1 Gender, migration and Cambodia's garment industry	14
2.2 The legal context of sexual harassment in Cambodia	15
3. Methodology	18
3.1 Operational definition of sexual harassment	18
3.2 Ethical Considerations	19
3.3 Data collection	21
3.4 Measuring presenteeism	21
3.5 Limitations	22
4. Demographics of sample	24
4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of sample	24
4.2 Occupational characteristics of sample.....	26
5. Analysis & Findings	28
5.1 Harassment inside factories	28
5.1.1. An abrasive working culture: everyday harassment in factories	31
5.1.2. Persistent harassment inside factories	32
5.2 Harassment outside factories	33
5.2.1. Harassment in the community	36
5.2.2. Harassment on the way to and from work	36
5.2.3. Issues with authority: lack of official assistance for sexual harassment	39
5.3 Living with Harassment: self-restriction as defence	41
5.4 Case Study: Chanthavy	43
6. Estimating the Productivity Cost of Harassment to Garment Factories	44
6.1 Turnover.....	44
6.2 Absenteeism.....	46
6.3 Presenteeism	47
Conclusions	49
Recommendations	49
Appendices.....	52
Appendix 1. Methodology.....	53
Appendix 2: Quantitative Questionnaire	63
Appendix 3: Qualitative Interview Guides	78
Appendix 4: Home province of garment industry workers	81
Appendix 5: Chi Square Test - Relationship between Migrant/Marital Status & Workplace Harassment	82
References page	85
Boxes and Tables	
Box 1. Informed consent	19
Box 2. GBV services & information pocket card used for referrals	20
Table 1. Gender of workers in the Cambodian garment industry	24
Table 2. Socio-demographic characteristics of workers in the Cambodian garment industry	25
Figure 1. Home province of workers in the Cambodian garment industry	26
Table 3. Migrant status of workers in the Cambodian garment industry.....	26
Table 4. Occupational characteristics of garment industry worker survey respondents.....	27
Table 5. Total proportion of workers experiencing workplace sexual harassment.....	28
Table 6. Forms of workplace harassment reported by workers experiencing harassment	29
Table 7. Socio-demographic characteristics of women who have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace	30
Table 8. Total proportion of workers experiencing sexual harassment in the community	33
Table 9. Forms of harassment reported by female workers experiencing sexual harassment in the community	34
Table 10. Socio-demographic characteristics of women experiencing sexual harassment in the	

community	35
Table 11. Total proportion of workers experiencing harassment on the way to/from work	36
Table 12. Forms of harassment reported by female workers experiencing harassment on the way to/from work	37
Table 13. Socio-demographic characteristics of women experiencing sexual harassment on the way to and from work	38
Table 14. Participation in leisure and social activities by garment industry workers	41
Table 15. Participation in different forms of leisure and social activities by garment industry workers ..	42
Table 16. Worker replacement costs	44
Table 17. Average worker remittances in the Cambodian garment industry	46
Table 18. Coping strategies practised by workers	47

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge and thank the following people and organisations for their participation in this research:

- The 1,287 factory workers who participated in this study for generously providing their limited time to recall painful experiences of hardship, harassment and violence. Without their generosity, this research would not have been possible. Thanks to all participants interviewed who were open to sharing their experience with our data collection team.
- To colleagues in the CARE Cambodia office: Chenda Net, Supraja Suresh, Ratana Khieu, and Rachana Srun for their early liaising with key stakeholders; to Supraja and Adriana Siddle for their peer review and technical expertise; and to Tanya Barnfield for her review, direction and guidance. To the CARE Cambodia administrative team and Randa Seang for your support and patience throughout the data collection process. Thanks to Joe Sutcliffe at CARE UK for his review and expertise on the garment sector.
- The Garment Manufacturer's Association of Cambodia (GMAC) and Mr. Ly Tek Heng for support for this study. A great thanks to Ms. Eng Phally for her coordination. Thanks also to the 52 participating factories of this study.
- The EMERGE Steering Committee members in the Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam offices for supporting this study.
- CARE Australia current and past staff including Paul Kelly, Principal Executive, International Programs; Sarah Gowty, ANCP Coordinator; and Sue Finucane, Senior Gender Advisor, who provided coordination, direction, guidance, program support and review. Alex Lamb and Roslyn Dundas, the Parliamentary Advocacy Coordinator, for their review and advocacy expertise.
- CARE Australia: Hannah Lee, EMERGE Regional Coordinator. Thanks to Hannah who conceived and oversaw the research project from inception through to finalisation. Hannah provided tenacious oversight and support of the project as a key activity of the EMERGE Mekong Regional Initiative.
- Editors and reviewers: Dr. Kristin Diemer, University of Melbourne, for peer review in this research study and technical review of the report. Jane Torney, for her comprehensive editing of the report, and students, Emily Evans, Helena Jordan and Stephanie Rendell for proofreading.
- To Dan Brush and Jarrod Tucker of Colin Biggers & Paisley Lawyers in Sydney, Australia for legal inputs on intellectual property, publishing and licensing rights.
- Our data collection team leader Ly Vouch Long who coordinated and lead the data collection, organised interviews and provided an unprecedented level of patience in the data collection process.
- To the data collection team of enumerators, who worked tirelessly to conduct surveys and to accurately convey the situation of sexual harassment across the garment industry.
- Finally, thanks with gratitude to the Australian Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and the Australian public for their financial support for this study.

Executive Summary

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines sexual harassment as sex-based behaviour that is unwelcome, unreasonable, and offensive to its recipient (ILO, 2005; ILO, 2007). Behaviours can include physical harassment and physical violence/assault (ranging from unnecessary close proximity to rape and sexual assault), verbal harassment (comments about appearance, sexual orientation, phone calls) and non-verbal harassment (whistling, sexually-suggestive gestures).

Sexual harassment in the workplace and the community is a form of violence against women and a human rights violation. International evidence shows that certain factors drive higher levels of violence against women. “These include beliefs and behaviours reflected by disrespect for women, low support for gender equality and adherence to rigid or stereotypical gender roles, relations and identities” (Our Watch, 2016).

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

CARE’s overall recommendations are threefold:

1. **Improve productivity, prevention and protections through industry and Government jointly promoting harassment-free work and community environments.**
2. **Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment.**
3. **Invest and support programs, laws and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protection against sexual harassment.**

KEY FINDINGS

1. **The productivity cost of sexual harassment in the garment industry is estimated at USD 89 million per annum.**
2. **Sexual harassment is a regular occurrence – nearly one in three women garment factory workers report experiencing sexually harassing behaviours in the workplace over the last 12-months.**
3. **One in four men surveyed (50 of the 198 men) reported being asked questions of a sexual nature in the workplace.**

The underlying causes of violence against women are found in the social context of gender inequality (UN, 2006; European Commission, 2010; World Health Organization and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010; Arango et al., 2014). Gender inequality is characterised by unequal value afforded to men and women and an unequal distribution of power, resources and opportunity. It is often rooted in laws or policies formally constraining the rights and opportunities of women, and is reinforced and maintained through informal mechanisms, like negative gender norms (Our Watch, 2016).

Of the 600,000 workers (ILO, 2015) employed by Cambodia’s garment sector, 85 per cent are women (UNFPA, 2014). However, despite their high rate of participation in the garment industry, women are not on equal terms to their male colleagues, with harmful gender norms and structures both in and out of the factory meaning they are largely excluded from certain types of work (such as leadership roles), get paid less than men, receive less education and training than men, are recognised less for their contributions and are more likely to be exploited and harassed in their workplace (ILO, 2012a).

Women are central to Cambodia's rapid economic growth, primarily through their employment in the garment industry. Since the mid-1990s the total annual output of the garment sector has grown from an estimated USD 20 million to over USD 5 billion today, almost a third of national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (ILO, 2015). This growth has been fuelled in part by its competitive advantage for ethical working standards (Saxana and Salze-Lozac'h, 2010; Stanford WRC et al., 2013; Lichtenstein, 2016).

In an industry whose success relies heavily on migrant women's labour, sexual harassment is therefore not only a human rights issue but also an economic issue, with appropriate investment required to create a safe, respectful and competitive work environment for all its employees. For this reason, CARE Australia commissioned this research study to examine the prevalence and productivity cost of sexual harassment of workers to the Cambodian garment industry. The study was conducted by CARE in cooperation with the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia (GMAC) and funded through the Australian NGO Cooperation Program (ANCP), from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and the Australian public.

This report presents the findings of a large-scale, nationally representative survey of sexual harassment in the Cambodian garment industry. It combines quantitative survey data from 1,287¹ workers across 52 factories, with 25 qualitative interviews and 9 focus groups conducted in a variety of different living and working environments. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to;

1. Estimate the prevalence of sexual harassment reported by female and male workers
2. Estimate the annual cost of productivity lost to the garment industry due to sexual harassment affecting its workers by estimating indirect costs of turnover, absenteeism and presenteeism (direct and indirect tangible costs)
3. Examine the harmful negative effects of sexual harassment experienced by female and male workers.

The 1,287² workers surveyed (1,085 women and 198 men) produced a representative survey of the industry as a whole. This showed that 84.6 per cent of the industry are women and 15.4 per cent are men. 97 per cent of participants working in Phnom Penh are internal migrants. The mean age for women and men is 27 years, with 65.9 per cent of women and 67.4 per cent of men under the age of 30. 85 per cent of women and 68 per cent of men had completed 9th grade or lower secondary education. Just over half of female respondents (51.1 per cent) and male respondents (54.5 per cent) were married.

The design and implementation of the study was developed to comply with World Health Organisation ethical guidelines for researching violence against women (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). The safety of respondents and the research team was paramount and informed all decisions throughout the study.

The research team ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents throughout the study. Access to the factory-level sampling frame and the identity of the 52 factories included in the study are known only to four core members of the research team, who were responsible for conducting follow-up phone calls and emails with the sampled factories. Data analysis in the study has not been presented at factory level, both to protect factory anonymity and to protect workers from fear of reprisal.

To determine productivity costs, the researchers examined the indirect costs of lower productivity, revenue loss, and missed days of work based on both worker and factory perspectives. The estimated

¹ In some of the descriptive tables *n* numbers differ from full 1287 sample. This is due to small amounts of missing data where respondents were unable or unwilling to answer questions.

² Ibid.

cost aims to contribute to the garment industry's in-depth understanding of the relationship between violence against women, sexual harassment and the cost of productivity to the sector.

The results demonstrate not only that sexual harassment remains a serious issue for women workers in the Cambodian garment industry, but that it is associated with considerable costs to the factories themselves.

Key findings

1. The productivity cost of sexual harassment in the garment industry is estimated at USD 89 million³ per annum⁴.

This research finds that the total costs annually generated from turnover, absenteeism, and presenteeism related to sexual harassment within the garment industry are estimated at *USD 88,742,695 or 0.52 per cent of Cambodia's 2015 GDP*⁵. The study examines the indirect costs of lower productivity, revenue loss, and missed days of work.

- **Turnover costs:** costs of training + reduced productivity = USD 85,184 in the last 12 months⁶ across the industry
- **Absenteeism costs:** Absences were generally very low due to a work culture that punished absences through public criticism, formal warnings and high proportions of salary being cut. 3.3 percent of workers took an average of 3.9 days in the last 12-months⁷ from work as a direct result of sexual harassment, equating to 69,550 work days missed or 102 days/factory/last 12-months⁸, resulting in a loss of approximately USD 545,000 across the industry.
- **Presenteeism costs:** 13.5 per cent of workers stated their productivity was significantly affected by sexual harassment, with that group estimating that they were able to work on average 47 per cent less effectively. This equates to USD 99.38 in lost value per month for the 13.5 per cent of workers reporting productivity losses due to sexual harassment = estimated USD 88,112,511 in last 12 months⁹.

Presenteeism generated the highest costs to productivity. These costs are generated by sexual harassment both inside and outside the factory. The qualitative data found that women felt there was no other option for them but to attend work, despite harassment, as absenteeism (which resulted in a loss of wages) was not an option.

“Sometimes, of course I think about not going to work anymore because of this [sexual harassment]. But then I think about my family condition and I know I cannot quit.” (Female garment worker, Location 5, 18/02/2016)

³ This is a rounded figure from USD 88,742,695.

⁴ Based on data collected between March to June 2016 where participants were asked to recall ways in which their work performance was affected by sexual harassment over the previous 12 months.

⁵ GDP estimated from World Bank (2016). *Cambodia Country Profile*.

⁶ Based on data collected between March to June 2016 where participants were asked to recall ways in which their work performance was affected by sexual harassment over the previous 12 months.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

Sexually harassing behaviours as identified in the survey: made to feel uncomfortable or unsafe; received unwanted leers, sexual comments, noises or gestures; rated based on looks or sexuality; referred to in sexist or degrading terms; made the subject of rumours of a sexual nature; heard or received inappropriate jokes in person or by other communication; physical harassment; being followed, hassled or harassed to go out with them after work; asked inappropriate question of a sexual nature; shown offensive or pornographic images; received unwanted messages of sexual nature by electronic communication; told to engage in intimate relationship to obtain leverage at work; made the subject of graffiti of a sexual nature.

2. Female workers experience high levels of sexual harassment in factories and surrounding areas.

The findings of this research corroborate previous studies examining sexual harassment in the garment industry, which suggested high levels of sexual harassment amongst workers (Human Rights Watch, 2015; Stanford WRC et al., 2013; CLEC and CCC, 2012). Sexual harassment is a regular occurrence for workers. *In their workplace, 28.6 per cent, or nearly one in three female garment factory workers, report experiencing sexually harassing behaviours over the last 12 months.*

Outside the workplace¹⁰, women and men in the garment industry perceive a regular and daily risk of sexual harassment. *16.5% of women and 7.6% of men have experienced sexual harassment outside the factory during the past year.*

Qualitative data revealed women develop many different coping strategies¹¹ to deal with sexual harassment. These strategies appear as protective factors to reduce the incidence of harassment experienced by women in the community compared with the workplace, where workers have less control over their environment. However, none of these personal strategies will eliminate sexual harassment as coping strategies address only the immediate need for safety, and sometimes only temporarily deter sexual harassment. Ultimately, women workers learned quickly that their mobility was confined, which limited work and leisure options, and their voice was silenced by sexual harassment, both in the workplace and in her community. Men's experiences of sexual harassment are discussed in the next section.

In the factory:

"Inside the factory I was known as a hot-tempered woman. So the male workers always threatened me and said that there would be trouble waiting for me when I left the factory... I heard them say things like this to other workers too." (Female Garment Worker, Location 6, 17/02/2016)

In her community:

"We feel afraid. We only go out to work and then come back to the house because we are too afraid to be around outside... You cannot hide. Almost every morning, we meet problems on the way to work, with men calling out and chasing us. Two months ago, it happened to me, at 6am

¹⁰ Includes the combination of harassment experienced by workers in the community and to/from work

¹¹ The research found a number of coping strategies used by women to mitigate the impacts of and avoid sexual harassment including retorts to insults; skin thickening – enduring sexual harassment; becoming invisible – being silent, not bringing attention to oneself, wearing clothes that don't stand out; walking in groups; walking quickly or running to factory bus stop; not answering door at night; never leaving room at night – even in the case of medical emergency; sensitivity and awareness of surroundings when leaving factory during night shifts; being friendly in order to create familiarity and safety; expecting something to happen – being vigilant and on the defensive; limited or no social life; shouting for help; ostracising perpetrator as a group defensive mechanism; story-telling to protect other women; missing days from work; moving jobs within the factory; moving to another factory; dropping out of garment industry.

on the way to the factory. I was walking and two men began to chase me. It was light at that time but quiet there, so I ran to where there would be many people.” (Female garment worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

3. One in four men surveyed (50 of the 198 men) reported being asked questions of a sexual nature in the workplace.

Male workers consistently and more often reported harassment in the form of inappropriate jokes, sexual rumours or as recipients of unwanted sexualised communication. The forms of harassment appear different for men in that they may pressure them to participate in a workplace culture of sexual harassment. Over one in five had heard or experienced inappropriate jokes in the workplace and 10 per cent were shown offensive or pornographic images. Both the Employee Survey and the qualitative findings reveal women and men adapt to and accept sexual harassment as the norm in the garment factory environment, indicating that men may become passive or active participants in harassment. A limitation of this research is that it does not further examine the gender of perpetrators. In negotiating a representative randomised sample of the garment industry, we agreed to examine the cost and prevalence of sexual harassment victimisation as it affects the Cambodian garment industry and the worker, which excluded gender of perpetrators.

These experiences may shed light on a gender enculturation process of males in garment factories, where people ‘learn’ the requirements of their surrounding culture and acquire attitudes, language values and behaviours appropriate or necessary in that culture. While men make up only 15% of the employee population they generally hold higher positions (levels of responsibility and authority) and thereby will have greater control over workplace culture (e.g. normalisation of sexualised behaviour and harassment). Normalised male dominance underpins men’s experiences of sexual harassment, where men are both perpetrators and victims (Morgan and Gruber 2005; De Haas 2010). Normalised male dominance is supported by an occupational culture that rewards restrictive traditional masculine values (behaviours like sexual posturing, sexual bravado, and denigrating women) which increases the risk of sexual harassment (Morgan and Gruber 2005; De Haas 2010) and where reports of sexual harassment by males are perceived as feminine (Lee 2000).

“[Sexual harassment] is a problem inside the factory. [When these things happen], some people care and some people don’t. Normally those who care, only care the first time and then it becomes normal.” (Male Garment Worker, Location 3, 22/02/2016)

“The first time somebody talked like that to me it really hurt me. But I learned after a while that they were just joking.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 1, 22/02/2016)

Additionally, the concept of sexual harassment is poorly understood¹² by both male and female workers. Many understand it as a specific set of serious physical behaviours, such as rape and sexual assault. Verbal harassment such as insulting, sexually offensive, unwelcome, or graphic comments, gestures or exposure to pornographic or sexual materials are often not perceived as sexual harassment and often ignored or normalised.

¹² This reinforces issues explored elsewhere in the regional literature on gender-based violence (Duvvury et al., 2014; Vyas, 2013)

Conclusion

In Cambodia, traditional gender norms mean that women are expected to be moral, invisible, and hard-working, and to carry a societal obligation to support their family (ILO, 2012). This carries into women's work within the garment industry, where women are expected to adjust to harmful, sexist gender norms that exclude, harass, ostracise or devalue their contribution (ILO, 2012). When women are devalued, their efforts to seek redress for sexual harassment may be left unheard.

"[Sometimes the male workers] talk about taking a girl to have [sex with] . . . When this happens, she doesn't change factory, but she changes the place she works, like if he works on one side [of the factory] then she would move to the other side." (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016)

When there are limited institutionalised means of empowering women and ensuring a workplace is free of violence, women's individual coping mechanisms come into play to protect safety and dignity at work. This means that women carry the burden of preventing double victimisation – first, they may be subject to harassment or violence and second, they may experience the victim shaming and blaming that ensues. This mental stress of self-regulation by women is a productivity cost to the industry and an indication that existing mechanisms to address sexual harassment are not effectively reducing, preventing or addressing workplace violence for women. Sexual harassment productivity costs may be evidence of ineffective action by employers and duty bearers.

"If it's not violent, they [the garment factory] give a warning. They say that if a worker has three warnings, then they should be fired. But I've never seen that happen at my factory..." (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/16)

"The men around here, they see it happening, they hear us calling for help, but they don't help us. They are scared of the bad boys, because sometimes they carry knives or guns." (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/16)

The social and economic costs of sexual harassment in the workplace are high, as acts of workplace violence affect not only direct survivors and perpetrators, but also indirect victims, factories and society at large. Evidenced in this study, sexual harassment can discourage women and men from working (absenteeism and turnover) and reduce productivity. Furthermore, the qualitative data shows harmful and discriminatory societal norms that support victim shaming and blaming, which may prevent women from discussing or reporting harassment or violence in the workplace and community. In the absence of a minimum level of protective or preventative measures in the garment industry, women workers shared in interviews they have little means to protect themselves nor receive appropriate support from factory management and duty bearers in the community.

Recommendations

Preventing and reducing sexual harassment requires a coordinated response. The following are recommendations for the Royal Government of Cambodia, local authorities in communities surrounding garment factories, the garment industry, unions, civil society and the ILO Better Factories Cambodia Program.

CARE endorses the overall objectives and activities put forward by the Royal Government of Cambodia in the *National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women (2014-2018)* (NAPVAW) and below endorse particular activities which directly relate to the findings of this report.

CARE's overall recommendations are threefold:

1. Improve productivity, prevention and protections through industry and Government jointly promoting harassment-free work and community environments
2. Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment
3. Invest and support programs, law and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protection against sexual harassment.

Recommendation 1

Government and industry should work together to improve workers' well-being and workplace productivity by taking a zero-tolerance attitude to sexual harassment.

1.1. Given sexual harassment's impact on women's well-being and workforce productivity, CARE endorses and recommends prioritizing the following activities identified in "Community and Workplace" and "Capacity Building" sections of the NAPVAW by both Government and industry stakeholders:

- "Design, implement and evaluate interventions to prevent violence against women in both public and private spaces with increased mobilization of civil society participation and initiatives"¹³)
- "Promote safe, harassment-free and respectful public and private workplace environments through raising awareness of labour rights, ensuring policies and mechanisms to prevent and respond to workplace harassment, and working with employers to create safe and harassment-free work environment"¹⁴
- Increase the capacity of all key actors to understand the physical, psychological and financial impact of violence against women¹⁵

1.2. Given the identified gaps in workplace-level protections, CARE recommends garment factories, with the support of the industry body GMAC:

- Develop and/or adopt and implement workplace-level policies (in line with international best practice) which put processes in place to prevent, respond to and monitor sexual harassment.
- Train all management and staff on sexual harassment, gender, and bystander intervention to ensure that the workplace-level policy is properly understood and implemented.
- Provide necessary awareness to workers on the workplace policy, their rights and responsibility to report incidents in the factory to the designated management staff.
- Task appropriate employees with responsibility and expertise in addressing sexual harassment and creating cultural change so that sexual harassment is no longer tolerated. This may involve establishing a sexual harassment committee or tasking an existing committee or individuals with this mandate.
- Create linkages, dialogue and reporting mechanisms (where appropriate) between other workplace and community stakeholders, such as unions, commune authorities, landlords, and police to address and prevent sexual harassment that occurs both inside and outside the workplace.

¹³ As stated in NAPVAW under section 3.2.1.4 Community and Workplace, Outcome 6 and 7, Activity 1.

¹⁴ As stated in NAPVAW under section 3.2.1.4 Community and Workplace, Outcome 6 and 7, Activity 3.

¹⁵ As stated in NAPVAW under 3.2.4, Strategic Area 4: Capacity Building, Outcome 17.

- 1.3. Given the identified gaps in workplace-level protections, CARE recommends the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training:
- Include identifying policies and protections from sexual harassment, and the implementation thereof, in the Inspection Checklist.
 - Train Labour Inspectors on sexual harassment and gender and facilitate ongoing knowledge sharing between officials and factory management through the labour inspection process.

Recommendation 2

Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment

- 2.1. Given the gaps in the implementation of the law borne out by the legal analysis and qualitative findings of this report, CARE endorses and recommends prioritizing the following activities identified in the “Multi-sectoral Coordinated Response Mechanism”, “Effective Police Protection” and “Legal Aid and Access to Justice” sections of the NAPVAW by both Government and industry stakeholders:
- “Develop a coordinated response mechanism between ministries, institutions, service providers, civil society, private sector and other key actors to promote a coordinated prevention and response strategy at the national level and to build knowledge and skills”¹⁶
 - “Clarify operational standards and codes of conduct, review and share at all levels to promote improved police response to violence against women”¹⁷
 - “Legal and justice reform process considers and discusses violence against women issues”¹⁸
- 2.2. Given the gaps in legal protections against some forms of workplace sexual harassment, CARE recommends that the Government of Cambodia:
- Begin a consultative law reform process to consider an appropriate new or existing legal mechanism or institutional body that has the power to give legal remedy for people who suffer detriment due to sexual harassment.
 - Create new legislation or amend existing law to create easy-to-access, affordable legal remedy for all forms of workplace and/ or community sexual harassment, including vicarious responsibility (accountability) of employers, which cannot be remedied at a workplace level.

Recommendation 3

Invest and support programs, laws and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protections against sexual harassment.

- 3.1. Given the high prevalence and cost of sexual harassment to the garment industry and the potential for Cambodia to set itself apart as a destination for responsible investment, CARE recommends that Government and industry stakeholders, and the ILO’s *Better Factories Initiative*:

¹⁶ As stated in NAPVAW under section 3.2.2 Strategic Area 2: Legal Protection and Multi-sectoral Services, Outcome 9, Activity 1.

¹⁷ As stated in NAPVAW under section 3.2.2.3: Effective Police Protection, Outcome 11, Activity 1.

¹⁸ As stated in NAPVAW under section 3.2.2.5 Legal Aid and Access to Justice, Outcome 13, Activity 2.

- Through a consultative process with stakeholders, agree to a Cambodian industry-wide common code of conduct to address sexual harassment in the workplace.
- Coordinate with suppliers and retailers to adopt international standards of responsible investment with regards to sexual harassment, and reflect this commitment to international standards through monitoring and auditing protocols.
- Endorse and support the global movement for a labour convention on ending violence in the workplace.

3.2. Given the intersections of women worker's right to be free from sexual harassment and the loss of productivity to industry caused by sexual harassment, CARE recommends that industry stakeholders, unions and civil society work together to:

- Ensure representation of women in factory committees and union structures so that women's voice and experience of sexual harassment is brought to the fore as a workplace issue and, in turn, fed back to factory management for action. A possible mechanism would be setting targets for women's membership of committees.
- Endorse and engage with public campaigns, including, for example, media and social media campaigns promoting respectful relationships, changing harmful gendered social norms and engaging all community members to intervene when it comes to sexual harassment and gender based violence.

Additional Research

Recommendations for future studies include conducting additional in-depth research with men in the garment industry to explore in detail men's experiences of harassment, whether as perpetrators, witnesses, or victims, and the influences of sexual harassment on male culture in the workplace, as well as how sexual harassment experienced by men may exacerbate women's exposure to workplace harassment. It is recommended future studies examine owners, senior managers, and foreign staff's perceptions and experiences of harassment.

Future studies on sexual harassment should examine more explicitly the spectrum of sexual harassment, especially serious crimes like sexual assault and rape, in both the workplace and worker communities. The extensive social, health and psychological costs of sexual harassment, including sexual assault and rape, to individuals and to society should be examined to shed light on the higher costs attached to the harmful impacts sexual assault and rape have on society, families and to the next generation of women and men.

The use of alternative methodologies, such as training previous or current female factory workers in data collection methodologies, is recommended to address underreporting, especially targeting factories that are sub-contracted and not included in the GMAC registry. Other methodologies such as action research and collection of women's stories by trained women's garment factory workers could also be further explored.

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The first section of this costing report provides an overview and background to the Cambodian garment industry, review of the studies objectives and a literature review of the costing approach. Section 2 examines the Cambodian Context, specifically the intersection of gender and migration, its influence on the growth of the garment industry, and the legal context of sexual harassment in Cambodia. Although the Methodology (section 3) quickly reviews the operational definition of sexual harassment used in this study, as well as data collection methods (data collection tools provided under Appendices 2 and 3), measurement and limitations of this research, a more detailed technical methodology report is available in the appendices (Appendix 1). The analysis (Section 5) examines harassment both in the garment industry and the community in which workers reside. Section 6 estimates the cost of harassment through turnover, absenteeism, and presenteeism costs, which is followed by the conclusion of the report with specific recommendations.

1.2 Background

Cambodia's garment industry is a vitally important part of the nation's economic revival, a two decade burst of growth that has transformed the lives of millions of citizens. Since the first garment factories opened in the mid-1990s, the sector has grown into a multi-billion dollar industry, employing 600,000 workers (ILO, 2015), of which 85 per cent (or 516,000) are women¹⁹, and supporting hundreds of thousands more in complementary sectors. Today, it accounts for some 80 per cent of exports (Reasmey and Zsombor, 2015) and employs over six per cent of the working age population²⁰.

Moreover, the garment sector has not only grown, but evolved in response to changing national and international conditions. The end of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement/Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (MFA/ATC) in early 2005 – which had previously imposed quotas on textile imports from developing countries – was widely expected to signal the end for garment industries in smaller emerging economies such as Cambodia. However, wide ranging reform enacted in conjunction with international and domestic non-government organisational partners saw Cambodia's industry continue to thrive. The *Better Factories Cambodia programme* (BFC) was launched in 2001 as a direct result of the U.S.–Cambodia Bilateral Textile Agreement, which provided Cambodia better access to the US market in exchange for improved working conditions (ILO & IFC 2015). BFC under the ILO and with commitment of the RGC, has been running for fourteen years and has led to an improved reputation for higher working standards (Tufts, 2016).

More than a decade later, the garment industry in Cambodia remains mindful of the role of working standards in its economic model (Lensberg et al., 2013) and has remained responsive to the grievances and demands of its ever growing workforce (Arnold, 2013). Whilst working standards are generally acknowledged to have improved markedly since the early 2000s, concerns nevertheless remain on a number of fronts (Human Rights Watch, 2015). In particular, long hours and forced overtime have been highlighted as pervasive issues, alongside an increasing proportion of fixed-duration contracts which offer little or no protection to workers (Fair Action, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2015; Arnold, 2013; ILO, 2012b).

A strong union movement (Arnold, 2013), albeit one whose relationship with factories varies considerably across the country, has succeeded in lobbying for improved wages on four occasions

¹⁹ This figure is derived from the data in the Employee Survey for this study, which suggests that 85% of workers in the garment industry are female.

²⁰ Calculated according to a figure of 600,000 workers (ILO, 2015) and a working age population of 9.65 million (World Bank, 2016).

since 2013 (first achieving the implementation of an USD 80 monthly minimum wage in 2013, USD 100 in early 2014 USD 128 in late 2014 and USD 140 on 1 January 2016). Whilst achieving such increases is notable, it has been accompanied by rapidly rising prices and union leaders and workers argue that the current minimum wage remains short of an urban living wage (ILO, 2016).

This report presents the findings of a large-scale, nationally representative survey of sexual harassment in the Cambodian garment industry. It combines quantitative data on 1,287 workers spread across 52 factories, with qualitative interviews and focus groups conducted in a variety of different living and working environments. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to;

1. Estimate the prevalence of sexual harassment reported by female and male workers.
2. Estimate the annual cost of productivity lost to the garment industry due to sexual harassment affecting its workers by estimating indirect costs of turnover, absenteeism and presenteeism (direct and indirect tangible costs).
3. Examine the effect of sexual harassment experienced by female and male workers themselves and their communities

1.3 Costs of sexual harassment in the workplace

The complexity of factors contributing to violence against women and girls means that research into the prevalence of sexual harassment is rarely straightforward. Potential participants are often sensitive about the subject matter of such studies, as well as being concerned about disclosing the impact of their experience and how this might affect their colleagues, or power relations within the workplace. These issues have implications not only for the ethics of the research process, but for the logistics of its implementation. Furthermore, they demand both a broad based methodology and a solid grounding in the socio-economic background of harassment. These considerations underpinned the planning and implementation of this research study.

Growing awareness of the “persistent and pervasive problem” (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012: 3; 2008) of sexual harassment by men against women in the workplace has seen attention increasingly directed towards making a business case for reducing sexual harassment. Workplace costing studies such as this highlights the costs faced by firms with high incidents of sexual harassment. Primarily through two approaches - those which focus on health impacts, and those that adopt a gender and power analysis. The first of these approaches, the health literature, has estimated the cost to business of various harmful factors, including Body Mass Index (Burton, Chen, Schultz and Eddington, 1998), anxiety (Greenberg et al., 1999) and depression (Conti and Burton, 1994). More recently though, costing studies have also focused on gender equality in response to decades of feminist activism emerging from the human rights movement (Htun and Weldon, 2012).

These changes have been supported by key trends in the academic literature. Researchers have contributed to a shift in the priorities and practice of research towards a focus on everyday power and societal relations, as they are enacted amongst peers and within families (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1983, 2011; Rose, 1997; Valentine, 1989). A broad range of authors, human rights NGOs, unions, and victim advocates (Htun and Weldon, 2012) have explored how gender norms, household norms and power relations contribute to conditions within the labour market (Radcliffe, 1991).

While various authors – in particular those writing on Southeast Asia where the garment industry has been a major force for economic and social change in recent decades – have noted an improvement in the status of women, both within the household and the wider community; (e.g. Czymonewic-Kippel, 2013; Elmhirst, 2007) there is evidence that changing labour practices are associated with worsening conditions for working women (Brickell and Chant, 2010; Silvey, 2001; Sassen, 2000) and a pervasive

culture of sexual harassment within Southeast Asian factories (Human Rights Watch, 2015; Kompipote, 2002; Haspels et al., 2001).

Recent efforts by NGOs (e.g. Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; CARE Cambodia, 2015b) and governments (Royal Government of Cambodia, 2014) to target sexual harassment have increasingly focused on addressing harmful gender norms as key to their strategies (CARE, 2015). Mounting evidence of high levels of sexual harassment faced by women working in factories (Lichtenstein, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2015; Stanford WRC, 2013) has seen growing attention directed towards raising the profile of the issue. Ensuring that businesses and factories are involved in efforts to reduce sexual harassment is increasingly viewed as crucial and a business case has been sought to encourage employers to tackle sexual harassment.

Research into the costs associated with gender-based violence in the workplace have recently been undertaken in the developing world, where studies (Darko et al., 2015; Vyas, 2013; Duvvury and Carney, 2012) have explored the economic costs of various dimensions of gender based violence and harassment in Tanzania and Vietnam. These studies have demonstrated that violence and harassment in the workplace can be costed, in environments where data sets are poor or non-existent and on the ground data collection is required.

2. The Cambodian context

2.1 Gender, Migration and Cambodia's Garment Industry

During the last twenty years, the Cambodian garment industry has driven a remarkable period of national economic growth. In 1995, textiles exports amounted to USD 27 million. In the twenty years following, the garment and textiles sector has had a 200-fold increase in output, today accounting for almost USD 6 billion in trade (ILO, 2015). Since 1993 GDP per capita more than tripled (World Bank, 2016) and poverty has more than halved (World Bank, 2013). However, this vast economic progress has taken place against a sustained background of rising inequality and exclusion of women and marginalised groups (Astbury and Walji, 2013).

The labour intensive nature of the garment industry has brought vast changes in the composition of the country's labour force. The garment industry employs over half a million women (ILO, 2015) out of four million women of working age in Cambodia (World Bank, 2016). The labour force has embraced movement and modern industrial sector work to such an extent that one in three members of the working age population – over two million from a total of eight million – is an internal migrant (NIS, 2010). Such a substantial and rapid transformation in rural livelihoods has brought with it considerable consequences, as Cambodia's villages adjust towards an increasing dependency on the garment industry.

The rising costs of farming inputs such as fertiliser and seeds combined with an increasingly unpredictable climate (Oeur et al., 2012; Tong and Sry, 2011) mean that the remittances sent by migrants have become not only an addition, but also a "replacement" (Bylander, 2013: 1) for traditional agricultural livelihoods in some families and communities. As a result, the pressure for garment workers to provide remittances is intense. Female and male garment workers send home 40 per cent of their salary on average²¹ and for migrants whose families depend heavily upon a regular flow of this income, deprivation and self-sacrifice can be the norm for many years as migrant workers prioritise their families' wellbeing over basic food and healthcare (Parsons, 2016; ILO, 2012b).

The increasingly central place of migrant work in the economy has also left its mark on Cambodian society and culture. Migrant areas in Phnom Penh and the surrounding areas have become sources of cultural and social change (Bylander, 2015; Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016b). The overwhelmingly female garment industry workforce, aged 27 on average²², has become economically indispensable to their households, communities, and the nation at large. Women working in the industry report respect in their communities and a greater say in household matters (Bylander, 2015; Cymoniewicz-Klippel, 2013). Migrant work is viewed as desirable by many prospective workers, keen to experience the city and perhaps meet a future spouse (Yagura, 2012; Derks, 2008).

Although women's status may have risen due to their contributions to the household and nation's economy, many rigid societal gender norms and structural discrimination placed on women still exist and are mirrored in factory life. Women are expected to be submissive, patient, put their family or team first and their voice and rights second, and have "an endurance to adapt to a maximum of working hours and minimum of consumption" (ILO, 2012).

Sexual harassment in the garment industry is therefore not an isolated problem. Rather, it is driven by broad social and gender norms and contextualised by vast economic changes and associated labour migration. Systematic, cultural and procedural processes are all struggling to keep pace with this shifting society and this is especially apparent in the legal framework relating to sexual harassment. As described below, Cambodian law contains very few provisions for the spectrum of abuse, misconduct

²¹ See Table 19.

²² Mean data derived from this survey.

and acts of violence that fall under sexual harassment and demonstrates a limited understanding of harassment and sex based discrimination in the workplace.

This has not gone unnoticed, however. In recent years, the Cambodian Government, trade unions, and local and international NGOs working in Cambodia (such as the ILO Better Factories program, the Community Legal Education Center, the Workers' Information Center, the Cambodian Center for Human Rights, the Solidarity Center, the Worker Rights Consortium, Action Aid and CARE Cambodia) have all invested significant effort to prevent violence against women and girls and prevent sexual harassment.

Prevention efforts have been multi-faceted and included a focus on education and empowerment. At the core of these strategies is a commitment to addressing the social norms that underpin gender inequality and drive violence against women and girls, in alignment with international good-practice to prevent violence against women and girls. Recent studies indicate the need for more work in social norms change. Current statistics show approximately 1 in 5 women aged 15-64 (21%) who had ever been in a relationship, report having experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner at least once in their lifetime (Fulu, 2015). Additionally, almost 1 in 3 ever-partnered women aged 15-64 (32 per cent) reported experiencing emotional abuse by an intimate partner in their life (Fulu, 2015). A 2013 study on perpetration showed 54 per cent of Cambodian men had engaged in at least one act of emotional violence in their lifetime, including insults, belittlement/humiliation, intimidation, and/or threats of harm or hurting others (Fulu et al., 2013). Despite prevention efforts, significant work remains to be done both in terms of social attitudes and the legal context of VAWG generally – and sexual harassment specifically – in Cambodia.

2.2 The legal context of sexual harassment in Cambodia

Cambodia is signatory to several binding international and regional conventions that address different areas of sexual harassment: the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); and the ASEAN Regional Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women (ASEAN RPA on EAW); and ILO Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation), 1958 (No. 111).

- 1. CEDAW, General recommendation 19, article 18** defines sexual harassment as:
“such unwelcome sexually determined behaviour as physical contact and advances, sexually coloured remarks, showing pornography and sexual demands, whether by words or actions. Such conduct can be humiliating and may constitute a health and safety problem; it is discriminatory when the woman has reasonable ground to believe that her objection would disadvantage her in connection with her employment, including recruitment or promotion, or when it creates a hostile working environment.” (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 11th session 1992)
- 2. ILO Convention 111 on Discrimination on employment and occupation (C111)** defines discrimination as “...any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation....”
- 3. ASEAN RPA on EAW (2015)** includes sexual harassment as a form of violence against women “Violence against women encompasses but is not limited to the following...physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring within the general community, such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution...”

At the national level, the Labour Law (1997) and the Criminal Code (2009) exist as regulatory frameworks related to sexual harassment. Additionally, the National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women (2014-2018) (NAPVAW) serves as the government's statement of intent to address violence against women, which includes sexual harassment.

As a key piece of legislation for the working environment, 'the 1997 Labour Law is supposed to have a clear definition of sexual harassment in the workplaces, but, it does not do so' (Leang and Op, 2015: 4). Rather, it states that "[...] All form of sexual violation (harassment) is strictly forbidden." (Labour Law, Article 172). It is not clear what behaviour this provision applies to, nor is it clear how it is to be enforced as none of the remedy provisions in the Labour Law apply.

The Criminal Code does not cover the broad range of behaviours that are considered sexual harassment. It includes provisions for various sexual offences that are against the law in most jurisdictions: rape, sexual assault and indecent exposure. It also includes a provision translated to "sexual harassment", however this provision is very specific and not aligned with a general understanding of sexual harassment. The provision in Article 250 reads as follows:

Sexual harassment is an act that a person abuses the power which was vested to him/her in his/her functions in order to put pressure again and again on other persons in exchange for sexual favour. The sexual harassment is punishable by an imprisonment of between 6 (six) days to 3 (three) months and a fine of between 100,000 (one hundred thousand) Riels and 500,000 (five hundred thousand) Riels' (Cambodian Criminal Code, 2009)

For workplace harassment that falls outside the remit of the Criminal Code, there is no legal remedy, and no place of appeal outside factory processes, if indeed there are factory processes. An example is verbal harassment from a co-worker, which is neither physical (assault) nor involves a power imbalance (sexual harassment as defined in the Criminal Code). This means that there is a gap in the coverage of the law on sexual harassment. While criminalising all types of sexual harassment behaviour may not be practical, other jurisdictions ensure there are legal mechanisms or redress, for example ombudsmen, quasi-judicial arbitration or mediation bodies, regulation of corporations that requires adequate remedies and processes, and civil damages for breaches of obligations for safe workplaces.

Furthermore, for behaviour that does fall within the remit of the Criminal Code there is a four part procedure by which claims of sexual harassment are investigated and brought to trial. As it states, a complaint must 1) be made to the judicial police, after which it is 2) filed to a prosecutor. The prosecutor 3) assigns it to an investigating judge who 4) orders a court hearing.

However, many workers in Cambodia believe that the system of reporting such incidents is ineffective. As they explained in the course of this research – and as outlined elsewhere (e.g. Leang and Op, 2015) – authorities are both disinterested and disempowered, so a report could mean that 'police would just charge them money, but cannot help them' (Workers quoted in Leang and Op, 2015). This means that there is a gap in *implementation* of existing legal provisions the aim to protect people against sexual offences.

The NAPVAW is a comprehensive plan of action involving a multi-sector coordinated approach from state institutions, civil society, public or private businesses, development partners and citizens. The NAPVAW's Primary Prevention Strategy aims *to reduce violence against women through a multi-sectoral coordinated primary prevention strategy with ministries and institutions targeting key actors and settings for positive change*. Under the Community and Workplace outcomes, outcome areas 6 and 7 aim for:

(Outcome 6) changed social environments and norms by strengthening gender equality in the community and workplace to promote cooperation to prevent and respond to violence against women

(Outcome 7) Ensured effective safety and harassment-free in the workplace and community

The NAPVAW is framed within the context of Cambodia's existing commitments to end violence against women. It establishes synergies with the Labour Law and Criminal Code, by including provisions to tackle sexual harassment in both the home and workplace by promoting *safe, harassment-free and respectful public and private workplace environments through raising awareness of labour rights, ensuring policies and mechanisms to prevent and respond to workplace harassment, and working with employers to create safe and harassment-free work environments.*

3. Methodology

3.1 Operational definition of sexual harassment

The ILO defines sexual harassment as a “sex-based behaviour that is unwelcome and offensive to its recipient (ILO, 2005; ILO, 2007). For sexual harassment to exist these two conditions must be present.”

Sexual harassment may take two forms:

1. Quid Pro Quo, when a job benefit - such as a pay rise, a promotion, or even continued employment - is made conditional on the victim acceding to demands to engage in some form of sexual behaviour; or;
2. Hostile working environment in which the conduct creates conditions that are intimidating or humiliating for the victim.

Behaviour that qualifies as sexual harassment:

- **Physical:** Physical and sexual violence, touching, or unnecessary close proximity
- **Verbal:** Comments and questions about appearance, life-style, sexual orientation, offensive phone calls
- **Non-verbal:** Whistling, sexually-suggestive gestures, display of sexual materials

Based on this definition, the employee survey, asked workers whether they have experienced any of the following behaviours that constitute sexual harassment in the workplace:

Others saying or doing things that make you feel uncomfortable (being paid unwanted compliments, or others acting in an overly physical way); being the recipient of unwanted physical contact; having items of a sexual nature (pictures, posters, etc.) displayed in your workplace; rumours of a sexual nature spread about you; having inappropriate jokes circulated in person, via text messages, or Facebook; having inappropriate graffiti of a sexual nature written about you; being the recipient of unwanted leers, sexual comments, noises or gestures directed at you; having someone follow, hassle or harass you to go out with them after work; being the recipient of text messages or emails at work, or from someone at work, which are sexual in nature; being referred to in sexist or degrading terms by someone else associated with your workplace; being asked inappropriate questions of a sexual nature; being "rated" based on looks or sexuality; and being told that to obtain something at work you must engage in an intimate act or intimate relationship.

In the Employee Survey, workers were asked whether they have experienced in their community where they live whilst working, or on their way to/from work, any of the following behaviours that constitute sexual harassment:

Being stared at/leered at²³; being whistled at; being exposed to rude or inappropriate comments; being exposed to pornographic pictures; being exposed to pornographic jokes; being touched inappropriately: being embraced by a co-worker; being kissed by a co-worker; being invited to date with the promise of hiring or promotion; being invited to date upon threat of demotion/ loss of income/ firing/ other sexually assaulted; and an answer option of other with a request to specify.

²³ In Employee Survey the Khmer word used was “somleng merl” / សំលឹងមើល which translates to “staring actively in a manner denoting disrespect in a sexual or aggressive way.”

In addition, within our data collection tools, a significant limitation in the study is the absence of a question about rape on the questionnaire. Although “committing sexual violence” (អំពើហិង្សាលើផ្លូវភេទ) is captured as it occurs to workers in their community, it is not explicitly defined. Additionally, it is absent from questions around sexual harassment in workplaces.

3.2 Ethical considerations

The design and implementation of the study was developed to comply with World Health Organisation ethical guidelines for researching violence against women (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). The safety of respondents and the research team was paramount and informed all decisions throughout the study.

1. Ethical review of data collection tools.

The research team worked with an external researcher in gender, labour migration and social development to ensure an ethical methodology including the study’s data collection tools and the data collection process.

2. Informed consent

Verbal informed consent was sought from all participants. Written consent was avoided because participants felt exposed signing a consent form (see Box 1 for the content of the informed consent sought from each participant). Enumerators introduced themselves as part of CARE’s research team and had tags designating their name and photo.

Box 1. Informed Consent

Hello, my name is _____. I am helping to conduct research for CARE International.

We are conducting a survey in Cambodia to learn about women’s health and life experiences. You have been chosen randomly to participate in the study.

The study aims to understand how women are treated by their colleagues and bosses whilst working in garment factories. In particular, it seeks to understand whether garment factory workers suffer harassment whilst they are working and how this affects their ability to work.

All of your answers will be kept confidential. I will not keep a record of your name and address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or skip any questions that you don’t want to answer. There are no right or wrong answers. Some of the topics may be difficult to discuss, but many women have found it useful to find the opportunity to talk.

Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences could be very helpful to women working in the garment industry in Cambodia.

The results will be used to understand the situation in Cambodia as a whole and to make recommendations to factories as to how they can improve the conditions of their workers and increase productivity at the same time.

The interview takes approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Do you have any questions?

Do you agree to be interviewed?

It is very important that we talk in private. Is this a good place to hold the interview, or is there somewhere else that you would like to go?

Box 2. GBV services & information pocket card used for referrals



- Information includes NGO services (social, medical and legal) and the contact number of female support group (Solidarity Association of Beer Workers).
- Information about relevant policy - three articles relevant (Article 231, Threats; Article 239, Rape; Article 246. Indecent acts and indecent assault;
- Government numbers including a hotline, districts numbers and military district numbers.

3. Safe title of study

We labelled the survey as a study looking at women's life and health experiences in order to protect respondents who may explain the study to others. The researchers and team leader carried an official letter explaining the nature of the study. Enumerators had an ID card identifying them as part of the CARE research team.

4. Support for the research team

Enumerators were provided with a two-day training on data collection with a special session on gender-based violence, ethical issues around GBV research (do no harm and bearing witness presented by the GBV advisor in the CARE Cambodia office. Additionally, the researchers and team leader made themselves available to the data collection team to discuss any issues that arose in the data collection process. The team leader checked regularly on his team to ensure their mental and physical health were not compromised. We put enumerator teams in pairs when collecting data in the field to reduce any risk to the team (factory workers were often available in the evenings) and allowed for phone interviews in situations where the factory was far geographically or it was too late in the evening.

5. Safe space and additional support for respondents

Respondents were given the opportunity to select a safe space and convenient time for the one-on-one interview; sometimes she/he chose to conduct the interview over the phone for safety and ease to their work schedules. There was no additional support requested and no respondent chose to opt out of or discontinue the interview. At the end of each interview, the respondent was provided with a small pocket-sized booklet and explanation of the health and other services available. See Box 2. GBV services & information pocket card used for referrals.

6. Confidentiality

The research team ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents throughout the study. Access to the factory-level sampling frame and the identity of the 52 factories

included in the study are known only to four people in the core research team: the two international consultants, the national data collection team leader and the national administrative assistant who were responsible for conducting follow-up phone calls and emails with the sampled factories. Data analysis in the study has not been presented at factory level, both to protect factory anonymity and also protect workers from fear of reprisal.

All data collected from individual workers was anonymised. Names and addresses of workers were not recorded by enumerators. Employee lists and contact details provided by factories were restricted to access by the four core research team members, as above. Lists were password protected, retained only until sampling was complete and then permanently deleted. Enumerators were instructed to destroy any paper records of workers names, contact information or other identifying information and to permanently delete any electronic records such as telephone numbers stored in mobile phone contact lists. The final dataset of survey responses is password protected and held securely.

3.3 Data collection

This study employed a mixed method incorporating in-depth qualitative interviews and a statistically representative survey of factory workers in the Cambodian garment industry. Full details are provided in Appendix 1. Below is a summary of the methods employed.

Phase One: focus groups and interviews

Beginning in October 2015, the study spanned nine months, incorporating two phases. The first phase was qualitative comprising of nine focus groups with garment workers and 25 extended, semi-structured interviews. Interviews were conducted with 16 female garment workers, four male garment workers and five interviews were conducted with other key informants including administrative officials, policemen, and factory line leaders. The qualitative phase was spread across seven locations in and around Phnom Penh: Teuk Thla, Dangkov, Pursenchey, Chamkar Doung, Chak Angkrea, Russei Keo, and Veng Sreng to reflect variety within the garment industry. At least one focus group was conducted in each location, along with four other interviews or focus groups, as appropriate. For a map of the study locations, see Appendix 1.

Phase Two: survey of factory workers

The second phase of the study was a randomised survey of 1,287 factory workers designed to be statistically representative of the entire industry. This second element employed a two-stage cluster sample, wherein factories were initially sampled from the most comprehensive national list available – the Garment Manufacturers' Association of Cambodia membership list – and workers were randomly sampled using factory lists of all employees. A questionnaire was developed and drew from a number of sources (Williams, 2014; Vyas, 2013; Duvvury and Carney, 2012) to determine the presence, nature and severity of sexual harassment both inside and outside the workplace – where indicators of absenteeism, turnover, and presenteeism were tested.

3.4 Measuring Presenteeism

To measure presenteeism, the research team asked workers whether they felt that their productivity was affected by sexual harassment. Those who felt that it reduced their productivity were asked to estimate a percentage for this reduction. These figures were averaged across all affected workers,

converted to a fraction of wages and multiplied by the number of workers stating that they experienced reduced productivity.²⁴

This method, adapted from Lensberg et al. (2013), aims to demonstrate the daily cost workplace productivity of employees who experience sexual harassment²⁵. It uses the principle, that strategies workers use to avoid sexual harassment create long term, rather than incidental, productivity losses, to estimate a figure for annual productivity losses to the industry (outlined in Morison and Orlando, 1999).

In addition to questions on sexual harassment inside factories, questions were asked about harassment in the surrounding community, where qualitative data suggested sexual harassment was common in many areas. Qualitative interviews were used as the basis for the interpretation of the quantitative costing data.²⁶ Further details of the costing approach used in the study are outlined in Appendix 2.

3.5 Limitations

From a sampling perspective, logistical issues meant that the most comprehensive available employee lists had to be used for sampling purposes. Inside factories, this meant using payroll data, which in many cases excluded factory staff who do not receive a salary, such as owners and potentially senior managers. As a result, they were not interviewed or surveyed, limiting the representative nature of the sample. While foreign staff listed on factory payrolls were included in the randomisation process, their proportionally very small number meant that none were ultimately sampled for interview.

In negotiating access to a representative randomised sample of the garment industry, we agreed with GMAC to examine the cost and prevalence of sexual harassment as it affects the Cambodian garment industry and the worker. National data shows high rates of physical (16.4%), sexual (20.8%) and emotional violence (54.3%) in ever-partnered Cambodian men (Fulu, 2013). However this study did not sex disaggregate perpetration of harassment. Not addressing the sex of perpetrators is a gap in this study and one that should be addressed in future studies.

To balance this we examined the coping strategies workers employed to highlight the agency female workers incorporated into their daily lives, in the absence of comprehensive effective sexual harassment prevention policy, training and effective community policing. The coping strategies also give some small insights into perpetration and expectations of male and female roles. We see this study as a first step to understanding sexual harassment in the Cambodian garment industry. However, in order to fully address and mitigate the issue of violence in the workplace, we would strongly recommend examining perpetration in a follow-on study.

In addition, within our data collection tools, a significant limitation in the study is the absence of a question about rape on the questionnaire. Although sexual violence is captured as it occurs to workers in their community and in the Khmer language (អំពើហិង្សាលើស្ត្រីក្នុងគ្រួសារ) rape was implied, it is not explicitly defined. Additionally, it is absent from questions around sexual harassment in workplaces.

This research also does not estimate the harm to health and other social costs of sexual harassment, including sexual assault and rape, to individuals and to society. In research conducted elsewhere (for example Darko et al., 2015; Vyas, 2013; Duvvury and Carney, 2012), the cost of gender-based violence to women, household economies and society is high. This study does not measure the harms caused by sexual harassment including physical, psychological, emotional and financial costs to women. The harms caused by sexual harassment can include a wide range of damaging affects including poor

²⁴ The method is known as the human capital method of calculating presenteeism, which was deemed the most appropriate given the limited availability of detailed productivity data (see Lensberg et al., 2013).

²⁵ This was a gap identified by Duvvury et al. (2013) as problematic in the developing world costing literature.

²⁶ As suggested by Williams (2014).

health, sleep deprivation, anxiety, depression and even suicide. Consequently, the cost of sexual harassment that occurs in the workplace on workers, their households, and on society is likely to be significant and have lasting repercussions.

This research does not examine or estimate the costs of gender-based violence or intimate partner violence experienced by workers, which could also affect a person's presenteeism, absenteeism and turnover in factories and the larger impact of the intangible social costs of violence.

The research findings are additionally likely to underrepresent the true prevalence, impacts and cost of sexual harassment to the garment sector. This is due to a number of factors including the need to produce a statistically significant national figure which required the consent of factories to participate; the need to obtain workers details through factory records; the GMAC member list does not include all of the relatively small number of small scale garment factories usually found in rural areas; inevitable under-reporting associated with quantifying sensitive data and concerns over potential reprisals from their employers which may have led informants to under-report their experience of sexual harassment. The use of alternative methodologies to gather this data, such as qualitative studies using independently sampled workers, would be useful to explore further in similar research in the future and may provide a rich source of comparative data.

It should be noted that this report estimates costs to the garment industry from the perspective of workers and factories themselves and this approach has potential limitations in terms of accuracy. However, these limitations were largely addressed through the data collection methods used. Potential sample bias was avoided by the use of a random, statistically representative, sample which avoided issues of over-reporting associated with some self-reporting methods (Dziech and Hawkins, 2012). The use of a large randomised sample also helped to address potential issues of accuracy (ibid.) associated with generalisations drawn from convenience samples.

It is also important to note that it was outside the scope of this study to examine the potential costs to the garment industry from reputational damage to the industry caused by sexual harassment affecting buyer behaviours. As noted above, a reputation for high standards is vital to the garment industry in Cambodia and any factors which diminish this reputation are likely to have an impact on the competitiveness of the industry as a whole. Whilst this was beyond the remit of this study, it nevertheless remains a key – albeit very difficult to accurately measure – component of factory costs.

An unanticipated finding of this quantitative research was that men experienced sexual harassment. However the sample size of men who participated in the qualitative phase of the research (focus groups and interviews) was insufficient to understand in detail how men and women experience sexual harassment differently, how their coping mechanisms differ, and the drivers of sexual harassment on workplace culture. A 2013 study on why men use violence against women indicates high rates of men participating in emotional violence - 54% of Cambodian men had engaged in at least one act of emotional violence in their lifetime, including insults, belittlement/humiliation, intimidation, and/or threats of harm or hurting others (Fulu et al., 2013). Since studies are designed on the basis of such evidence (i.e., and that sexual harassment is experienced overwhelmingly by women), in the qualitative phase of this study, the research team mainly directed their research with men as witnesses and perpetrators of sexual harassment, rather than as targets. It is recommended that further studies conduct additional in-depth research with men in the garment industry to explore in detail men's experiences of harassment whether as perpetrators, witnesses, or victims; the influences of sexual harassment on influences male culture in the workplace; and how sexual harassment experienced by men may exacerbate women's exposure to workplace harassment.

4. Demographics

4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of sample

The survey sampled 1,287 Cambodian workers²⁷ in the garment industry, a representative sample of the 546,467 workers²⁸ that comprise the national export garment manufacturing sector as represented by GMAC. The survey findings of the survey indicate that the garment labour force is highly feminised, with women comprising 85 per cent of workers and men comprising 15 per cent of the workforce²⁹ (Table 1).

Table 1. Gender of workers in the Cambodian garment industry

Female		Male	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1085	84.6	198	15.4

n = 1283³⁰ (Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

The socio-demographic characteristics of male and female workers are similar (see Table 2). Workers are typically young: over 65 per cent of all workers were less than 30 years of age, with an average age of 27 for both male and female workers. Though the age of workers is slightly older than some earlier studies (PSL, 2014), these findings corroborate findings from more recent studies that the garment labour force is maturing alongside the industry (Enfants and Development, 2015). Whilst previous studies found the majority of workers are single, the findings of this survey show that a narrow majority (52 per cent) of workers are married, compared with 42 per cent who have never married and six per cent who are widowed or divorced³¹.

Most married workers (71 per cent of women and 65 per cent of men) live with their spouse. Among single never married women, there was more variety in living arrangements: 13 per cent lived with parents, 55 per cent with other family such as siblings or cousins, 20 per cent with friends and 11 per cent lived alone.

The majority of workers had completed primary school, with the average worker leaving education after grade seven. There was variation in the education levels of male and female workers, with males possessing on average an additional year of schooling than females. Moreover, whilst two per cent of female workers had completed no schooling, all male respondents had completed some education. These disparities reflect a historic national gap in educational enrolment and attainment between male and female students and adults (Gorman 1999; JICA 2007; ILO & ADB 2013). In 2011, for example, there was a 15 percentage-point gender gap in literacy (with 88 per cent of men over 15 years estimated to have basic literacy, compared to 73 per cent of women³²).

²⁷ The term “workers” is used here, and hereafter, to indicate employees of the garment industry. It includes people working in various roles, including line leaders, quality control, office staff, etc.

²⁸ GMAC member list accessed on 02/02/2016.

²⁹ This figure is consistent with previous studies (UNFPA 2014).

³⁰ N.B., in some of the descriptive tables in this section, *n* numbers differ from full 1287 sample. This is due to small amounts of missing data where respondents were unable or unwilling to answer questions.

³¹ Again, this corroborates more recent results (Enfants and Development, 2015).

³² Similarly, the gender gap in completion of primary education was 17 percentage points (with 59 per cent of men having completed primary education, compared to 42% of women (ILO & ABD 2013)).

Table 2. Socio-demographic characteristics of workers in the Cambodian garment industry

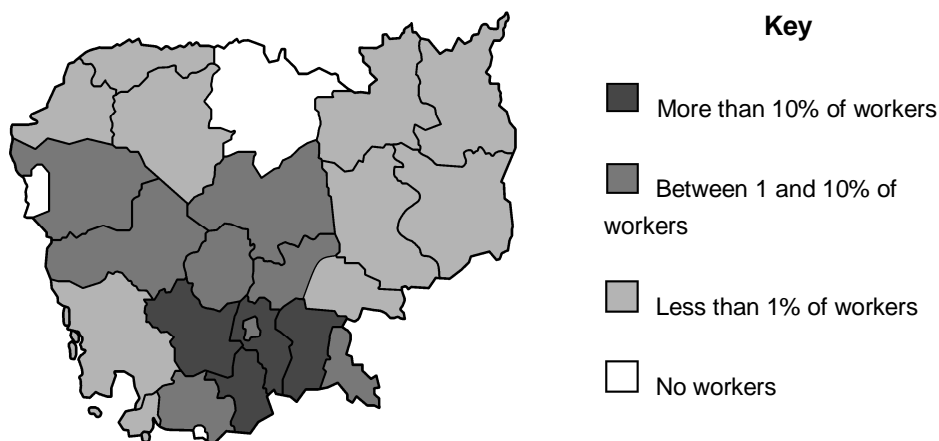
Variable	All	Female	Male
Age in years, mean (median) [<i>n</i> = 1278]	27 (26)	27 (26)	27 (26)
Age group in years [<i>n</i> = 1278]			
- <20	5.80%	6.30%	3%
- 20-24	31.10%	30.40%	35%
- 25-29	29.30%	29.20%	29.40%
- 30-34	19.20%	19.60%	17.30%
- 35-39	11%	10.70%	12.20%
- >39	3.60%	3.70%	3%
Education level in years, mean (median) [<i>n</i> = 1210]	7 (7)	7 (7)	8 (8)
Education level, last grade completed [<i>n</i> = 1210]			
- No schooling	1.50%	1.80%	0%
- Grade 1-6 (Primary)	40.80%	44.20%	23.00%
- Grade 7-9 (Lower secondary)	40.50%	39.60%	45%
- Grade 9-12 (Upper secondary)	16.90%	14.40%	29.80%
- Further/higher education	0.30%	0%	2.10%
Marital status [<i>n</i> = 1273]			
- Unmarried with no partner	25.40%	26.10%	21.20%
- Unmarried with partner	12.80%	11.80%	18.20%
- Unmarried – prefer not to say	4.50%	4.40%	5.10%
- Married	51.60%	51.10%	54.50%
- Divorced or widowed	5.70%	6.60%	1%
Currently living with [<i>n</i> = 1283]			
- Spouse	37.60%	37.60%	37.40%
- Parents	10.10%	8.90%	16.70%
- Other family	35.60%	35.70%	35.40%
- Friends	10%	10.60%	6.60%
- Alone	6.30%	6.70%	4%
- Other	0.40%	0.50%	0%
Migrant status [<i>n</i> = 1274]			
- Migrant	63.20%	63.80%	58.70%
- Non-migrant	36.80%	36.20%	40.30%

(Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

The national scope of the study is indicated in Figure 1, which illustrates the home provinces of workers included within the sample. This demonstrates a belt of garment labour supplying provinces clustered around Phnom Penh, that each contribute a large share of the labour force (more than ten per cent), even relative to overall population density. However, the geographic spread of the sample is much

broader than this, encompassing workers from almost every province (22 of the 25 provinces; see Appendix 4 for further details). Given the concentration of factories in the traditional factory belt area surrounding Phnom Penh, and to a lesser extent on the coast close to the port of Sihanoukville, this underlines the importance of internal labour movement to the garment sector.

Figure 1. Home province of workers in the Cambodian garment industry



As Figure 1 shows, 63 per cent of the overall garment labour force are internal migrant workers, living and working away from their home province. This figure is significantly different for those working in Phnom Penh relative to other provinces, with 96 per cent of workers in Phnom Penh internal migrants, compared with 33 per cent of workers in other provinces (Table 3).

Table 3. Migrant status of workers in the Cambodian garment industry³³

	Factory location		
	All	Phnom Penh	Other province
Migrant workforce			
- All	63.2%	95.8%	33.2%
- Male	59.7%	90.1%	27.4%
- Female	63.9%	96.9%	34.2%

n = 1273. (Source: Employee Survey 2016.)

4.2 Occupational characteristics of sample

The geographic distribution of factories randomly sampled for inclusion in the study was an almost even split, with 48 per cent of those surveyed working in Phnom Penh and 52 per cent working in other provinces. The majority of the sample (85 per cent) were line workers, with other roles including line leaders (four per cent), quality control (eight per cent), warehouse (two per cent) and office staff (one per cent) (Table 4).

³³ Note: A chi square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of migrant labour with factory location. There was a significant relationship between migrant labour and factory location ($\chi^2(1) = 535.6, p < 0.05$), with workers in Phnom Penh more likely to be internal migrants than workers in other provinces.

Table 4. Occupational characteristics of garment industry worker survey respondents

Variable	All [n=1287]	Female [n=1089]	Male [n=198]
Gender Ratios [n=1283]	100%	84.60%	15.40%
Factory location [n = 1275]			
- Phnom Penh	48%	47.50%	51.50%
- Other province	52%	52.60%	48.50%
Occupation within current factory [n = 1275]			
- Worker ³⁴	84.20%	85.20%	78.80%
- Line leader	3.50%	2.90%	7.10%
- Quality control	8%	9%	2.50%
- Warehouse	2%	1.60%	4.50%
- Office/administration	1.40%	0.90%	2.50%
- Other	0.80%	0.40%	3%
Salary in USD, basic monthly, mean (median) [n = 1279]	147 (140)	145 (140)	161 (140)
Salary in USD, final monthly, mean (median) [n = 1280]	212 (200)	209 (200)	228 (210)
Service in current factory, mean years (median) [n = 1271]	3 (2)	3 (2)	4 (2)
Service in garment industry, mean years (median) [n = 1186]	9 (5)	10 (5)	6 (4)
Total garment factories worked, mean (median) [n = 1250]	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (1)

(Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

This data employment characteristics reveals the gendered division of labour in the garment industry. Though the sector overall is highly feminised with women comprising 85 per cent of the total workforce, women are over-represented in lower status and lower skilled roles and hold far fewer management and supervisory roles (with women comprising 85 per cent of line workers, 69 per cent of line leaders, and 56 per cent of office or administration staff). This may indicate that due to social and gender norms, male workers are more likely than female workers to achieve promotion within the industry and this preference for female workers for lower skilled jobs is intentional.

The different occupational roles of men and women within the industry is likely to contribute to a gender pay gap, with female workers earning less on average than their male colleagues (Table 4). The average basic salary of female workers in the industry is USD 145 per month compared to USD 161 for male workers. In both cases, this basic salary is slightly higher than the recently adjusted national minimum wage for the sector, which was set at USD 140 per month effective from 1 January 2016. Once overtime bonuses and other benefits are factored in, the average final wage for female workers rises to USD 209 per month compared to USD 228 for male workers. This represents a significant difference³⁵.

³⁴ The 'worker' category refers to those employed in the main shop floor of the factory, rather than in the company office, or warehouse. This category includes a number of roles, including cutting, sewing, ironing and pressing, the distribution and labelling of which varies according to the factory in question.

³⁵ ($U = 65713$, $n_1 = 1084$, $n_2 = 196$, $p > 0.05$).

5. Analysis & Findings

5.1 Harassment inside Factories

Although the term “sexual harassment” (*karbietbien phlauptphet / ការបៀតបៀនផ្លូវភេទ*) is readily translatable to Khmer, preliminary scoping research found that the concept is itself poorly understood³⁶. Both male and female workers largely viewed sexual harassment in terms of a specific set of serious physical behaviours, such as rape and sexual assault. Verbal harassment such as insulting, sexually offensive, unwelcome, or graphic comments, gestures or exposure to pornographic or sexual materials are often not perceived as sexual harassment and therefore may be missed without explanation of the term.

The qualitative results reveal that women in the garment industry perceive a regular and daily risk of sexual harassment in and around the workplace³⁷. Verbal or general/unspecified harassment was the most common of the forms of harassment recorded. However, a wide range of sexually harassing behaviours were recorded in the workplace, the wider community, and during the journey to and from work. Furthermore, physical harassment and coercive behaviour by managers or supervisors was also reported in a number of cases in each of these settings. Finally, the fear of sexual harassment limited workers’ freedom of movement, particularly for women, and limited both their work and leisure options. This will be explored in the next section.

Table 5. Total proportion of workers experiencing workplace sexual harassment

All		Female		Male	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
365	28.4	310	28.6	55	27.8

n = 1287 (Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

The high proportion of sexual harassment reported by men accords with a recent ILO report (Lin, Babbit and Brown, 2014). It is also possible that the ways in which sexual harassment is measured in this study captures a high proportion of the experience of male workers. For instance, several questions ask whether informants have felt uncomfortable by certain behaviours such as sexual jokes or explicit graffiti. Twenty two per cent of male workers reporting harassment stated that they had heard or experienced inappropriate jokes in the workplace and ten per cent of male workers were shown offensive or pornographic images (Table 6). Although these behaviours would be experienced differently by men and women, research findings show that both feel uncomfortable.

These experiences may shed light on a gender enculturation process of males in garment factories, where people ‘learn’ the requirements of their surrounding culture and acquire attitudes, language values and behaviours appropriate or necessary in that culture. While men make up only 15% of the employee population they generally hold higher positions (levels of responsibility and authority) and thereby will have greater control over workplace culture (eg. normalisation of sexualised behaviour and harassment). Normalised male dominance underpins men’s experiences of sexual harassment, where men are both perpetrators and victims (Morgan and Gruber 2005; De Haas 2010). Normalised male dominance is supported by an occupational culture that rewards restrictive traditional masculine values (behaviours like sexual posturing, sexual bravado, and denigrating women) which increases the risk of

³⁶ This reinforces issues explored elsewhere in the regional literature on gender-based violence (Duvvury et al., 2014; Vyas, 2013).

³⁷ This finding confirms the findings from CARE’s Safe Workplace, Safe Communities baseline study (2014).

sexual harassment (Morgan and Gruber 2005; De Haas 2010) and where reports of sexual harassment by males are perceived as feminine (Lee 2000).

“[Sexual harassment] is a problem inside the factory. [When these things happen], some people care and some people don’t. Normally those who care, only care the first time and then it becomes normal.” (Male Garment Worker, Location 3, 22/02/2016)

“The first time somebody talked like that to me it really hurt me. But I learned after a while that they were just joking.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 1, 22/02/2016)

In order to retain a primary focus on women’s experiences of sexual harassment, the subsequent presentation of results in this section excludes data from male informants due to lack of further data examining perpetration and men’s experiences.

As shown in Table 6, women experience a wide range of sexual harassment in the workplace. The type of harassment experienced most commonly by female workers was a broad category of feeling uncomfortable and unsafe, without indicating a single behaviour (or set of behaviours) that underpinned their discomfort. The inability of many respondents to identify specific experiences of sexual harassment is a potential limitation of the quantitative sample, but one which is widely noted in studies

**Table 6. Forms of workplace harassment reported by workers experiencing harassment
[Workers reported more than one type of harassment]**

Form of harassment	Percentage of workers		
	All <i>n</i> = 365	Female <i>n</i> = 310	Male <i>n</i> = 55
Made to feel uncomfortable or unsafe	68.90%	68.20%	72.70%
Received unwanted leers, sexual comments, noises or gestures	32.80%	32.50%	34.50%
"Rated" based on looks or sexuality	21.20%	20.80%	23.60%
Referred to in sexist or degrading terms	20.10%	19.50%	23.60%
Made the subject of rumours of a sexual nature	16.80%	15.50%	23.60%
Heard or received inappropriate jokes in person or by electronic or other communication	16.90%	16%	21.80%
Unwanted physical contact	12.60%	13.90%	5.50%
Being followed, hassled or harassed to go out after work	14.10%	13%	20.40%
Asked inappropriate questions of a sexual nature	9.70%	9.10%	9.30%
Shown offensive or pornographic images	6.30%	5.80%	9.10%
Received unwanted messages of a sexual nature by text, email, Facebook or other electronic communication	5.50%	5.20%	7.30%
Told that to obtain something at work you must engage in an intimate relationship	3%	2.30%	7.30%
Made the subject of graffiti of a sexual nature	1.90%	1.30%	5.50%

Note: Responses total more than 100% because multiple responses were captured.
(Source: Employee Survey 2016)

of sexual harassment, where “hegemonic norms of acceptable sexual activity” can restrict the identification of specific forms of harassment (Giuffre and Williams, 1994: 378). Such norms may mean that although respondents know that the interviewer is sympathetic to their experiences of

harassment, they feel embarrassed going into detail, either without knowing why, or due to underlying feelings that they were partly to blame. However, the qualitative data, which suggest that many factories are characterised by an “abrasive” atmosphere in which multiple harassments and workplace conflict occur simultaneously, goes some way in clarifying informant’s general classification of harassment. It may also cover types of sexual harassment that respondents felt was too embarrassing to discuss or classify.

Of the specific acts of sexual harassment identified, the majority of harassment experienced by workers is non-physical. However, it is important to note that almost one in seven workers identified being the recipient of unwanted physical contact at work, which in the interpretation of the question may have also included sexual assault or rape. The prevalence of harassment through receiving offensive images and text is also a key finding, as these are reported by women in a number of formats, including Facebook and text messages.

Table 7. Socio-demographic characteristics of women who have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace³⁸

Variable	Percentage of workers
All women [<i>n</i> = 1085]	28.60%
Age group in years [<i>n</i> = 1081]	
- <20	22.10%
- 20-24	31%
- 25-29	27.20%
- 30-34	27.40%
- 35-39	32.80%
- >39	25%
Education level, last grade completed [<i>n</i> = 1019]	
- No schooling	27.80%
- Grade 1-6 (Primary)	25.80%
- Grade 7-9 (Lower secondary)	30.20%
- Grade 9-12 (Upper secondary)	30.60%
Marital status [<i>n</i> = 1075]	
- Unmarried with no partner	26.70%
- Unmarried with partner	37.80%
- Unmarried – prefer not to say	23.40%
- Married	27.90%
- Divorced or widowed	28.20%
Migrant status [<i>n</i> = 1078]	
- Migrant	32%
- Non-migrant	22.60%

(Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

There were no statistically significant correlations between the socio-economic status of women and their experiences of sexual harassment in the workplace. Neither age, marital status, education nor the factory area in which a woman works has an impact on the likelihood of women experiencing sexual harassment at work. However, the data show that migrant status does have a statistically significant impact on the likelihood of experiencing harassment (see Appendix 5). Female garment factory workers

³⁸ Note: A chi square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of experience of harassment with age, education, marital status and migrant status categories. There was a significant relationship between migrant status and experience of workplace harassment ($\chi^2(1) = 10.8, p < 0.05$), with migrant workers more likely to have experienced harassment than non-migrant workers. For all other categories $p > 0.05$ indicating no significant relationship.

that have migrated from a different province are more likely to experience sexual harassment than those who were born in the same province as the factory where they currently work.

The reasons for this are not clear. Familiarity with the local environment – whether in terms of knowing how to avoid harassment or perceiving and experiencing behaviours differently than those who have recently migrated to that community – may play a role. Additionally, potential harassers may view migrant women as more vulnerable or isolated than their non-migrant peers and hence less likely to have a support network to protect them, or bring reprisals against a harasser.

The limited understanding among research participants of the range of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment among research participants was addressed in the quantitative survey through providing numerous examples and explanations of sexual harassment in order to help workers to report behaviours they may not otherwise have deemed harassment. What follows outlines the nature of harassment, as experienced and related by workers themselves.

5.1.1 An abrasive working culture: everyday harassment in factories

The factory environment reflects an abrasive work culture where harassment of varying levels was a regular occurrence, normalised by workers and by the absence of formal and effective mechanisms to address complaints.

While reports of physical violence within garment factories were rare, they did occasionally occur:

“In the factory ... men can be a problem, they often fight. They talk badly about female workers too, especially the young ones.” (Female Worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

Verbal intimidation and annoyance were far more common. Although the social environment in some factories was tolerable, or even friendly, others reported a culture of abrasive, unpleasant, behaviour, frequently undertaken by men towards women. As two workers explained:

“A co-worker told me that my face was so bad that even if I tried to sell myself, no one would buy me” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 22/02/2016)

Similarly:

“A [male] co-worker told me he wanted to take me to the toilet and have sex with me ... I told him to take his mother there if he wanted to do that” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 23/02/2016)

During focus group discussions and interviews, many new workers, both men and women, expressed shock over the way their colleagues talk to each other in garment factories, feeling intimidated and fearful even when they are not directly involved in such exchanges. It is a limitation of this methodology’s focus on workers currently employed in the garment industry. There is no way to identify what proportion of workers leave the industry as a result of such behaviour, and would require a nationwide survey to overcome. However, workers’ responses to other questions suggest that most workers simply become used to, or learn to tolerate, the abrasive environment. Male and female garment workers therefore develop a thick skin fairly quickly and find a range of strategies to respond to the high levels of harassment, including modifying their own behaviours and reducing their perception of the seriousness of the harassment. As one female worker explained:

“The first time somebody talked like that to me it really hurt me. But I learned after a while that they were just joking.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 1, 22/02/2016)

Both male and female workers reported during qualitative interviews that the majority of the offensive language and comments they directly or indirectly experienced were intended as humorous and they felt able to acclimatise to these types of comments over time. However, for comments or behaviours that were perceived as going beyond what was tolerable, these were regarded by research participants as sexual harassment (see Table 6).

Whilst most forms of harassment were simply tolerated, in some cases workers reported that working teams ignored those deemed to have behaved particularly inappropriately, leaving them out of the ordinary social life of the factory. As one worker explained:

“In every team [of 46], there are one or two people who nobody talks to or has any relationship with, because they have talked very rudely to the other workers.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016).

Such social measures may be necessary due to weakness of official reporting channels with respect to sexual harassment, as reported by workers in focus groups and interviews.

“This happens to many women but we don’t report it to the factory. Before, we used to report it, but they didn’t do anything.... They say that if a worker has three warnings, then they should be fired. But I’ve never seen that happen at my factory...” (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/16)

Where such issues arise, some workers felt they had little chance of resolving a problem by reporting it to factory administration and instead, felt they were expected to resolve harassment issues privately, via retorts, avoidance, or simply ignoring the perpetrators.

As various informants noted, garment factories vary considerably in terms of conditions. Some factories attempt to reduce the visible and overt signs of sexual harassment by strictly controlling communication in the workplace. The belief that workers who are unable to speak to each other during working hours cannot harass each other either, was highlighted by many workers as being an effective mechanism in this respect, albeit often an unwelcome one given the constraint it placed on the working lives of employees.

However, such strict restrictions were placed upon workers in only a minority of cases and most reported that they were allowed to talk to other workers during their shifts. Whilst this approach may have reduced the risk of female workers being sexually harassed, this attempt to prevent sexual harassment occurs at a very surface level and does not address the attitudes, norms and structures within the garment factory that drive this behaviour and will ultimately not have any impact in reducing sexual harassment.

5.1.2. Persistent harassment inside factories

In some cases, the low level culture of insults and conflict gives way to more persistent forms of harassment which, whilst more subtle than other forms of harassment, is viewed as ultimately more damaging by female garment workers: publically shaming and humiliating a woman after immediately discontinuing a romantic relationship with her. This type of behaviour is problematic, but often goes unreported. As one worker explained:

“I used to have a problem where the men in the factory were always saying things to me, trying to make me love them. I didn’t think it was a big problem, so I didn’t report it to the factory” (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 18/02/2016).

An older worker described the culture of pursuit of her younger female colleagues:

“There’s a lot of harassment in my factory ... If you wear nice clothes then they [male workers] tell you they’re too sexy or something. But mostly they say things to flatter you, sleep with you for one night and then forget you” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016).

In the context of Cambodia’s “sexually conservative culture” (Nishagaya, 2010: 233) and rigid gender norms, incidents such as these can be damaging for a woman’s reputation. A well-known Cambodian proverb proclaims that “men are gold, women are a white cloth” (Jacobsen, 2008: 1) and this gendered social norm – the belief that a man is entitled to pre-marital relationships because their sin can always

be wiped clean, whereas a woman's virtue can never be fully restored once stained – highlights traditional sexual relationships between men and women.

However, as noted elsewhere (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016b; Nishigaya, 2010), not all such relationships are one-sided or manipulative. In many cases, the relationship begins in a genuine manner before ending at a later date. In some cases behaviour which does not necessarily begin as harassment, can lead to sexual harassment due to social norms regarding gender which emphasise the responsibility of women to avoid both sexual harassment and not engage in consensual sexual activity outside of marriage. Indeed, as a result of these gender norms, workers reported they believed that “nine out of ten [workers] who face this kind of problem will leave the factory” (Location 2, 22/02/2016), rather than stay to face the public shame of having succumbed to the advances of a male colleague.

Many woman workers may be expected simply to exit the industry, especially if they have an unplanned pregnancy, with significant risk of negative health outcomes for women rooted in social stigma and poor access to sexual and reproductive health services. Many workers feel unable to seek professional medical advice, or seek help from their families or friends in many cases. Instead, many depend upon pharmacies to provide abortive medications, often with limited knowledge of their correct usage (PSL, 2016; E & D, 2015).

5.2 Harassment outside factories

5.2.1. Harassment in the community

As with harassment experienced in the workplace and on the way to and from work, the frequency of sexual harassment experienced by women and men in the community varied significantly with almost twice as many women experiencing sexual harassment in the community as men. *Harassment in the community* is defined here as harassment that takes place outside of the workplace, but not whilst travelling between home and work. Thus, it predominantly refers to harassment that takes place in and around the area in which workers live. Community harassment defined in this way displayed similar patterns to the harassment experienced by workers on the way to and from work, most commonly taking the form of being whistled or stared at/leered at.

Table 8. Total proportion of workers experiencing sexual harassment in the community

All		Female		Male	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
160	12.5	147	13.5	13	6.6

n = 121 (Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

However, it may be noted from this data that the proportion of workers reporting harassment in the community is considerably lower than that reported in the workplace itself. The reasons for this emerge primarily from the qualitative data outlined below, which suggest that the defensive behaviours enacted by garment workers in the community – travelling in groups and minimising time spent outdoors – reduce workers' exposure to people who are neither family nor close friends, compared with the workplace.

Table 9. Forms of harassment reported by female workers experiencing sexual harassment in the community

Form of harassment	Percentage of workers
Stared at/Leered at ³⁹	72.1%
Whistled at	59.2%
Inappropriate comments or language	38.8%
Told pornographic jokes	12.2%
Shown pornographic imagery	5.4%
Touched, hugged or kissed inappropriately	1.4%
Sexual assault	0.7%

Note: Responses total more than 100% because multiple response was captured.
n = 147 (Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

Similarly to the socio-demographic variables of women experiencing harassment on the way to and from work, women who were younger, unmarried, migrant workers, living in Phnom Penh or living with friends, relatives or alone, were more likely to have experienced harassment than those who were older, married, living with spouse or parents, living in other provinces, or non-migrant workers.

The reasons for this are explored in greater depth in the case study on Chanthavy (section 6.5) presented below and in section 8.2. Broadly, the majority of this harassment appears – from qualitative informant accounts – to occur as groups of male migrant workers line the roads that lead to factories prior to the start of the working day. Workers reported that these groups were usually young males and often assumed they were locally employed migrants, suggesting that the behaviour of young male migrant workers in mixed occupation areas may be responsible for the high levels of harassment reported by female migrant garment workers in the community.

The quantitative data presented in this section has provided an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of the research participants and their experiences of sexual harassment in the community. It demonstrates that sexual harassment in the community is highly prevalent, affecting 13.5% of *female* workers in the last 12 months (as opposed to 12.5% of all workers), occurs in multiple forms and is affected by a number of factors, namely gender, but also migration status, household composition, age and marital status.

Indeed, the complexities of the factors that engender harassment in the community emerge in particular from the qualitative data. Although some factories, such as the roughly 35 which form part of a factory complex in Steung Meanchey, are purpose built compounds available only to garment workers and their families, most areas in which garment workers live are mixed. For example, in Teuk Thla around 70 per cent of the population are engaged directly in garment work (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016b; Parsons et al., 2014), with dozens of other occupations comprising the remainder of the community.

³⁹ In Employee Survey the Khmer word used was “somaleng mer!”/ សំលឹងមើល which translates to “staring actively in a manner denoting disrespect in a sexual or aggressive way.”

Table 10. Socio-demographic characteristics of women experiencing sexual harassment in the community⁴⁰

Variable	Percentage of workers
All women [n = 1085]	13.50%
Age group in years [n = 1081]	
- <20	19.10%
- 20-24	19.80%
- 25-29	12.30%
- 30-34	8.50%
- 35-39	7.80%
- >39	7.50%
Education level, last grade completed [n = 1019]	
- No schooling	16.70%
- Grade 1-6 (Primary)	9.80%
- Grade 7-9 (Lower secondary)	15.80%
- Grade 9-12 (Upper secondary)	12.20%
Marital status [n = 1075]	
- Unmarried with no partner	17.80%
- Unmarried with partner	22.80%
- Unmarried – prefer not to say	31.90%
- Married	7.70%
- Divorced or widowed	15.50%
Currently living with [n = 1085]	
- Spouse	6.60%
- Parents	10.30%
- Other family	18.60%
- Friends	20%
- Alone	20.50%
- Other	0%
Place of residence [n = 1079]	
- Phnom Penh	18.20%
- Other province	9.20%
Migrant status [n = 1078]	
- Migrant	17.30%
- Non-migrant	6.70%

(Source: Employee Survey, 2016)

This situation is far from unusual and should be considered in terms of the wider context of garment work. Migrants and non-migrants engaged in various occupations live close to each other and may behave differently, even if they tend to associate along the lines of their work. In the minds of many garment workers, this exposure to the wider migrant population and urban residents is something to avoid where possible, with younger men in particular viewed as an active threat to their safety. As a garment female worker explained both her and her student daughter fear the actions of their neighbours:

⁴⁰ Note: A chi square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of experience of harassment with age, education, marital status, currently living with, place of residence and migrant status categories. There was a significant relationship between the categories of age ($\chi^2(5) = 22.1, p < 0.05$), marital status ($\chi^2(4) = 43.4, p < 0.05$), currently living with ($\chi^2(5) = 34.0, p < 0.05$), place of residence ($\chi^2(5) = 18.9, p < 0.05$), migrant status ($\chi^2(1) = 24.2, p < 0.05$) and experience of harassment in the community. Women who were younger, unmarried, living with friends, relatives or alone, living in Phnom Penh or migrant workers were more likely to have experienced harassment than those who were older, married, living with spouse or parents, living in other provinces, or non-migrant workers, respectively. For education $p > 0.05$ indicating no significant relationship.

"I worry a lot about my daughter, I don't want her to ride a bike even ... I worry about the young boys along the street ... I worry a lot. It's not safe to go out there' (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016).

In some areas, women workers regularly feared the actions of others. Shouting, harassment, cat-calling and insults from men are a part of life for many women and are viewed simply as a downside of the financial opportunities offered by the garment industry. As the same worker continued:

"Shouting and harassment happens a lot along the street, but now it's just normal. The female workers, even my daughter [who isn't a garment worker] know that you have to keep calm and quiet. But inside you feel very angry." (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016)

In order to avoid unpleasant and threatening situations such as these, many female workers simply avoided going out as much as possible, making sure when they did so that they arranged for somebody to accompany them. However, restriction of women's own behaviour when travelling in public was confined to leisure time, and as highlighted in earlier sections of the report, the daily commute between home and work is for many female workers the most difficult part of urban work because the sexual harassment they experience is frequent and largely unavoidable. For a significant proportion of women, simply getting to work was a daily struggle filled with threats and insults from neighbours and other community members.

5.2.2. Harassment on the way to and from work

As well as harassment inside factories, many garment workers experience sexual harassment on the way to and from work. As shown in Table 11, women are considerably more likely than men to experience harassment on their journey to and from work, with over 11 per cent of women reporting harassment.

Table 11. Total proportion of workers experiencing harassment on the way to/from work

All		Female		Male	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
128	10	121	11.2	7	3.5

n = 1287. (Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

The most frequent forms of sexual harassment that women reported on the way to and from work was being stared at/leered at, being whistled at and/or being the subject of inappropriate comments. Some forms of harassment, such as being shown pornographic imagery, occur far less frequently than they do in the workplace and this is likely to reflect the different conditions on the street, where crowds are moving and harassers are less likely to know their victim.

Table 12. Forms of harassment reported by female workers experiencing harassment on the way to/from work

Form of harassment	Percentage of woman workers
Stared at/Leered at	73.6%
Whistled at	49.6%
Inappropriate comments or language	38%
Told pornographic jokes	5%
Touched, hugged or kissed inappropriately	3.3%
Shown pornographic imagery	1.7%
Invited on a date with promise of promotion or the threat of demotion, being fired, or lost income	1.7%
Sexual assault (committing sexual violence)	0.8%

Note: Responses total more than 100% because multiple response was captured.
n = 121. (Source: Employee Survey, 2016)

Unlike the harassment that takes place inside factories, workers' socio-demographic characteristics are significant factors in their likelihood of experiencing harassment going to and from work. Women who were younger, unmarried, migrant workers or living with friends and relatives or living alone were more likely to experience harassment than those who were older, married, non-migrants or living with spouse or parents. Migration status was a significant factor with migrant workers being more than twice as likely to experience sexual harassment than non-migrant workers on their way to and from work (13.8 per cent of migrant workers compared with 6.4 per cent of non-migrant workers). This suggests that that the harassment that takes place as workers travel to and from work is more targeted towards women perceived as vulnerable than that which takes place in the workplace.

As noted above, female garment workers in many cases attempt to reduce the threat of sexual harassment they face. Women are generally expected – by each other, as well as the wider community – to stay at home at night and to avoid leisure, especially without someone to accompany them. As a result of this, the journey to and from work is often the only – or at least the majority of – time spent outdoors for many garment workers. Given that the journey to and from work is generally undertaken during daylight hours and usually in the company of many other workers, it might be expected that harassment would be minimal. However, many workers reported during interviews that they were subject to regular harassment and abuse during the journey to and from work. For instance:

Table 13. Socio-demographic characteristics of women experiencing sexual harassment on the way to and from work⁴¹

Variable	Percentage of women workers
All women [n = 1085]	11.20%
Age group in years [n = 1081]	
- <20	19.10%
- 20-24	14.60%
- 25-29	10.40%
- 30-34	9.40%
- 35-39	6%
- >39	0%
Education level, last grade completed [n = 1019]	
- No schooling	11.10%
- Grade 1-6 (Primary)	7.80%
- Grade 7-9 (Lower secondary)	13.40%
- Grade 9-12 (Upper secondary)	10.90%
Marital status [n = 1075]	
- Unmarried with no partner	14.60%
- Unmarried with partner	15.70%
- Unmarried – prefer not to say	36.20%
- Married	6.60%
- Divorced or widowed	9.90%
Currently living with [n = 1085]	
- Spouse	6.60%
- Parents	7.20%
- Other family	15.80%
- Friends	14.80%
- Alone	12.30%
- Other	0%
Migrant status [n = 1078]	
- Migrant	13.80%
- Non-migrant	6.40%

(Source: Employee Survey, 2016)

“Sometimes the bad teenagers [*kmeng stieu*⁴²] talk and shout things to us. But it’s OK, because we’re in a group of workers, so we just feel scared but go on anyway; the factory is quite near, so it’s not so much of a problem. Even if we were alone, though, we would have to come anyway: you can’t miss [work].” (Female Worker Focus Group, Location 3, 19/02/2016)

⁴¹ Note: A chi square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of experience of harassment with age, education, marital status, currently living with and migrant status categories. There was a significant relationship between the categories of age ($\chi^2(5) = 17.1, p < 0.05$), marital status ($\chi^2(4) = 47.2, p < 0.05$), currently living with ($\chi^2(5) = 20.5, p < 0.05$), migrant status ($\chi^2(1) = 13.8, p < 0.05$) and experience of harassment on the way to/from work. Women who were younger, unmarried, living with friends, relatives or alone, or migrant workers were more likely to have experienced harassment than those who were older, married, living with spouse or parents or non-migrant workers, respectively. For education $p > 0.05$ indicating no significant relationship.

⁴² This term, literally translating as “street youths” refers to the groups of young men that walk the streets of their local areas at night. Although the phrase is sometimes translated as gangsters, this is misleading. Most *kmeng stieu* are not criminals, and few groups are genuinely organised. Rather, they tend to be groups of young men who choose to loiter in small groups along the street, in some – but not all – cases causing low level trouble by shouting insults or inappropriate jokes at passers-by. Some workers reported that they befriended these men in order to avoid any such behaviour. Most, however, feared and avoided them.

A similar account was offered by a woman who explained:

“We all experience problems with men on the way to and from work. They shout things at us and try to embarrass us, but I try not to care. It doesn’t happen too often, just once or twice a week. Everybody experiences this ... [but] ... I know I cannot quit.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 5, 24/02/2016).

The belief that female workers have little choice but to put up with the abuse they suffer whilst travelling to work was a strong theme in the qualitative analysis, among both women and men employed in the garment industry. Consequently, workers continue to attend work despite threatening and often dangerous conditions. For example:

“Almost every day, we meet with problems on the way to work, with men calling out and chasing us. Two or three months ago it happened to me at 6am, on the way to work: two men chased me. It was light, but quiet, so I just ran towards a crowd. This happens to many people. They don’t report it to the factory.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

The quantitative data highlight that testimonies such as these are far from isolated with the survey finding that that 15.1 per cent of Cambodian garment workers – 16.5% of women and 7.6% of men – have experienced sexual harassment outside the factory during the past year⁴³, of which 11 per cent experience daily harassment and 19 per cent experience harassment weekly.

Despite this, that only 1.24 per cent of workers reported changing their residence highlights the extent to which workers felt forced to put up with the threats they faced. It also suggests a lack of support on the part of authorities, who were more likely to deny that sexual harassment was an issue in their community or deny responsibility for the issue than take effective action. The attitudes and behaviours of officials and their effect on sexual harassment in Cambodia’s garment industry is explored below.

5.2.3. Issues with authority: lack of official assistance for sexual harassment

The attitudes of predominantly male authority figures such as village officials, policemen and line leaders to sexual harassment in their factories and communities displayed three key themes: denial, powerlessness and blame. Denial of sexual harassment was communicated by the often repeated statement that “[sexual harassment] never happens here”. These type of statements were categorised as denial, as opposed to ignorance, because responses to other questions generally suggested a significant knowledge of sexual harassment and were usually associated with feelings of powerlessness and/or blaming the victims of harassment. Notably, powerlessness was highlighted by, and in relation to, all types of authority figures, both inside and outside the factory. Regarding the lack of effectiveness of internal complaints procedures for sexual harassment, one female garment worker said:

“You can complain to the line leader about this, but the only thing that they can do is give you some time to rest, one or two days’ rest.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 5, 23/02/2016)

In the qualitative data, workers expressed that reporting any incidents of sexual harassment to factory management would either lead to no action or to reprisals from management aiming to eliminate trouble by dismissing both parties. As one female garment worker said:

“If you have a big problem – like you are sick at work – then they will take you to the hospital. But if it’s a problem between two workers, then they will fire you both. They

⁴³ This figure combines harassment experienced in the community and in transit between home and work.

don't let anyone else in the factory, so no one can help us [with sexual harassment]."
(Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

Even outside the factory, local officials cited institutional constraints as a barrier to their ability to respond to sexual harassment, arguing that the status of factory owners was too high for them to challenge. Only higher officials – who are very unlikely to be made personally aware of individual cases of sexual harassment – were viewed as sufficiently high status to raise such issues:

"I have heard that there is [sexual harassment], but I can't control how often it happens, I just know that it happens... I can't talk to the factory owners. Only the commune chief is high enough to do that." (Male Village Head, Location 5, 23/02/2016)

Similarly, workers expressed dissatisfaction at the attitude of (almost exclusively male) police officers, who were often reluctant to take on cases of sexual harassment brought by workers. For example, one female worker stated that:

"Unless [people] have money, then the police aren't interested ... Many cases happened, but you need to spend money to win the case; the police don't care about the ones with no money" (Female Garment Worker, Location 5, 23/02/2016).

This perception echoes those in other research of the garment industry that suggest migrant workers must seek police assistance via the owner of their rented room if they wish to achieve a response. As highlighted by Parsons, et al. (2014), rented room owners are viewed by non-migrants as responsible for the migrants who live on their property, even above the role of local government administration⁴⁴.

For these various reasons, authority figures offer very little assistance to garment workers – either preventative or investigatory – in relation to sexual harassment. Instead, they reinforce unequal and restrictive gender norms that lay the blame for harassment on victims, and in particular female victims. This is illustrated in the comments of a male village leader:

"Women have to be very moral, not pretend to be a sexy girl or a bad girl. If people see that you are an honourable girl, then people cannot harass you. Even if they do, then we can report it to the authorities and the man will be punished. From my own perspective [though], some of them go out and some of them call their boyfriend or girlfriend to come to their rented room, they go out at night and drink and so on. If they act like this, then they already have a relationship with a boyfriend or girlfriend, so they cannot say they [suffer] harassment" (Male Village Leader, Location 4, 23/02/2016).

This cultural narrative, in which women were strongly criticised for experiencing harassment and victims blamed, is a key theme to emerge from the focus groups and interviews. This indicates an environment in which the responsibility to prevent sexual harassment lies primarily in women's restriction of their own freedom of movement. Female workers in the communities interviewed for this study tended to view after-hours leisure as irresponsible, as it was thought to increase the risk of sexual assault. Indeed, most female workers viewed sexual harassment as a problem partly of their own making and hence their responsibility to overcome.

⁴⁴ As an urban village leader (an administrative official, second from the lowest rung of authority. These officials were intended to have jurisdiction over roughly 500 urban families. However, in areas of high migration, they are often in practice responsible for many thousands. Consequently, many cede responsibility for migrant workers to the rented room owners that house them) stated in relation to the Teuk Thla migrants community – one of those visited during the qualitative survey undertaken here: "The owners of rented rooms are the big people in the community. If migrants have problems they go to the owners, who go to [other] high ranking people in the community such as policemen" (Deputy Village Chief, 31 July 2010 cited in Parsons, Lawreniuk and Pilgrim, 2014)

5.3 Living with Harassment: self-restriction as defence

One of the key findings of the focus groups with garment workers was the extent to which both female and male workers themselves related similar attitudes to the authorities regarding the victim blaming of women who experienced harassment. As informants explained, workers face a choice between security and freedom, which was often depicted in moral terms. For instance:

“If you stay in your room at night then you are 100 per cent safe, but if you want to go out then you will end up getting involved with gangs and you’ll face problems” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016).

As a result of statements such as these – repeated by male and female workers and authority figures alike – the majority of female garment workers do not undertake any leisure activities outside of their rented rooms. Moreover, as shown in Tables 14 and 15, those that do socialise in their free time tend to do so in a restricted manner, such as visiting co-workers, family and friends in their accommodation, but never leaving their local area.

Although such restricted movement and behaviour is the norm, migrant areas vary in character. Some, such as Teuk Thla and Set Bou, are vibrant and thriving and are well known for being places to socialise and explore during leisure time (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016b; Parsons et al., 2014). However, the small number of women who engage in such activities are viewed by older workers as irresponsible, endangering their lives and livelihoods in search of enjoyment and has the potential to expose women further to sexual harassment. For example:

“It’s just a few who do this [go out to restaurants and bars with their friends], generally those who are under 19 years old. They risk themselves because they don’t think in advance. They don’t give [the matter] consideration; if they want to go, they just go. That’s Cambodian culture” (Female Garment Worker, Location 4, 19/02/2016).

The majority of those in the seven target communities identified for qualitative research lived extremely restrictive lives, never venturing out alone – especially after dark – and often locking themselves in their rented rooms for all of the night time hours. As a worker living in Phnom Penh explained:

“First of all [a woman] has to stay inside till morning – even if you have a problem – and also even at night you just lock the door [of your rented room] ... If somebody comes to knock on your door, then you don’t open it. You have to be afraid and listen at the wall to see if it is who they say [because] sometimes they pretend to be someone else” (Female Garment Worker Focus Group, Location 3, 22/02/2016)

Table 14. Participation in leisure and social activities by garment industry workers

Participation in leisure or social activities			
	All n= 1268	Men n = 196	Women n= 1072
Some participation	35%	49%	33%
No participation	62%	52%	67%

(Source: Employee Survey data, 2016.)

Social and gender norms which limit independence and mobility, and norms about visiting other people’s houses, speaking loudly, or spending more than a minimum period away from home (Ledgerwood, 1996) provide a broader cultural context that influences the level of shaming and

blaming of women who have experienced sexual harassment, by victims themselves, male and female colleagues and duty bearers.

Table 15. Participation in different forms of leisure and social activities by garment industry workers

Type of activity	Participation in leisure or social activities		
	All n = 1268	Men n = 196	Women n = 1072
Visit other rooms	24%	32%	23%
Visit local market	17%	7%	19%
Daytrips around Phnom Penh	13%	17%	12%
Visit restaurants/bars	0.6%	1%	0.6%

(Source: Employee Survey, 2016.)

In addition to these conservative social and gender norms, both men and women's experiences and behaviour in garment factories is linked to the specific circumstances of their work and living arrangements, such as their relative youth, that they are often unmarried and are predominantly internal migrants. These demographic characteristics contribute to those who experience sexual harassment feeling a degree of personal responsibility and avoidance in reporting it, which reinforces behaviours based on avoidance and self-limitation.

Women's restriction of their own movements and behaviours can also impede their ability to build social networks in and around their workplace (Parsons, 2016; James and Vira, 2012; Simone, 2008). This can reduce their knowledge of the labour market and limit their ability to move to factories with better conditions. While this aspect of women garment workers' response to sexual harassment reduces some of the costs faced by the industry, it ultimately reduces the productivity and effectiveness of the workforce.

In some of the communities interviewed, workers lived in very real fear at night, stating that even in the case of a medical emergency they would have to wait until morning rather than venture outside of their rooms. However, even in migrant communities thought of as safer, female garment workers used similar protective behaviours, highlighting the gendered nature of perceptions of safety. In particular, women highlighted darkness and poor lighting as risks to their safety:

“People calling or chasing has never happened to me, but I know people it has happened to, maybe 20 per cent [of workers]. It depends on the place and the factory. It will happen more if the worker is doing overtime and must come home when it is dark, or at night.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

Another female worker in an area characterised by high levels of harassment and intimidation by male garment workers and other male migrants described the limitations on movement women use to protect themselves:

“For women, dark places especially are very bad for them, so they are always aware of them and never go there.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 5, 22/02/2016)

Avoiding areas with low lighting and other perceived dangers due to concerns of danger meant that migrant women in every location placed significant restrictions on their behaviours, often denying themselves the chance to socialise or get to know the city in any meaningful way. Moreover, this sense of needing to protect oneself was frequently reinforced by narratives surrounding women's responsibility for the sexual harassment they experienced.

Although much of the cost of the high prevalence of sexual harassment is borne by women themselves, the ongoing impact of such behaviours on productivity, turnover and absenteeism on industries have been noted in a number of studies (Duvvury et al., 2014; Vyas, 2013; Lensberg, 2013). The following section estimates the financial costs of sexual harassment to the garment industry.

5.4 Case Study: Chanthavy

The following case study, from Chanthavy (name changed to protect her identity), a young female garment worker, provides insight into the personal impacts of sexual harassment on female workers and how they have adapted their behaviours in an attempt to protect themselves from harassment.

Two years ago, Chanthavy, now aged 24, left her parents' home in Prey Veng province to find work in Phnom Penh. She moved into a shared room, rented by older cousins who had left the province a few years before her. Her cousins secured her a job at the garment factory where they worked and Chanthavy has worked there since. When her cousins married, they moved out of the room and now she lives alone. She is single.

"I have lived in this area for two years, but I don't know many members of the community. I have some relatives and colleagues nearby, but I don't know many neighbours. There are many problems here [in the community] - last week somebody stole a neighbour's motorbike. People always steal small things, like clothes when we leave them out to dry.

Women feel afraid. We only go out to work and then come back to the house. We fear staying outside. Women who work late tell stories about how they meet gangsters in the street on the way home from the late shift - other women hear their warnings and try not to go out after work ... The risk to women is increasing because there are so many bad boys now, young people who go crazy on drugs ...

You cannot hide. Almost every morning, we meet problems on the way to work, with men calling out to us and chasing us. Two months ago, it happened to me, at 6am on the way to the factory. I was walking and two men began to chase me. It was light at that time but quiet where we were. I ran to where there would be many people. This happens to many women, but we don't report it to the factory. Before, we used to report it, but they didn't do anything. They ignored it ...

The men in this community see it happening. They hear us calling for help, but they won't help us. They are scared of the bad boys because sometimes they carry knives or guns. I have no male relatives here so I have no one to look out for me.

Some men also cause problems in the factory. They fight and spread rumours about the women workers, especially the young ones. If you have a problem with a man at the factory, you can report it to the bosses. If something violent happens, the factory might call for the police in the commune. They say that if a worker has three warnings, then they should be fired. But I've never seen that happen at my factory ...

Many women change jobs because of [these problems], like one woman who was attacked by a gang outside work. They hurt her and stole her money. She was frightened, so she moved to [another factory] ...

Of course, everybody knows some factories are better than others. Many [at the factory where I work] want to work at [another factory] - they have good rooms there: cheap, close to the factory, security to keep the bad boys out, no drugs allowed. But those factories are always full. You can't take the test [to get a job there] ...

We didn't change factories ourselves, though, because we have adapted to the problems. We know not to walk alone, but to wait and walk together [with others]".

6. Estimating the Productivity Cost of Harassment to Garment Factories

To estimate the costs of sexual harassment to productivity, this study examined turnover costs, absenteeism, and presenteeism. Turnover costs include workers leaving the factory (the time included to fill a vacancy, training for new workers, and other general estimates around turnover). Absenteeism takes into account the days missed from work due to sexual harassment. Presenteeism is working while not in a fully functioning state and in this study generated a high cost.

6.1 Turnover

Workers changing jobs as a direct result of sexual harassment appears relatively low, with only 1.17 per cent of the sample reporting that they had moved factories as a direct result of sexual harassment. Moreover, follow up questions to factory administrators suggested that there were no costs associated with advertising for new workers due to the high volume of experienced applicants. The ease of finding experienced workers meant that the mean factory estimate of productivity loss per departing worker was 1.7 days. Using the human capital approach to productivity loss (see Lensberg, 2013), this method produces a mean loss of USD 13.31 per worker that leaves the factory due to sexual harassment⁴⁵.

Table 16. Worker replacement costs

Variable	Mean reported by Factory Administrators
Time taken to fill a vacancy, days	0.97
Experience level of new workers, proportion	
- Previous experience of garment industry	98%
- No previous experience of garment industry	2%
Time taken for a new worker to reach a competent level and rate of output in the factory's designs, days	
- Previous experience of garment industry	2.4
- No previous experience of garment industry	33
Productivity loss of new workers during training period, %	
- Previous experience of garment industry	10
- No previous experience of garment industry	48

n = 41. (Source: Employer Survey data, 2016.)

Whilst the number of workers who leave workplaces due to sexual harassment and the associated costs of this are relatively small per factory, when considered on a national level this amounts to a substantial number of workers across the garment industry. Using this figure, it is estimated that approximately 6,400 of all garment workers currently working in Cambodia had done so, at total a cost of USD 85,184 to the industry. In addition, the number of workers who left the garment industry permanently due to sexual harassment and the subsequent costs to the industry are likely to be under-represented in this research, as a limitation of the research was that it only investigated those

⁴⁵ (1.7 x \$7.83/ day= USD 13.31).

workers currently employed in the industry (although workers that exited and subsequently re-entered the industry are accounted for). Nevertheless, informants overwhelmingly said that very few workers move between factories in order to avoid sexual harassment. Rather, the avoidance of sexual harassment sometimes takes place within the factory itself:

“[Sometimes the male workers] talk about taking a girl to have [sex with] . . . When this happens, she doesn’t change factory, but she changes the place she works, like if he works on one side [of the factory] then she would move to the other side” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 19/02/2016).

Behaviours such as these, which enable workers to reduce the impact of harassment without changing jobs, partly help to explain the relatively low rate of exit from factories in the face of prevalent sexual harassment in the workplace. Indeed, workers emphasised that sexual harassment was largely perceived as an irritation which women must try and avoid, rather than actions that are punishable according to workplace regulations.

However, one form of harassment that informants emphasised would often lead to women leaving garment factories was the public shaming of women by male workers with whom they had had a relationship. Many of those who had witnessed this emphasised that this was a very serious form of sexual harassment and the only one which would encourage a majority of women to leave their jobs. Likewise, a female colleague’s experience of serious physical violence was described by Chanthavy in her testimony (see section 6.5) as the reason she left her factory. This highlights the harshness of the conditions that workers have to face in order to change factories, with most choosing to adapt and restrict their behaviour even in the wake of severe physical, sometimes criminal, experiences. It also demonstrates how much workers rely on social networks and informal information to understand the labour market, with certain workplaces known as superior in terms of conditions and safety. For example:

“Of course, everybody knows some factories are better than others. Many here want to work at [a certain factory complex because] they have good rooms there: cheap, close to the factory, security to keep the bad boys out, no drug use. But those factories are always full. You can’t take the test [to get a job there].” (Female Worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

Notably, these workers describe the desirable conditions at a modern factory complex in terms of the safety of the living conditions, rather than the working conditions within the factory itself, and this is a factor that must be considered when attempting to estimate the cost of sexual harassment. Those factories deemed safer are those that workers who have experienced harassment overwhelmingly turn to when changing factories. However, whilst a good reputation is likely to attract a high volume of experienced workers without the need for advertising, the nature of movement between factories in Cambodia is generally highly informal in nature (Parsons, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2004). Indeed, as workers explained:

“We hear from other workers: ‘OK, that factory is bad, this factory is good’ [in terms of both working conditions and the wider experience of work, including the safety of the area].” (Female Garment Worker, Location 2, 24/02/2016)

Relying on networks and personal connections can be an effective way of getting information about employment opportunities, especially for workers from wealthier households who tend to have better developed social networks in urban areas (Parsons, 2016; James and Vira, 2012; Simone, 2008). However, it means that access to information and employment opportunities is uneven, and that many workers faced with a decision over whether to move to a safer factory or exit the industry are likely to take the latter option.

6.2 Absenteeism

Although the cost of absenteeism can be difficult to calculate in Western working environments, where procedures tend to be in place to compensate for absences, many garment factories in Cambodia explicitly tell their employees that unauthorised absences create an unacceptably high economic cost to their business. As one worker explained:

“You can’t take days off because they have strict rules about it. It’s a processing line, so nobody can replace that person. If you’re sick you have to ask permission and then bring a doctor’s note. You are cut USD 3 from your salary if not.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 5, 19/02/2016)

Further absences generally lead to public criticism, formal warnings and high proportions of salary being cut, contributing to a working culture in which absenteeism is generally very low. Despite the extremely strict attitude taken by factory authorities to worker absences, however, a significant proportion of the sample – 3.3 per cent of female and male workers – reported that they had missed work during the last year as a direct result of sexual harassment. Moreover, those employees who did so missed an average of 3.9 days during this period, amounting to a total of 69,550 worker days lost nationally, or 102 days per factory in the last 12-months⁴⁶ as a direct result of sexual harassment - approximately USD 545,000 across the industry.

Combined with the high and rising cost of living in the areas surrounding factories (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016; Chiek, 2008), workers largely feel they have no choice but to continue to work. If they do not attend work, they face fines being docked from their salary for each unauthorised absence.

Though small in the context of the industry, absentee figures should be placed in the broader context of garment work. The almost universal practice in Cambodia of cutting workers’ monthly salaries for each unauthorised absence means that workers face a significant financial disincentive to take time off, even when they feel intimidated or threatened. This disincentive is increased by the financial pressures faced by garment workers including the rising costs of rent the cost of living (ILO, 2016; ILO, 2012b) and rural pressures are worsening for many garment workers’ families, who depend upon remittances.

Therefore, the decision to sacrifice earnings due to sexual harassment is one that is taken extremely seriously by garment workers. From the point of view of most of the industry’s workers, their wages belong to their family as much as to themselves and absences from work impacts their ability to send the same amount of remittances to their families – about 40 per cent of the workers monthly salary. That more than one in 30 workers had done so demonstrates the severity of the sexual harassment they experienced during the last year.

Table 17. Average worker remittances in the Cambodian garment industry

Variable	All	Female	Male
Average monthly remittance (USD)			
- Mean	\$83	\$83	\$84
- Median	\$100	\$100	\$96
Percentage of final monthly salary remitted			
- Mean	40%	40%	39%
- Median	40%	40%	38%

n = 993. (Source: Employee Survey data, 2016)

⁴⁶ Based on data collected between March to June 2016 where participants were asked to recall ways in which their work performance was affected by sexual harassment over the previous 12 months.

6.3 Presenteeism: reduction in workplace productivity due to harassment

As highlighted throughout this paper, the majority of workers who face sexual harassment use internal strategies and change their behaviours to respond to the sexual harassment they experience, rather than seek support from the management of their garment factory or duty bearers in the community. Over time, women’s adaption behaviours such as laughing off and responding to insults, travelling in groups and restricting their movement and social activities at night become largely internalised, so that these strategies become the norm, even to the extent that those who do not use them are criticised for carelessness.

Table 18. Coping strategies practised by workers

Coping Strategies practiced by Women	Coping Strategies practiced by men
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retorts to insults • Skin thickening- enduring harassment • Becoming invisible – being silent, not bringing attention to oneself, wearing clothes that don’t stand out • Taking part in harassment against women; • Victim blaming; • Walking in groups; • Walking quickly or running to factory bus stop; • Not answering door at night; • Never leaving room at night – even in the case of medical emergency; • Sensitivity and awareness of surroundings when leaving factory during night shifts; • Expecting something to happen - being vigilant and defensive; limited or no social life; • Shouting for help; • Ostracising perpetrator as a group defence mechanism; • Being friendly in order to create familiarity; • Story-telling to protect other women; • Missing days from work; • Moving jobs within the factory; • Moving to another factory; • Dropping out of garment industry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retorts to insults; • Skin thickening –enduring harassment; • Becoming passive to insults or harassment against women; • Taking part in harassment against women; • Victim blaming; • Threatening women who stand up to them; • Normalising harassing behaviour; • Taking part in ostracising perpetrator as a group defence mechanism; • Missing days from work; • Moving jobs within the factory; • Moving to another factory; • Dropping out of garment industry.

From qualitative data collected from FGD and extended interviews with women & male workers, 2016

Nevertheless, coping with sexual harassment comes at a cost for individuals (Magley et al., 2016). The need to expect, prevent, or avoid such behaviours absorbs considerable mental energy. Not only is time spent defending oneself against potential and actual harassment time not spent concentrating on work, the psychological cost of doing so is significant. As a worker described:

“There is a lot of [sexual harassment] in my factory ... this makes it difficult to concentrate ... A lot of people quit because of this.” (Female Garment Worker, Location 3, 23/02/2016)

Such testimonies highlight that although defensive behaviour may allow female garment workers to remain at the same workplace, this compromise lowers workers’ productivity. This is strongly supported by the quantitative data, wherein 13.52 per cent of both men and women indicated that their productivity was reduced by sexual harassment. Of these workers, a mean figure of 46.97 per cent reduction in

their output was averaged across the sample⁴⁷. Using the human capital method of calculating presenteeism⁴⁸, this figure was used to generate a figure for the wasted value of the wages of each of the workers in question. Because some workers in the garment industry are on “piece rate”, a loss in productivity may affect their income directly as they produce less.

On the basis of the qualitative data in this research, which demonstrates that it is the everyday evasion of harassment that drives productivity losses, rather than individual instances of harassment themselves⁴⁹, a figure was derived for the cost of presenteeism to the national garment industry. It was calculated that 13.52 per cent of 546,467 workers reported productivity losses due to sexual harassment. This equates to 73,882 workers nationally. This means that employers are losing 46.97 per cent of the value of those employees’ salaries to presenteeism due directly to sexual harassment.

Given the average garment working monthly salary of USD 212⁵⁰ (see Table 4) mean that this equates to USD 99.38 in lost value per month for each of the 73,882 workers who report productivity losses, or a total of USD 7,342,709.25.

Over the 12 months, the presenteeism cost amounts to USD 88,112,511, a figure indicating a 6.35 per cent reduction in human capital across the (GMAC registered) industry as a whole.

In total, the costs of absenteeism, presenteeism and turnover amount to USD 88,742,695 per annum⁵¹.

⁴⁷ 365 (28.4%) of all workers in the sample experienced some form of sexual harassment in the workplace. We asked these workers to estimate the effect that sexual harassment had on their productivity. 174 workers (13.5%) of all workers in the sample indicated that sexual harassment had some effect on productivity, with the mean effect reported at 49.67% among these 174 workers.

⁴⁸ The most appropriate approach given limited availability of detailed productivity data (see Lensberg et al., 2013). For more detail on how presenteeism was calculated, as well as the methodology undertaken to arrive at the costing as a whole, please see Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ As argued also by Morison and Orlando (1999).

⁵⁰ N.B. This is a rounded figure. The true average wage figure is \$211.58.

⁵¹ Based on data collected between March to June 2016 where participants were asked to recall ways in which their work performance was affected by sexual harassment over the previous 12 months.

Conclusions

Those working in Cambodia's garment industry experience frequent sexual harassment. Whilst financial commitments mean that many workers tolerate acute, or prolonged periods of harassment without resorting to absenteeism or departure from the factory, workers nevertheless resort to these strategies in some cases.

However, the impact of harassment is felt even before this point is reached. Presenteeism gives insight to the cost of sexual harassment to productivity and also sheds light on the mental stress of self-regulation to women experiencing sexual harassment. The largest proportion of the USD 88 million that sexual harassment costs the Cambodian garment industry in lost human capital is calculated in presenteeism estimates. These high figures demonstrate a day-to-day tolerance and adaptation to sexual harassment, which places responsibility on women to prevent and protect themselves from harassment and blames and shames them when they are victims of harassment, is caused by unequal gender norms. This protective strategy supplements the space that a comprehensive, coordinated and systematic response to ending violence against women and sexual harassment should occupy.

For women workers, sexual harassment takes a variety of forms and occupies multiple spaces. It is not sufficient to view harassment in terms of what takes place within the workplace. Rather, workers consider the safety and security of the environment in which they live – and especially that through which they must travel to work – as being as important a factor in the quality of their livelihoods as what takes place in the workplace itself. To reduce sexual harassment and provide safe working conditions for all workers, a multi-sectoral response is required that includes the garment industry, women leaders, local authorities, and the government of Cambodia.

Recommendations

Preventing and reducing sexual harassment requires a coordinated response. The following are recommendations for the Royal Government of Cambodia, local authorities in communities surrounding garment factories, the garment industry, unions, civil society and the ILO Better Factories Cambodia Program.

CARE endorses the overall objectives and activities put forward by the Royal Government of Cambodia in the *National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women (2014-2018)* (NAPVAW) and below endorses particular activities which directly relate to the findings of this report.

CARE's overall recommendations are threefold:

1. Improve productivity, prevention and protections through industry and Government jointly promoting harassment-free work and community environments
2. Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment
3. Invest and support programs, law and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protection against sexual harassment.

Recommendation 1

Improve productivity, prevention and protections through industry and Government jointly promoting harassment-free work and community environments

1.1 Given the impact on women and high cost to the garment industry of sexual harassment, as identified in this report, CARE endorses and recommends prioritization of the following activities identified in “Community and Workplace” and “Capacity Building” sections of the NAPVAW by both Government and industry stakeholders:

- Design, implement and evaluate interventions to prevent violence against women in both public and private spaces with increased mobilization of civil society participation and initiatives. (NAPVAW, 16)
- Promote safe, harassment-free and respectful public and private workplace environments through raising awareness of labour rights, ensuring policies and mechanisms to prevent and respond to workplace harassment, and working with employers to create safe and harassment-free work environment. (NAPVAW, 16)
- Increase the capacity of all key actors to understand the financial impact of violence against women. (NAPVAW, 30)

1.2 Given the identified gaps in workplace level protections, CARE recommends that garment factories, with the support of the industry body GMAC:

- Develop and/or adopt and implement workplace level policies (in line with international best practice) which put processes in place to prevent, respond to and monitor sexual harassment.
- Train all management and staff on sexual harassment, gender, and bystander intervention to ensure that the workplace level policy is properly understood and implemented.
- Provide necessary awareness to workers on the workplace policy, their rights and responsibility to report incidents in the factory to the designated management staff.
- Task appropriate employees with responsibility and expertise in addressing sexual harassment and creating cultural change so that sexual harassment is no longer tolerated. This may involve establishing a sexual harassment committee or tasking an existing committee or individuals with this mandate.
- Create linkages, dialogue and reporting mechanisms (where appropriate) between other workplace and community stakeholders, such as unions, commune authorities, landlords, and police to address and prevent sexual harassment that occurs both inside and outside the workplace.

1.3 Given the identified gaps in workplace level protections, CARE recommends that the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training:

- Include identifying policies and protections from sexual harassment, and the implementation thereof, in the Inspection Checklist.
- Train Labour Inspectors on sexual harassment and gender and facilitate ongoing knowledge sharing between officials and factory management through the labour inspection process.

Recommendation 2

Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment

2.1. Given the gaps in the implementation of the law borne out by the legal analysis and qualitative findings of this report, CARE endorses and recommends prioritization of the following activities identified in the “Multi-sectoral Coordinated Response Mechanism”, “Effective Police

Protection” and “Legal Aid and Access to Justice” sections of the NAPVAW by both Government and industry stakeholders:

- Develop a coordinated response mechanism between ministries, institutions, service providers, civil society, private sector and other key actors to promote a coordinated prevention and response strategy at the national level and to build knowledge and skills. (NAPVAW, 18)
- Clarify operational standards and codes of conduct, review and share at all levels to promote improved police response to violence against women. (NAPVAW, 21)
- Legal and justice reform process considers and discusses violence against women issues. (NAPVAW, 24)

2.2. Given the gaps in legal protections against some forms of workplace sexual harassment, CARE recommends that the Government of Cambodia:

- Begin a consultative law reform process to consider an appropriate new or existing legal mechanism or institutional body that has the power to give legal remedy for people who suffer detriment due to sexual harassment.
- Create new legislation or amend existing law to create easy-to-access, affordable legal remedy for all forms of workplace and/ or community sexual harassment, including vicarious responsibility (accountability) of employers, which cannot be remedied at a workplace level.

Recommendation 3

Invest and support programs, law and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protection against sexual harassment

3.1. Given the high prevalence and cost of sexual harassment to the garment industry and the potential for Cambodia to set itself apart as a destination for responsible investment, CARE recommends that Government and industry stakeholders, and the ILO’s Better Factories Initiative:

- Through a consultative process with stakeholders, agree to a Cambodian industry-wide common code of conduct to address sexual harassment in the workplace.
- Coordinate with suppliers and retailers to adopt international standards of responsible investment with regards to sexual harassment, and reflect this commitment to international standards through monitoring and auditing protocols.
- Endorse and support the global movement for a labour convention on ending violence in the workplace.

3.2. Given the intersections of women’s workers right to be free from sexual harassment and the loss of productivity to industry caused by sexual harassment, CARE recommends that industry stakeholders, unions and civil society work together to:

- Ensure representation of women in factory committees and union structures so that women’s voice and experience of sexual harassment is brought to the fore as a workplace issue and, in turn, fed back to factory management for action. A possible mechanism would be setting targets for women’s membership of committees.
- Endorse and engage with public and social media campaigns promoting respectful relationships, changing harmful gendered social norms and engaging all community members to intervene when it comes to sexual harassment and gender based violence.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Methodology

1.1 Scope of investigation

Many methodologies have been employed to calculate the cost of gender-based violence. Each method has a set of strengths and weaknesses; and researchers emphasise that “there is no one-size-fits-all or ‘best’ method for understanding these costs” (UN Women 2013:13). Rather, certain methods are more or less appropriate depending on the costs that a study seeks to measure and the choice of methods is contingent on the research questions of the costing exercise.

The study was designed to measure the economic cost of sexual harassment of women in the Cambodian garment industry to the garment industry. The costs of gender-based violence and sexual harassment are generally broken down into four types of cost categories, shown in Box 1. The costs of gender-based violence and sexual harassment to business typically fall into the first two cost categories - direct tangible costs and indirect tangible costs. This study focuses on measuring indirect tangible costs, since direct tangible costs to factories (i.e. goods or services provided by factories to women who experience gender-based violence or sexual harassment) is typically low. In particular, this research focuses on three specific indirect tangible costs: turnover, absenteeism and presenteeism, identified as likely responses to sexual harassment by women in the initial qualitative analysis.

Box 1. Framework for costs of Gender-based violence by nature of cost

Direct tangible costs are actual expenses paid, representing real money spent. These costs can be estimated through measuring the goods and services consumed and multiplying them by their unit cost. They also include expenditure on prevention and service provision across sectors, including justice, health, social services and education.

Indirect tangible costs have a monetary value in the economy but are measured as a loss of potential. An example is lower profits resulting from reduced productivity. These costs are measurable, although this involves estimating opportunity costs rather than actual expenditures.

Direct intangible costs result directly from the violent act. Examples include pain and suffering. These costs may be approximated by quality or value of life measures, although there is some debate as to whether or not it is appropriate.

Indirect intangible costs result indirectly from the violence, and are challenging to cost. An example is the negative psychosocial effect on children who witness violence.

(Source: Williams, 2014.)

1.2 Data and methods

The study employed a mixed methods approach to data collection, as recommended by Williams (2014) and Walker and Duvvury (2016). An initial qualitative research component used key informant interviews and focus group with females and males to explore women’s experiences and responses to sexual harassment in order to map the relevant cost categories to be estimated by the study. A second quantitative research component deployed a representative survey of over 1000 female and male workers to measure the prevalence of sexual harassment in the garment industry and women’s responses to sexual harassment (using the cost categories established in the first phase of research). The research methods of each component of the study are detailed.

Figure 1. Qualitative interview locations



Map of Phnom Penh showing qualitative research locations. Locations were selected to be geographically dispersed in order to capture responses from women with a broad experience of different working and living conditions. There are no factories in the centre of town and most factories are located on the periphery of the city, where land prices are cheaper and there is better access to arterial roads for transport of goods. Factories are often clustered in groups around national roads, surrounded by high density 'rented room' [*bantup juol*] housing.

(Source: Google Earth 2016).

Qualitative component

Qualitative focus group discussions and key informant interviews took place in residential areas with close proximity to several garment factory sites. Seven locations across Phnom Penh were targeted: Russei Keo, Teuk Thla, Pursenchey, Veng Sreng, Dangkao, Chamkar Doung, Chak Angrea (see Figure 1). The areas were selected to provide a diverse sample of respondents, being geographically dispersed across the city and possessing different types and quality of housing, population composition and density, to account for different experiences of working and social life.

In total across the seven sites, nine focus groups and 16 extended interviews were conducted with female garment workers. These discussions explored women's experiences of harassment in the workplace and the community, and responses to it. In addition, four extended interviews were conducted with male garment workers and five with authority figures inside and outside the factory, including factory line leaders, commune level government officials and police officers. These discussions explored wider perceptions about the prevalence, cause and harms caused by sexual harassment.

Quantitative component

The initial qualitative component of the research was used to map the cost categories of relevance to the study, which were deemed to be turnover, absenteeism, presenteeism (see section 6 of this report). A second quantitative component of research was employed to measure the prevalence of sexual harassment within the garment industry and women's responses in terms of the identified cost

categories. In total, 1287⁵² workers were sampled across 52 factory sites in a survey designed to be nationally representative of the Cambodian export industry, as represented by the Garment Manufacturers Association in Cambodia. A factory representative from each of these sites (n=41, see below under section 1.4) was also included in a short survey designed to estimate the business cost per unit of turnover.

Sample size and strategy

The sampling process was designed to yield a nationally representative sample of the Cambodian export industry, as represented by the Garment Manufacturers Association in Cambodia [GMAC]. A two-stage cluster sample, employing a strategy of simple random sampling at each stage was used. At the first stage, factories were selected for inclusion using a system of simple random sampling weighted by factory size from a list of factories supplied by GMAC. At the second stage, employees were selected for inclusion using a system of simple random sampling from a list of employees supplied by the factory. The sample delivered a representative sample since each employee working within a factory represented by GMAC had theoretically had an equal chance of being selected for inclusion in the survey.

The total number of factories and employees to be included in the sample was determined by the cluster sampling guidelines issued by the WHO (2015), in consultation with Groves et al. (2009). A consequence of clustering is that the information gained is less than that in an individually randomized trial of the same size, due to observed heterogeneity within clusters (i.e. the experience of individuals within one factory are likely to be similar) making cluster randomization less efficient. It is acknowledged that a sample size calculated assuming individual randomization can be inflated by a Design Effect (DE) to reach the required level of statistical power under cluster randomization, using the following formula (where n is the number of individuals per cluster and ρ the intracluster correlation coefficient [ICC]):

$$DE=1+(n-1)\rho$$

Based on the International Labour Organisation's finding (2012) that 21 per cent of garment workers had experienced sexual harassment within a total worker population of 546,467, a sample size assuming individual randomisation was set at 255 workers with a confidence level of 95 per cent and confidence interval of five per cent (i.e. to ensure a 95 per cent chance of estimating the true prevalence of harassment with a margin of error ± 5 per cent). An estimate for the ICC was based on comparable studies of sexual harassment and sexual violence, which placed the ICC at 0.08 (Perez Koehlmoos et al., 2007), 0.1 (Stark et al., 2013) and 0.15 (Doshi, 2014). The highest of these values was used to calculate the design effect of a two stage cluster sample under scenarios in which varying numbers of factories agreed to participate.

A target of 52 factories was set incorporating 22 workers from each factory to give a total sample of 1,144 with a design effect of 4.45. To account for attrition and error in survey outputs at stage two of the sample, a rate of oversampling was set at 15 per cent (Walker and Duvvury 2016) raising this to 25 workers per factory.

The core challenge of the research, however, was recruiting factories to participate in the study, given the sensitive nature of the topic within the industry and the time demands placed on factory staff (see section 1.3. below). Based on consultation with the factory team at CARE Cambodia, a negative response rate of 80 per cent was factored into stage one of the sample. Therefore, the research team made initial contact with 341 factories; half of the total number of factories on the GMAC list. After several months of negotiation, this sample frame ultimately produced a cohort of 52 factories who agreed to participate in the research, comprising 15 per cent of those invited to participate. The implications of this on the limitations of the study are discussed below in section 1.5.

Calculating the cost of sexual harassment

⁵² In some of the descriptive tables n numbers differ from full 1287 sample. This is due to small amounts of missing data where respondents were unable or unwilling to answer questions.

Most studies that seek to calculate the costs to business have been carried out in developed countries (Williams 2014). Some social and economic factors create a challenging environment for estimating costs in low-income countries (Duvvury, Minh and Carney 2012) such as a “culture of silence” that prevents women from openly discussing experiences of sexual harassment (Duvvury, Minh and Carney 2012; UNDP 2014) and a lack of available robust reporting data compared to developed nations (Williams 2014).

Where in developed country settings data on turnover and absenteeism due to sexual harassment may be collected and analysed by employers, in developing country contexts this data may not exist. Consequently, researchers may be required to use ‘bottom-up’ approaches to collect this data, such as survey with employees (Williams 2014). In this study, a nationally representative survey of the Cambodian garment industry was undertaken to measure rates of turnover, absenteeism and presenteeism due to sexual harassment among workers.

The survey calculated the estimated cost of turnover by asking workers to list their employment history, detailing how many times they had changed factories within the garment industry and the prime factor underlying each move. From this, the total turnover of workers due to workplace sexual harassment was derived. The cost per unit of turnover was detailed by factories in a survey of factory representatives. The mean total cost per unit included lost productivity of worker days until a new worker was recruited; costs of recruiting a new worker and lost productivity whilst new workers were trained to factory standards. To provide a total turnover cost for the sample, the mean cost per unit was multiplied by total instances of turnover due to workplace sexual harassment. To provide the figure for the industry, the cost for the sample was scaled up to national size using a multiplier of 424.61 (total worker population in the industry/total worker sample).

The estimated business cost of absenteeism was measured by asking workers to report the number of days of they missed work within the last year due to workplace sexual harassment. The total number of missed days due to workplace sexual harassment across the sample was multiplied by the mean daily wage rate to calculate the total cost of absenteeism (see Williams 2014). To provide the figure for the industry the cost for the sample was scaled up to national size using a multiplier of 424.61.

The measurement of presenteeism, defined as being present at work but working at a reduced capacity, is acknowledged as more a “complex” measurement within the literature on costing (Martke et al. 2007; Cooper and Dewe 2008). Some approaches within the health costing literature have attempted to measure productivity directly by generating comparative data on worker output. However, such approaches are complicated and time-consuming to implement since they involve tailored output monitoring programs to meet the characteristics of a given industry and individual job positions within, and intensive process of data collection or reporting conducted over an extended period of time to produce a reliable sample (Martke et al. 2007).

As such, researchers have developed instruments that draw on worker self-reporting to measure productivity loss. A popular method is known as the “human capital approach” (see Williams 2014; Matke et al. 2007), which as Matke et al. (2007:214) explain:

“... expresses the loss as the product of missed workdays multiplied by daily salaries. Originally developed for monetizing absenteeism, the method has been extended to presenteeism losses by using self-reported unproductive hours or self-reported percentage reduction of performance instead of missed days”.

Its advantages are its simplicity, transparency and economic logic:

“The obvious attractions of this method are its computational ease, its intuitive plausibility, and its consistency with economic theory (assuming perfectly competitive labour markets) that wages should reflect a worker's marginal contribution to a firm's output.”

As a result, when workers had experienced sexual harassment within the survey, and following categorisation of this harassment, workers were asked to reflect on the productivity loss incurred as a result of the harassment and represent this as a figure on a scale of zero to ten, where zero indicates “no effect” and ten indicates “completely unable to work”. From this, the mean productivity loss per worker due to workplace sexual harassment for the sample was calculated. Productivity loss was monetised by multiplying the mean productivity loss per worker by the number of affected workers and

again by the mean wage rate giving the total business cost for the sample. To determine the figure for the national industry, the cost for the sample was scaled up to national size using a multiplier of 424.61.

1.3 Implementation

The research team

The core research team consisted of two international consultant researchers from King's College London, UK, working together with an experienced Cambodian data collection team leader. The international researchers were responsible for research design, qualitative data collection, data management and analysis. The Cambodian team leader was responsible for coordinating field schedules of enumerators, coordinating and providing quality checks on translation of documents and quantitative data quality control and entry.

At the beginning of the study, 18 female enumerators were recruited to undertake the quantitative survey. Each enumerator was a recent graduate or final-year undergraduate student of a local university, with previous experience in conducting survey research. The international consultants and Cambodian team leader designed and staged a two-day training programme for enumerators to provide grounding in core concepts of sexual harassment and gender-based violence in the workplace; costing research; the specific survey objectives and methods; familiarisation with the survey tool; ethical and safety guidelines regarding delivery; and other relevant themes. The final day of the training programme included a pilot test and feedback workshop.

1.4 Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia and factory cooperation

The research team worked with the cooperation of the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia, which was facilitated through the CARE Cambodia Factory Team. Membership of GMAC is mandatory for all export-producing firms. Using a system of two-stage cluster sampling, where GMAC's member list was used to randomly select factories for inclusion in the study, and then individual workers were randomly sampled from employee lists of each selected factory, the survey was designed to be representative of the national garment export industry.

GMAC emailed letters to all of its members in English, Chinese and Khmer explaining the aims and objectives of the study. The research team contacted those factories (usually Human Resources departments) selected as part of the sample by telephone and email to invite them to participate in the study.

Those factories that agreed to be part of this study were asked to provide a full employee list to facilitate a random sample of workers from the factory. Though the sample required the participation of 22 workers from each factory, in total 25 workers were randomly sampled from each factory employee list, anticipating a non-response rate of 15 per cent where respondents could not be contacted or did not consent to participate in the study.

The telephone numbers of individual workers was required to invite them to participate in the study. In some cases, the employee list provided by the factory included contact details of workers. Where it did not, the research team randomly sampled 50 workers (doubled from the original 25 to give workers only a 50 per cent chance of being included in the final sample and thereby preserve anonymity) and returned the sampled list of workers to the factory. The factory collected contact details of the sampled workers and returned these to the research team. The sample of 50 workers was reduced to 25 for inclusion in the study.

In a small number of cases, factories were unwilling to disclose full employee lists to the researchers. Here, an alternative strategy for simple random sampling was devised, in which the factory informed the researchers of the total number of employees at the factory. Fifty random staff numbers were returned to the factory to locate on employee lists. The factory then returned the names and contact details of these employees to the research team.

All factories that participated in the research were asked a series of questions to help determine the cost per unit of staff turnover (such as recruitment rate and recruitment costs). Eleven factories were unable or unwilling to provide this data. Therefore, costs associated with turnover as presented in the study are calculated based on the response of 41 factories.

Data collection instruments

The quantitative survey instrument and qualitative schedules were designed by the international consultant team. Questions were adapted for use from a series of previous studies (Williams, 2014; Vyas, 2013; Duvvury, Minh, and Carney, 2012). The survey was drafted in English by the international consultants and then translated into Khmer. The international consultants and national team leader each possess proficient Khmer and English skills, which enabled the team to discuss and verify the meanings and appropriate translations of words and concepts. The team piloted the study twice: an initial small scale pilot conducted by the core team and a subsequent larger scale pilot by the 18 enumerators. In both cases, revisions were made based on the feedback of both those delivering the survey and respondents.

Fieldwork

The qualitative data collection took place in February 2016 at the seven sites described above. Two teams of researchers conducted the focus group discussions and key informant interviews, each comprised of one international consultant and one Khmer team member acting as interpreter. Though the international researchers speak Khmer to a proficient level, there remained a risk of misunderstanding or misrecognising colloquial or technical phrases, or more subtle nuances conveyed in the information related by respondents. This risk of misunderstanding was thought considerable given the sensitive nature of the topic and potential for euphemisms to be employed in responses (UNDP 2014).

The quantitative data collection took place between March and June 2016. The data collection team leader coordinated the field schedules of the 18 person enumerator team. Enumerators received names and telephone numbers of workers and called to arrange an interview. Where possible, interviews with workers were conducted face-to-face, in a location convenient for the worker, often at home. However, in the majority of instances, finding a convenient and safe time and location to conduct face-to-face interviews was difficult, for example, where women were working at factory sites in provinces outside Phnom Penh or where the intensive work schedules of garment sector employees meant that the only time available to participate in an interview was late at night. In these instances, to minimise harm to participants and minimise risk to enumerators (see ethical considerations below), interviews were conducted by telephone. The data collection team leader was available for enumerators to contact throughout the delivery of the survey so that enumerators could query any information that they were unsure how to process or find immediate solutions to other problems that arose in the course of data collection. The data collection team leader also performed regular checks on completed survey questionnaires to ensure the quality of data collection.

1.5 Ethical considerations

The design and implementation of the study was developed to comply with World Health Organisation ethical guidelines for researching violence against women (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). The safety of respondents and the research team was paramount and informed all decisions throughout the study.

1. Ethical review of data collection tools.

The research team approached an external researcher in gender, labour migration and social development to provide an ethical critique of the study's data collection tools and provide recommendations on improving ethical considerations in the data collection process.

2. Informed consent

Verbal informed consent was sought from all participants. Written consent was avoided to decrease the risk of exposure of participants' names and also because participants felt too exposed signing a consent form (see Box 1 for the content of the informed consent sought from each participant). Enumerators introduced themselves as part of CARE's research team and had tags designating their name and photo.

3. Safe title of study

We labelled the survey as a study looking at women's life and health experiences in order to protect respondents who may explain the study to others. The researchers and team leader carried an official letter explaining the nature of the study. Enumerators had an ID card identifying them as part of the CARE research team.

4. Support for the research team

Enumerators were provided with a two-day training on data collection with a special session on gender-based violence, ethical issues around GBV research (do no harm and bearing witness presented by the GBV advisor in the CARE Cambodia office. Additionally, the researchers and team leader made themselves available to the data collection team to discuss any issues that arose in the data collection process. The team leader checked regularly on his team to ensure their mental and physical health were not compromised. We put enumerator teams in pairs when collecting data in the field to reduce any risk to the team (factory workers were often available in the evenings) and allowed for phone interviews in situations where the factory was far geographically or it was too late in the evening.

5. Safe space and additional support for respondents

Respondents were given the opportunity to select a safe space and convenient time for the one-on-one interview; sometimes she/he chose to conduct the interview over the phone for safety and ease to their work schedules. There was no additional support requested and no respondent chose to opt out of or discontinue the interview. At the end of each interview, the respondent was provided with a small pocket-sized booklet and explanation of the health and other services available. See Box 2. GBV services & information pocket card used for referrals.

6. Confidentiality

The research team took steps to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents throughout the study. Access to the factory-level sampling frame and the identity of the 52 factories included in the study are known only to four people in the core research team: the two international consultants, the national data collection team leader and the national administrative assistant who were responsible for conducting follow-up phone calls and emails with the sampled factories. Data analysis in the study has not been presented at factory level, both to protect factory anonymity and also protect workers from fear of reprisal.

All data collected from individual workers was anonymised. Names and addresses of workers were not recorded by enumerators. Employee lists and contact details provided by factories were restricted to access by the four core research team members, as above. Lists were password protected, retained only until sampling was complete and then permanently deleted. Enumerators were instructed to destroy any paper records of workers names, contact information or other identifying information and to permanently delete any electronic records such as telephone numbers stored in mobile phone contact lists. The final dataset of survey responses is password protected and access is restricted to the four members of the core research team.

Box 1. Informed Consent

Hello, my name is _____. I am helping to conduct research for CARE International.

We are conducting a survey in Cambodia to learn about women's health and life experiences. You have been chosen randomly to participate in the study.

The study aims to understand how women are treated by their colleagues and bosses whilst working in garment factories. In particular, it seeks to understand whether garment factory workers suffer harassment whilst they are working and how this affects their ability to work.

All of your answers will be kept confidential. I will not keep a record of your name and address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or skip any questions that you don't want to answer. There are no right or wrong answers. Some of the topics may be difficult to discuss, but many women have found it useful to find the opportunity to talk.

Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences could be very helpful to women working in the garment industry in Cambodia.

The results will be used to understand the situation in Cambodia as a whole and to make recommendations to factories as to how they can improve the conditions of their workers and increase productivity at the same time.

The interview takes approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Do you have any questions?

Do you agree to be interviewed?

It is very important that we talk in private. Is this a good place to hold the interview, or is there somewhere else that you would like to go?

Box 2. GBV services & information pocket card used for referrals



- Information includes NGO services (social, medical and legal) and the contact number of female support group (Solidarity Association of Beer Workers).
- Information about relevant policy - three articles relevant (Article 231, Threats; Article 239, Rape; Article 246. Indecent acts and indecent assault;
- Government numbers including a hotline, districts numbers and military district numbers.

1.6 Limitations of the study

From a sampling perspective, logistical issues meant that the most comprehensive available employee lists had to be used for sampling purposes. Inside factories, this meant using payroll data, which in many cases excluded factory staff who do not receive a salary, such as owners and potentially senior managers. As a result, they were not interviewed or surveyed, limiting the representative nature of the sample. While foreign staff listed on factory payrolls were included in the randomisation process, their proportionally very small number meant that none were ultimately sampled for interview.

In negotiating access to a representative randomised sample of the garment industry, we agreed with GMAC to examine the cost and prevalence of sexual harassment as it affects the Cambodian garment industry and the worker. National data shows high rates of physical (16.4%), sexual (20.8%) and emotional violence (54.3%) in ever-partnered Cambodian men (Fulu, 2013). However this study did not sex disaggregate perpetration of harassment. Not addressing the sex of perpetrators is a gap in this study and one that should be addressed in future studies.

To balance this we examined the coping strategies workers employed to highlight the agency female workers incorporated into their daily lives, in the absence of comprehensive effective sexual harassment prevention policy, training and effective community policing. The coping strategies also give some small insights into perpetration and expectations of male and female roles. We see this study as a first step to understanding sexual harassment in the Cambodian garment industry. However, in order to fully address and mitigate the issue of violence in the workplace, we would strongly recommend examining perpetration in a follow-on study.

In addition, within our data collection tools, a significant limitation in the study is the absence of a question about rape on the questionnaire. Although sexual violence is captured as it occurs to workers in their community and in the Khmer language (អំពើហិង្សាលើស្ត្រីក្រៅទីកន្លែង) rape was implied, it is not explicitly defined. Additionally, it is absent from questions around sexual harassment in workplaces.

This research also does not estimate the harm to health and other social costs of sexual harassment, including sexual assault and rape, to individuals and to society. In research conducted elsewhere (for example Darko et al., 2015; Vyas, 2013; Duvvury and Carney, 2012), the cost of gender-based violence to women, household economies and society is high. This study does not measure the harms caused by sexual harassment including physical, psychological, emotional and financial costs to women. The harms caused by sexual harassment can include a wide range of damaging affects including poor health, sleep deprivation, anxiety, depression and even suicide. Consequently, the cost of sexual harassment that occurs in the workplace on workers, their households, and on society is likely to be significant and have lasting repercussions.

This research does not examine or estimate the costs of gender-based violence or intimate partner violence experienced by workers, which could also affect a person's presenteeism, absenteeism and turnover in factories and the larger impact of the intangible social costs of violence.

The research findings are additionally likely to underrepresent the true prevalence, impacts and cost of sexual harassment to the garment sector. This is due to a number of factors including the need to produce a statistically significant national figure which required the consent of factories to participate; the need to obtain workers details through factory records; the GMAC member list does not include all of the relatively small number of small scale garment factories usually found in rural areas; inevitable under-reporting associated with quantifying sensitive data and concerns over potential reprisals from their employers which may have led informants to under-report their experience of sexual harassment. The use of alternative methodologies to gather this data, such as qualitative studies using independently sampled workers, would be useful to explore further in similar research in the future and may provide a rich source of comparative data.

It should be noted that this report estimates costs to the garment industry from the perspective of workers and factories themselves and this approach has potential limitations in terms of accuracy. However, these limitations were largely addressed through the data collection methods used. Potential sample bias was avoided by the use of a random, statistically representative, sample which avoided issues of over-reporting associated with some self-reporting methods (Dziech and Hawkins, 2012). The use of a large randomised sample also helped to address potential issues of accuracy (ibid.) associated with generalisations drawn from convenience samples.

It is also important to note that it was outside the scope of this study to examine the potential costs to the garment industry from reputational damage to the industry caused by sexual harassment affecting buyer behaviours. As noted above, a reputation for high standards is vital to the garment industry in Cambodia and any factors which diminish this reputation are likely to have an impact on the competitiveness of the industry as a whole. Whilst this was beyond the remit of this study, it nevertheless remains a key – albeit very difficult to accurately measure – component of factory costs.

An unanticipated finding of this quantitative research was that men experienced sexual harassment. However the sample size of men who participated in the qualitative phase of the research (focus groups and interviews) was insufficient to understand in detail how men and women experience sexual harassment differently, how their coping mechanisms differ, and the drivers of sexual harassment on workplace culture. A 2013 study on why men use violence against women indicates high rates of men participating in emotional violence - 54% of Cambodian men had engaged in at least one act of emotional violence in their lifetime, including insults, belittlement/humiliation, intimidation, and/or threats of harm or hurting others (Fulu et al., 2013). Since studies are designed on the basis of such evidence (i.e., and that sexual harassment is experienced overwhelmingly by women), in the qualitative phase of this study, the research team mainly directed their research with men as witnesses and perpetrators of sexual harassment, rather than as targets. It is recommended that further studies conduct additional in-depth research with men in the garment industry to explore in detail men's experiences of harassment whether as perpetrators, witnesses, or victims; the influences of sexual harassment on influences male culture in the workplace; and how sexual harassment experienced by men may exacerbate women's exposure to workplace harassment.

Appendix 2. Quantitative Questionnaire

CARE International Costing Study on Sexual Harassment in Garment Factories

Quantitative Schedule 1: Measuring the Prevalence and Impact of Harassment

Section A

Individual Consent Form

Hello, my name is _____. I am helping to conduct research for CARE International.

We are conducting a survey in Cambodia to learn about women's health and life experiences. You have been chosen randomly to participate in the study.

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All of your answers will be kept confidential. I will not keep a record of your name and address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or skip any questions that you don't want to answer. There are no right or wrong answers. Some of the topics may be difficult to discuss, but many women have found it useful to find the opportunity to talk.

Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences could be very helpful to women working in the garment industry in Cambodia.

The results will be used to understand the situation in Cambodia as a whole and to make recommendations to factories as to how they can improve the conditions of their workers and increase productivity at the same time.

The interview takes approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Do you have any questions?

Do you agree to be interviewed?

It is very important that we talk in private. Is this a good place to hold the interview, or is there somewhere else that you would like to go?

Section B		Identification
A1. Date of interview		
A2. Name of interviewer		
A3. Location of interview		
Format: city/ district/ area		
A4. Interview number (today)		
Format: two digits (e.g. 01)		

Section C		Respondent Details
<i>B1. Respondent Details</i>	Age	
	Sex	
	What province were you born in?	
	Last grade completed	
<i>B2. Rural Household</i>	Rice land area possessed	
	Livestock possessed (specify types and numbers)	
	Specify other household income sources (excluding rice farming)	
	Number of other migrants	
	Occupation of other migrant member 1	
	Occupation of other migrant member 2	
	Occupation of other migrant member 3	
	Additional migrant members (Please specify number and occupations)	
<i>B3. Remittances</i>	How many members of your rural household currently remit money to the rural household?	
	Do you remit money? If so, to whom?	
	How much do you remit every month?	
	How many times did you remit last year? (e.g. every month = 12 times; every month except one = 11 times; every second month = 6 times etc.)	
	Current factory	
	Location of factory	
	Occupation within factory	
	Basic salary (before overtime)	

<i>B4. Occupational Information</i>	Average salary after overtime	
	Hours worked per day (including overtime)	
	Usual daily start time	
	Days worked per week	

Section D		Data on Occupational Residence
<i>D1. Migratory History</i>	Date of arrival in this job	
	Date of arrival in first garment factory	
	Number of garment factories worked in	
	Reason for leaving factory 1	
	Reason for leaving factory 2	
	Reason for leaving factory 3	
	Reason for leaving factory 4	
	Number of other migrant jobs	
	Reason for leaving job 1	
	Reason for leaving job 2	
	Reason for leaving job 3	
<i>D2. Living Arrangements</i>	Number of other people sharing regular residence during workdays	
	Who do you currently live with? (circle one)	1) Spouse only 2) Spouse and children 3) Spouse, children and other family 4) Other family only 5) Work colleagues only 6) Friends from home village 7) Alone 8) With non-work colleagues not from home village
	D3.1. Do neighbours where you live generally tend to know each other well?	1) Yes 2) No 3) Don't Know 4) No answer
	D3.2. In this neighbourhood where you currently reside, do most people generally trust one another in matters of lending and borrowing	1) Yes 2) No 3) Don't know 4) No answer

D3. Community	things, such as food, money and equipment?	
	D3.3. How big a problem is theft or other small crimes in this community?	1) Very big. It happens all the time. 2) Quite big. You have to be careful 3) Just average 4) Not really a problem
	D3.4. How frequent are fights between residents here?	1) Very frequent 2) Quite frequent 3) Rare 4) They never happen
D4. Community Perception	How safe to you feel when travelling from your home to work and back every day (Answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is "not safe at all" and 5 is "completely safe")	1 2 3 4 5
	How safe do you feel going for a walk outside in the evenings in the area around your home? (Answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is "not safe at all" and 5 is "completely safe")	1 2 3 4 5 N/A (never do this)
	How safe do you feel when you are returning from work late in the evening or at night? (Answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is "not safe at all" and 5 is "completely safe")	1 2 3 4 5 N/A (never do this)
Section E		Social Relationships
E1. If you had a personal issue (such as a dispute with a neighbour or colleague) and needed to talk to somebody, who would you speak to?	1) Don't know anybody 2) Moneylender 3) Friend from home 4) Friend from factory 5) Neighbour 6) Brother or sister 7) Parent 8) Husband or wife 9) Boyfriend or girlfriend 10) Other family	

<p>E2. If you needed to borrow a small amount of money – less than \$100 – who would you ask?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Don't know anybody 2) Moneylender 3) Friend from home 4) Friend from factory 5) Neighbour 6) Brother or sister 7) Parent 8) Husband or wife 9) Boyfriend or girlfriend 10) Other family
<p>E3. Do you ever socialize with friends outside of work? If so, which of these do you do?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Visit each other's rooms 2) Share meals together 3) Make small parties 4) Go to the market together 5) Go for a walk together 6) Visit the riverside 7) Go for day trips together on holidays

Section F	Intimate Relationships
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<p>F1. Which of the following best describes your relationship status?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Single 2) Has a boyfriend or girlfriend 3) Engaged to be married 4) Married 5) Divorced 6) Widowed
<p>F2. If you are single, do you currently have a regular boyfriend or girlfriend?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Yes, currently 2) No, but I have done in the past 3) Never had one 4) Prefer not to answer
<p>F3. If you are divorced why did the relationship end?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Financial problems 2) Violence by partner 3) No children/ son 4) Other. Please specify_____ 5) Prefer not to answer
<p>F4. If you have previously separated from a boyfriend or girlfriend, why did the relationship end?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Boyfriend or girlfriend left 2) Pressure from family 3) Violence by partner 4) Other. Please specify_____ 5) Prefer not to answer

Section G	Workplace Harassment and Discrimination
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	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Yes (Go to G2)
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<p>G1. When you are doing your job, has anybody around you sometimes said or done things that make you feel uncomfortable?</p> <p>For instance, does anybody pay you unwanted complements, or act in an overly physical way?</p>	<p>2) No (Go to G3) 3) Prefer not to answer (Go to G3)</p>	
<p>G2. If yes, roughly how often does this happen?</p> <p>(If more than once, record your answer in days, so if the respondent answers everyday, write "1"; if they answer every week, write "7", if they answer every month, write "30"; if they answer twice a year, write "180" etc.)</p>	<p>1) Only once 2) More than once</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p>	
<p>G3. Have you ever missed any days of work as a result of this behaviour?</p>	<p>1) Yes (Go to G4) 2) No (Go to G5) 3) Prefer not to answer (Go to G5)</p>	
<p>G4. If yes, how many days have you missed in due to this behaviour?</p>	<p>In the past month?</p>	
	<p>In the past 12 months?</p>	
<p>G5. Are any of your friends or colleagues sometimes made to feel uncomfortable by colleagues, line leaders or managers?</p> <p>For instance, do people pay them unwanted complements, or act in an overly physical way with them?</p>	<p>1) Yes, everybody is. 2) Yes, several people experience this. 3) Yes, some people experience this. 4) No, nobody else experiences this.</p>	
<p>G6. Have you ever been the recipient of unwanted physical contact at work?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G7) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G7) Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G8) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G8)</p>	
<p>G7. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days after?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>	

<p>G8. Have items of a sexual nature (pictures, posters, etc.) ever been displayed in your workplace?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G9) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G9)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G10) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G10)</p>
<p>G9. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G10. Have you ever had rumours of a sexual nature spread about you at work?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G11) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G11)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G12) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G12)</p>
<p>G11. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G12. Have inappropriate jokes ever been circulated in person, via text messages, or Facebook in your workplace?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G13) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G13)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G14) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G14)</p>

<p>G13. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “no effect” and 10 indicates “completely unable to work”. 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G14. Have you ever had inappropriate graffiti of a sexual nature written about you at work?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G15) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G15)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G16) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G16)</p>
<p>G15. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “no effect” and 10 indicates “completely unable to work”. 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G16. Have you ever been the recipient of unwanted leers, sexual comments, noises or gestures in your workplace?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G17) 2) Yes, more than once (Go to G17)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident) _____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G18) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G18)</p>
<p>G17. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “no effect” and 10 indicates “completely unable to work”. 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>

<p>G18. Have you ever had someone follow, hassle or harass you to go out with them after work?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G19) 2) Yes, more than once (Go to G19)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G20) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G20)</p>
<p>G19. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “no effect” and 10 indicates “completely unable to work”. 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G20. Have you ever received text messages or emails at work, or from someone at work, which are sexual in nature?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G21) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G21)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G22) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G22)</p>
<p>G21. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “no effect” and 10 indicates “completely unable to work”. 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G22. Have you ever been referred to in sexist or degrading terms by someone else associated with your workplace?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G23) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G23)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G24) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G24)</p>

<p>G23. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G24. Have you ever been asked inappropriate questions of a sexual nature at work?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G25) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G25)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G26) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G26)</p>
<p>G25. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>G26. Have you ever been "rated" based on looks or sexuality in your workplace?</p>	<p>1) Yes, only once (Go to G27) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G27)</p> <p>Frequency (days/ incident)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>3) No, never. (Go to G28) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G28)</p>
<p>G27. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards?</p> <p>(Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8</p>

work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)	9 10
G28. Have you ever been told that to obtain something at work you must engage in an intimate act or intimate relationship?	1) Yes, only once (Go to G29) 2) Yes, more than once: (Go to G29) Frequency (days/ incident) _____ 3) No, never. (Go to G30) 4) Prefer not to answer. (Go to G30)
G29. If yes, how much does this affect your productivity and ability to work in the 28 days afterwards? (Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "no effect" and 10 indicates "completely unable to work". 5 would indicate working at only half your normal rate.)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
G30. Thinking back again, has your experience of any of these behaviours led you to miss any days of work during the past 12months?	Yes No
G31. If so, how many?	
G32. Have any of these behaviours made you think about changing jobs or moving factory?	1) Yes (Go to G21) 2) No (Go to G22) 3) Prefer not to answer (Go to G22)
G33. When you have moved factories in the past, have any of the behaviours listed above been a contributing factor?	1) Yes 2) No 3) Prefer not to answer
G34. In addition, do you feel that your experience of these behaviours generally affect your ability to do your job effectively in the long term?	1) Yes (Go to G21) 2) No (Go to H1) 3) Prefer not to answer (Go to H1)

G23. If yes, by what percentage do you estimate your productivity is reduced in the long term (where 0% would be no effect at all and 100% would mean you were completely unable to work?)	
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Section H	Discrimination and Compulsion
H1. Is your immediate supervisor/ line leader/ boss male or female?	1) Male 2) Female
H2. Do you feel that they treat male and female workers differently?	1) Yes (Go to H3) 2) No (Go to H4)
H3. If so, in what way do they do so?	1) Treat female workers disrespectfully 2) Ignore the opinions of female workers 3) Blame female workers more 4) Punish female workers more regularly or harshly
H4. Do you think men and women are equally likely to get promoted?	1) Yes 2) No
H5. Do you think men and women are paid equally?	1) Yes 2) No
H6. In order to be promoted, does a woman have to be (circle all appropriate)...?	1) More beautiful 2) Related to the owners/ managers of the factory 3) Have a close relationship with the owner/ manager 4) Have a close relationship with the line leader/ supervisor/ boss 5) Have a lot of ability 6) Other. Please specify. _____

Section I	Sexual Harassment in the Community
I1. Outside of your workplace, but in the community where you live whilst working, do you ever experience any of the following?	1) Stared at / Leered at 2) Whistled at 3) Exposed to rude or inappropriate comments 4) Exposed to pornographic pictures 5) Exposed to pornographic jokes 6) Touched inappropriately 7) Been embraced by a co-worker

(circle all appropriate)	8) Been kissed by a co-worker 9) Invited to date with the promise of hiring or promotion 10) Invited to date upon threat of demotion/ loss of income/ firing/ other 11) Sexually assaulted 12) Other. Please specify _____ Any of the above: go to I2 13) None (Go to I4) 14) Prefer not to answer (Go to I4)
I2. If yes, how regular are these experiences?	1) Several times per day 2) Every day 3) Every few days 4) Every week 5) Every month 6) Every few months 7) Very rarely
I3. In general, who tends to behave in this way? (circle all appropriate)	1) Co-workers 2) Neighbours 3) People from home village 4) People from Phnom Penh 5) Family members
I4. Have any of these behaviours led you to change your place of residence (whilst continuing to work in the same factory)?	1) Yes 2) No 3) Prefer not to answer
I5. Have you ever missed any days of work as a result of the behaviours listed above?	1) Yes (Go to I6) 2) No (Go to I7) 3) Prefer not to answer (Go to I7)
I6. If yes, roughly how many in the last 12 months?	
I7. Have any of these behaviours made you think about changing jobs or moving factory?	1) Yes (Go to I8) 2) No (Go to I9) 3) Prefer not to answer (Go to I9)
I8. When you have moved factories in the past, have any of the behaviours listed above been a contributing factor?	1) Yes 2) No 3) Prefer not to answer
I9. When travelling to and from work, do you ever feel vulnerable, scared, or threatened?	1) Yes, regularly (Go to I10) 2) Yes, occasionally (Go to I11) 3) No, never (Go to I11)

<p>I10. If yes, which of the following makes you feel uncomfortable? (circle all appropriate)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Low light/ poor lighting 2) A lack of people around to help you if necessary 3) Being forced into large crowds with members of the opposite sex 4) The need to walk past people who hassle or pester you
<p>I11. When you are travelling to and from work have you ever experienced any of the following?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Stared at / Leered at 2) Whistled at 3) Exposed to rude or inappropriate comments 4) Exposed to pornographic pictures 5) Exposed to pornographic jokes 6) Touched inappropriately 7) Been embraced by a co-worker 8) Been kissed by a co-worker 9) Invited to date with the promise of hiring or promotion 10) Invited to date upon threat of demotion/ loss of income/ firing/ other 11) Sexually assaulted 12) Other. Please specify _____ 13) None 14) Prefer not to answer

Section J	Additional Costing Data
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<p>J1. Roughly how many days of work do you miss every month on average?</p>	
<p>J2. In total, how many days do you think you have missed during the last 12 months?</p>	
<p>J3. Why do you usually take these days off? (circle all appropriate)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Illness 2) Need to go home to help family 3) Feel unhappy at work 4) People at work are making you feel uncomfortable 5) Feel scared to go into work due to boss 6) Feel scared to go into work due to colleagues 7) Feel scared to go into work due to neighbours/ other people in the community
<p>J4. On a scale of one to ten – ten being the maximum and one being the minimum – how productive do you feel that your peers in your factory (i.e. people at the same level as you) are?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">0 1 2 3 4 5 6</p>

<p>So, if you feel that people could not work any better or more quickly you would write ten; if you feel that your colleagues only put in a very small effort, you would select one.</p>	<p>7 8 9 10</p>
<p>J5. If you have written less than ten, which of the following do you think prevents your colleagues from being more productive? (Circle all appropriate)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Working conditions in the factory are not good 2) Pay in the factory is too low 3) Pressure from line leaders 4) Pressure from managers 5) Colleagues of the same sex make them feel uncomfortable with comments or behaviour 6) Colleagues of the opposite sex make them feel uncomfortable with comments or behaviour 7) Line leaders or managers make them feel uncomfortable with comments or behaviour
<p>J6. On a scale of one to ten – ten being the maximum and one being the minimum – how productive do you feel that YOU are when you work in the factory? So, if you feel that YOU could not work any better or more quickly you would write ten; if you feel that YOU do not work very well for some reason, select one.</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p>
<p>J7. If you have written less than ten, which of the following do you think prevents YOU from being more productive? (Circle all appropriate)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Working conditions in the factory are not good 2) Pay in the factory is too low 3) Pressure from line leaders 4) Pressure from managers 5) Colleagues of the same sex make them feel uncomfortable with comments or behaviour 6) Colleagues of the opposite sex make them feel uncomfortable with comments or behaviour 7) Line leaders or managers make them feel uncomfortable with comments or behaviour
<p>Thank participant for their time</p>	<p>COMPLETED? Yes/ No</p>
<p>Provide contact details</p>	<p>COMPLETED? Yes/No</p>
<p>Provide information booklet</p>	<p>COMPLETED? Yes/No</p>

Appendix 3. Qualitative Interview Guides

Schedule for Male Factory Workers (Key Informant Interviews and Focus Groups)

1. Could you please describe the relationship between the male and female workers in your factory?
2. Do male and female workers fulfil the same roles in the factory, or different ones?
3. Do you feel that male and female workers are treated differently in the factory?
4. Do you know what sexual harassment is? Can you describe it?
5. Do you feel like sexual harassment is a problem in your factory?
6. Do you think it causes people to work poorly, take days off, or even leave the factory?
7. Do you feel that the area you live in is a safe place for women to work in general?
8. What dangers or annoyances do women face in the community you live in?
9. In general, why do you think these problems occur? Why does this type of behaviour occur? Who do you feel is responsible for causing and solving these problems? How can we try to reduce these type of incidents?

Schedule for Female Workers (Key Informant Interviews and Focus Groups)

1. How do you find the working conditions in your factory? Are there any bad points?
2. Do you feel that your and other workers are treated with respect by your bosses and line leaders?
3. Could you please describe the relationship between the male and female workers in your factory?
4. Do male and female workers fulfil the same roles in the factory, or different ones?
5. Do you feel that male and female workers are treated differently by bosses and line leaders?
6. Do you feel that male workers have a better chance of getting promoted, or attaining the more desirable jobs in the factory?
7. Do you know what sexual harassment is? Can you describe it?
8. Does this sort of behaviour occur in your factory?
At this point, take some time to explain the more holistic definition of sexual harassment utilised for the purposes of this study.
9. Does this sort of behaviour happen in your factory?
10. Do you feel that it impedes female workers' ability to do their job to the best of their ability?
11. Do you think it causes people to take days off, or even leave the factory?
12. How about outside factory, in the area you live in? Does this sort of behaviour happen much?
13. In general, why do you think these problems occur? Why does this type of behaviour occur? Who do you feel is responsible for causing and solving these problems? How can we try to reduce these type of incidents?

Schedule for Policemen (Key Informant Interviews)

1. In the last few years, there are a lot of women working in factories around here. How has the community changed as a result?
2. How has the type of crime reported changed in recent years?
3. Is there more or less criminal activity nowadays?
4. In general, do you feel that this community is safe for women?
5. What dangers or annoyances do women face in the community you live in?
6. In general, why do you think these problems occur?
7. Do you know what sexual harassment is? Can you describe it?
8. Do you feel that sexual harassment is a problem in this community?
9. Has anybody reported this problem to you?

Schedule for Government Administrators (Key Informant Interviews)

1. How has this community changed since a lot of people began to migrate here?
2. In general, do the migrants and the Phnom Penh people interact, or stay separate?
3. What problems do the migrants here face these days?
4. What problems do women in particular face?
5. Have you heard about any problems related to bad conditions in the factories?
6. In general, do you feel that this community is safe for women?
7. What dangers or annoyances do women face in the community you live in?
8. In general, why do you think these problems occur?
9. Do you know what sexual harassment is? Can you describe it?
10. Do you feel that sexual harassment is a problem in this community?
11. Do you feel that sexual harassment is a problem in the garment factories around here? Have you heard any reports of this?

Factory Line Managers (Key Informant Interviews)

1. Could you please describe the relationship between the male and female workers in your factory?
2. Do male and female workers fulfil the same roles in the factory, or different ones?
3. Do you notice any difference in the way that men and women work in your factory?
4. In general, do men or women tend to get promoted more easily in your factory? Why?
5. Do women ever complain to you about the way their colleagues treat them at work?
6. Do you know what sexual harassment is? Can you describe it?
7. Do you feel like sexual harassment happens in your factory?
8. If so, do you think it causes people to work poorly, take days off, or even leave the factory?
9. What measures has the factory implemented to minimise this sort of behaviour in the workplace?

Local Tradespeople (Key Informant Interviews)

1. How has this community changed since a lot of people began to migrate here?
2. In general, do the migrants and the Phnom Penh people interact, or stay separate?
3. What do people round here think of the garment workers? How do they behave in general?
4. What problems do the migrants here face these days?
5. Have you heard about any problems women face related to bad conditions in the factories?
6. In general, do you feel that this community is safe for women?
7. What dangers or annoyances do women face in the community you live in?
8. Why do you think these problems occur? Should women share the blame?
9. Do you know what sexual harassment is? Can you describe it?
10. Do you feel that sexual harassment is a problem in this community?
11. Do you feel that sexual harassment is a problem in the garment factories around here? Have you heard any reports of this?

Appendix 4. Home province of garment industry workers

Province	Percent of Cambodian total population in province	Percent of garment workers from province		
		All [n = 1281]	Female [n = 1083]	Male [n = 198]
Phnom Penh Municipality	9.9%	2.7%	2%	6.1%
Banteay Meanchey	5.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0%
Battambang	7.6%	1.1%	1.1%	1%
Kampong Cham ^a		9.4%	9.7%	7.6%
Kampong Chhnang	3.5%	3.9%	3.8%	4.5%
Kampong Speu	5.3%	17.8%	18%	16.7%
Kampong Thom	4.7%	3.7%	4.1%	2%
Kampot	4.4%	3%	3%	3.5%
Kandal	9.5%	20.0%	20.0%	19.7%
Koh Kong	1%	0.2%	0.5%	0.2%
Kep	0.3%	0%	0%	0%
Kratie	2.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.5%
Mondulhiri	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%	0%
Oddar Meanchey	1.4%	0%	0.5%	0.1%
Pailin	0.4%	0%	0%	0%
Preah Sihanouk	0.5%	0.2%	0%	0.2%
Preah Vihear	1.3%	0%	0%	0%
Pursat	3%	1.1%	2%	1.2%
Prey Veng	7.1%	15.3%	15.9%	12.1%
Ratanakiri	1.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0%
Siem Reap	6.7%	0.4%	0.3%	1%
Stung Treng	0.8%	0.1%	0.1%	0%
Svay Rieng	3.6%	6.6%	6.6%	7.1%
Takeo	6.3%	12.7%	12.6%	13.6%
Tboung Khmum ^a		0.7%	0.6%	1.5%

^a Kampong Cham province was split in 2008 to form a smaller Kampong Cham province and Tboung Khmum province. In 2008, 12.6 per cent of the total Cambodian population lived in the former, larger Kampong Cham province.

(Source: Percent of Cambodian total population in province from NIS 2008; percent of garment workers from province from Employee Survey 2016.)

Appendix 5: Chi Square Test – Relationship between Migrant & Marital Status and Workplace Harassment

Table 1. Crosstab workplace harassment by migrant status

			Migrant status		Total
			Migrant	Non-migrant	
Experienced workplace harassment	Yes	Count	220	88	308
		Expected Count	196.6	111.4	308.0
		%	32.0%	22.6%	28.6%
	No	Count	468	302	770
		Expected Count	491.4	278.6	770.0
		%	68.0%	77.4%	71.4%
Total	Count	688	390	1078	
	Expected Count	688.0	390.0	1078.0	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 2. Crosstab workplace harassment by marital status

			Marital status					Total
			Unmarried without partner	Unmarried with partner	Married	Divorced or widowed	Unmarried prefer not to say	
Experienced workplace harassment	Yes	Count	75	48	153	20	11	307
		Expected Count	80.2	36.3	156.8	20.3	13.4	307.0
		%	26.7%	37.8%	27.9%	28.2%	23.4%	28.6%
	No	Count	206	79	396	51	36	768
		Expected Count	200.8	90.7	392.2	50.7	33.6	768.0
		%	73.3%	62.2%	72.1%	71.8%	76.6%	71.4%
Total	Count	281	127	549	71	47	1075	
	Expected Count	281.0	127.0	549.0	71.0	47.0	1075.0	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The Chi Square statistic tests the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the two variables i.e. in this case that there is no relationship between migrant/marital status and experience of workplace harassment. It is calculated by working out what the expected cases of harassment for each category of migrant/marital status would be if migrant/marital status had no relation to harassment, based on the underlying distribution of the harassment and marital status data. This is shown in the 'expected count' rows of the above tables (1&2).

(E.g. if we had 100 women in the data set and 20% were married and 20% had experienced harassment and there was no relationship between the two, we would expect a rate of 20% experience among the 20% married women from the total 100. $0.2 * 0.2 * 100 = 5$, so a we would get an expected count in this case of 5.)

The Chi Square compares these 'expected' counts with actual, observed counts from the data. Actual observed counts in the above tables (1&2) are those is the 'observed' column.

As you can see from the above tables, the absolute difference between the 'expected' and 'observed' counts are much higher in the migrant status category than the marital status category, even if the proportionate difference is more similar. The absolute difference is important though, as it is easier to be sure that the difference is real and not just coincident when there are more cases.

(E.g. Like in the example above, if the expected count was 5 and the observed count was 6, the proportionate discrepancy would be 20% but it is hard to tell if that one extra person is a meaningful difference.)

In short, then the test statistic takes into account more than just the proportionate difference in response.

Test results are reproduced below.

Table 3. Chi square workplace harassment by migrant status

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.806^a	1	.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	10.349	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	11.053	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.796	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases ^b	1078				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 111.43.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 4. Chi square workplace harassment by marital status

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.537 ^a	4	.162
Likelihood Ratio	6.285	4	.179
Linear-by-Linear Association	.158	1	.691
N of Valid Cases	1075		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.42.

The figure highlighted in red is called a p -value and is most important to us. It interprets whether the test statistic suggests to reject null hypothesis, as above, and with what level of confidence. Normally we look for a p -value of less than 0.05 or 0.1 to indicate 95% confidence or 90% confidence respectively. Thus in the migrant status table (3), the figure is 0.001, which says we can have 99% confidence in rejecting the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between migrant status and experience of workplace harassment. Thus, there IS a relationship.

The key thing is that statistical testing operates on a falsification principle, which means that the test result only indicates whether the data are robust enough to reject the null hypothesis with a certain degree of confidence. In this case, the null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between the two variables - so here we can only reject the hypothesis that there is no relationship or fail to reject the hypothesis that there is no relationship. We don't prove there is no relationship, we just have to assume there is no relationship because we can't prove otherwise. E.g. For the marital status result (table 4), therefore, the p -value of 0.162 is not significant enough at $p < 0.05$ or $p < 0.01$ to reject the null hypothesis of no relationship. Thus, this doesn't prove that the null hypothesis that there is no relationship is correct, only that we can't reject the null hypothesis with the data we have. I.e. It might still be possible to reject the null hypothesis with more data.

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About CARE and the EMERGE Regional Initiative

CARE is an international humanitarian aid organisation fighting global poverty, with a special focus on working with women and girls to bring lasting change to their communities. CARE's evidence base shows gender transformative change is needed to achieve gender equality and aims for this change to be sustained across three domains: a person's agency, her relations and her structures. By building the agency of people of all genders and life stages, changing relations between them, and transforming structures, they are better able to realise their full potential in their public and private lives and be able to contribute equally to, and benefit from, social, political and economic development.

CARE's regional initiative, Enhancing Marginalised Urban Women's Rights and Gender Equality (EMERGE), is a four-year regional initiative implemented by CARE International in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam and supported by the Australian Government and the Australian public. EMERGE is designed to scale up the Socially Marginalised Women's Portfolios for CARE country offices in Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam in the areas of advocacy, research, monitoring and evaluation, partnerships, and technical support. EMERGE aims to add value to and enhance country programs related to three thematic areas: access to dignified work, protection and actions against gender-based violence and, meaningful participation.

CARE International has been working with Cambodians since 1973, first providing relief and development assistance, with a current focus on empowering marginalised and vulnerable women in the area of humanitarian relief climate change and resilience, women economic empowerment, sexual reproductive health, and gender-based violence.

In order to facilitate women's empowerment among marginalised urban women in Cambodia, CARE International takes a three tiered approach: 1) working closely with government to strengthen duty bearers' ability to effectively implement laws; 2) engaging with employers and the private sector to ensure effective policies and procedures are in place to protect workers and adequate services are available to employees; and 3) training workers so they have the knowledge, confidence and skills to make informed decisions about their lives. For more information about programs supported by CARE in Cambodia, please see www.care-cambodia.org

