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A CRUMP Series Report

Women and Migration in Cambodia

Ministry of Planning

December 2013

FOREWORD

It is my pleasure to provide the foreword to this report, entitled, "Women and Migration in Cambodia: A Cambodia Rural Urban Migration Project Series Report." This report paper is an example of one of the most comprehensive research projects undertaken by the Ministry of Planning. The work was conducted through a remarkable collaboration that involved National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning of the Royal Government of Cambodia, the UNFPA, and University of California, San Francisco, USA. An enormous effort took place to assure that the report was of the high quality. The result, presented in this report, is valuable information that data users within institutions of the Royal Government of Cambodia and Non Government Organisations can use for the formulation of development policies.

In order to achieve this goal, a concern action plan is that there is a need to carefully examine the migration in Cambodia and across Southeast Asia. Increasing numbers of Cambodian women are seeking employment and education opportunities in Phnom Penh, other urban and rural areas, or internationally.

On behalf of the Ministry of Planning, I would like to thank the significant intellectual and technical contribution made by authors from University of California, San Francisco and National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning who produced this report and worked tirelessly and diligently to assure a quality report. I would also like to acknowledge my appreciation of the financial and technical support provided by UNFPA.

I proudly present this report as an example of what can be accomplished through unselfish collaboration, teamwork and a partnership that extends across entities.

Phnom Penh, December 2013

SENIOR MINISTER
MINISTER OF PLANNING

CHHAY THAN

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A CRUMP Series Report

Women and Migration in Cambodia

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Suggested citation:

Kheam, They, and Emily Treleaven. "Women and migration in Cambodia: A further analysis of the Cambodian Rural-Urban Migration Project (CRUMP)." 2013. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: UNFPA and National Institute of Statistics.

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Executive summary

Migration is an important trend in Cambodia and across Southeast Asia. Increasing numbers of Cambodian women are seeking employment and education opportunities in Phnom Penh, other urban and rural areas, or internationally. This report analyzes data from the Cambodian Rural-Urban Migration Project, a nationally representative sample of 3,500 rural households with a migrant, 1,500 rural households without a migrant, and 1,000 recent migrants to Phnom Penh.

The Phnom Penh sample includes 569 women migrants, ranging from age 15 to age 86. These women had an average education of 8.6 years, had resided in Phnom Penh for an average of 2.7 years, and first arrived in Phnom Penh at an average age of 27.2 years. 13.6% of women migrants sampled are illiterate, and 28.4% have low literacy. Women migrants to Phnom Penh were most likely to have arrived from Kandal, Prey Veng, or Kampong Cham.

58.5% of women moved to Phnom Penh to look for work. Women migrants to Phnom Penh work primarily as garment workers (32.2%), small business owners (23.4%), domestic workers (11.1%), and service/entertainment workers (10.3%). Many women reported that they received assistance from a family member or friend to find their first job in the city. On average and across all occupation categories except for garment workers, women migrants make less money than their male counterparts. By occupation, garment workers are most likely to save money each month, though small business owners save more Riel per month on average. Small business owners are most satisfied with their current livelihood, while domestic workers are least satisfied. Women migrants reported that they are in fairly good or good health: 46.1% of women migrants rated their health as good, and 6.5% rated their health as very good.97.2% of female migrants worry about earning enough money in Phnom Penh, yet over half feel optimistic about their future.

The 3,500 rural households with a migrant surveyed in CRUMP reported 2,280 female migrants. Women migrants from these households most commonly migrated to Phnom Penh (58.6%) or internationally (25.9%). Migration to the city was much higher among women than men in comparison to other destination; women migrants were 15% more likely to move to Phnom Penh than male migrants from these rural households. Among women migrating internationally, 69.7% migrated to Thailand, and 23.7% migrated to Malaysia. 52.5% of women migrating to Phnom Penh and 55.2% of women migrating internationally paid all of their own costs of migration; for these destinations, women were less likely than men to pay for all migration costs. Younger and unmarried women migrants visit their families of origin more frequently, although married migrants are more likely to phone regularly.

82.9% of women migrants from a rural household sent a remittance to that household, compared to 75.9% of men. As an occupational category, garment workers remit the greatest amount of money, followed by domestic workers, small business workers, and service/entertainment workers. Rural households with a female migrant were more likely to report that they were helped financially than households with a male migrant, with the exception of international migrants, who were equally helpful.

Logistic regression analysis showed that women migrants to Phnom Penh are 9.43 times more likely to remit money to a parent, other family member, or friend than men migrants (p=.000), controlling for age, education, marital status, and household size, with significant interaction effects between sex and age, and education and marital status. Marital status, increasing years of education, and having children living elsewhere were negatively associated with remitting money, while increasing age and size of household were positively associated with remitting money. Married migrants are more likely to remit if they have more education, while unmarried migrants are more likely to remit if they have a lower education. Women migrants become less likely to remit as age increases, while male migrants become more likely to remit as their age increases.

A second logistic regression identified significant predictors of women migrants remitting money. Age, marital status, education, and having children elsewhere are significantly associated with remitting money. Compared to service/entertainment workers, garment workers are 6.1 times more likely to remit, domestic workers are 5.1 times more likely to remit, and small business owners are 2.4 times more likely to remit. This model included significant interaction effects between education and age, and education and marital status. Younger women migrants and unmarried women migrants are each less likely to remit as they complete more years of education, whereas older women and married women each have a higher likelihood of remitting as they complete more years of education.

CHAPTER ONE

Background

Cambodia has undergone rapid urbanization over the last decade, with high rates of migration to Phnom Penh. The population of Phnom Penh more than doubled as result of migration between the 1998 and 2008 census periods (CRUMP 2012), and the city has experienced an annual growth rate of 4.34% from 2000 to 2010 (World Bank 2012). As of 2008, approximately one in every three residents of Phnom Penh lived in the city for less than five years, reflecting significant in-migration and urbanization of the capital. As urbanization and migration trends are expected to continue (Flower 2012), the Government of Cambodia has sought to better understand these phenomena.

Many of migrants to Phnom Penh are women; the Cambodia Rural-Urban Migration Project (CRUMP) found 56.9% of migrants to the city are female (CRUMP 2012). Garment factories and the tourism industry are growing rapidly in and around Phnom Penh, and employ many new female migrants. However, their experiences in Phnom Penh and away from their households of origin are not well understood.

Women migrants in Cambodia face many challenges as they leave their households of origin and begin life in the city. For example, female garment factory workers may be at higher risk of engaging in sex work and more vulnerable to contracting HIV/AIDS (Nishigaya 2008). Many women factory workers in Phnom Penh have limited access to health care services (Webber et al 2010).

Despite the challenges of transitioning from rural to urban areas, migration can have positive effects on the Cambodian family and for the country's economy (IOM 2005). Remittances provide an important source of income for many rural households of origin in Cambodia. An analysis of the 2007 Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey found that both internal and international remittances, a direct result of migration, reduced the depth of poverty for receiving households (Kimsun 2011). In Cambodia, women migrants often provide remittances for their households of origin (CRUMP 2012).

This report uses data collected as a part of CRUMP, conducted in 2011. Details on the sampling and methodology of CRUMP can be found in Chapter 2.

1,000 recent migrants to Phnom Penh were interviewed as a part of CRUMP, including 569 women and 431 men. The average age of the recent migrants to Phnom Penh was 29.9 years of age, with a standard deviation of 10.7 years. Their ages ranged from 15 to 86. 65.7% of recent migrants to Phnom Penh reported they could read very well; 24.9% could read "only a little," while 9.4% could not read at all.

3,500 rural households with a migrant were interviewed in a national representative sample across Cambodia, as well as 1,500 households without a migrant. Of the households with a migrant, 59.2% reported one migrant, 26.0% reported two migrants, and 14.8% reported having more than two migrants.

This report focuses on the experiences of women migrating in Cambodia, highlighting those working in the garment factories and domestic workers. The aim of the report is to explore how women who migrate in Cambodia transition to their new environment, especially those who migrate to Phnom Penh. The report examines remittance patterns, health indicators, family situations, and other key socio-demographic characteristics of migrant women and the households they leave behind.

CHAPTER TWO

Data Sources and Sample

2.1.   Survey strategy, definitions and questionnaire development

The CRUMP survey was initiated as a result of the extraordinarily rapid migration occurring from rural areas of Cambodia to the city of Phnom Penh over the last decade. With the aim of helping policy-makers better understand the social aspects of this migration, the Ministry of Planning of the country of Cambodia, UNFPA and a foreign expert consultant from the University of California, San Francisco, came together to plan the project. The CRUMP team includes contributions from government, non-government and university entities.

The CRUMP team began by developing a set of questions to be used as a framework for the project, help guide the methodology and assist in focusing the analysis. The following questions were posed:

1. What are the characteristics of urban migrants and their families?
2. What are the characteristics of rural migrant households from where migrants originate?
3. What are the reasons for migration?
4. Who is involved in migration decision-making?
5. What are the destinations of rural to urban migrants?
6. What are the overall benefits and consequences of rural to urban migration for migrants and their families, including impacts on socio-economic conditions?
7. What remittances get sent back to rural areas, do they differ by characteristics and destination of migrants, and how does this impact on the family at origin?
8. Are rural to urban migrants finding employment and if so in what sector?
9. What are the wages of migrants?
10. What types of conditions do migrants face in urban areas?
11. How does distance influence the consequences of migration?
12. What are the psychological and health effects of migration?
13. How does out-migration impact the sending village?
14. Do the implications of migration differ based upon characteristics of migrants, families, the places from which they come and the places to which they go?
15. Is there a difference between permanent and temporary or circular migrants and migration?
16. How does migration impact on migrants' children?
17. What are the implications of rural to urban migration for elderly living in rural areas?

These questions, together with the project aims, were used to provide a framework for survey strategy and questionnaire development. Given these questions, and the resources available for data collection, it was determined that the most efficacious but comprehensive plan involved a multiple directed survey strategy, including a survey of Phnom Penh migrants; a survey of rural households; and, a survey of village chiefs. The survey of the village chiefs is not included in the current paper.

For the current project, the CRUMP team determined it would focus on *recent* migrants, which were defined as individuals that made their last move no more than five years prior to the interview but no less than three months prior to the interview. Further definitions would be determined for each survey.

The population for the Phnom Penh survey included individuals that have permanently moved to the city of Phnom Penh from another province. Given the minimal rates of urban to urban migration in Cambodia, the vast majority of these are rural to urban migrants. The questionnaire for this survey was used to determine the socioeconomic conditions and characteristics of recent migrants to the city as well as place of origin and individually reported motivations for migration. Questionnaires are provided as Appendices. The Phnom Penh questionnaire is Appendix I. The rural household survey is Appendix II.

The population for the rural household survey included both households that have and have not experienced the recent migration of a household member. The definition of migrant in this survey was an individual who was a regular household member that moved outside of the district of origin. This included individuals that came back to the household of origin but moved away again and have been living away for at least three continuous months. Among other things, the questionnaire for this survey was used to determine the motivations for migration, the impact of migration on the sending household, as well as the destination of migrants and differences in destination on migration experiences, remittances and other aspects of migration. The questionnaire for the migrant and non-migrant households were identical except for the absence of questions about the migrant and migration experience in the case of the latter.

Based on available resources and calculations for power and confidence, it was determined that the project would include 1,000 interviews with Phnom Penh migrants, approximately 3,000 interviews with rural households who have a recent migrant, and approximately 1,500 interviews with rural households who do not have a recent migrant. The rural households would come from 375 villages, with 12 interviews per village, approximately eight of which were to be with migrant households and approximately four of which were with non-migrant households. Questionnaires were developed through a collaboration effort across the research team. Many questionnaire items were borrowed from surveys conducted elsewhere in the world, in addition to surveys conducted in Cambodia, such as the Cambodian Socio-Economic Surveys and the 2004 Survey of the Elderly in Cambodia (Knodel, Kim, Zimmer, & Puch, 2005). Items were discussed and altered to suit the Cambodian context and purpose of CRUMP.

Further information about the sampling methods used in the CRUMP survey may be found in the main project report, *Migration in Cambodia: Report of the Cambodian Rural-Urban Migration Project (CRUMP)* (2012).

CHAPTER THREE

Demographic Survey Results, Phnom Penh

The CRUMP survey included interviews with 569 women recently migrated to Phnom Penh, 56.9% of the Phnom Penh sample. Chapter 3 details their motivations for migration, experiences in Phnom Penh, and other characteristics.

The average age of female migrants to Phnom Penh in the CRUMP survey is 30.1 years of age, with a standard deviation of 11.5 years. Women migrants in the sample ranged in age from 15 to 86. 57.9% of these women are literate, while 28.4% reported they could read "only a little," and 13.6% are illiterate. Women first arrived in Phnom Penh at a mean age of 27.2 years. They have resided in Phnom Penh for an average of 2.7 years, with a standard deviation of 1.5 years.

87.2% of women migrants to Phnom Penh ever attended an educational institution. Of those who have attended school, 42% have only a primary education or less. 44.9% reported a complete or incomplete secondary education. 10.1% of women migrants attended university completed graduate studies, or post-secondary vocational training. Among women migrants with a secondary education or less, the mean number of years of formal education is 6.88 years, with a standard deviation of 3.1 years. Table 3-1: shows the educational attainment of women migrants to Phnom Penh from nine provinces. Women from Battambang and Kampot were most likely to hold a university level education, while those from Takeo and Kampong Chhnang were most likely to have completed a secondary education. Women from Svey Rieng were most likely to have received no education; over half of women from Kampot did not complete primary school or had no formal education.

Table 3-1: Educational attainment of women migrants in Phnom Penh by province of origin*

Province	No education	Incomplete primary	Complete primary	Incomplete secondary	Complete secondary	University
Battambang (N=21)	19.1%	33.3%	0.0%	23.8%	9.5%	14.3%
Kampong Cham (N=85)	15.3%	28.2%	11.8%	32.9%	4.7%	7.0%
Kampong Chhnang (N=27)	11.1%	29.6%	18.5%	29.6%	11.1%	0.0%
Kampong Thum (N=33)	6.1%	27.3%	12.1%	51.5%	0.0%	3.0%
Kampot (N=29)	13.8%	44.8%	10.3%	20.7%	0.0%	10.3%
Kandal (N=105)	12.4%	26.7%	7.6%	35.2%	8.6%	9.5%
Prey Veng (N=82)	14.6%	34.2%	12.2%	30.5%	4.9%	3.7%
Svey Rieng (N=37)	27.0%	16.2%	27.0%	18.9%	5.4%	0.0%
Takeo (N=62)	17.7%	24.2%	8.1%	29.0%	14.5%	6.5%

*Including provinces with 20 or more female migrants to Phnom Penh

3.1.   Motivations for Migration

Figure 3-1: compares men's and women's main motivations for migrating to Phnom by age group. Looking for work is the main reason for migration, and it is the highest percentage of reason of migration for both males and females in all age groups except for males ages 15 to 24. Males are more likely than females to migrate to Phnom Penh to transfer for work, though this likelihood decreases with age. Women ages 15 to 24 are most likely to migrate looking for work (67.0%); among women, citing this as the main motivation for migration decreases with age from 65.7% among 25 to 34 year olds to 41.8% among those 35 and older.

Education was reported as the most common reason for migration among young males ages 15 to 24 (46.8%), and in all age groups, men are more likely to migrate for education than women. This difference is greatest among 15 to 24 year olds. Only 16.7% of women in this age range migrated for education-related reasons. That few women are migrating to seek education in comparison to males suggests their opportunities for education are more limited than their male counterparts. Women are more likely to migrate due to marriage than men, especially 25 to 34 year olds, the group most likely to migrate due to marriage (15.7%).
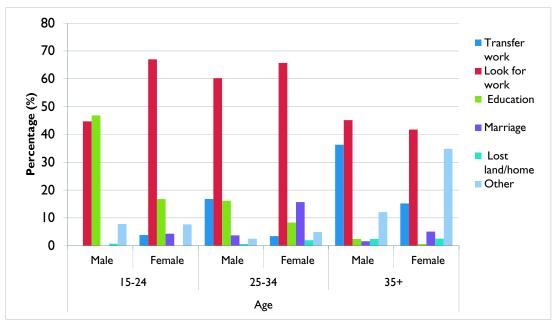
Figure 3-1: Motivations for migration to Phnom Penh by sex and age

3.2.   Living situations

Many migrant women in Phnom Penh live alone or in small households. 75.7% of women migrants to Phnom Penh reported that they live alone; a further 7.3% live with one other person, and 7.6% live with two other people. Only 2.4% of women migrants live with five or more other people. 11.3% of women migrants live with their mother in their household in Phnom Penh, and 6.0% have their father living with them in the same household.

Once arriving in Phnom Penh, many women remain in the same house. 63.2% of women reported that they have lived in the same residence since arriving in Phnom Penh. A further 26.0% have moved one time since arriving. 2.1% of women migrants reported that they have moved four times since their arrival, and just 1.9% of women migrants have moved five or more times within Phnom Penh.

Most women migrants live in houses with modern conveniences. 89.4% reported that their house has electricity. 83.3% of women live in a house with a toilet connected to sewerage, and 12.7% have a toilet connected to a septic tank. 3.8% of women migrants do not have a toilet in their house. 97.5% have access to piped drinking water at their house. 0.6% of women migrants reported that rainwater is thei rmain source of drinking water, and 0.7% rely on spring, river, stream or lake water as a main source of drinking water.

3.3.   Occupations

Figure 3-2: compares occupations of male and female migrants to Phnom Penh, showing the main occupation of recent migrants by sex. The primary occupations of women are garment worker (32.2%), small business owner (23.4%), domestic worker (11.1%), and service/entertainment worker (10.3%). 5.7% of women are engaged in other work. In comparison, male migrants are concentrated in other types of work. The most common professions of male migrants are small skilled/unskilled labor (20.0%), business owner (12.6%), driver (12.4%), and construction (9.1%). 10.6% of men are engaged in other types of work. Overall, women are concentrated in fewer professions than men, suggesting that female migrants have fewer types of job opportunities upon arrival in Phnom Penh.
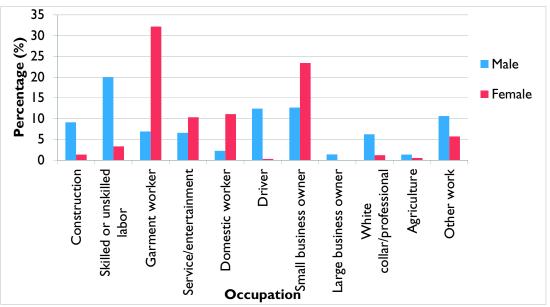
Figure 3-2: Occupations of male and female migrants to Phnom Penh

Figure 3-3: shows average income by occupation and sex. Across all categories except for garment workers and unskilled labour, men migrants make more money on average than women migrants. The greatest disparities between men and women by occupation respectively are among drivers, white-collar workers, and small business owners

Women migrants working as small business owners have the highest monthly average salary, 603,947 Riel, followed by white-collar workers who earn an average of 551,952 Riel per month. Garment workers earn an average of 382,735 Riel per month. Drivers and domestic workers earn the lowest average salaries of female migrants. Domestic workers earn an average of 188,335 Riel per month.
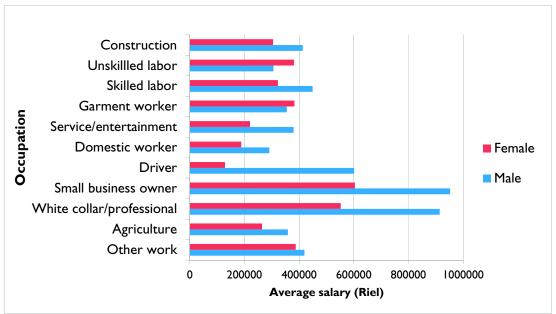
Figure 3-3: Average salary among male and female migrants to Phnom Penh by sex

Women and men migrants to Phnom Penh show similar patterns in saving money each month. 37.8% of women migrants saved money each month, as did 37.1% of male migrants. Among those who saved, migrants saved an average of 196,050 Riel per month. Men were significantly likely to save more per month than women (p=.012); they saved an average of 225,174 Riel per month compared to an average of 174,934 Riel per month among women migrants. Married women are more likely to save than single, divorced, or unmarried women. 42.9% of married women save money each month, while 34.2% of single women, 30.0% of divorced women, and 15.6% of widowed women do.

Among women migrants, garment workers are the most likely to save money each month. 62.5% of garment workers reported saving money on a monthly basis. In comparison, 23.0% of service/entertainment workers saved monthly, while 43.9% of domestic workers did. 43.2% of female working as small business owners saved each month. Though they were less likely to save each month than garment workers, small business owners saved the most Riel per month on average, with a reported mean savings of 251,062 Riel per month. Garment workers who saved monthly saved on average 150,328 Riel per month. Service/entertainment workers saved slightly more than domestic worker; service/entertainment workers save an average of 121,931 Riel monthly as compared to a mean of 114,593 Riel monthly a mong domestic workers.

When asked about their satisfaction with their current livelihood, female migrants to Phnom Penh varied significantly by their occupations. Domestic workers are the most likely to be unsatisfied with their job, with over half reporting that they are somewhat or very unsatisfied. 13.7% of small business owners reported being very unsatisfied. Small business workers are the most satisfied overall; 22.9% are somewhat satisfied, while 3.1% are very satisfied. Of all professions, garment workers are the most likely to be very satisfied, though almost half of garment workers are neutral and 35.6% are somewhat or very unsatisfied.

Table 3-2: Women migrants' satisfaction with current livelihood in Phnom Penh by occupation (N=410)*

Occupation	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Neutral	Somewhat unsatisfied	Very unsatisfied
Garment worker	3.7%	11.8%	48.8%	28.2%	7.4%
Service/entertainment worker	1.6%	16.3%	52.4%	26.4%	3.3%
Domestic worker	2.1%	2.8%	39.8%	48.5%	6.9%
Small business owner	3.1%	22.9%	39.2%	21.1%	13.7%
Other work	1.7%	19.5%	52.9%	26.0%	0.0%

*N are un-weighted; results are weighted.

3.4.   Garment Workers

Among 569 women migrants to Phnom Penh, 140 work in garment factories (32.2%). As garment factories serve as a main source of employment for recent migrants and are a key driver of the economy in Phnom Penh, these women are especially of interest. The average age of garment workers in Phnom Penh in the CRUMP survey is 25.4 years of age, with a standard deviation of 5.7 years, younger than the average among all female migrants. 23.5% of these workers migrated from Prey Veng, 18.2% from Kampong Cham, and 12.4% from Takeo. 90.1% of female migrant garment workers have ever attended an education institution. Among those who have, 27.9% have not completed primary education, while 16.1% have completed primary education. 45.2% of these women have an incomplete secondary education, and 8.7% have completed secondary education. 90.3% of female garment workers were employed wihtin their first month of arriving in Phnom Penh.

83.8% of female garment workers report working overtime in the last month, and 92.5% of these women were paid for doing so. On average, they work 36.1 hours of overtime per month, with a standard deviation of 18.3 hours. This translates to a 48 hour workweek for the average female garment worker. Only 3.6% of garment workers reported a second job in addition to work in the garment factory.

65.7% of garment workers arrived alone in Phnom Penh. Of the 34.3% of those that traveled with others, 41.1% traveled with friends, 32.5% with relatives, and the remaining 26.4% with both. Almost half (49.8%) of female migrant garment workers already knew someone in Phnom Penh before their arrival. These family and friends are an important source to newly arrived garment workers: among women migrants who already knew someone in the city, 76.2% of these connections in Phnom Penh helped the newly arrived woman to find a place to live, and 74.0% of them helped the newly arrived woman to find a job, as shown below in Figure 3-4: Among all women, 49.3% received help in finding their first job in Phnom Penh.
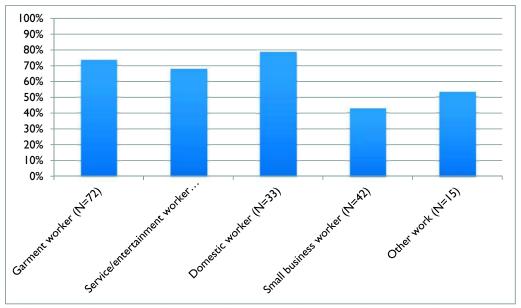
Figure 3-4: Percent of women migrants to Phnom Penh receiving assistance from a friend or family member to find her first job

Garment workers, service/entertainment workers, and domestic workers were more likely than women migrants in other professions to have received help from a friend or family member in getting their first job. Despite many garment workers receiving help from a family member or friend upon arriving to the city, only 22.2% of female garment workers reported that they in turn helped a friend or family member newly arrived to Phnom Penh.

3.5. Women Migrants' Health Care

Health care treatment or seeking is one of the major need for all population. Women's health care sources is showed in below in Figure 3-4: Seventy six percent of women bought medicine from pharmacy. Less than 10 percent of women have received health care treatment at public health care facilities; 8.6% received health care from a hospital and 7.0% percent received health care from a community health center, health post and/or health clinic. 5.7% of them received health care treatment from private doctor.
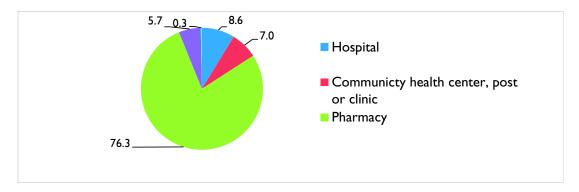
Figure 3-5: Sources of health care for female migrants in Phnom Penh (N=569)

Among female migrants to Phnom Penh, 6.1% reported having some type of health insurance. Of these women, 3.9% hold private insurance, and work is main source of insurance, covering

96.2% (N=26). 15.9% of women reported that they have access to a health care program through their work. Of those with access to a health care program through work, 41.5% are garment workers, 20.3% work in an office, 14.3% own a small business, and 11.4% work in the service/entertainment industries (N=41).

Women migrants reported that they are in fairly good or good health. A large majority of female migrants to Phnom Penh self-rated their health as fair or better. 42.3% of women rated their health as fair, while 46.1% rated their health as good. 6.5% rated their health as very good. 4.5% of women rated their health as poor, while only 0.7% rated their health as very poor.

Women's mental health is also an important indicator to explore among migrants. The CRUMP survey asked recent migrants about several mental health indicators, as shown below in Table 3-3:

Table 3-3: Mental health indicators among female migrants, by age (N=569)

		All ages	Percent within age group		
		Female	15-24	25-34	35+
When I moved to Phnom Penh the first time, it was difficult leaving behind family	No	18.6	14.0	17.0	28.4
	Yes	80.0	84.2	82.7	69.6
When I moved to Phnom Penh the first time, it was difficult making new friends.	No	26.6	27.1	22.8	31.5
	Yes	72.1	72.1	75.9	66.6
I worry about earning enough money.	No	3.6	3.1	2.6	5.8
	Yes	95.7	96.1	96.8	93.4
I worry about the health of my parents.	No	10.4	4.7	4.1	28.4
	Yes	83.7	92.2	92.9	56.6
I feel optimistic about my future.	No	19.0	19.5	14.3	25.1
	Yes	67.0	70.4	73.2	52.7
I have been less healthy than usual since moving to Phnom Penh	No	50.7	54.0	54.1	40.4
	Yes	39.7	37.3	36.6	48.1
In the last month, I have felt very lonely	No	43.6	44.5	45.0	40.2
	Yes	39.7	41.1	41.2	35.3
In the last month, I have felt very happy	No	32.1	31.2	32.8	32.3
	Yes	50.2	57.9	48.7	40.2

80% of all female migrants reported that it was difficult to leave behind family when they first migrated to Phnom Penh, and almost as many reported challenges making new friends in Phnom Penh. Leaving family was harder for younger migrants, while making friends was most difficult for women migrants ages 25 to 34. 83.7% of women migrants reported worrying about their parents' health; far more women under 35 worry about their parents' health than those over 35, which may reflect that the parents of older migrants are no longer alive.
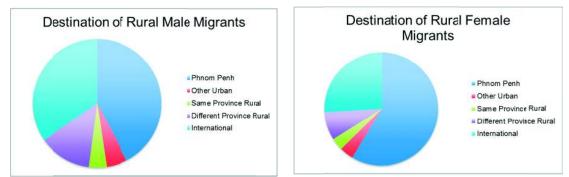
Almost all female migrants, 97.2%, worry about earning enough money in Phnom Penh. However, over half of female migrants are optimistic about their future. Younger migrants are much more likely to be optimistic than older migrants: while 70.4% of migrants ages 15 to 24 are optimistic and73.2% of women 25 to 34 are, only 52.7% of women 35 and older felt optimistic.

CHAPTER FOUR

Demographic Survey Results, Rural Survey

Interviews with households in rural areas who have a migrant family member provide a more expansive perspective on women and migration in Cambodia, as this survey captures information about women who have migrated both to Phnom Penh and other internal and international destinations.

Phnom Penh and foreign countries are the two major destinations of rural migrants for both males and females. However, while both men and women were most likely to migrate to Phnom Penh, migration to the city was much higher among women than men in comparison to other destinations: migration to Phnom Penh among women is greater than men by15 percentage points. Eight percent more males migrated abroad than females and about five percent more males than females migrated to rural in different provinces. This type of migration is likely more common among men because of the job opportunities available in rural areas, such as seasonal agricultural work and others industries, including rubber plantation farms.

Figures 4-1: and 4-2: Destinations of male and female migrants originating from rural households

4.1.   International Migration

As shown in Figures 4-1: and 4-2: above, the second most frequent destination of rural migrants is foreign countries. Thailand is the main destination for rural migrants followed by Malaysia. Of women migrants who left for another country, 69.7% of women migrated to Thailand. 23.7% of women migrated to Malaysia. A higher overall percentage of male migrants traveled to Thailand than females, while migration to Malaysia is almost three times higher than men. In addition, the percentage of female migrants going to other countries such as Singapore and Korea is higher than male migrants. 3.8% of women migrants traveled to South Korea. Less than 3% of men traveled to countries other than Thailand and Malaysia. Migration to these other countries is likely higher among women because they find work as domestic workers in other countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, and South Korea. Opportunities for male migrants are more limited in these destinations.

4.2.   Internal Migration and the Urbanization of Phnom Penh

Among those migrating internally in Cambodia, most people have migrated from low economic activities to high economic activities places. Phnom Penh is by far the most common destination for women migrants moving within Cambodia; among rural households with a female migrant, 79% reported that the migrant had moved to Phnom Penh, 14% more than male migrants. Phnom Penh is the most attractive area and it is many job opportunities, studies etc. for most population especially young population.

Among the 21% women not migrating to Phnom Penh, the most common destination was to migrate to another rural area in the same province.

Below, Table 4-1: shows socio-demographic characteristics of male and female migrants by destination. The age distributions of women migrants are fairly similar among each destination; the majority of women migrants are ages 15 to 29. For each destination, women migrants are most commonly ages 20 to 24. Less than 4% of women migrants to Phnom Penh, other urban areas, and within-province rural areas are age 40 or older. Most women migrants are single; single women have the highest rate of migration to both internal and international destinations. Currently married women are most likely to migrate internationally, followed by other rural provinces and other urban areas. Separated, divorced, and widowed women comprise a small percentage of women migrating.

Most migrants have a primary-level education, having completed one to six years of formal education. The greatest percentage of women migrants with no education migrated internationally. Women migrants with a secondary or post-secondary education were most like to migrate to a rural area within the same province or to another urban area. The majority of women migrants in each destination are currently employed. Women migrating internationally are most likely to be employed, while women migrating to other urban areas are least likely to be employed, though 71.9% of women migrants to other urban areas reported a current job.

Table 4-1: Selected characteristics of women migrants from rural households by destination of migration

Age	Phnom Penh	Other Urban	Same Province Rural	Other Province Rural	International
15-19	26.4%	25.0%	28.6%	24.2%	23.7%
20-24	39.5%	34.4%	42.9%	30.3%	31.3%
25-29	20.7%	25.0%	10.7%	18.2%	19.4%
30-34	8.4%	3.1%	7.1%	9.1%	11.8%
35-39	3.4%	9.4%	7.1%	7.6%	5.2%
40-44	1.1%	3.1%	0.0%	4.5%	4.3%
45-49	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	2.4%
50+	0.2%	0.0%	3.6%	3.0%	1.9%
Marital status					
Never married	76.2%	63.6%	67.9%	47.0%	52.4%
Currently married	19.8%	33.3%	28.6%	48.5%	38.1%
Separated/Divorced	1.3%	0.0%	3.6%	1.5%	3.8%
Widowed	2.7%	3.0%	0.0%	3.0%	5.7%
Education					
No education	3.6%	6.1%	7.1%	3.0%	11.4%
1-6	43.8%	33.3%	53.6%	52.3%	55.9%
7-9	34.9%	27.3%	10.7%	29.2%	25.6%
10-12	8.2%	18.2%	14.3%	7.7%	2.8%
Higher	9.5%	15.2%	14.3%	3.1%	4.3%
Current activity					
Employed	88.8%	71.9%	77.8%	89.2%	96.7%
Unemployed but previously employed	8.0%	18.8%	14.8%	4.6%	0.5%
Never employed	3.2%	9.4%	7.4%	6.2%	2.9%

Similar to women migrants in Phnom Penh, the majority of women are migrating from rural households for job-related reasons, as shown in Table 4-1: Women migrating to other countries are most likely to have a job, followed by women migrating to rural areas in different provinces and women migrating to Phnom Penh.

Women are more likely to migrate to Phnom Penh seeking work than men, as well as to migrate to a rural area within their same province seeking work. However, men are more likely than women to migrate for work to other urban areas, other rural provinces, and internationally. While men are far more likely than women to migrate to Phnom Penh for education, women are more likely to seek education opportunities in other urban areas than men. This suggests that while educational opportunities may be limited for women in Phnom Penh, this may not be the case in other cities. Interestingly, men are more likely than women to migrate within the same rural province for marriage, while women are more likely than men to migrate to a different rural province. Women are also more likely to migrate to Phnom Penh, other urban areas, and internationally for marriage.

Table 4-2: Main destination for migration by sex and by reason for migration

	Phnom Penh		Other Urban		Same Province Rural		Different Province Rural		International	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Work-related	78.4%	89.2%	73.2%	66.7%	68.6%	74.1%	79.0%	72.3%	98.2%	94.3%
Education	19.8%	8.2%	14.6%	18.2%	20.0%	18.5%	6.7%	4.6%	1.1%	0.5%
Marriage	1.2%	1.5%	4.9%	6.1%	8.6%	3.7%	8.6%	20.0%	0.4%	4.3%
Other	0.6%	1.1%	7.3%	9.1%	2.9%	3.7%	5.7%	3.1%	0.4%	0.9%

The family plays an important role in deciding to migrate. In the CRUMP survey, between 76.1% and 89.3% of women migrants were encouraged by their parents to migrate. By destination, the greatest percent of women received encouragement to migrate within the same rural province, while the lowest percent received encouragement to migrate internationally. For all destinations, women received more encouragement from family members to migrate than men.

4.3.   Costs of Migration

For all destinations, over 50% of women migrants paid all costs associated with their migration, as shown in Figure 4-3: Among migrants to Phnom Penh, international destinations, and other rural provinces, men were more likely than women to pay all of their own migration costs. Women migrating to other urban areas and the same rural province were more likely to pay for all of their own migration costs than men migrating to these areas.

Women migrating internationally were most likely to have all of their migration costs paid for; 34.3% of these women reported that others covered all costs. 32.1% of women migrating to Phnom Penh had all of their migration costs paid for by someone else. Women migrating to other urban areas and other rural provinces were least likely to have someone else pay for their migration costs.
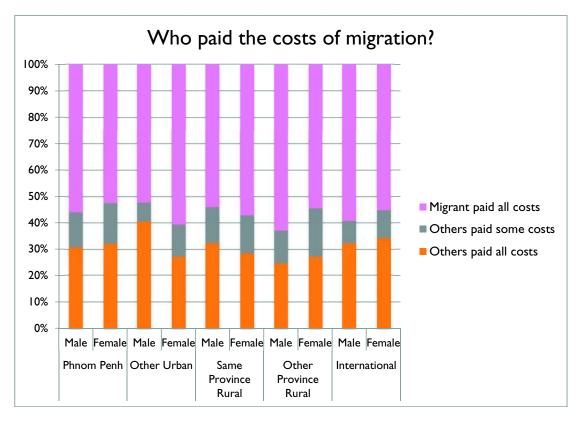
Figure 4-3: Costs of migration among rural households

CHAPTER FIVE

Remittances

Both female and male migrants maintain contact with their families of origin; many phone or visit regularly, and remittances provide an important support for families. Overall, women migrants are more likely to remit money to family members in their village of origin, and are more likely to remit a greater proportion of their salaries then male migrants (CRUMP 2012).

Table 5-1: shows how male and female migrants stay in contact with their families. The table also disaggregates these characteristics by age, marital status, occupation, number of siblings, and the status of their children.

Table 5-1: Contact with rural household of origin by sex

Age	Visit regularly		Phone regularly	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-24	58.0%	61.3%	75.9%	69.6%
25-34	60.9%	49.1%	76.7%	76.6%
35+	69.2%	36.2%	78.8%	68.1%
Marital status				
Married	62.5%	42.4%	75.7%	75.6%
Unmarried	60.7%	62.7%	78.4%	69.2%
Occupation/main activity				
Construction laborer	53.3%	0.0%	73.3%	50.0%
Other laborer	56.0%	57.1%	60.0%	71.4%
Garment worker	78.9%	60.2%	94.7%	78.4%
Service/entertainment worker	57.1%	67.9%	28.6%	51.9%
Domestic worker	0.0%	50.0%	33.3%	38.5%
Driver	51.6%	100.0%	71.9%	100.0%
Small business owner	53.6%	26.6%	71.4%	78.1%
Professional/White collar	84.2%	33.3%	100.0%	100.0%
Other work	65.7%	45.2%	74.3%	71.9%
Going to school	59.6%	57.9%	87.7%	78.4%
Other main activity	63.6%	55.9%	72.7%	70.3%
Status of children				
No children	61.0%	59.4%	77.8%	70.1%
Only children over 15	69.2%	29.4%	84.6%	58.8%
All children under 15 living with migrant	61.7%	41.0%	72.3%	74.8%
One or more child under 15 living elsewhere	61.1%	63.0%	83.3%	89.3%

Many migrants stay in contact with family members via the phone; men are slightly more likely to phone family members regularly than women. While older men are more likely to visit regularly than younger men, for women, the trend is different: more younger female migrants, 61.3% of female migrants 15-24, visit regularly. Only 36.2% of female migrants over age 35 reported that they visit family members regularly. Unmarried women are more likely to visit regularly than married women, with only 42.4% of married female migrants visiting regularly as compared to 62.7% of unmarried female migrants. However, 5.6% more married female migrants phoned family members regularly than unmarried female migrants. Garment workers

are more likely to phone family members regularly than women in other professions, including others

82.9% of women sent a remittance to a rural household of origin, compared to 75.9% of men migrating. In addition to sending more money, women migrants have different patterns of sending remittances to their family members in their village of origin as compared to male migrants, shown in Table 5-2: The following table shows whether or not female and male migrants provide financial support for family members, and if so, whether that financial support is regular.

Table 5-2: Remittances sent to rural household of origin by sex

Age	Gave any money		Gave money regularly	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
15-24	68.4%	30.0%	11.4%	25.0%
25-34	38.3%	37.7%	13.2%	17.9%
35+	7.7%	53.7%	19.6%	11.9%
Marital status				
Married	22.4%	37.1%	16.1%	12.4%
Unmarried	65.0%	29.7%	11.9%	28.1%
Occupation/main activity				
Construction laborer	66.7%	50.0%	25.0%	0.0%
Other laborer	64.0%	71.4%	24.0%	28.6%
Garment worker	100.0%	95.1%	10.5%	33.0%
Service/entertainment worker	83.3%	88.9%	33.3%	29.6%
Domestic worker	100.0%	100.0%	33.3%	50.0%
Driver	90.6%	100.0%	27.3%	0.0%
Small business owner	50.0%	58.5%	0.0%	9.2%
Professional/White collar	94.7%	75.0%	33.3%	25.0%
Other work	77.1%	51.6%	11.4%	29.0%
Going to school	0.0%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Other main activity	50.0%	58.4%	13.6%	11.8%
Status of children				
No children	38.2%	69.7%	11.9%	24.2%
Only children over 15	100.0%	41.2%	7.7%	5.9%
All children under 15 living with migrant	79.8%	61.9%	14.0%	12.2%
One or more child under 15 living elsewhere	72.2%	78.6%	27.8%	29.6%

Remittance patterns for men and women are different by age. Among women migrants, more older women sent remittances than younger women. 53.7% of women aged 35 and older sent remittances compared to 37.7% of women 25 to 34 and 30.0% of women under 25. This pattern contrasts that of male migrants, who had a much greater tendency to send remittances at younger ages. 68.4% of male migrants ages 15 to 24 sent a remittance, while only 7.7% of male migrants ages 35 and older sent a remittance to family members in their village of origin. Marital status also affected men's and women's remittance patterns differently. More married women sent any money than unmarried women, but more unmarried women sent money regularly than married women. Male migrants exhibited an opposite pattern, with far more unmarried male migrants giving any money, 65.0% versus 22.4%. Also in contrast to women migrants, more married male migrants gave money regularly than unmarried male migrants.

Male and female migrants did not greatly vary in their likelihood of sending any money by profession, with the exception of professional/white collar workers and those in other professions; for both categories, male migrants were more likely to send any money. This trend is similar when examining migrants who regularly sent money to family members, with the exception of garment workers, domestic workers, and other workers. For these three categories, female migrants were more likely to send regular remittances.

Finally, women migrants with no children were more likely than male migrants with no children to send any money and to send money regularly. However, among migrants with only children over age 15, men were more likely to send any money, and slightly more likely to send it regularly. Women and men migrants with children under 15 living elsewhere were approximately equally likely to send any money and send it regularly, though among migrants with all children under 15 living with them, men were more likely to remit any money than women.
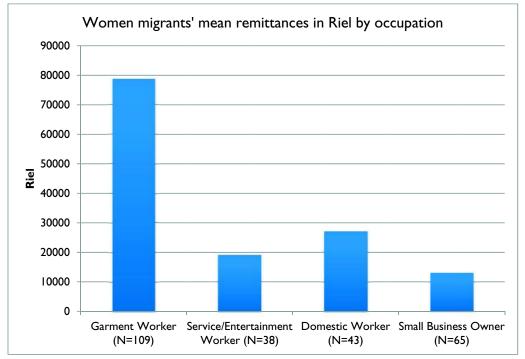

Figure 5-1: Mean remittances in Riel among women migrants living in Phnom Penh by occupation (N=255)

As an occupational category, garment workers remit the greatest amount of money per month, an average of 78,693 Riel, more than double the average remittance of any other women's occupational category. Domestic workers remit an average of 27,050 Riel per month. Service and entertainment workers remit an average of 19,048 Riel per month, while small business owners remit the least average amount per month, 13,093 Riel.

78.8% of female garment workers sent money in the last year to a parent. Of these women, 28.7% reported that they gave money regularly, while 71.3% varied in how frequently they remitted money. Among female garment workers who send money on a regularly basis, 91.4% do so on a monthly basis. 48.5% send the same amount of money each time, while 51.5% vary in how much they send at these regular intervals. Of twenty female garment workers who give the same amount of money at regular intervals, the average amount remitted is 119982Riel, with a standard deviation of 111275Riel. Among all female garment workers, only 6.2% have given money or goods to family or friends other than a parent in the last year. 4.4% reported

giving goods or money to one non-parent relative or friend, and 1.8% gave goods or money to two non-parent relatives or friends.

Giving clothes and food to parents is common among female garment workers. In the past year, 66.6% gave clothes and 76.3% gave food. However, giving electronics and vehicles to parents is rare. Of 108 garment workers, 10.7% gave a household item such as a radio or television, 0.4% gave an electronic such as a refrigerator, and 5.5% gave a car or truck.

Fewer domestic workers sent money to a parent; 69.4% remitted to a parent in the last year. However, more domestic workers remitted money on a regular basis than garment workers: 39.9% remitted to a parent on a regular basis. 90.9% of these domestic workers sent money on monthly basis. The average remittance among domestic workers who do send money is 122885Riel, with a standard deviation of 54399Riel. Similar to garment workers, only 4.8% of these domestic workers have sent goods or money to a friend or relative other than their parents.

Giving goods and food to parents is less common among domestic workers than garment workers, reflecting their lower average wages. Domestic workers are most likely to give clothes to a parent: 29.8% reported giving clothes in the last year. 15.1% gave a parent food in the last year. Only 1.2% gave a parent a household item such as a radio or television, and no domestic workers reported giving a parent a car or electrical appliance, such as a refrigerator.

Women exhibit different remittance patterns than men depending on their destination, shown in Graph 5-2. This graph shows the amount remitted by male and female migrants who migrated to Phnom Penh, another urban center in Cambodia, to a rural area within the same province, to a rural area in another province, and those who migrated internationally.
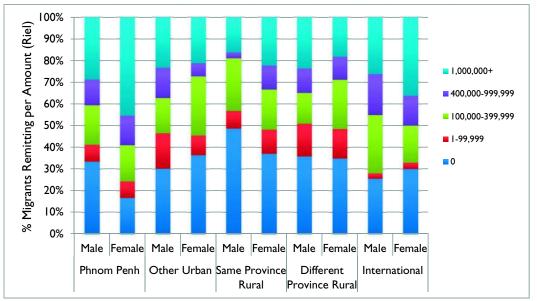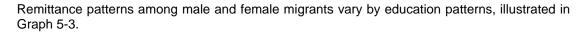

Figure 5-2: Remittance amounts by destination among male versus female migrants

The greatest difference is between male and female migrants in Phnom Penh; female migrants remitted greater sums of money than their male counterparts. Among those who migrated to Phnom Penh, 45.4% of women remitted over one million **riels**, while only 28.7% of male migrants remitted this amount. In this same group, 33.4% of male migrants sent no money, compared to 16.7% of their female counterparts. A similar pattern exists among male and female migrants moving to a rural area within the same province: women were more likely to give any money, and were more likely to remit over a million riels.

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Among migrants who moved to other urban areas or internationally, male migrants were more likely than female migrants to give any money. However, women migrating internationally were more likely to remit over a million riels than their male counterparts. Men and women migrating to a different rural province were approximately equally likely to remit no money, though men were slightly more likely to remit over a million riels.
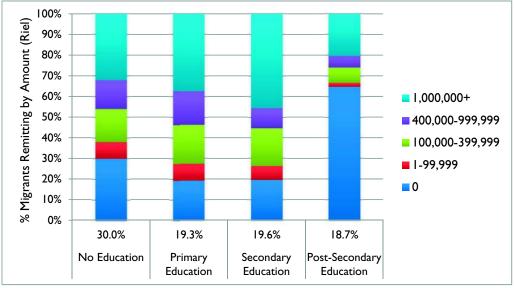
Remittance patterns among male and female migrants vary by education patterns, illustrated in Graph 5-3.

Figure 5-3: Remittance amount in Riel by years of education among women migrants to Phnom Penh

Women were more likely to remit over one million riels in all categories of educational attainment than men, with the greatest difference among migrants with no education. 16.6% more female migrants with no education gave over a million riels than male migrants; however, women migrants with no education were only 5.9% more likely to give any money. Migrants with a primary education or a secondary education also show similar trends, with females more likely to give over a million riels, and slightly more likely to give any remittance. Both male and female migrants with a post-secondary education were far less likely to send a remittance than migrants in any other educational category. 64.8% of women migrants with a post-secondary education remitted no money. This may be because women who are able to seek a post-secondary education in Cambodia are more likely to come from wealthier families that do not rely on remittances.

Rural households with a female migrant were more likely to report that they were helped financially than households with a male migrant, with the exception of international migrants, who were equally helpful. Households with a female migrant who went to Phnom Penh, another urban area, or a rural area in the same province were more likely to report that their migrant provided a lot of financial help as compared to households with a male migrant in these destinations.

Finally, women's remittance patterns very greatly by the status of their children, shown in Graph 5-4. Women with all or some of their children living with them remit, on average, similar amounts as with no children, around 25,000 Riel per month. Women with children living both with them and elsewhere remitted on average 2,000 Riel less than women with no children, while women whose children lived with them remitted approximately 2,000 Riel more than women with no

children. Compared to these groups, women whose children live elsewhere, often with grandparents or other family members in the rural village of origin, remitted an average of 116,690 Riel. This suggests that supporting their children is a main cause and goal of women's remittances in Cambodia.
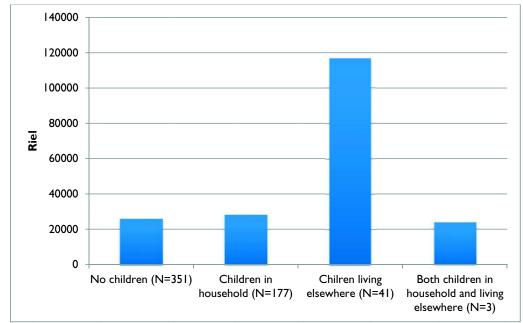

Figure 5-4: Average remittance in Riel of women migrants to Phnom Penh by location of their children

Women migrants working in certain professions are significantly more likely to have their children live with them in Phnom Penh as opposed to leaving them behind in the village of origin. Of all women migrants with children in Phnom Penh, small business owners are most likely to take their children to live with them in Phnom Penh; 76.3% of these women have their child or children living in the same residence as them. Garment workers are also likely to have their children live with them in Phnom Penh, with 63.2% of garment workers living with their children. Service/entertainment workers and domestic workers are far less likely to live with their children; only 37.5% and 20.0% of women in these respective professions live with their child in Phnom Penh.
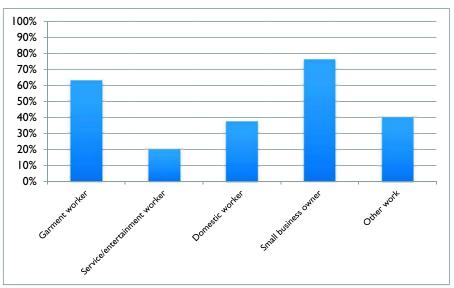
Figure 5-4: Percent of Phnom Penh women migrants with children whose children live with them by occupation (N=247).

Among women garment workers in Phnom Penh who remitted any money, these women remitted an average of 17.1% of their salary each month, the highest percentage of their salary among these professions. Among ever remitting service/entertainment workers, service/entertainment workers remitted an average of 5.7% of their monthly salary. Of remitting domestic workers, domestic workers remitted an average of 13.4% of their monthly salary. Finally, remitting small business owners on average remitted 2.0% of their monthly salary, the lowest percent of the four professions.

Likelihood of remittance
Data from the CRUMP survey was used to predict the likelihood of women migrants to Phnom Penh remitting money on any basis, regular or intermittently, to a parent or other family member or friend as compared to male migrants. A second regression analysis examines predictive factors of women migrants remitting money, including by occupation, on a regular or intermittent basis.

The first regression analyzes the likelihood of migrants to Phnom Penh remitting any money to a parent or anyone else, and includes three nested models. Multivariate results for the three models are presented in Table 5-3: Model 1 shows the effect of being male or female on the likelihood of remitting. Model 2 adjusts for the effects of individual- and household-level characteristics on the likelihood of remitting. Factors entered in this model include age, marital status, years of education, size of household, and whether the migrant has children under age 15 living elsewhere. Interaction effects between sex, age, marital status, education, and household size were tested. Model 3 enters two significant interaction effects between sex and age and between marital status and education. Each model was statistically significant, and the addition of control variables shows improvement of fit.

Table 5-3: Logistic regression results of individual and household characteristics on likelihood of sending remittances among male and female migrants to Phnom Penh.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Unadjusted Model	Individual & household characteristics	Individual & household characteristics with interaction effects
	OR	OR	OR
Sex	1.445**	1.228	9.434***
Marital status		1.920***	0.152***
Size of household		1.210**	1.178*
Age		0.977**	1.083**
Years of education		0.911***	0.812***
Having children elsewhere		0.313**	0.310*
Sex x age			0.933***
Marital status x Years of education			1.310***
-2 log likelihood	1377.838	1168.067	1065.632
Change in -2 log likelihood[1]	8.260	209.771	102.435

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001
[1]Change in log likelihood reported from intercept-only model.

Women are significantly more likely to remit on a regular basis than men in all models. In the unadjusted model, women have 1.445 times the odds of remitting as compared to women migrants [95% CI (1.124-1.858), p=.004]. Adjusting for individual and household characteristics in Model 2, sex is no longer a significant predictor of remitting money. However, marital status, household size, age, years, of education, and having children elsewhere are all significant predictors of remitting money. In this model, age [OR0.977, 95% CI (0.962-0.992], years of education [OR0.911, 95% CI (0.885-0.939)], and having a child living elsewhere [OR0.313, 95% CI (0.132-0.745)] are negatively associated with remittance. As age and total years of formal education increase, the likelihood of remitting money significantly decreases (p<.05). Marital status [OR1.920, 95% CI (1.410-2.615)] and the size of the migrant's household in Phnom Penh [OR1.210, 95% CI (1.066-1.374)] are positively and significantly associated with remitting money (p<.05). In this model, migrants who are married have a higher likelihood of remitting, and the likelihood of remitting increases by 1.210 for each additional person living in the migrant's household.

In the third model, women migrants' odds of remitting increased to 9.434 times those of men migrants as two significant interaction effects are added to the model. In this model, marital status [OR0.152, 95% CI (0.080-0.290)], years of education [OR0.812, 95% CI (0.777-0.848)], and having children elsewhere [OR0.310, 95% CI (0.124-0.773)] are significantly and negatively associated with remitting money among male and female migrants to Phnom Penh. Married migrants have 0.152 times the odds of remitting money as unmarried migrants (p=.000), and those with a child under 15 living elsewhere have 0.310 times the odds of remitting as those who do not have a child elsewhere (p=.012). For each additional year of education, a migrant has 0.812 times the odds of remitting (p=.000). Age and size of household are positively associated with remitting in this model. For each additional year of age, migrants have 1.083 times the odds of remitting [95% CI (1.026-1.143), p=.004]. For each additional person living in the migrant's household in Phnom Penh, his or her odds of remitting are 1.178 times higher [95% CI (1.029-1.347), p=.017]. This model shows a significant interaction effect between migrant's sex and age [OR 0.933, 95% CI (0.903-0.963)]. Among women migrants, the likelihood of remitting decreases as age increases, while male migrants become more likely to remit as their age increases. There is also a significant interaction effect of marital status on sex [OR1.310, 95% CI (1.227-1.399)]. Having more educational attainment significantly increases the odds that married migrant remits money, while it decreases the likelihood that unmarried

migrant remits. Thus, married migrants are more likely to remit if they have more education, while unmarried migrants are more likely to remit if they have a lower education.

A second logistic regression analysis examines predictors of remitting money to a parent, other relative, or friend, among women migrants to Phnom Penh. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 5-4: This analysis includes the same predictors as the previous model, and tested for the same interaction effects with the exception of household size. Here, household size is no longer significantly associated with remittance and is not included as a predictor nor tested for in interaction effects. Each of the three models is statistically significant, and we see significant improvement of fit as control variables are added to the model.

Table 5-4: Logistic regression results of individual and household characteristics on likelihood of sending remittances among female migrants to Phnom Penh

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Unadjusted Model	Individual & household characteristics	Individual & household characteristics with interaction effects
	OR	OR	OR
Age	0.949***	0.954***	0.907***
Marital status		0.994	0.163***
Years of education		0.930**	0.705***
Having children elsewhere		0.266*	0.241***
Garment factory workers		6.439***	6.102***
Domestic workers		7.675***	5.077**
Small business owners		2.459**	2.441**
Other professions		2.066*	1.595
Age x Years of education			1.007*
Marital status x Years of education			1.232***
-2 log likelihood	741.947	561.409	534.191
Change in -2 log likelihood[1]	44.447	180.538	27.218

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001
[1]Change in log likelihood reported from intercept-only model.

Younger women migrants are significantly more likely to remit than older women migrants in all models. In the unadjusted model, women migrants have 0.949 times the odds of remitting for each additional year of age [95% CI (0.933-0.967), p=.000].

Adjusting for individual and household characteristics in Model 2, age remains a significant and negative predictor of remitting money. In this model, women migrants have 0.954 times of the odds of remitting money for each additional year of age [95% CI (0.932-0.977), p=.000]. Here, years of education, and having children elsewhere are significantly and also negatively associated with remitting money among women migrants to Phnom Penh. For each additional year of education, a woman migrant has 0.930 times the odds of remitting money [95% CI (0.887-0.976), p=.003]. Women with children living elsewhere have 0.266 times the odds of remitting as those who do not [95% CI (0.074-0.960), p=.043]. Marital status is not significantly associated with remitting in this model. This model also tests for associations between types of occupations frequently held by women migrants, including garment factory workers, domestic workers, and small business owners, and compares their likelihood of remitting to service/entertainment workers. Garment workers have 6.439 times the odds of remitting compared to service/entertainment workers [95% CI (3.694-11.222), p=.000], while domestic workers have 7.675 times the odds [95% CI (3.021-19.497), p=.000]. Small business owners were also significantly more likely to remit than service/entertainment workers [OR 2.459, 95% CI (1.358-4.450)]. Finally, other types of workers were more likely to remit than service/entertainment workers [OR 2.066, 95% CI (1.088-3.920), p=.000].

The third model tests for significant interaction effects and included interaction effects between age and years of education, as well as marital status and years of education. In this model, women migrants' odds of remitting were reduced by 0.907 for each additional year of age [95% CI (0.865-0.950), p=.000]. As in the previous model, years of education and having children elsewhere were significantly and negatively associated with remitting money among women migrants, as was marital status. For each additional year of education, a woman migrant had 0.705 times the odds of remitting money [95% CI (0.594-0.836), p=.000]. Women with children living elsewhere were less likely to remit [OR 0.241, 95% CI (0.065-0.897)], as were married women migrants [OR 0.163 95% CI (0.063-0.427)]

This model shows a significant interaction effect between a woman migrant's age and the years of education she completed [OR 1.007, 95% CI (1.001-1.012)]. Younger women migrants are less likely to remit as they complete more years of education, while older women migrants are more likely to remit if they have completed more years of education. There is also a significant interaction effect of marital status on years of education [OR 1.232, 95% CI (1.110-1.367)]. The interaction is similar to that in the previous analysis: married women migrants are more likely to remit as they complete more years of education, while unmarried women migrants become less likely to remit as they complete more years of education.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions

This report highlights several areas of potential increased vulnerability for Cambodian migrant women and their families, whether their children or parents are left behind or move with them to the city.

Migrant workers face a number of challenges when moving to a new area because their usual social support networks are absent. It is encouraging to note that 49.8% of female migrant workers to Phnom Penh already knew someone in the city, of those who did, 74.0% received help in finding employment. Despite having contacts, 39.7% indicated that they felt very lonely in the past month, 72.1% reported it was difficult to make friends when they first arrived in the city, and 19.0% of women migrants are not optimistic about their future. .

Without the usual support of family and friends, and unfamiliar with accessing Phnom Penh's health and legal system, there is a risk that women migrants have increased vulnerability to abuse and exploitation. A domestic worker or garment worker who is ill treated by her employer is less likely to seek external help or report poor employment conditions. Someone who experiences violence, including sexual violence, is less likely to know where to access services, and may be too afraid to report a crime. The general fear of losing a job and the income that comes with it can also contribute to low reporting of exploitation or abuse among migrant female workers.

Conventionally, women with less education are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. The data revealed that over half of women migrants to Phnom Penh in the survey were illiterate. Women migrants with no education were most likely to originate from Svey Rieng, and high proportions of women with incomplete primary education came from Kampot, Prey Veng, and Battambang. In fact approximately a third of women from most provinces had not finished primary education. Policies or programs that are designed to reach and protect less educated women migrants should be implemented to support this vulnerable population and protect them from exploitation, sexual violence, and other forms of violence. For women migrating internationally, these challenges are even more acute. The data highlights that the greatest percentage of women migrants with no education migrated internationally.

In Cambodia, the health sector is often used to reach women with information and services. But with less than 10% of women accessing health care treatment at public health facilities, alternative routes to reach them with information need to be sought. Three quarters of women rely of purchasing medicines from their local pharmacy. However, data in this report suggests other routes through which female migrant workers may be reached: for example, most women indicated that they have stayed in the same residence since they arrived in Phnom Penh. This means that any service or outreach efforts to support women delivered at the household level may have a better chance of follow up because the women can be contacted more easily. However, more than a third of women were not in the same residence as when they arrived, and more than 10% have lived in three or more residences. Therefore, outreach efforts conducted at or near their places of work may also be an important strategy. Future research should aim to further identify whether and what types of challenges female migrants to Phnom Penh and elsewhere in Cambodia face, including their vulnerabilities to exploitation by landlord, employers, or neighbors. Furthermore, it will also be important to identify women's reasons for moving households, and to enact relevant policies or support programs depending on the findings. .

Policies and programs should focus on reducing the vulnerabilities of female migrant workers in Phnom Penh. However, the data provided in this survey presents a limited picture of the situation, and suggested responses should be researched further to ascertain their relevance to female migrant workers, and their children and parents, as well as their feasibility. For example,

with higher than average levels of literacy among female migrant workers, targeted literacy program interventions may be of practical use to women.

Overall, very few women of any profession reported that they were "very satisfied" with their job, and the majority were neutral or somewhat dissatisfied. Further elaboration of the reasons for dissatisfaction would help determine whether migrant workers were disappointed about aspects of their work which did not meet their expectations, such as pay and hours, or whether there are more serious issues such as extreme working conditions or human rights abuses.

The costs of covering migration require further research as well, to ascertain whether large debts are incurred by using brokers or third parties to facilitate migration. It is not clear yet whether the remittances sent back to families by women migrants contribute solely to household expenditure. If they are used to repay loans, it would be useful to have information on the size of the loans and the repayment terms to understand the overall debt burden on migrant workers. This report does not address human trafficking directly, though it is relevant to trafficking both within Cambodia and internationally. It seems that majority of migrant workers, both female and female, reported keeping in touch with their families in the place of origin, whether regularly or intermittently. It is less clear from the perspectives of the origin families whether there are incidences of household members migrating for work and never being heard from again. Even if this proves to happen in a minority of cases, it would be important to know of such cases, as the risk of abuse or exploitation in these cases is especially high.

With the majority of families encouraging women to migrate, it is perhaps not surprising that a high proportion send money back regularly as this practice is likely to be the major motivation for encouraging a family member to migrate for work. What is less clear is the female migrant's role in the final decision to migrate. It may be possible that a proportion were reluctant to migrate at all, which may also contribute to the low levels of job satisfaction reported. With nearly every female migrant in the survey feeling worried about earning enough money in Phnom Penh, it seems that there are individual and family pressures that impact on them. It is important to better understand these pressures, and to provide and increase access to psychosocial support services and systems for these women. With better support networks and services, women migrants may enjoy higher satisfaction with their livelihoods and be able to provide better support for their families.

Finally, this report provides some insight into the levels of support that women provide to their families of origin. Women consistently send more money home than men migrants, despite earning less on average. What is not revealed is whether the economic and social status of children and families left behind, or indeed children that live with female migrants in Phnom Penh, have improved, stayed the same or worsened. The relationship between remittance amounts, job and life satisfaction, and children's health and economic status should be further explored in future research.

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