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# Sancroft

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NHS Supply Chain Country Profile: Cambodia  
April 2016

## Cambodia – Labour Standards and Ethical Trade Profile



Population	15,708,756 <sup>1</sup>
Main Religion	Buddhist (official) 96.9%, Muslim 1.9%, Christian 0.4%, other 0.8% <sup>23</sup>
Minimum working age	15 years old <sup>4</sup> Admission to light work activities 12 years Admission to hazardous work 18 years
Minimum wage (per hour   per month)	Cambodian Riel: 2916 Per Hour   US\$0.72 Per Hour <sup>5</sup> Cambodian Riel 560,000 Per Month   US\$137 Per Month
Maximum working hours	Eight hours per day, or 48 hours per week <sup>6</sup>
Working week	Six days per week <sup>7</sup> Weekly time off shall last for a minimum of twenty-four consecutive hours. All workers shall be given in principle a day off on Sunday.
Main exports	Telephone and spare parts (19 %), textiles (14 %), electronics, computers and components (10 %), shoes and footwear (7 %) and other machinery, equipment, tools and spare parts (5 %). <sup>8</sup>

## Context

### Politics

Despite UN-supported political transition to a democratic state in 1993, Cambodia has many hallmarks of an uncompetitive 'hegemonic' authoritarian regime. As a fledgling democracy elections are regularly held, though these have arguably only served to perpetuate and legitimate an increasingly authoritarian status quo<sup>9</sup>.

One of the world's longest serving heads of state, the current Prime Minister Hun Sen has ruled the country for nearly three decades possessing a tight grip over state institutions and the media. Governance challenges are widespread and corruption is rife. The most recent parliamentary elections in Cambodia took place in July 2013. Prime Minister Hun Sen's ruling party, the Cambodian People's Party, won 68 of the 123 seats in the National Assembly. The main opposition, the Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP), disputed the results alleging widespread election fraud. Anti-government protests followed. General elections are due to be held in Cambodia in July 2018 to elect members of the sixth National Assembly; incumbent Prime Minister Hun Sen is eligible to seek a fifth term in office.

The politics of Cambodia takes place in a framework of a constitutional monarchy<sup>10</sup>, where by the Prime Minister is the Head of Government and a Monarch is Head of State. The Kingdom formally operates according to the Nation's Constitution (enacted in 1993) in a framework of a parliamentary, representative democracy. Executive power is exercised by the Prime Minister, and legislative power is vested in the two chambers of parliament.

### Economics

Economic growth under Hun Sen has been robust, even through the global financial crisis. In 2014 real growth reached an estimated 7.1%<sup>11</sup>. The garment sector, together with construction and services, continues to propel growth. Forecasts for future growth remain positive, though show a slower pace; projections for economic growth in 2016 are 6.9%. This is in part due to stronger competition in garment exports, continued weak agriculture sector growth, and softer growth in the tourism sector<sup>12</sup>.

There has been marked progress towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly in terms of poverty reduction and improvements in health and education, though again, the pace of gains is slowing. Despite these improvements Cambodia remains one of the least developed countries in Asia; in 2012 one-third of Cambodians lived below the national poverty line. The majority of Cambodians living in rural areas have no access to toilet facilities, and very few rural households have electricity.

China has become the largest foreign donor to Cambodia and, increasingly, the CPP is shunning Western development assistance and the expectations of the international community in relation to governance and the protection of Cambodians' rights<sup>13</sup>.

### Demographics

Cambodia's annual population growth rate is positive but steady, estimated by the World Bank to be approximately 1.6%<sup>14</sup>. Whilst Total Fertility Rates have declined over the previous 15 years, this has been balanced by falling mortality rates. As of 2014, the Total Fertility Rate in Cambodia was 2.7 children per woman.<sup>15</sup>

Net migration in Cambodia is marginally negative, whilst internally rural to urban migration is commonplace. Cambodia's population remains predominantly rural however, with slightly more than four in five Cambodians living in rural areas. 19% of women and 17% of men live in urban areas<sup>16</sup>.

Cambodia is currently experiencing a demographic dividend with a very youthful population of working age; median age in Cambodia is approximately 25 years old. With 4.7 million youth aged 10-24 years old, approximately two-thirds of the population is under 30. According to UN estimates, Cambodia is one of the youngest nations in Asia.<sup>1718</sup>

## ***Labour Market Profile***

The World Bank estimated Cambodia’s labour force to be 8,623,857 in 2014<sup>19</sup>. Gender participation is relatively equal, with the Labour force participation rate among females (% of female population ages 15-64 who are economically active) equalling 82.1%, and for men, 88.2%.

Cambodia is at a slightly less advanced stage of demographic transition than some of its South East Asian neighbours. As such, its labour force is still expanding. It is projected to reach its maximum share of labour force in 2045 and maximum number of labour force in 2070<sup>20</sup>.

### ***Industry Summary:***

Labour Force Occupation (2013) <sup>21</sup>	
<b>Agriculture</b>	48.7%
<b>Industry</b>	19.9%
<b>Services</b>	31.5%

Key industries in Cambodia include the export of garments and footwear, followed by light manufacturing, tourism and agriculture. In 2013, Cambodian global exports amounted to roughly US\$6.48 billion, of which garment and textile exports represented \$4.96 billion and export of shoes accounted for another \$0.35 billion. In 2014, garment exports reportedly totalled \$5.7 billion<sup>22</sup>. The industry is a major source of non-agrarian employment, particularly for women.

According to a government report, Cambodia’s industrial sector remains “weak and narrow based; reflective of its simple structure of manufacturing and low level of sophistication that mainly concentrates on garments and food processing, while most manufacturing activities are still family-based and do not have the capacity to compete in the international market”<sup>23</sup>. The Government of Cambodia prepared an “Industrial Development Policy” 2015-2025 as a guide to promote the country’s industrial development as well as help maintain sustainable and inclusive growth through economic diversification, strengthening competitiveness and promoting productivity<sup>24</sup>.

Key features of Cambodian industries include a lack of diversity in terms of industrial base, weak entrepreneurship, low value addition and low level of technology application. Micro-enterprises which make up over 97% provide only a mere 30% of job creation and generate only a 12% of the total turnover. Large enterprises on the other hand, which make up only of 0.6% create around 63% of jobs and generate some 76% turnover. Moreover, the number of informal enterprises is substantial.

### **Medical Technologies**

Consistent with other lesser developed nations in South East Asia, there is potential for medical device manufacturing to take place in Cambodia. Advantages include lower overheads and labour costs. The country has sought to encourage foreign medical device companies to do business there through such regional initiatives as the ASEAN Medical Device Directive to standardise the region’s regulatory environment<sup>25</sup>.

Cambodia is however presently seen through the lens of a good potential medical device market due to its expanding population and increasing wealth.

## **Key Risk Areas**

Companies sourcing from Cambodia will need to be aware that there is a risk of labour rights abuse within their supply chain. No global supply chain will be categorically free of issue and buying organisations have a responsibility to ensure that they are doing all they can to mitigate the risk of occurrence within their realm of business and, where an issue is discovered, take steps towards remediation. The below outlines the key risk areas pertinent to Cambodia and the areas in which a company sourcing from Cambodia may want to be particularly vigilant.

### **Modern Slavery**

The Global Slavery Index 2016 ranked Cambodia third in the world in terms of the proportion of its population thought to be implicated in Modern Slavery<sup>26</sup>. With an estimated 1.65% of its population in Modern Slavery Cambodia sits behind just Uzbekistan and North Korea. This equates to an absolute number of 256 800 individuals.

In 2015, Cambodia was placed on the US State Department's Tier 2 Watch List in its annual Human Trafficking in Persons report for the third consecutive year<sup>27</sup>. This is because the government does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, and whilst it is making significant efforts to do so, the issue remains pervasive.

Cambodia is recognised as a source and destination country for the exploitation of men, women and children in all forms of modern slavery, including forced labour and debt bondage. All of Cambodia's provinces are a source for human trafficking. Cambodia was renowned as a sex tourism destination in the 1990s and this legacy is still prevalent. A large number of women and girls are trafficked within the thriving sex industry in Cambodia's major cities. Despite significant attempts to curb this, NGOs report the industry has simply been pushed underground.

A number of Cambodian's, both men and women, are trafficked abroad. For instance the growing demand for foreign brides in China has created an emerging market for traffickers. Cambodian women, seeing the opportunity to escape impoverished lives in rural villages, are increasingly entering into brokered marriages to Chinese men. A high number of Cambodian women also enter into domestic servitude following growing demand for cheap domestic workers in private homes in the Middle East, Malaysia and Singapore. Forced labour among Cambodian men is known to be particularly prevalent within the fishing industries of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. In 2013 ILO figures suggested 9% of Cambodian fishers were subject to forced labour<sup>28</sup>, with Cambodians accounting for 40 percent of fishers across four major Thai ports.

Forced labour is also a significant domestic problem. Out of the estimated 191,272 people in forced labour, it has been estimated that 118,943 victims are in the manufacturing sector, including in apparel<sup>29</sup>.

### **Child Labour**

The first-ever combined Cambodia Labour Force and Child Labour Survey was conducted in 2012 by the National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, with financial and technical assistance from the International Labour Organization<sup>30</sup>. This research estimated that 19.1 per cent of all children aged 5–17, or 755,245 children, were economically active in Cambodia in 2012. Of these, around 78 % had additional responsibility for household chores. Not all of these economically active children were understood to be child labourers. Of the total number of economically active children in Cambodia in 2012, 56.9% were understood as being child labourers with five of every nine child labourers understood as being engaged in hazardous labour. Child labour was also reported as having a rural bias and the absolute number of female child labourers, at 215,663, was slightly larger than their male counterparts. More than half of the child labourers had either dropped out of school (48 %) or had never attended school (7.4 %). Despite improvements in educational access, including a 2007

education law which mandated the universal provision of free primary education, significant barriers to universal education still exist in Cambodia, particularly in rural areas.

The highest prevalence of child labour was in the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector (more than 50 per cent). Nearly 20 per cent of child labourers were engaged in manufacturing, 11.6 per cent of in the trade sector, 5.8 per cent in construction and 4.4 per cent in accommodation and food service.

According to a different study, over 313,000 children were reported as trapped in the worst forms of exploitation such as drug trafficking and prostitution.<sup>31</sup> Children are trafficked to, from, and within Cambodia for commercial sexual exploitation and labour exploitation. Trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation occurs primarily from Cambodia to Thailand, from Vietnam to Cambodia, and within Cambodia. Children are trafficked from smaller villages to larger cities and primarily to Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam to work as domestic servants. Children are trafficked primarily to Thailand to work as street vendors or to work in factories.

### **Lack of accountability for workers' rights**

Despite the enactment of a stronger labour law in Cambodia in 1997, its enforcement remains inadequate<sup>32</sup>. This is in large part due to an ineffective government labour inspectorate, further crippled by corruption and outpaced by factory growth. Better Factories Cambodia (BFC) an International Labour Organization factory monitoring program launched in 2001 seeks to fill this monitoring gap. It is however, predominantly focused on export-oriented factories and cannot be a substitute for a strong labour inspectorate. Some of the worst working conditions in Cambodia are in smaller factories that lack export licenses and work as subcontractors for larger export-oriented factories.

Hiring practices have emerged as a key point of contention and fuel tense industrial relations. This is largely because this practice negatively influences labour law compliance. In many factories, managers repeatedly use short-term contracts beyond the legally permissible two years, or simply hire workers on a casual or hourly basis. This is predominantly used as a way of controlling workers, discouraging union formation or participation, or avoiding paying benefits. Short term contracts and those casually employed are subject to a number of discriminatory and/or exploitative labour conditions.

Contrary to claims by the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia (GMAC) that factories using repeated short-term contracts are in the minority, BFC reported that the number of surveyed factories complying with the two-year rule on short-term contracts (called fixed-duration contracts or FDCs in Cambodia) dropped from 76 percent in 2011 to 67 percent in 2013-2014. Since 2011, BFC has consistently found that nearly a third of all factories used FDCs to avoid paying maternity and seniority benefits. GMAC is the most powerful, well-organized employer association influencing labour conditions in Cambodia.

### **Poor working conditions**

Cambodia's garment industry boom has been in large part commensurate with a gradual decline in working conditions and labour rights. Human Rights Watch compiled a report on labour conditions in Cambodia outlining the most pressing issues facing workers in Cambodia, particularly within the garment industry.

Exploitative and discriminatory practices were reported to be widespread, including the instant dismissal of workers for missing work because of ill-health, or failing to meet inflated production targets<sup>33</sup>. Despite restrictions set by Cambodia's labour law, overtime is commonplace and often forced; workers are instructed by factory managers to complete overtime or are threatened with instant dismissal, wage deduction or the non-renewal of their contract. Also common is the punitive transfer of an individual from a monthly minimum wage to a piece-rate wage where income depends on the number of garments a worker produces.

Instances of mass fainting episodes among the labour force within Cambodia have also garnered international attention<sup>34</sup>. This spate of mass fainting among Cambodian garment workers eventually led to the Labour Ministry forming an investigatory committee in August 2014.<sup>35</sup>

Building and fire safety have moreover come under more scrutiny following the partial collapse of structures in two factories in 2013, resulting in the death of two workers, and a factory fire in July 2014<sup>36</sup>.

## **Gender Norms**

Women dominate Cambodia's manufacturing sector, making up an estimated 90 to 92 percent of the garment industry's estimated total workforce for example<sup>37</sup>. Women tend to be especially vulnerable to labour rights violations in Cambodia. Discrimination against pregnant women, whether this is through hiring, promotion or dismissal is endemic. Pregnant workers are rarely accommodated for within factories, and moreover, rarely receive the maternity benefits they are entitled to by law.

Another issue is sexual harassment. A 2012 International Labour Organization (ILO) report on gender equality in garment factories found that one in five women surveyed reported that sexual harassment led to a threatening work environment. The forms of sexual harassment that women recounted included sexual comments and advances, inappropriate touching, pinching, and bodily contact. Workers complained about both managers and male co-workers. It is interesting to note here that whilst Cambodia's Labour Law prohibits sexual harassment it does not define it.

## **Anti-unionism**

There are a number of barriers to union-formation and participation in Cambodia, some of which are actively erected by factory managers. Practices include permanently keeping workers on short-term contracts that have to be renewed, shortening the length of male workers' contracts and dismissing or harassing newly elected union representatives to prevent formation of independent unions. Beyond preventing their formation, office bearers of existing trade unions, for instance the Coalition of Cambodian Apparel Workers Democratic Union (CCAWDU), National Independent Federation of Textile Unions in Cambodia (NIFTUC), Collective Union of Movement of Workers (CUMW), and Cambodian Alliance of Trade Unions (CATU), are frequently dismissed by factory management or coerced into resigning.

A 2014 report shows that 29 percent of the 371 factories surveyed in Human Rights Watch research had no unions; 42 percent had one union; 17 percent had two unions; and 12 percent of the factories had between three and five unions.<sup>38</sup>

Recently, Cambodian authorities have also introduced further bureaucratic obstacles to union formation. Beyond simply delaying the licensing of unions and issuing arbitrary rejections, union leaders are now also required to produce a certificate from the Ministry of Justice stating the worker in question has not been convicted of any criminal offense. Further in 2014, the Labour Ministry also revived an earlier draft trade union law, citing a multiplicity of unions and "fake unions" as problems that the government needed to address. The draft law curbs workers' freedom to form a union by introducing a high threshold for the minimum number of workers needed to support union formation and gives overarching powers to the Labour Ministry to suspend union registration without any judicial review. The legitimacy of these reformulations can be questioned in the context of ILO Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association.

## **Governance**

### **Context**

The national government is under substantial pressure to improve labour conditions and rights. A key source of political tension and strained labour relations has been the establishment of a minimum

wage. Protests for an adequate minimum wage rocked the Cambodian garment industry in December 2013. GMAC advised its member-factories to suspend operations, resulting in the Labour Ministry announcing an increase in minimum wage to \$100 per month from \$80 effective February 1, 2014. On January 2, 2014, workers defied a government deadline to end protests and demanded \$160 as minimum wage, citing a government report which estimated that a living wage should fall between \$157 and \$177. Hundreds of police and gendarmes were deployed to clear workers. Several instances of violence against protestors were reported, and criticised internationally. Following pressure from international brands, a new government committee began work on a new minimum wage policy. In November 2014, the Cambodian government announced a revised minimum wage of \$128 effective January 2015.

More recently in April 2016, the ITUC deplored the approval of a new Trade Union Law by the National Assembly of Cambodia<sup>39</sup>. The law was pushed through despite repeated objections by trade unions, the International Labour Organisation and several global garment brands. The law among other things looks to impose new limits on the right to strike, facilitate government intervention in internal union affairs, permit third parties to seek the dissolution of trade unions and impose only minimal penalties on employers for unfair labour practices.

### ***National Legislation***

- The main sources of employment law in Cambodia are:
- The Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, of 21 September 1993 (as amended 1999)
- Labour Law, promulgated by Royal Order No. CS/RKM/0397/01 of 13 March 1997
- Prakas No. 106 on the Prohibition of Hazardous Child Labour, dated 28 April 2004

### ***International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) Rights Index***

The ITUC rights index uses a methodology that considers the standards of fundamental rights at work, in particular the right to freedom of association, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike<sup>40</sup>. Using this methodology countries are ranked on a scale of 1-5, with a high score suggesting a government is failing to guarantee these rights. Cambodia has received a rank of 5, which it describes as equalling ‘no guarantee of rights’.

### ***International Standards***

Cambodia is party to several international legal conventions governing the rights of women in the workplace and other worker rights. Cambodia has ratified 13 International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions, including 5 of the 8 Fundamental Conventions. These include the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (No. 87), Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98), the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111), the Minimum Age Convention (No. 138), the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

Conventions not ratified include: ILO Convention No. 183 on Maternity Protection, ILO Convention No. 158 on Termination of Employment together with Recommendation No. 166 which governs the use of short-term contracts, and No. 131 on Minimum Wage Fixing (1983)<sup>41</sup>.

### ***Other Useful Resources***

Further information is available on the following websites:

- ILO Labour Law Database -  
[http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.countrySubjects?p\\_lang=en&p\\_country=KHM](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.countrySubjects?p_lang=en&p_country=KHM)
- Transparency International Corruptions Perception Index  
<http://www.transparency.org/country/#KHM>

- US State Department Database on Forced and Child Labour per product  
<http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/child-labour/list-of-goods/>

- <sup>1</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cb.html>
- <sup>2</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cb.html>
- <sup>3</sup> <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2012/12/globalReligion-tables.pdf>
- <sup>4</sup> [www.ilo.org/ipceinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id..](http://www.ilo.org/ipceinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id..)
- <sup>5</sup> [http://www.nwpc.dole.gov.ph/pages/statistics/stat\\_comparative.html](http://www.nwpc.dole.gov.ph/pages/statistics/stat_comparative.html)
- <sup>6</sup> <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/docs/701/Labour%20Law.pdf>
- <sup>7</sup> <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/docs/701/Labour%20Law.pdf>
- <sup>8</sup> <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/vietnam/exports>
- <sup>9</sup> <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2013/08/19/cambodias-post-election-crisis-in-context/>
- <sup>10</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Cambodia)
- <sup>11</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cambodia/overview>
- <sup>12</sup> <https://www.openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/21904>
- <sup>13</sup> <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/pdf/cambodia.pdf>
- <sup>14</sup> <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.GROW/countries/KH?display=default>
- <sup>15</sup> [http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/cambodia/drive/2014CDHSKIR\\_2-20-2015.pdf](http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/cambodia/drive/2014CDHSKIR_2-20-2015.pdf)
- <sup>16</sup> [http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/cambodia/drive/2014CDHSKIR\\_2-20-2015.pdf](http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/cambodia/drive/2014CDHSKIR_2-20-2015.pdf)
- <sup>17</sup> [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/18/world/asia/cambodia-hun-sen-sam-rainy.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/18/world/asia/cambodia-hun-sen-sam-rainy.html?_r=0)
- <sup>18</sup> <http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/cambodia/2014/12/14/11137/the-state-of-world-population-report-young-people-drive-socio-economic-development/>
- <sup>19</sup> <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.IN>
- <sup>20</sup> <http://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/dam/rbap/docs/RHDR2016/RHDR2016-full-report-final-version1.pdf>
- <sup>21</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2048.html>
- <sup>22</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/03/11/work-faster-or-get-out/labor-rights-abuses-cambodias-garment-industry>
- <sup>23</sup> [http://www.flandersinvestmentandtrade.com/export/sites/trade/files/news/695150902100812/695150902100812\\_1.pdf](http://www.flandersinvestmentandtrade.com/export/sites/trade/files/news/695150902100812/695150902100812_1.pdf)
- <sup>24</sup> [http://www.flandersinvestmentandtrade.com/export/sites/trade/files/news/695150902100812/695150902100812\\_1.pdf](http://www.flandersinvestmentandtrade.com/export/sites/trade/files/news/695150902100812/695150902100812_1.pdf)
- <sup>25</sup> <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/20140620091450-273836114-the-asean-market-for-medical-devices-is-fairly-under-penetrated-and-is-expected-to-double-from-4-billion-in-2012-to-8-billion-by-2017>
- <sup>26</sup> <http://www.globallaveryindex.org/findings/>
- <sup>27</sup> <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245365.pdf>
- <sup>28</sup> <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/docs/184/Fishing.pdf>
- <sup>29</sup> <http://www.globallaveryindex.org/country/cambodia/>
- <sup>30</sup> <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro->
- <sup>31</sup> [http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/features/WCMS\\_141489/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/features/WCMS_141489/lang--en/index.htm)
- <sup>32</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/03/11/work-faster-or-get-out/labor-rights-abuses-cambodias-garment-industry>
- <sup>33</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/03/11/work-faster-or-get-out/labor-rights-abuses-cambodias-garment-industry>
- <sup>34</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/04/10/mass-faintings-in-cambodia-whats-the-reason/>
- <sup>35</sup> <https://www.cleanclothes.org/resources/national-cccs/shop-til-they-drop>
- <sup>36</sup> <http://www.cambodiadaily.com/news/workers-protest-for-speedy-pay-after-fire-destroys-factory-65508/>
- <sup>37</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/03/11/work-faster-or-get-out/labor-rights-abuses-cambodias-garment-industry>
- <sup>38</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/03/11/work-faster-or-get-out/labour-rights-abuses-cambodias-garment-industry>
- <sup>39</sup> <http://www.ituc-csi.org/cambodia-ituc-deplores-new-anti>
- <sup>40</sup> [http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/survey\\_ra\\_2014\\_eng\\_v2.pdf](http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/survey_ra_2014_eng_v2.pdf)
- <sup>41</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/03/11/work-faster-or-get-out/labour-rights-abuses-cambodias-garment-industry>