LISTENING TO THE DEMAND: A Study of Men Who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

2014

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Contact Us

If you are interested in learning more about Love 146 in Phnom Penh and our research on the demand or other research conducted about the sex industry, then please contact our office at:

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# Table of Contents

- Acknowledgements ............................................................................. 1
- Contact Us .......................................................................................... 2
- Table of Contents .................................................................................. 3
- List of Tables ....................................................................................... 6
- List of Graphs ....................................................................................... 8
- Acronyms Used Throughout Report ...................................................... 10
- Foreword by Glenn Miles, Ph.D. .......................................................... 11
- Executive Summary ............................................................................ 13
- Background .......................................................................................... 20  
  - Context of the Research .................................................................... 20  
  - The Tourist and Sex Industries in Cambodia ..................................... 20  
  - Male Prostitution and Sex Work ....................................................... 22  
  - Cambodian Sex Buyers ................................................................... 23  
  - Western Sex Buyers ......................................................................... 24  
  - Sexual Vulnerability of Males ......................................................... 24  
  - Sexual Orientation, Identity and Behavior ....................................... 26  
  - Legal Deterrents of the Demand ...................................................... 31
- Methodology ......................................................................................... 33
- Safety & Ethics ..................................................................................... 36
- Limitations ............................................................................................ 37
- Results .................................................................................................. 40  
  - Demographics ................................................................................... 40  
    - Interview Location .......................................................................... 40  
    - Age .................................................................................................. 40  
    - Country of Origin .......................................................................... 40  
    - Reason for Being in this City ......................................................... 41  
    - Length of Stay .............................................................................. 41  
    - Occupation .................................................................................... 41  
    - Income ............................................................................................ 42  
    - Family Status ................................................................................ 42  
    - Education ....................................................................................... 42  
    - Religion .......................................................................................... 43  
    - Alcohol Use .................................................................................... 43  
    - Drug Use ........................................................................................ 44  
  - Sexual Orientation ............................................................................ 44  
    - Gender Characteristics and Sexual Preference ............................... 45  
    - Openness and Acceptance of Sexuality ......................................... 46  
    - Openness about Same-sex Relationships ...................................... 48  
  - Discrimination ................................................................................... 49  
  - Self-Worth ........................................................................................ 52  
  - Sexual Activity .................................................................................. 53  
    - Virginity .......................................................................................... 53  
    - Number of Sexual Partners .......................................................... 55  
    - Frequency of Sex Per Week .......................................................... 56  
    - Different Sexual Partners .............................................................. 56
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

- Length of Longest Sexual Relationship .......................................................... 57
- Substance Use During Sexual Activity ........................................................... 57
- Condom Use ..................................................................................................... 57

○ Use of Prostitution .......................................................................................... 58
  - Paying and Receiving Compensation for Sex .............................................. 59
  - Occurrence and Regularity of Payment or Compensation for Sex .............. 60
  - Preferred Ages of the Male Prostitutes Demanded ................................. 60
  - Preferred Sexual Activities when Buying Sex ............................................ 61
  - First Use of Prostitutes ............................................................................. 61
  - Location of Buying Sex ............................................................................. 62
  - Use of Internet and Mobile Phone Applications ..................................... 63
  - Price Paid for Sex ...................................................................................... 63
  - Being Intoxicated from Alcohol While Purchasing Sex with a prostitute .... 63
  - Encountering Crime While with a prostitute ............................................ 64
  - Erotic Massage Use .................................................................................... 64
  - Romantic Relationships with Prostitutes .................................................. 64
  - Relationship between Pornography, Prostitution and the Taboo of Masturbation in Cambodian Culture .................................................... 65
  - Minors and the Sex Industry .................................................................... 67

○ Views on Prostitution and Individuals who Sell Sex .................................... 67
  - General View and History of Relationship with Men .............................. 68
  - General Views on Prostitution ................................................................. 69
  - Advantages and Disadvantages of Prostitution ......................................... 72
  - Reservations Concerning Prostitution and Feelings After Buying Sex ...... 73
  - Erotic Massage as a Form of Prostitution ................................................ 75
  - Differences between Prostitution in the East and West ......................... 76
  - Attitude Towards Prostitutes ..................................................................... 77
  - Reaction to Rape of Prostitutes and non-Prostitutes Scenario .................. 79
  - Reaction to Learning that a Friend or Relative is Selling Sex ................. 80

○ Deterrents ....................................................................................................... 81

- Analysis .......................................................................................................... 85

○ Sexual Orientation ........................................................................................ 85

○ Use and Views of Prostitution ...................................................................... 85
  - Khmer MSM Participating in Both the Buying and Selling of Sexual Services ............................................................ 85
  - Giving Compensation in Exchange for Sex ................................................ 86
  - Feeling After Paying for Sex ..................................................................... 87
  - Access .......................................................................................................... 88
  - Possible Influences on Prostitution Use ..................................................... 89
    - Relationships ............................................................................................ 89
    - Pornography ............................................................................................ 90
    - Spirituality ............................................................................................... 92
    - Legal Deterrents ...................................................................................... 93
  - View of Prostitution ..................................................................................... 94
Disadvantages of Paying for Sex

Appendix V: In the 2014 TIP Report

Appendix IV: Further Details on Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Sexual Behavior in Cambodia

Appendix III: Men’s Sexual Health Clinic Locations in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap

Appendix II: Survey

Appendix I: Report Graphs

Summary of Findings & Conclusion

Conclusion

Recommendations

References

Advantages and Disadvantages of Paying for Sex

Attitudes Towards and Treatment of Prostitutes

Views Toward Individuals Who Sell Sex

Changes in Attitudes and Reservations Toward Prostitutes Over Time

Client’s History of Selling Sex and Future Treatment of Prostitutes

Preferences in Sexual Activity and Treatment of Prostitutes

Forming a ‘Sweetheart’ Relationship with Prostitutes...

Witnessing Rape

Discovering a Friend or Relative is Prostituting Himself

Ambiguity of Compensation in Exchange for Sex

Prostitutes’ Treatment of Clients

Erotic Massage

East and West

Mobility of the Demand

Presence of Demand for Minors

Practices mitigating risk factors linked to prostitution use
List of Tables

Listed in order of appearance (Referenced as T.1, T.1.a, T.1.b, T.2, etc. on the tables themselves throughout this report).

1. Three Paradigms of Giving Compensation within the MSM Sex Industry in Cambodia .................................................................................................................. 1 & 120
2. Foreigner Self-Definition and Age of Understanding about Sexual Orientation ......................................................................................................................... 44
3. Sexual Preference and Gender Characteristics
   a. Khmer ................................................................................................................. 45
   b. Foreigner ............................................................................................................. 45
4. Self-Acceptance and Openness of Sexual Orientation
   a. Foreigner ............................................................................................................. 46
   b. Khmer .................................................................................................................. 47
5. Sexuality Self-Acceptance and Openness of Same-Sex Relationship
   a. Foreigner ............................................................................................................. 48
   b. Khmer .................................................................................................................. 49
6. Virginity
   a. Foreigner ............................................................................................................. 53
   b. Khmer .................................................................................................................. 54
7. Number of Sexual Partners .................................................................................. 55
8. Frequency of Sex per Week .................................................................................. 56
9. Preferred Ages of the Sex Workers Being Demanded ............................................. 61
10. Influence of Pornography on Prostitution .............................................................. 65
    a. Khmer Open Response Themes ........................................................................ 66
11. Prevalence of Masturbation Among Khmer Respondents ................................ ...... 66
12. View of Prostitution
    a. Neutral, 'Normal' or Mixed ................................................................................. 70
    b. Negative ............................................................................................................... 71
13. Advantages and Disadvantages of Prostitution
    a. Advantages ......................................................................................................... 72
    b. Disadvantages .................................................................................................... 73
14. Erotic Massage is a form of Prostitution ................................................................. 76
15. Difference in Prostitution Between the East and West ........................................... 77
16. Deterrents
    a. Criminalizing the Buying of Sex ......................................................................... 81
    b. Threat of Loosing Friends or Family .................................................................. 82
       i. Those Who Would be Deterred because of this Threat ................................ 83
       ii. Those Who Would Not be Deterred because of this Threat ....................... 84
17. Frequency of Respondents Who Have Bought & Sold Sexual Services .............. 86
18. Possible Influencers on Prostitution Habits
    a. Relationships ..................................................................................................... 89
    b. Spirituality
       i. Foreigner .......................................................................................................... 92
       ii. Khmer ............................................................................................................. 92
19. Disadvantages of Paying for Sex Open Response Quotes.................................96
20. Reaction to Discovering a Friend/Relative is a Prostitute............................109
21. The Various Cambodian Provinces the Khmer Respondents had Purchased Sex In........................................................................................................113
22. Summary of Findings and Conclusion
   a. Use of Prostitution Findings ......................................................................121
   b. Influences on Prostitution Habits.............................................................123
   c. Views on Sex Industry and Prostitutes......................................................125
   d. East vs. West............................................................................................126
   e. Mitigating Risk Factors (Including Effectiveness Analysis)............128
List of Graphs

Due to the amount used throughout this report and the sizes needed so as to be read properly, all of the graphs have been placed in Appendix I in order of appearance.

1. Interview Location ........................................................................................................... 140
2. Age ................................................................................................................................... 140
3. Country of Origin .............................................................................................................. 141
4. Reason for Being in this City ........................................................................................... 141
5. Occupation ........................................................................................................................ 142
6. Income ............................................................................................................................... 142
7. Family Status ..................................................................................................................... 143
8. Education Level ............................................................................................................... 143
9. Religion ............................................................................................................................... 144
10. Alcohol Use .................................................................................................................... 144
11. Drug Use .......................................................................................................................... 145
12. Discrimination ................................................................................................................ 145
13. Self-Worth ........................................................................................................................ 146
14. Different Sexual Partners Per Week .............................................................................. 146
15. Length of Longest Sexual Relationship ..................................................................... 147
16. Substance Use During Sexual Activity ....................................................................... 147
17. Condom Use .................................................................................................................... 148
18. Paid or Given Compensation in Exchange for Sex ....................................................... 148
19. Received Payment or Compensation in Exchange for Sex .......................................... 149
20. Number of Occasions Respondents had Paid for Sex .................................................. 149
21. Regularity of Occurrences ............................................................................................. 150
22. Preferred Sexual Activities When Paying for Sex ....................................................... 150
23. Respondent’s Age First Time Paying for Sex .............................................................. 151
24. Were Respondents Coerced or Pressured to Pay for Sex the First Time? .................. 151
25. Locations for Buying Sex .............................................................................................. 152
26. How Did the Respondents Discover these Locations? ............................................... 152
27. Use of Internet to Buy Sex ............................................................................................ 153
28. Use of Mobile Phone Applications to Buy Sex ............................................................ 153
29. Price Paid for Sex ............................................................................................................ 154
30. Erotic Massage ............................................................................................................... 154
31. Romantic Relationships with Prostitutes .................................................................... 155
32. General View of Men ..................................................................................................... 155
33. History of Relationships with Men ............................................................................... 156
34. General Views on Prostitution ...................................................................................... 156
35. Reservations the First Time Paying for Sex ................................................................ 157
36. Current Reservations Towards Paying for Sex .......................................................... 157
37. Erotic Massage as a Form of Prostitution ..................................................................... 158
38. Difference in Prostitution Between the East and West ................................................. 158
39. Do the Respondents Think Differently About Prostitutes and Non-Prostitutes? ........ 159
40. Difference in Treatment of Prostitutes and Non-Prostitutes ...................... 159
41. Rape Scenario......................................................................................... 160
42. Friend/Relative is a Prostitute ............................................................... 160
43. Change in Reservations Towards Purchasing Sex Over Time ............... 161
44. Change in Attitude Towards Purchasing Sex Over Time ....................... 161
45. History of Selling Sex and Future Treatment of Prostitutes .................. 162
Acronyms Used Throughout Report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BDSM</td>
<td>bondage / dominance / sadism / masochism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARP</td>
<td>Most At Risk Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSF</td>
<td>men who have sex with women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSM</td>
<td>men who have sex with men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSW</td>
<td>male sex worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHC</td>
<td>Men’s Health Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>US dollar</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Foreword

Love146 Asia Capacity Building Facilitator, Glenn Miles PhD

This paper is part of a series of research projects, which explore the vulnerability and potential resilience of sexually exploited people who are often over-looked including men, women, boys, girls and transgender people. Love 146 believe that people can be both exploited and exploiters irrespective of age, gender or sexuality.

This research is not because we are profiling homosexual men and saying that they are all abusers. We recently completed the research, ‘Listening to the Demand: A study of men who buy sex from female sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia’ which looked at heterosexual buyers. Not all male Cambodian and expatriate/tourist heterosexuals are sex buyers. This study is a comparable study of Cambodian and expatriate homosexuals understanding that not all of these are sex buyers either, but some are, and this is a genuine attempt at trying to understand their perspective.

Although many staff of Love146 are inspired by their beliefs, Love146 is not a faith-based organization but we are working closely with a wide range of faith based organizations. Our hope is to challenge these faith based communities into working more closely with the LGBT community. We are not expecting everyone to change their understandings of issues, but we are asking individuals and organizations to put aside any pre-conceived understandings for a minute so that there is time to consider just how we can best help exploited people. Indeed, the diversity of opinions, even within the research team conducting the research had its challenges. Faith based organizations have often chosen to ignore these issues because of concerns of how they will be perceived but listening and collaborating with those who understand this community better (the LGBT community) seems to be the best way forward.
The results have led us to consider if there are particular ways that the LGBT and faith based communities can be encouraged to protect young gay men from being exploited. We look forward to exploring ways in which this can occur.

Glenn Miles PhD
Asia Capacity Building Facilitator
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Executive Summary

‘Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia’ is the second of a two-part study done by Love 146 on the demand for the sex industry in Cambodia. The first of these studies was done in 2013 and its focus was on the men who had purchased sex with female prostitutes (known in this report as the MSF demand). (Havey, et al., 2013) This research has used a very similar survey, but here, men who have sex with men (MSM) were the focus, and so the survey was adjusted accordingly. There were also some questions added or removed within this survey from the last one due to the researchers development of knowledge about the demand and what was seen as more or less interesting to know about.

Research on prostitution has largely focused on the exploitation of girls and young women whereas the research extending to men involved in the sex industry has almost exclusively focused on HIV/AIDS and STI transmission. As a result, there is a considerable information gap on the male segment of the sex industry. In addition, the motivations, attitudes and behavior of those who pay for sex, are only vaguely understood. Other than the aforementioned predecessor to this present study, Melissa Farley did research on the MSF demand in Cambodia in 2007 called, ‘A Thorn in the Heart’ (Farley, 2012). Both of these papers were used to understand the context of the male sex buyers in Cambodia.

In this research, 51 Khmer and 23 foreign MSM were interviewed from February to April of 2013 in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, and one foreign man was interviewed in Battambang via phone. Foreign men were approached at bars known to be frequented by the MSM community. It was the researchers’ goal to interview at least 50 foreign MSM, but due to lack of interest and a misunderstanding of the goals of this research among this community, this was not attained. Contact with the Khmer MSM was made through
collaboration with various men’s sexual health clinics in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap.

Consistent with the demography of Cambodia’s population, the Khmer men interviewed were largely younger. All of them were under the age of 50 with 24 men being between the ages of 20-29. The foreign men were more ‘spread-out’ than the Khmer when it came to their ages, ranging from early 20’s all the way up to a man who was in his 70’s.

The majority of the sample group was single but there were some who had been divorced and others in significant relationships. Eight of the Khmer respondents were married to women, and two of the foreign participants were married to one another.

Seventeen of the foreign respondents said that they were homosexual and six of them said that they were bisexual. Data was originally collected about the sexual orientations of the Khmer participants, but as the study progressed during the interviews and the literature review about sexual orientations in SE Asia was being examined, it became clear that Khmer men do not fit into the same orientation paradigms in place in the West and thus this research does not define the Khmer MSM men in such way. Sexual orientation in Cambodia is a lot more fluid than in western cultures. It is also strongly linked with gender identity. One Khmer respondent, when asked about his sexual orientation, insisted that he was heterosexual despite his history of having intercourse with transgender women. He answered in this way because of the masculine characteristics he possessed.

At the heart of this research were the men who had purchased sex with men. There were some between both the foreign and Khmer men who had not purchased sex before, but the interview was still continued due to the researchers’ understanding that these men still possessed useful knowledge about Cambodia’s sex industry and its buyers. There were, 46/51 Khmer men who had purchased sex, along with 15/23 foreigners; and, four foreign
and one Khmer men had purchased sex in the past but a noteworthy amount of time had passed since they had done so, therefore they were placed in a category entitled, ‘not anymore’.

The Khmer men had proportionally paid for more sex, more frequently than the foreigners had. The most frequently answered category between both groups was the 1-5 times range. This category also included answers such as, “a few”. Nineteen of the Khmer men had paid for sex between six and 30 times, and there were also ten men who said they had paid for sex over 50 times before. Ten of the Khmer respondents said that they pay for sex two to three times a week, and ten of the participants said that they pay for sex at least once a week with half of these men saying that it is more than just once a week that they pay for sex. A large majority of the Khmer participants pay under ten dollars for sexual services with none of them paying more than $35 per encounter.

The frequency of paying for sexual services was proportionally smaller among foreign interviewees than the Khmer. Nine of the foreigners had paid for sex one to five times in their lives, six of them answered a number between six and 20, and only one foreigner had paid for sex more than 50 times in his life. The largest amount of foreigners who regularly pay for sex (seven) said that they do so a few times per year. One of these men said that he would pay for sex monthly and another foreign participant said that he pays for sex two to three times a month. The foreigners were being charged a higher price than their Khmer counterparts however. Seven of the foreigners said that they pay $11-20 per service session, nine said $21-35 and one foreign respondent said that he pays over $100 to have sex with a prostitute.

There were three main paradigms that the respondents have encountered while purchasing sex. They describe the different ways that a male sex worker would acquire financial benefits from their clients. These models are broken down in Table 1.
It was interesting to understand the difference between how these men viewed prostitution and the individual sex worker. On the whole, the Khmer and foreign men interviewed had a fairly mixed view of prostitution saying some positives and some negatives about the industry and the individual sex workers themselves. But, when asking about their views towards an individual prostitute, both the Khmer and foreigners had a more negative outlook. Many of the Khmer focused on how prostitutes had bad morals and a lower social standing whereas the foreign respondents said that they were deceptive and dangerous to their personal safety. There were also some respondents in both groups who did not view an individual prostitute any differently than someone who did not sell sex. They had a more holistic understanding about what drives a person into selling sex and the dangers they face in doing so.

One of the most interesting findings within this study was that a little over half the Khmer men interviewed had both bought & sold sex. There was no
substantial evidence that defined what type of man had participated in both the buying and selling of sex when this data was cross-tabulated with age, education, income level or the number of sexual partners the men had in their lifetimes. However, a certain ‘life-cycle’ of switching from the selling of sex to the buying did unfold. This quote is an example of this ‘life-cycle’: “When I was younger, I needed money and everyone wanted to buy me. I also enjoyed the sex and I could eat good meals. Now I am mostly the buyer and as long as I don’t hurt anyone it’s ok.” What this preceding quote also shines a light on was a common error among the Khmer participants about abusing someone physically and abusing their financial situation. This man stated that it is OK to purchase sex from someone because he was not physically harming anyone in doing so, but lacked the understanding that someone doing sex work out of need for the money is also a form of exploitation. A quote that further describes this misunderstanding was given by a man describing the advantages of paying for sex, “Because I have money, I buy sex. I don’t care what society thinks because I never force prostitutes to go with me. They need money, so I give it to them.”

The most popular place for a Khmer man to have found a prostitute to pay for sex with was the parks. Typically he heard about these places through friends. It appeared that the Khmer participants relied heavily on ‘word of mouth’ of prostitutes from their friends possibly out of a need to trust the sex-working individual. This trust and building of acquaintances with the prostitutes was also done through social networking websites and applications, specifically Facebook.

Foreign men typically found the prostitutes they were going to pay for sex with at bars. The second most popular place mentioned for a foreign man to acquire sexual services was at massage parlors and spas. Erotic massage appeared to be highly popular among the foreign group with 16/23 answering they had participated in one. After being asked if they had had an erotic massage, they were also asked if they found this to be a form of prostitution. Most of the men from both groups answered affirmatively, that
erotic massage is a form of prostitution. Among those men the common answers were that: it is a disguised form of prostitution, it involved sexual activity/arousal, or that masseurs asked if they wanted sex services with the payment given in tips. Those who did not find erotic massage as a form of prostitution said that the sexual services were value added and were not included in the original price of the massage.

Pornography appeared to be the largest influencer for Khmer men to seek prostitutes, with 80% of the men answering this way. Since there is a cultural taboo on masturbation in Cambodia, these men said that after watching porn they would be sexually aroused and would seek to pay for sex instead of releasing that tension themselves. The Khmer interviewees also said that they wanted to experience the various positions and activities they had seen within the pornographic material, and thus, was another reason to seek a prostitute.

Another interesting finding that this report explores was the mobility of the demand. The respondents were asked in which countries and/or Cambodian provinces they had also purchased sex. Sixteen of the 23 foreign respondents had paid for sex in other SE Asian countries, the main being Thailand. They said that they found Khmer men to be a lot shyer and less professional/experienced than the Thai men from whom they had purchased sex. Some of the Khmer men interviewed had purchased sex outside of Cambodia, but a much larger proportion had purchased sex in Cambodian provinces other than their home province. Other than Phnom Penh and Siem Reap as places these men were purchasing sex, the top provinces were Battambang, Banteay Meanchey, and Kampong Som. The data from this research also proved that it was not the highest economic class of our sample size of Khmer men that were purchasing sex outside of their home provinces, but rather it was the lowest. There can only be speculation as to why this is so, one being that Siem Reap and Phnom Penh are epicenters of Cambodian development and other provinces may be seen as being too proletarian to purchase sexual services from the men living there.
This research also addresses the issue of minors within the sex industry. The intention of this research was not to incriminate the respondents but rather allow them to speak openly about their experiences within Cambodia's sex industry so the questions were geared accordingly. There were protocols in place however if one of the participants did give information about their own abuse of minors, but these never had to be used. The men were first asked if they had ever been offered a minor for sex, 12/23 foreigners and 8/51 Khmer answered affirmatively. These numbers are proportionally slightly higher than the previous MSF demand research. Furthermore, it was asked if the men had known of other men who had paid for sex with a minor, 8/23 foreigners and 12/51 Khmer said, 'yes'. This specific question was not asked in the previous 'Listening to the Demand' research, but it has proven to be largely useful in understanding the presence of minors within Cambodia's sex industry. Lastly, the men were asked if they preferred pornography depicting minors, no foreigner said that this was a preference, however, 7/51 Khmer did. It was also mentioned by a few of the Khmer participants that they would have sex with a minor if it were legal. This information confirms a sustained presence of demand for minors within Cambodia's sex industry, an issue that needs to be addressed with vigilance.

Finally, the men were asked about what would deter them from participating in Cambodia's sex industry. The largest deterrent for both groups was jail time with over half of the foreign respondents and about 70% of the Khmer respondents answering this way. Community service was the least effective deterrent listed by both the Khmer and foreigners. It is noteworthy that many of the Khmer participants had paid for sex but said that they would be deterred from doing so more easily than compared to the foreigners indicating that there is a perception that enforcement of these legal actions would be unlikely.
Background

Context of the Research

In Cambodia, there is an accumulating body of research that aims to build understanding of people who are on the receiving end of transactional sex. A primary motivation for this research is to prevent the exploitation of these individuals. Topics have included: male and female masseurs, young entertainment workers, brothel and street-based sex workers, ‘bar girls’, and so-called ‘professional girlfriends’. However, research on prostitution has largely focused on the exploitation of girls and young women whereas the research extending to men involved in the sex industry has almost exclusively focused on HIV/AIDS and STI transmission. As a result, there is a considerable information gap on the male segment of the sex industry and relatively scant research that will assist prevention of exploitation in this area. In addition, the motivations, attitudes and behavior of those who pay for sex, which have a bearing upon their treatment of sex workers, are only vaguely understood.

There have been two recent papers written using interviews with men who buy sex from female sex workers in Cambodia: Melissa Farley’s study, ‘A Thorn in the Heart’ (Farley, 2012) conducted in 2007, and the 2013 Love146 study called, ‘Listening to the Demand’ (Havey, Halsey, Scales, Stumpf, 2013) which was the predecessor for this present study. Even when considering these studies, there is still a lack of information about the demand in Cambodia, with no known direct research about men who buy sex from male sex workers.

The Tourist and Sex Industries in Cambodia

It is estimated that there is a global income of up to $186 Billion per year
from the sex industry (Havocscope, n.d.). This illustrates the popularity of the sex industry in contemporary culture. South East Asia in particular has become notorious for “sex tourism”. Cities in the region such as Bangkok, Pattaya, Chiang Mai and Manila have become known for sex tourism and this trend is becoming increasing apparent for tourists visiting Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. This could be linked to a stereotypical view of Asian individuals by Westerners who see them, “… as being subservient, obedient, hard-working, submissive, passive, docile, shy, demure, softly spoken, eager to please, exotic” (Chung, 2006).

The sex industry in Cambodia was fairly small under the Khmer Rouge regime 1975-79, as overt prostitution was strictly controlled and, to a lesser extent, during the Vietnamese occupation in the 1980’s (Farley, Freed, Serey Phal and Golding, 2012). Demand for paid sex within Cambodia began to increase under the Vietnamese, but boomed with the arrival of 20,000 UN peacekeepers during the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in 1991 (Farley, 2012). Upon the UNTAC departure in 1993 the number of women in prostitution initially dropped before rising again to previous levels; this could show an increase in local demand, it is however unknown how many men were working in the sex entertainment industry at that time (UNICEF, 1995 as cited in Farley, 2012). In 1997, in an effort to tackle the sex industry, the Prime Minister of Cambodia, Hun Sen, attempted to close down all the brothels in the country (Seng, Pol & Srey, 1999 as cited by Meeks and Miles, 2013). This was not effective as prostitution moved to “… beer gardens, night clubs, snooker clubs, massage salons, karaoke parlors, barber shops, hidden brothels and on the street…” (Meeks and Miles, 2013, 12). As a result, there are still significant numbers of people exploited in the sex industry.

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1 This was calculated by adding up the estimated market value from countries where prostitution revenue was available.
Male Prostitution and Sex Work

Prostitution may be defined as “any consensual sexual activity among or between adults where money or any other material compensation is involved”. (Ricardo & Barker, 2008, p. 10) This can be street-based or more indirect, often utilizing a location as a platform for sex work. In the male sex industry, these locations are often bars, spas, saunas, massage parlors and nightclubs. The term “sex worker” is meant to designate a man or woman selling sexual services; using this activity as a legitimate form of employment.

A 2012 study examined the experiences and attitudes of 24 male entertainment workers - at massage parlors, street-based entertainment or working free-lance/part-time in private locations - who were from Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Poipet or Sihanoukville. Most of these men had had a few jobs before starting to sell sex. The main influence given for entering into performing transactional sex was financial, though another factor given was “curiosity about sex with another man”. (Phlong, Weissman, Holden & Liu, 2012, p. 30) It is suggested in Sovannara and Ward’s 2004 study that indirect sex work is common, with such sex workers in Phnom Penh using to public parks or local restaurants. (Sovannara & Ward, 2004, p. 19)

A study in 2011 interviewed massage boys at six different male-to-male massage establishments in Phnom Penh. Study findings showed, 20% of the respondents said they had sex with one client the previous day, 13% said 2 clients and a further 4% said either 3 or 4 clients. (Miles & Blanch, 2011) A number of them cited that they were employed in this industry due to difficulty finding another job, the possibility to earn money quickly or having little education or skills training. This compares with a similar study carried out in Siem Reap, where “a number of respondents seemed to indicate seeing massage work as a source of quick and/or easy income, many citing tips as an incentive for coming into the industry”. (Davis & Miles, 2012, p. 21) Additionally, in Phnom Penh “[e]ven though the majority of respondents had above average educational levels for Cambodia, they did not have the
skills required for employment that would provide a livable wage”, with 75% of respondents saying they would either maybe or definitely take another job paying 80 USD per month. (Miles & Blanch, 2011, p. 25)

**Cambodian Sex Buyers**

Farley’s 2012 study ‘A Thorn in the Heart’, looked at the reasons Khmer men purchase sex. One of the her findings was that most Khmer men dehumanized the women in prostitution. They believed that the women in prostitution were intrinsically different from other women; they were described as “... shameless, flirtatious, too direct, too sexual, vulgar, and emotionally detached” (Farley, 2012, p. 19). Compared to non-prostitute Khmer women who are, “... shy, with downcast eyes, sexually unresponsive, and subordinate to men” (Farley, 2012).

Eighty-three percent of the men who had paid for sex with women in Farley’s study had wives or girlfriends (Farley, 2012). The most common reason why Khmer men paid for sex was "in order to satisfy an immediate sexual urge" (Farley, 2012, p. 19). The other reasons they gave were that they were intoxicated or were convinced by their friends. The idea of paying for sex as part of heterosexual male bonding is also mentioned in ‘Let's Go for a Walk’ (Reid, 2007). In the report it mentions how Khmer men go out and drink together with friends, money is pooled and there is a peer pressure to go and have sex. Ninety percent of men in this report also considered paying for sex to be normal (Reid, 2007).

Seventy-nine percent of the men in the study, *A Thorn in the Heart*, also said that women who are prostitutes are, “unrapeable”, as the concept of rape is not considered applicable to women in prostitution (Farley, 2012). Findings have shown that there is a high rate of sexual violence towards women in prostitution; 90% of a sample of 1000 women in prostitution had been raped in the previous year, with 75% being gang raped (Jenkins, 2006 as cited in Farley, 2012). Within Cambodia there have been many cases of sexual violence. The recent report ‘Why do some men use violence against women
and how can we prevent it?’ stated that 20.4% of Cambodian men had admitted to rape, furthermore 5.2% admitted to gang rape (Fulu, Warner, Miedema, Jewkes, Roselli, and Lang, 2013). Gang rape or ‘baku’ is a relatively common occurrence within Cambodia as it is seen as a bonding experience or sport (Bearup, 2003a, 2003b, Soprach, 2004; Smith, 2007, Wilkinson et al., 2002 as cited by Farley, 2012). In Farley’s report, 41% of the men surveyed had taken part in gang rape.

Farley also asked men about what would deter them from paying for sex. Eighty-eight percent of the men surveyed said greater criminal penalties, 87% said having their name published in a newspaper, 86% said monetary fines, 86% said their name put on the internet, 83% said being put on a sex offenders list and 75% said educational programs (Farley 2012).

**Western Sex Buyers**

In 2009 a book written by someone who has actively participated in the Cambodian sex industry as a client was published under the pseudonym, Randy Nightwalker. In his book, *Addicted to Love*, he shares his experiences about the women he has paid for sex with and appears to encourage foreign men who are looking to pay for sex in Cambodia to do so (Nightwalker, 2009). He speaks about how he has “…gotten over the moral revulsion...” (Nightwalker, 2009, p. 17) and now freely enjoys paying for sex with Cambodian women.2

**Sexual Vulnerability of Males**

Through an increased understanding of the male demand and their experiences, it is hoped that exploitation of male sex workers can be

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2 For more information about MSF sex buyers in Western countries please refer to two studies in the references entitled: *Attitudes and Social Characteristics of Men Who Buy Sex in Scotland* (Farley, 2011), and *Comparing Sex Buyers with Men Who Don’t Buy Sex: You can have a good time with the servitude* vs. *You’re supporting a Comparing Sex Buyers with Men Who Don’t Buy Sex* (Farley, et al., 2011).
listening to the demand: a study of men who buy sex from male prostitutes in cambodia

Research carried out by Hilton in 2008 explored vulnerability factors of young Cambodian men relating to sexual abuse and exploitation. (Hilton et al., 2008) It was found that knowledge of a boy as victim of sexual abuse often led to discrimination from the community. This discrimination may also stem from the fact that sexually abused boys “are often not viewed as victims but as consenting”. (Hilton et al., 2008, p. 9)

Another factor that heightens the vulnerability of men and boys to sexual exploitation is the cultural perception that the male population cannot be sexually exploited and/or this is not socially recognized problem,

Neither ancient proverbs, codes of behavior nor contemporary literature or thinking seem to address the scenario or possibility of males being victimized. The idea of a male being ‘soiled by the actions of another’ in an abusive scenario is completely overshadowed by understandings of males as sexual predators, partly sanctioned and reinforced by a combination of ancient belief but also reflected in limited contemporary thinking and discourse. (Hilton et al., 2008, p. 52)

On a global scale, bodies responsible for public services, legislation, mass media, and scholarly material, overlook male sex workers. Samuel Vincent Jones writes in his report The Invisible Man, “While female vulnerability is often highlighted in contemporary media discourse, male vulnerability is consistently obscured by modern-day media expressions of male dominance and invulnerability perpetuated under the guise of masculinity”. (Jones, 2011, p. 1145) This silence on male sexual exploitation can be highly dangerous for boys and men around the world when in fact a large

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3 Sexual exploitation can be defined, using the Secretary-General’s 2003 protection from sexual exploitation and abuse (PSEA) bulletin as, “any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes” (Secretary General, 2003, p. 1).

4 Please refer to the references for a study entitled, Women Are Victims: Men Make Choices, which researched the invisibility of boys and men in scholarly discussions of the global sex trade. (Dennis, 2008)
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

proportion of the world’s sex industries are comprised of males. For example in Sri Lanka, boys have been reported to make up 90% of child prostitutes. (Todres, 1999).

Sexual Orientation, Identity and Expression

An understanding of the distinction between sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, and biological sex, as well as the divergence between Eastern and Western perceptions of these aspects of gender/sexuality is crucial to the study of paid sex in the MSM population. The difference between sexual orientation and gender identity is clearly explained in the Yogyakarta Principles, an international human rights document adopted in Indonesia at the end of 2006. Following this text, “[s]exual orientation is understood to refer to each person’s capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender, or the same gender or more than one gender” (Salas and Sorn, 2013: 6).

On the other hand, “Gender Identity is understood to refer to each person’s deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond to the sex assigned at birth” (Salas and Sorn, 2013: 6). Likewise, Lyttleton (2008:16) emphasizes that “[s]exual orientation relies on directionality: a person who desires another (as an object of their desire)”. Furthermore, this author discusses identity in terms of “degrees of self-identification with a sexualized social identity” (2008: 20). In other words, orientation designates the gender of one’s attraction and sexual desire, while identity refers to one’s own sense of ‘gender belonging’ and the disclosed or undisclosed self-association with this gender. A person may be transgender, for example, meaning their gender identity does not align with the gender that was assigned to them at birth according to their biological sex and the traditional gender binary. In contrast, a person may be cisgender, which refers to when a person’s gender identity is in accordance to their biological sex.
Gender expression is far more fluid than sexual orientation, gender identity or biological sex, all of which are more or less fixed. Gender expression, in contrast, refers to the way a person chooses to behave, dress, speak, etc. Through this behavior and appearance, a person may align him or herself among traditional gender binary aspects of masculinity or femininity. People may change this aspect of themselves according to how they feel, the social situation, and much more, it may influence their self-expression (Killerman, 2013: 83).

There are important differences between the Western and Eastern understandings of sexual orientation, identity and expression. In the West, sexual orientation is predominately divided into three main categories: heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual. A heterosexual person is one who is “sexually attracted to people of the opposite sex”, a homosexual person is one who is “sexually attracted to people of one's own sex”, and a bisexual person is one who is “sexually attracted to both men and women” (oxforddictionaries.com). Although identity is a multifaceted concept, the two Western categories of identity that are relevant to the present study are gender identity, which has been defined above, and sexual identity, which is linked to orientation (Reiter, 1989: 138-150). Thus, the terms “gay”, “lesbian”, and “bisexual” are sexual identities, while the terms “cisgender” and “transgender” are gender identities. Some sexual identities and gender identities are often grouped together into ‘the LGBT community’, especially for advocacy purposes, although the notion of community is comprised of varying identities (see, Storer in Jackson and Sullivan, 1999: 150-151).

In Southeast Asia, notably in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, there are three traditionally recognized genders for individuals: masculine cisgender men, feminine cisgender women and the kathoey. Kathoey, or khteuy in Khmer, refers to a man or woman “who expresse[s] hermaphroditic features or exhibit[s] behavior considered inappropriate for their sex, and [are] commonly called a ‘third sex” ’ (Jackson and Sullivan, 1999: 4 for Thailand; see also Phong, 2008: 21-23 for Cambodia and Lyttleton, 2008: 7, 12-14 for
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

Laos). However, because this word’s use varies from province to province and according to the age group of the speaker, it has a range of meanings going from sexual performance deficiency to cross-dressing. It is important to note that people who self-identify as khteuy consider being called khteuy by people who are not khteuy as an insult (Phong, 2008: 22-23; see also Lyttleton, 2008: 7-8, 13-14).

As noted by Jackson and Sullivan (1999: 5, 7-10), the Western discourse on sexuality has typically (arguably until recently, see: Killermann, 2013) been characterized by a “’gay’/’straight’ binary”, which can become problematic when Westerners write about Eastern perceptions and experiences of sexuality. In Cambodia, as in other Southeast Asian countries, sexual identity is not linked to orientation or a self-sense of gender, but is rather based on personal characteristics. A Cambodian man will self-identify as such if he possesses firm and tough personality or character traits that are culturally perceived as being masculine. Someone will self-identify as a khteuy or may even identify as a woman if they are gentle and docile, that is to say, if they possess characteristics that are “feminine” according to the traditional gender binary. Due to personal characteristics rather than orientation or self-sense of gender are understood as the determinants of sexual identity, Cambodian men may not consider themselves as homosexual or bisexual even if they are having sex with men (CCHR, 2010: 11). Indeed, Tarr (1996: 3) pointed out that most Cambodians “do not consciously reflect on their sexual identity, but rather on themselves as females and males living in Cambodian society”. The implication of this reality for research is that there is often a “mismatch” between respondents’ sexual self-identification and the sexual behavior they report (Girault et al., 2004: 35). As a result, in this research we asked the gender identity of our respondent’s sexual partners to ensure an MSM individual was being interviewed.

Western categories of sexuality still have little resonance in Cambodia, especially in the rural provinces. After interviewing 206 men, a survey conducted in 2003 on the sexual behaviors of the MSM in Phnom Penh found
that “[a]lthough all the men in this study had sex with other men, many of them did not identify as either homosexual or bi-sexual, and only one person used a social group identifier such as ‘gay’ ” (Girault et al., 2004: 43). Likewise, Phong (2008: 31) asserts that “[i]n Cambodia, it is difficult and even erroneous to speak in terms of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and even more so of homosexuality or heterosexuality”, because several men who identify as cisgender, traditionally masculine men engage in homosexual behavior during their youth. Moreover, attempting to grasp how Cambodian MSM perceive themselves and interact with other men is not facilitated by thinking in terms of Western categories of sexuality. Indeed, “[t]here is no vocabulary in the Khmer language specifically describing sexual preferences and behavior – there are no words to describe heterosexual, homosexual or bi-sexual people. Cambodians are therefore not accustomed to classifying people in this way” (CCHR, 2010: 10). Consequently, in the present study, the results for the Khmer respondents’ sexual orientation have been intentionally excluded.

Due to the diversity of expressions of male-to-male sexuality in Southeast Asia, the acronym MSM designating Men who have Sex with Men is often considered more appropriate, because it relates to sexual behavior and therefore includes all men who have sex with men, regardless of their actual orientation or self-identity. This unfortunately, tends to conflate homosexual cisgender men and transgender women, because of their birth-assigned male gender. This label is useful, however, because some Cambodian men adopt sexual behaviors that go counter their actual orientation. For example, some men who are not attracted to other men engage in sex with other men for money and other men who are not attracted to women get married and have children to conform to family expectations. Using such an inclusive term is also important because sexual identity is even more complex, in the sense that there is the identity one senses one has, the identity one displays socially, and the identity which is socially perceived. These three identities may be different from each other. As a result, MSM has been used to refer “to biological males who have sex with other biological males. It does not
indicate that those males do not also have sex with females and does not imply that those males necessarily have a sense of identity or community based on the fact that they have sex with other men” (Sovannara and Ward, 2004: iv). Additionally, Lyttleton offers a thorough explanation for studying male-to-male sexuality in the East from an MSM perspective:

The use of the term MSM emerges from the recognition that physically identical acts are not understood in the same way in different cultural contexts. Thus, MSM became a way to categorize examples of same-sex eroticism that looked nothing like Western gay communities. Its use assumes that Western gay modes of social and subjective identification cannot be transposed to other cultural settings in order to understand what informs and motivates people. [...] MSM is employed all over the world precisely because it has been recognized that social significance and subjective meaning attached to sexual acts varies noticeably between and within different cultures. (Lyttleton, 2008: 11)

Some Western academics have also pointed out that MSM is “comprehensible to everyone and meaningful to no one” and “a concept without a centre and theoretically inadequate” (Patton, 2002 and Dowsett, 2006 quoted in Lyttleton, 2008: 11). As for Cambodian adoption of this term, Morineau, Song and Phal (2004: 19) found that “[t]he participants did not use the term MSM to refer to a sexual behavior but to describe the member of their gay community”. This appears to be consistent with the traditional understanding of sexuality in the East. Consequently, in the present study, the use of MSM is intended to reinforce the researchers’ central focus on sexual behavior.  

5 Please refer to Appendix III of this report for a more detailed account on sexual orientation, gender identity and sexual expression in Cambodia.
Legal Deterrents of the Demand

In 1999, Sweden adopted a law criminalizing those who pay for sex (Claude, 2010). The law criminalizes the activity of purchasing sexual services, but does not criminalize their sale by prostitutes. The thinking behind this was that by tackling the demand side of the industry, the supply and thereby trafficking and exploitation may be limited. As Claude states, “... the Swedish view [is that], prostitution and human trafficking are linked by the sex buyers, whose money finances organized crime” (Claude, 2010, p. 6). He goes on to explain how effective this law has been for Sweden: “According to a research report done in 2008, the number of male sex buyers in Sweden had decreased from 13.6% to 7.9% since 1996” (Claude, 2010, p. 11). The Swedish government reported that since the law has been established in 1999 street prostitution has halved (Government Offices of Sweden-Ministry of Justice, 2010). In 2007, The Spiegel reported that there were only 105-130 prostitutes in Stockholm compared to Oslo, Norway, which had 5,000. Furthermore, it was estimated that 600 people a year are trafficked to Sweden compared to Finland that, despite being half the size of Sweden, had an estimated number of 15,000 (Anwar, 2007). This illustrates how Sweden’s law appears to be effectively cutting down on prostitution and trafficking.

Following the Swedish example, two other countries have also started to prosecute the buyers: Norway in 2009 and more recently France, beginning in December 2013 (Sullivan, 2013). This illustrates how some countries across Europe are seeing this approach as a positive way to fight sex trafficking.

While critics of the Swedish model argue that criminalizing the buying of sex pushes prostitution underground, there is evidence that the legalization of prostitution perpetuates trafficking and exploitation. Some further argue that the Swedish model just pushes buyers into neighboring countries. However, if every country were to adopt the Swedish model, there would be fewer places for men to go and pay for sex. Recently, the European Union has voted in favor of the Swedish model. Three hundred and forty three members of the European Parliament voted in favor of the bill, arguing, “The yes vote
formally establishes the EU’s stance on prostitution and puts pressure on member states to re-evaluate their policies on sex work” (Oppenheim, 2014). As Mary Honeyball, a London MEP, stated:

Today’s outcome represents a vital signal from MEPs that we cannot continue to tolerate the exploitation of women... Rather than blanket legalisation, parliament has backed the more nuanced approach already practised in Sweden as a means of tackling prostitution. This punishes men who treat women’s bodies as a commodity, without criminalising women who are driven into sex work (Oppenheim, 2014)
Methodology

The interviews for this study were conducted between February and April of 2014, surveying 58 Khmer and 23 foreign men in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, and one man was interviewed via phone while he was at home in Battambang. Contact with the Khmer respondents was made through various men’s health clinics in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, their names and locations can be found in Appendix II of this report. Foreign men were approached in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap at bars known to be frequented by a homosexual and bisexual clientele.

The owners and managers of these locations were approached first when enquiring about eligibility to ask their patrons to participate in this research. Some of the establishments denied the researchers in doing so, while others were more welcoming. Among the owners and management of these businesses who granted eligibility, the researchers also encountered negative feedback from some of their patrons. This criticism was due to a misunderstanding between the researchers and some of the establishment’s clients about the necessity and goals of this research. The potential respondents attributed this animosity to: the already abundant research about the MSM community’s sexual health (believing we were conducting a similar study, thus not deeming this research to be necessary) and/or the sizeable amount of faith-based NGOs within Phnom Penh and Siem Reap whom some have had a history of demonizing the MSM lifestyle. If this were encountered, the researchers would have a small dialogue with the individual clarifying the needs and goals of this present study. More often than not, these conversations would lead to the man understanding the research and accepting participation. However, some would respond that they had understood the research but still denied participating. Further, a smaller amount of men appeared to still not understand the research, therefore were not inclined to participate. Both of these groups of men were thus left alone by the researchers, not to be approached again.
The preliminary introduction to the research and a code of ethics regarding confidentiality were taken from previous unpublished research conducted in Mumbai by Miles and Thakur in 2013. The majority of the survey was directly taken from the first part of the Listening to the Demand research in which heterosexual men were interviewed. From this survey, the researchers adapted the content within the survey so that it would foster a more thorough understanding of the life of an MSM male. The survey can be found in Appendix II of this report.

The foreign men were approached by a combination of four researchers in teams of two. There was the ability to conduct the interviews in English, French, Italian and Spanish. The Khmer respondents were interviewed in the Khmer language through Cambodian translators. The researcher accompanying the translator in these interviews typically did not take an active part in the survey, but instead was there for the benefit of the translator to clarify anything they were unsure about and to transcribe what the translator relayed. The interviews were conducted in Khmer while the answers were either written in English as the interview took place, or written in Khmer and translated soon after by the translator and researcher team.

Due to the researchers’ initial lack of connections with the Khmer MSM demand community in Cambodia, a relationship with various male health clinics was built in Phnom Penh. This relationship opened the possibility for the research to be conducted in Siem Reap as well, at a sister health clinic. These health clinics have mostly an MSM clientele; which was interesting to understand more about how these Male Sexual Health clinics are stigmatized among the Khmer population to only be for the MSM community. This was deemed to be successful because the Khmer clients, who were visiting the clinic for an appointment, allowed the researcher and translator an opportunity to approach the client and ask if he was willing to sit down for an interview.
Khmer respondents were either given a $2 phone or gas card as compensation for their participation. Foreigners however, were typically interviewed at restaurants, cafés or bars and thus were offered a meal and/or beverage as compensation for their time.

One of the main focuses of this research project was the participation of the respondents in the sex industry in Cambodia. To gain as much information as possible, the participants were first asked general questions about prostitution. Then, the questions became more personal in order to gain deeper insights from the participants about their views on and use of the sex industry. To make this dialogue as comfortable as possible for the participants, the general questions were considered to be a good way to lead the parties, researcher and respondent, into a conversation rather than an interview. Building trust was important to receive accurate answers, especially during the more personal part of the interview. These personal questions were pertinent for the respondent and his demographic group to be more thoroughly understood.

It is the researchers’ understanding that the transgender female population ("long-hair" men as translated from Khmer) is more of a gender identity while the “short-hair” MSM population is sexual orientation; therefore, this research has focused on the Khmer “short-hair” (cisgender) MSM population. It is recommended that further research into the purchasing of sexual services among Cambodia’s "long-hair” MSM/transgender women population be studied.
Safety and Ethics

Throughout this research the researchers adhered to the, “Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on the Perpetuation of Sexual Violence” presented by the Sexual Violence Research Initiative (SVRI) out of South Africa in 2008. Within this document it is recommended: that the survey must keep the respondents’ identity anonymous, avoid the disclosure of incriminating details from the respondents, and that the respondents had the right to not answer a question or discontinue the interview if desired (SVRI, 2008).

There were requirements that the researchers and translators followed while out in the field doing interviews that ensured their safety. First, the researchers always were with at least one other person from the team, either another active researcher or a Khmer translator. Second, it was required that both of the team members in the field had a charged phone that was kept ‘on’ throughout the time they were in the field; this was also so that the various teams could communicate safely with each other if visual contact was not attainable during the interview process. Lastly, the researchers actively participated in debriefing and discussion of the days they went out to do research, so that if one or more team members were struggling with the information they were hearing, this could be addressed and mental and/or emotional support could be provided.
Limitations

The foremost limitation in this research was the number of foreign respondents willing to participate in the survey. The foreign MSM community is small in Cambodia and many within the community know each other well. When told about this research or approached to participate in it, some foreign men were under the impression that the study intended to demonize the gay community. This was, of course, not the objective of this research, rather our goal was to give this community a voice to a larger audience and foster more of an understanding about the MSM community within Cambodia. Once this was explained, many of the foreign men who were initially apprehensive began to open themselves up to the project and allowed us to conduct an interview with them. It is the researchers’ understanding that this preliminary reaction to our research was due to the history of discrimination this community has faced. Unfortunately, this reaction did affect the outcome of this research and thus only 23 foreign men could be interviewed by the time the interview phase of this project had ended.

Another limitation of this research involved the Khmer respondents. There were some interviews where the respondent did not understand the questions being asked and therefore, those responses had to be removed from the final report. Some of these misunderstandings resulted in a mismatch of data between various quantitative questions. An example of this was with the questions related to the respondents’ sexual history. The participant would answer that he had slept with ‘\(X\)’ total people in his lifetime, but when asked about how many people in each gender category he had had sexual relations with, the numbers he gave were incongruent with the total number he had provided previously. Also, The Khmer MSM community is small as well so when potential respondents heard from their friends about our research and how we offered compensation for participation, this may have led to some respondents sitting down with the
researchers and not answering the questions honestly, but rather supplying, “give them what they want to hear as fast as possible” type answers so they could receive a $2 gas card and leave. Finally, there may have been some Khmer respondents who were not being fully accurate in their accounts due to the cultural value of, ‘saving face’. This is a deeply rooted cultural paradigm in Cambodia, and that is why the researchers and translators tried to make the Khmer respondents feel as safe and comfortable as they could during the interview.

Due to accessibility issues, this research focused on lower and middle class urban Khmer men. The wealthy and the poorest economic classes of the Cambodian population could not be surveyed due to their work schedules, location, and/or privacy surrounding their sexuality. It is also important to keep in mind that this survey was conducted in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, where sensibilities with regards to sexuality may be quite different from what they are in rural areas having less access to globalized perspectives.

Similarly, it was impossible to get a representation of foreign men from all the countries and regions tourists and expatriates come from due mainly to a lack in the linguistic diversity of our team. Ultimately, the foreign men interviewed fit three molds; 1) they spoke English, French, Italian or Spanish, 2) they were wealthy enough to travel to Cambodia and, 3) they were willing to be interviewed.

It may seem as a limitation to the reader that this report has excluded the data about the sexual orientation of our Khmer respondents. This omission was intentional due to the researchers background information gathering about the Cambodian MSM community and while piloting the survey. It had become clear that Western sexual orientation paradigms cannot be imposed onto Khmer individuals because sexual orientation in Cambodia is much more fluid. In the West, a person can be defined as possessing a certain sexuality from a list of categories (i.e. homosexual, bisexual, heterosexual, pansexual, etc.) but these groupings are not translated into Cambodian
culture. Here, sexuality is linked with the gender characteristics an individual conveys. For example, a cisgender man may have a history of having sexual relations with other men, but he and society would define him as a heterosexual or “straight” man because of the gender characteristics he expresses; whereas in the West, this man could be defined as bisexual. Thus, to ensure that the Khmer respondents in this study were in fact a part of the MSM community, they were asked if they have had sexual relations with another man.

Finally, the last limitation is regarding a scenario-based question used in this survey about witnessing the rape of a prostitute and a non-prostitute. In the previous Love146 MSF demand research, this same scenario was used, but the accompanying question that was asked was, “Would you react differently to these two situations?” In this survey the final question was changed to, “whom would you help?” It is believed that this change in wording affected the outcome of the question. The word, “help” is highly emotive and may have led the respondents to answer the question ‘correctly’, rather than honestly.
Results

Demographics

**Interview Location** (Appendix I [starting on page #140 of this report], Graph #1)
During this research we interviewed the men in two different locations. In Phnom Penh, we interviewed 31/51 Khmer men, and 11/23 foreign men. In Siem Reap, we interviewed 20/51 Khmer men, and again, 11/23 foreign men. There was one foreign man who lived in Battambang at the time of the interview and agreed to respond to the survey through an interview over the phone.

**Age**
As shown in Graph #2 in Appendix I, the Khmer population interviewed was largely younger than the foreign group, with none being above the age of 50. Eight out of the fifty-one Khmer respondents were younger than the age of 20, the largest majority, 24/51 were between the ages of 20 and 29, 11/51 were between the ages of 30 and 39, and finally, 8/51 of the Khmer respondents were between the ages of 40 and 49. The foreign population interviewed had ages somewhat more spread out than the Khmer participants. Four of the twenty-three foreign respondents were between the ages of 20 and 29, 3/23 were 30 to 39, 4/23 again were between the ages of 40-49. Many of the foreign participants were older than the age of 50 with: 5/23 being 50-59, 6/23 were 60 to 69, and lastly, one foreign participant was over the age of 70.

**Country of Origin** (Appendix I, Graph #3)
All of our Khmer respondents were born and had currently lived in Cambodia. The foreign respondents were predominately from Europe, 10/23, and Australia or New Zealand, 8/23. There were 3/23 foreign respondents from North America, and 2/23 were from Asian countries other than Cambodia.
Reason for Being in this City (Appendix I, Graph #4)
The respondents were asked their reason for being in the particular city where they were interviewed in (Phnom Penh, Siem Reap or Battambang). The largest proportion of the Khmer respondents said that they lived in the city where the interview took place, 24/51. Nine of the 51 Khmer respondents said that they worked in that particular city, 1/51 Khmer participant was there for travel, and 10/51 of the Khmer men were there for 'other' reasons. The category 'other' included those who were in the city for a combination of the categories presented, for an example someone who was in Siem Reap for work and holiday. The largest proportion of foreigners interviewed was in that particular city for work, 12/23. Six of the 23 foreigners were there for travel, 2/23 said that they lived in that city and 3/23 were put in the ‘other’ category due to their presence in that city for a combination of reasons.

Length of Stay
Among the foreign respondents, 3/23, were in Cambodia for less than a week. Six of the 23 participants were in the country for less than a month, 2/23 less than a year, 1/23 for less than five years. The largest proportion of the foreign population interviewed, 8/23, answered that they had no set plans as to when they were going to leave Cambodia.

Occupation (Appendix I, Graph #5)
The largest amount of the Khmer respondents worked in the private sector, 34/51. The majority of these men said that they worked in hotels and restaurants as hosts, waiters and lower management. The second largest occupation among the Khmer men interviewed was full-time students, 7/51. Six of the 51 Khmer men were unemployed, one Khmer man worked in the public sector and one man worked in an NGO. The private sector was also the most frequent source of income among the foreign respondents with 12/23 of the men working for a privately owned business or being self-employed. Similar to the Khmer men who worked in the private sector, the majority of the foreign men worked in the service industry at either a
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy
Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

restaurant or a hotel, but the foreign men rather held higher management positions or were owners of the business. There were 2/23 foreign men who were retired and 3/23 foreign men who worked in education.

**Income** (Graph #6)

Five of the 74 respondents (four Khmer and one foreign) said that they had no income at all. All of the Khmer men who gave an answer to this question made less than 500USD per month; 17/51 made less than $100/month, 19/51 made between $101 and $200 in a month, and 4/51 of the Khmer men made between $201 and $500/month. Two of the Khmer men did not give an answer. The foreign men tended to make a higher income than the Khmer men with; 3/23 made between $500 and $1,000 per month, 5/23 made $1,001 and $2,000, 9/23 made $2,001 to $5,000, and one foreign man made over $5,000 per month. Four of the 23 foreign men did not give an answer to this question.

**Family Status** (Graph #7)

The majority of the Khmer men were single at the time of the interview, 36/51. Eight of the Khmer men were married and all of them said that they were married to women. Four of the 51 Khmer respondents were divorced and 3/51 were placed in the category ‘other’. This category was given for men who had a boyfriend, were in a civil partnership, or engaged to be married. Ten of the 23 foreign men interviewed were single, 3/23 were divorced, and 8/23 were considered ‘other’. Two of the foreign men were married to each other at the time of the interview. The respondents were also asked if they had any biological children. Nine of the Khmer men said, “yes” they had children, and 6/23 of the foreign participants had children as well.

**Education Level** (Graph #8)

One of the Khmer respondents said that he had not received any form of formal education at the time of the interview. Nine of the 51 Khmer men had stopped attending school during or just after primary school, 32/51 of the
Khmer participants had attended secondary school, one respondent went to a vocational or trade school, and 8/51 of the Khmer men had attended university. All of the foreign men had at least started secondary school, with 6/23 stopping there. Two of the foreign participants went to a vocational or trade school, 9/23 of the men had attended university and 6/23 of the foreign men interviewed went onto pursue a postgraduate degree.

**Religion** (Graph #9)
The majority of the Khmer men interviewed said that they were Buddhist, 43/51. There were 4/51 Khmer men who were Christian, 3/51 said that they had a combination of religious practices and so were placed in the category ‘other’, and one Khmer man said that he had no religious affiliation. Four of the 23 foreign men interviewed said that they were Christian, 1/23 man said he was pagan, 3/23 of the foreign respondents were atheist, one man said he had an affiliation but was not practicing the religion at all, and 14/23 of the men answered that they did not have any religious affiliation.

**Alcohol use** (Graph #10)
The largest proportion of the Khmer men, 16/51, said that they did not drink alcohol at all or if they had, it was in small amounts and very infrequently. One of the Khmer men said he would drink once a year, 4/51 answered that they consumed it a few times a year, 5/51 monthly, 4/51 a few times per month, 7/51 weekly, 10/51 a few times per week, and finally, 4/51 of the Khmer men interviewed said that they drank alcohol daily. One of the foreign men said that he drank alcohol a few times per year, and one foreigner said that he drank it monthly. Three of the 23 of the foreign men said that they drank alcohol weekly. In the remaining three categories there were 6/23 foreign men who gave answers that fit each one. The category, ‘Daily+’ includes those respondents who said that they had more than one drink a day, everyday.
**Drug use** (Graph #11)

The majority of both the Khmer and foreign respondents said that they never use recreational drugs. Two of the Khmer respondents answered that they consume drugs occasionally, 3/51 said monthly and one Khmer man said he uses drugs daily. It should be noted that this man admitted being high on methamphetamines at the time of the interview. One foreign respondent said that he has tried recreational drugs one to five times in his life; another foreigner said he takes drugs monthly, and one more said, ‘daily’.

**Sexual Orientation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.2 Foreigner</th>
<th>(&lt;5)</th>
<th>(5-9)</th>
<th>(10-14)</th>
<th>(15-19)</th>
<th>(20-29)</th>
<th>(30+)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How would you define your sexual orientation?</td>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bisexual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 2, out of the 23 foreigner participants in this research, 17 of the men defined themselves to be homosexual and six said that they were bisexual. The highest number of foreign respondents understood their sexual orientation between the ages of 10-14. Three of the foreigners said that they became aware of their sexual orientation between the ages of five and nine and two of the bisexual foreign participants said that they did not understand their sexual orientation to be bisexual until after the age of 30.

Since cultural perceptions of sexual orientation in Cambodia differ from the traditional western definitions, we did not include the results of the Khmer respondents for this question. Khmer respondents verified through other
questions that they did in fact have sexual intercourse with men, thus making them suitable to participate in this study.

Gender Characteristics and Sexual Preference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.3.a</th>
<th>What is your sexual preference?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.3.b</th>
<th>What is your sexual preference?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigner</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The question on the left of the table was asked to see if there was any correlation between the orientations the respondents gave and the gender characteristics they perceived in themselves. It is interesting that 15/51 Khmer men (T.3.a) said that they portrayed male characteristics and eight responded that they had predominantly female characteristics. The majority of the Khmer group came under ‘mixed’, 28/51. In comparison, the highest
proportion of the foreign group answered ‘male’ with 15/23, and only 1 in 3 men perceived ‘mixed’ characteristics (T.3.b).

The next question was asked to gain a wider understanding of sexual preference among MSM in Cambodia. The highest amount for both Khmer and foreign men said their preference was for men. Virtually all the foreigners, 21/23, gave ‘male’ as their preference, whereas a significant number of Khmer gave both ‘male’ and ‘female’, 17/51. It is also interesting to note that only three Khmer men responded that they preferred the categories of sexual partners that included transgender women.

**Openness and Acceptance of Sexuality**

The following tables (T.4.a & T.4.b) represent data about how accepting the respondents were of their own sexuality and also what group(s) of people they are ‘open’ with. In general, the respondents appear to have a high acceptance of their own sexuality with 41 Khmer and 17 foreign participants reporting the highest level of self-acceptance. An example of a Khmer respondent who reported to have a “5” acceptance rating on our scale said,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.4.a</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
<th>Who are you open with about your sexuality?</th>
<th>How accepting/comfortable do you feel with your own sexuality?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colleagues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends &amp; family</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends &amp; colleagues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family &amp; colleagues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None of above</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"I know who I am, so I am inclined toward that".

This next Khmer respondent also said he was a ‘5’ on our scale, and gave a little more thorough answer,

"If it were possible, I would like to be normal. But I am this way, so why be depressed? I want to enjoy myself anyways".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.4.b</th>
<th>How accepting/comfortable do you feel with your own sexuality?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who are you open with about your sexuality?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleagues</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends &amp; family</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends &amp; colleagues</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family &amp; colleagues</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of above</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the foreigners interviewed also had a high acceptance rating of their own sexuality. One foreigner in this ‘5’ category said,

"I feel very comfortable with who I am. I have no regrets".

There were only two foreign respondents who said that they were about ‘mid-range’ with regards to accepting their sexuality. Among the Khmer, two respondents appear to have a lower level of self-acceptance and four participants said to be about ‘mid-range’ as well.
This data also appears to show a higher level of openness regarding sexuality in both groups of participants. Seventeen of the foreign respondents said that they were open about their sexuality with everyone in their lives and only one respondent answered that he was not open with anyone. It may be interpreted that among the foreigners, the higher level of self-acceptance the respondents had, the more people they were open with about their sexuality.

The Khmer men were a little more ‘spread-out’ in terms of who they were open with about their sexuality than the foreign participants. Though having a high self-acceptance rating, there appears to be a split between the Khmer respondents who were open with everyone in their lives, and those who were open only with their friends. It is also interesting to note that four of the 41 Khmer respondents who gave themselves a ‘5’ acceptance rating on our scale said that they were not open with anyone.

**Openness about Same-sex Relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.5.a</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreigner</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you were in a romantic same-sex relationship, how comfortable would you be to talk about it?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This question was asked of respondents to see if there is a link between lack of openness about same-sex relationships and prostitution use. They were
asked to rate from 1-5 how comfortable they would feel to disclose their same-sex relationship to other people in their lives, with one being the lowest and five being the highest values on the scale. The highest number of Khmer, 30/49, (shown in T.5.b) gave the answer 5. The highest number of foreigners, 20/23, (T.5.a) also said this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How accepting/comfortable do you feel with your own sexuality?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.5.b Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you were in a romantic same-sex relationship, how comfortable would you be to talk about it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can also be seen that 11/49 Khmer reported a ‘1’ meaning that they would not feel comfortable at all to talk about their same-sex relationship. When cross-tabbed with the acceptance data in the previous section, 8 of these Khmer men said that they had an acceptance rating of ‘5’ on our scale.

**Discrimination**

The respondents were asked if they had encountered any discrimination because of their sexuality, this was asked to see if there was any link between discrimination and prostitution use. For Khmer, 27/51 said they had received discrimination because of their sexuality, and 14/23 foreigners said they had as well. (Graph #12)
To further elaborate on this topic respondents were asked, ‘who they had been discriminated by?’ The respondents were able to choose more than one option. The highest number of Khmer said friends with 19/51, compared to no foreigners giving this answer. The highest amount of foreigners said family with 7/23. Eleven out of 51 of Khmer men also said family. The category ‘Other’, which received responses by 8/51 Khmer men and 6/23 foreigners, included neighbors, teachers and fellow students. Among the Khmer, when they spoke about discrimination the most common answer was verbal abuse with 12/27 saying,

“My friends at school and my neighbors call me gay. They call me like a woman. When I don’t know how to do work in the household, they call me gay. And when I hang out with girls.”

Two respondents also mentioned physical violence,

“In school—in the bathrooms, they pushed me and wanted me to change; to become straight.”

Other types of discrimination mentioned by some were experiencing rejection and a lack of support.

The highest number of Khmer, 19/27, said they had experienced discrimination from friends.

“My friends. They would reprimand me for behaving in a different way.”

The second highest answer was family with 11/27 saying:

“My family is anti-gay, but now I don't live with my family, so it doesn’t matter anymore. Some of my friends criticize me for being gay, but I don't care.”
And,

"My family hit[s] me. They say I am crazy."

Among the foreigners, when they spoke about discrimination the most form disclosed was also verbal abuse with 8/14 saying:

“They were very 'bergin’ or redneck at work and they would constantly be putting me down.”

And,

“I was known as the gay boy at home. Growing up gay has been difficult at times.”

Some also mentioned physical abuse (4/14):

“They pointed a nail gun at me when I told people they were doing a job wrong.”

Other situations mentioned were: rejection, being denied a position or promotion, lack of support and no problems because they were discreet about their orientation.

Seven foreigners said family was where they experienced the most discrimination,

"My father kicked me out of the house because I am homosexual."

And,

“My family hasn’t been supportive of me.”
The second highest answer was colleagues with 5/14 adding comments such as,

“I was also attacked in the shop where I worked. It was mostly verbal, but occasionally, it was physical.”

Self-Worth (Graph #13)
This question was about self-worth, the respondents were asked to rank themselves with one being the lowest and ten being the highest. This was asked to see if there is a link between self-worth and prostitution use. The highest number of Khmer, 21/50 saw themselves as 10 out of ten whereas the highest number of foreigners said eight out of 10, 8/23. It can be seen that only one Khmer respondent said they viewed themselves as one out of ten. Ten out of 50 of the Khmer men viewed their self-worth as between 1 and 5, compared to two out of 23 foreigners. Only one Khmer respondent said this question did not apply to him.

A common answer for the Khmer who gave themselves a high score was that they were proud of themselves.

“I am proud of myself. Why must I care about what other people think? I’m not asking anything of anyone”.

For those who did not rate themselves highly, a common answer was they felt unhappy and did not want to be different. For example,

“I feel bad about myself and why I’m born like this. I look at others with kids and think, ‘Why am I different?’”

An interesting answer was from one man who linked his lack of self-worth to paying for sex.
"I have done something bad to my family. I have paid for sex. If my family knew, they would think I’m bad. I still depend on family for support."

This response shows the shame this man feels for paying for sex, interestingly how he feels that he has let his family down who are still giving him financial support. He has used this money to pay for sex.

Among foreigners, a common answer for good self-worth was that they saw themselves as good persons and cared about others. For example, “I know I am a good person. My philosophy is to never cause anyone harm or hurt intentionally.” As to why some of the foreign participants had saw themselves having low self-esteem, one respondent mentioned that it was related to bad experiences in his past,

"It goes back to experiences I had as a child and lack of confidence in myself. It’s about actively keeping your head up and supporting each other.”

Sexual Activity

**Virginity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Virginity lost to?</th>
<th>Girl friend</th>
<th>Boy Friend</th>
<th>Acquaintance</th>
<th>Sweetheart</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Neighbor</th>
<th>Other*</th>
<th>N/A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>T.6.a</strong>&lt;br&gt;Age&lt;br&gt;virginity lost?</td>
<td>&lt;12**</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As seen in T.6.b, one of the Khmer respondents lost his virginity before the age of 12. Six out of 51 Khmer men lost their virginity between the ages of 13 and 15, 14/51 between the ages of 16 and 17, 15/51 between 18 to 20, 12/51 between the ages of 21 to 25, and 2/51 of the Khmer men lost their virginity at the age of 26 or older. Two of the foreign men (T.6.a) interviewed lost their virginity before the age of 12, 5/23 lost it between the ages of 13 and 15, 6/23 between 16 and 17, 4/23 between the ages of 18 and 20, and 5/23 of the foreign men lost their virginity between the ages of 21 and 25. Those respondents who said that they had lost their virginity by the age of 12 had disclosed that it was due to sexual assault from older men.

Three of the Khmer participants answered that they had lost their virginity to the girlfriend they were dating at that time. The largest majority of the Khmer respondents lost their virginity to the boyfriends they were dating, 19/51. Eleven of the 51 Khmer men lost it to a friend or an acquaintance, 5/51 to a prostitute, 7/51 to a ‘sweetheart’, 2/51 to a neighbor of theirs, 3/51 to various other individuals in their lives, so, these respondents were placed in the category ‘other’. Three of the Khmer men interviewed lost their virginity to a relative. Among the foreign respondents, four of the 23 lost their virginity to their girlfriend at the time, 7/23 to their boyfriend, 7/23 to a friend or acquaintance, and there was one foreign respondent for each of
the following categories: ‘sweetheart’, neighbor, ‘other’, no answer and relative.

Number of Sex Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.7</th>
<th>What is the number of sexual partners you have had in your lifetime?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is your nationality?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-69</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-99</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-199</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-499</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest proportion of Khmer men indicated having sex with one to nine partners in their lifetime so far, 13/51 (T.7). Two of the Khmer men reported 10 to 19 sexual partners, 7/51 indicated 20 to 29, 5/51 had 30 to 39 partners, 2/51 40-49, 7/51 50-69, 3/51 70-99, 6/51 100-199, 1/51 200-499, and 4/51 of the Khmer men suggested they had more than 50 partners in their lives. One Khmer man was not included in the results of this section because the answers he had given were unreliable due to the mismatch with other totals he had provided elsewhere during the interview. Except for the one foreign man who did not answer this question and the other man who was excluded, all of the foreign men interviewed had had at least 20 partners in their lifetime so far. Three of the 23 foreign men had 20 to 29 partners, 3/23 reported 30-39 partners, 1/23 had 50-69, 6/23 100-199, 4/23 200-499, and 4/23 foreign men suggested they had over 500 sexual partners. One foreign respondent indicated having over 10,000 partners throughout his life.
There was one foreign respondent for each of the categories ‘Daily’ and ‘Daily+’, the latter including respondents who said they had sex more than once a day. Eight of the 23 foreign men answered that they had sex a few times per week, 4/23 responded that they had sex weekly, 2/23 monthly and one respondent said he had sex a few times a year. There were 2 foreign participants in each of the remaining categories: Never, N/A, and No Answer. The majority of Khmer respondents said that they had sex a few times per week, 26/51. Thirteen of the 51 Khmer men had sex weekly, 2/51 said monthly, 1/51 said a few times per year, and lastly, 1/51 was N/A.

**Different Sexual Partners** (Graph #14)
Nine of the 51 Khmer men interviewed said they had sex with a single partner in a given week, 10/51 answered 2-3 various partners, and 29/51 said their partners in a given week are always different. Two of the Khmer men were not included in the results for this question due to the fact that
they had not had sexual interaction for a long time prior to the interview, and one Khmer man did not answer this question. Eight of the 23 foreign respondents had sex with a single partner in a week, 9/23 said they had sex with 2-3 various partners, and 3/23 foreigners answered their sexual partners were always different. This question was not applicable to two of the foreign men and one man did not answer this question.

**Length of Longest Sexual Relationship** (Graph #15)

This graph appears to show that the Khmer sample tended to have shorter sexual relationships than their foreign counterparts, but this could be due to the fact that the Khmer respondents were younger than the foreign participants. Four out of the 51 Khmer men had relationships that have lasted less than a month, 13/51 of the men had relationships lasting 2 to 3 months, and 2/51 said 6 to 11 months. Sixteen of the 51 Khmer men had relationships lasting for 1 to 2 years, 10/51, 3 to 5 years, and 6/51, 6 to 10 years. Four of the foreign respondents said their longest relationship lasted 1 to 2 years, 8/23 3 to 5 years, 6/23 6 to 10 years, and 5/23 of the foreign respondents answered 11 years or more.

**Substance Use During Sexual Activities** (Graph #16)

The majority of both the Khmer and foreign respondents answered, ‘no, they had not taken substances specifically for sexual activity’. Among the Khmer, 46/51 answered this way and 16/23 of the foreigners said ‘no’ as well. Five Khmer respondents said that they had taken substances for sex before, 4/23 of the foreigners answered ‘yes’ as well. Two of the foreigners said ‘sometimes’ and one foreign man did not answer this question. When asked about what drugs they had taken for sexual activity, the most common answers from both populations were: performance-enhancing pills, ‘roofies’, and ‘poppers’.

**Condom Use** (Graph #17)

Thirty-six of the 51 Khmer respondents said they always wear a condom when having sex, one man said that he never wears one, and 14/51 of the
Khmer men said they wear one depending on who their partner is. The most common responses when the Khmer men were asked to expand on, ‘how does it depend on who their partner is’ were: if they trusted their partner, and that they would always wear one if they were sleeping with a prostitute. Nine of the 23 foreign respondents said that they always used a condom, one man said he never wears one, 2/23 said, ‘sometimes’, and 11/23 said that it depended on who their partner was. The foreigner answers to this question were similar to the Khmer men where common answers were along the theme, “If I’m with a partner, then no, but anyone else yes.”

Use of Prostitution

As we enter into the central topic of this study, it is important to point out the various understandings that surround the terms compensation and prostitution. Firstly, compensation is not used in this research in its legal sense, but refers to non-monetary payment given in exchange for sex. Secondly, even with a simple understanding of prostitution as being payment for sex, it is crucial to be aware of two circumstances in which it remains ambiguous whether the payment is being made for sex, as such.

In the course of this research in Cambodia we have identified three common types of situation: renting a money-boy, getting caught in bait situations, and forming a relationship with professional boyfriends (Note: These three identifiers of the different situations in Cambodia’s MSM sex industry are terms coined by the respondents themselves). In the first case, an agreement of money for sexual services is reached upfront. In the second case, the client meets a local man in a public venue, leaves with him and they have sex. Afterwards, the local man will solicit money with a pretext such as the illness of their mother, a broken motorbike or inability to pay rent. Clients who were interviewed suggested that this constituted indirect payment for sex, but was ambiguous. In the third case, a man forms a relationship with another that involves an income disparity and financial support in exchange for a sexual liaison that may or may not be romantic. From the perspective of the
supporter, the genuineness of the romance may remain unclear, unless he were to discover that money is the primary motivator of the man he is supporting. Given our working definition of prostitution as any activity involving sex in exchange for payment, the first can be said to constitute a direct form, whereas the second and third constitute indirect forms of prostitution when compensation is the driving motivation of the man offering himself.

**Paying and Receiving Compensation for Sex**

Since this study focused on the demand for male sex workers and as payment for sex is made in various forms, respondents were asked whether they had ever paid or offered compensation in exchange for sex with men. This widened the range of payments covered and narrowed the scope of partners considered by bisexual participants who might have paid for sex with both male and female sex workers. Thus, the terms *paid* and *payment* should be understood as including monetary and non-monetary forms of compensation directly and indirectly in exchange for sex. Furthermore, the terms *prostitute* and *sex worker* should be understood as equally designating men who engage in commercial sex regularly, occasionally to supplement their regular income and temporarily during a transitional phase.

The first graph of this section shows that 47 Khmer and 19 foreign men had paid for sex with men. However, this excludes the one Khmer and one foreign respondents who said that they had never paid for sex with men, but also reported having received an erotic massage before. Thus, 48/51 Khmer and 20/23 foreign interviewees stated having paid for sexual services from male sex workers (Graph #18). Moreover, just over half (27/51) of the Khmer population interviewed and about a sixth (4/23) of the foreigners reported having received compensation for sex (Graph #19). This involved money and other forms of payment.
Occurrence and Regularity of Payment or Compensation for Sex

Respondents were asked how many times they paid for sex (Graph #20). For both Khmer and foreign men, the largest group replied having paid for sex one to five times, representing one fourth (12/46) and just under half (9/19) of the Khmer and foreign samples respectively. This category also includes answers such as, “a few”, thus possibly distorting our data to a degree.

For foreigners, the incidence is skewed to the left, tailing off quickly on the right. This suggests that most foreigners interviewed had only paid a few times. The Khmer group follows a trend similar to the foreigners’ until the last interval, which is surprisingly large given that most individuals in this group were aged between 20 and 29.

Frequency (Graph #21) appears to be comparably higher among the Khmer than the foreign men. Indeed, the bulk of the Khmer responses (20/37) gravitate around the highest frequencies, from two to three times per month to a few times per week, whereas foreign responses begin at the two-to-three-times-per-month margin and the vast majority of these (16/19) gravitates around much lower frequencies, ranging from never or not anymore to a few times per year. This may be due, at least in part, to the age difference between the two groups.

Preferred Ages of the Male Prostitutes Demanded

As seen in the table (T.9) there appears to be a strong correlation between the age of a prostitute and the demand for his services. The foreign respondents preferred a slightly older person to purchase sex from with no one answering that they preferred a prostitute below the age of 21. Three of the foreign men indicated that they had no preference in the age of the prostitute whom they were purchasing sex from.
The Khmer population showed a much higher proclivity for younger prostitutes with 38 out of the 44 men who answered this question responding that they preferred and thus typically purchased sex with men who were 18-25. As was an observed in the previous, ‘Listening to the Demand’ study (Havey, et al., 2013), there was no one who disclosed a preference for anyone younger than 18, and yet there was a large amount of Khmer men who said that they preferred someone who was 18. These answers may have been falsified due to the respondent’s fear of repercussions had they answered accurately.

**Preferred Sexual Activities When Paying for Sex** (Graph #22)

The participants were shown a checklist of given activities. The above graph indicates their preferences when with a male sex worker. The most preferred activities among Khmer interviewees were kissing and foreplay (41/48 each), whereas foreplay and receiving oral sex where most popular among foreign interviewees (16/20 each). Marginal activities, including kink/fetish, group sex and BDSM were least frequently preferred. Some further reported activities as varied as playfully wrestling and cuddling, which are shown under the category “Other”.

**First Use of Prostitutes**

There is a visible age difference between the Khmer and foreign groups with regards to first use (Graph #23). Buying sexual services from MSWs was
reported by foreign participants to have most frequently (7/19) begun after the age of 40, whereas it was said to have begun before the age of 18 by 14/46 Khmer participants and most frequently (21/46) among Khmer men aged 18 to 21 years.

Most of our interviewees in both groups (37/42 Khmer and 12/17 foreigners) said that they had not been coerced or pressured into purchasing sexual services the first time, especially the Khmer MSM (Graph #24). When asked if they were alone or in a group the first time, a question which was included to uncover possible elements of peer pressure, 28/42 Khmer and 10/17 foreign men reported having been alone. Of the Khmer men who said that they had been coerced, two were with family members and two with friends. Of the foreigners who reported having been coerced, three were with their partner. Therefore, in our sample, peer pressure did not occur very frequently.

**Location for buying of sex**

The most common locations disclosed by Khmer respondents for buying sex were parks (18/48), spas/saunas (10/48) and nightclubs (8/48), whereas those disclosed by the foreign group were bars (10/20), massage parlors (7/20) and spas/saunas (4/20). (Graph #25) A few Khmer MSM mentioned having sex on location in the parks. Other locations mentioned once by Khmer participants were educational institutions, malls and beer gardens, shown under “Other”. It should be specified, however, that this question was not asked of 12 Khmer respondents in Siem Reap, because our questionnaire had to be condensed at the request of the partner organization. Half of the Khmer interviewees (24/48) said that they discovered these disclosed locations through friends, while foreigners said they that discovered them through the Internet or on their own (7/20 each). (Graph #26)
Use of Internet and Mobile Phone Applications
Half of the foreigners (9/18) who answered this question said that they used the Internet to buy sex, compared with only a seventh (4/28) of the Khmer respondents. (Graph #27) However, foreign participants reported using it to research locations where they could meet someone they might pay for sex, whereas Khmer participants said that they used Facebook. Reported use of phone applications was much less frequent among foreign interviewees (2/18) and slightly more so among the Khmer men (6/26). Both Khmer and foreign interviewees mentioned using the same phone application. (Graph #28)

Price Paid for Sex (Graph #29)
The majority (38/47) of Khmer respondents disclosed typically paying an amount within the range of one to ten USD for sexual services, whereas this range was between 11 and 35 USD for over four fifths of the foreigners (16/19).

Being Intoxicated from Alcohol While Purchasing Sex with a Prostitute
Alcohol and substance use represent risk factors because of their known physiological effects, especially upon alertness and decision-making. Alcohol intoxication while with a prostitute was said to “never” happen by 27/51 Khmer and 9/23 foreign participants, while it was said to happen “sometimes” by 17/51 Khmer and 6/23 foreigners. Only two Khmer and two foreign participants answered that it occurred most times, whereas one Khmer and one foreign participant said it was always the case. Many foreign respondents said they were having a social drink at a bar when they met someone whom they later paid for sex. Of the 18 men who expanded on why they were never drunk when seeking or engaging with a prostitute, eight of them (6 Khmer and 2 foreigners) explained that it was unsafe to do so as alcohol affects alertness and/or reduces one’s preoccupation with precautions and safety.
Encountering Crime While with a Prostitute

Encountering crime or violence is another relevant risk factor when considering engaging with a prostitute. Eleven respondents mentioned awareness of the possibility of being faced with theft, blackmail or violence when they were asked if they had reservations about using prostitutes. A large awareness can be inferred from this, given that crime was not even mentioned in these questions. When asked if they had experienced crime and violence as clients of prostitutes, 35/48 Khmer and 14/20 foreign participants replied that they had not against 12 Khmer and 5 foreign participants who said that they had. The most common crime encountered was laaung [to raise up], a practice in which the sex worker attempts to raise the price initially agreed upon after providing the sexual services with the threat of blackmail. Some clients had also experienced theft and fewer still had encountered varying degrees of violence. Of those who had experienced crime or violence, a quarter (3) of the Khmer men said that they responded violently, whereas 6 Khmer and 4 foreign men said that they responded non-violently.

Erotic Massage Use (Graph #30)

When asked if they had received an erotic massage, 23/50 Khmer respondents and 16/23 foreign respondents answered affirmatively. When prompted to expand on their answer, two foreigners said that they had stopped the erotic part of the massage, one said it was normal and one said he preferred erotic massages. The most common responses given by Khmer participants included having sex with a masseur after a massage and receiving oral sex.

Romantic Relationships with Prostitutes (Graph #31)

Roughly two-thirds (33/48) of the Khmer and about one third (7/20) of foreign interviewees who stated paying for sex reported having formed a romantic relationship with a male sex worker. Khmer respondents most often mentioned having had a prostitute as a sweetheart and/or giving him gifts, whereas a few foreigners mentioned having had a boyfriend who was a
male sex worker, but that prostitution eventually got in the way. Both mentioned helping boyfriends who were male sex workers financially. One foreigner said:

“[E]ven with Cambodian men who are not prostitutes, as a foreigner, you need to support the one you’re going out with because of the difference in living standards. But that is different from ‘paying for sex’ as such.”

One Khmer respondent said:

“I like hanging out with prostitutes. After having sex with some of them, I found out that they were good guys and took them out to eat.”

These relationships were generally brief, unless the male sex worker had stopped engaging in commercial sex. A few of the Khmer interviewees mentioned having ‘liked’ the male sex workers they had met, but had intentionally prevented themselves from falling in love with them because of the difficulty they saw in having a long-term relationship with them.

### Relationship between Pornography, Prostitution Use, and the Taboo of Masturbation in Cambodian Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your nationality?</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T.10 Have your pornography habits influenced prostitution habits?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in the data table T.10, there appears to be a positive correlation between the usage of pornography and prostitution among the Khmer men, with 37/48 answering this way. It appears to be the opposite among the
foreign respondents with only one man having said that watching pornography influences his prostitution habits. His response to the open-ended question associated with this question was, “It heightens my desire for Western men.”

There was an overwhelming response of Khmer men who said that they would watch porn and then would seek to pay for sex afterward. This was the reason that two of the Khmer participants did not like to watch porn, because they did not want to pay for sex which they know they would want after watching it.

The answers to this open-ended question also shed some light on a lack of sexual education and certain taboos within Cambodian society. Three of the Khmer respondents said that they watched porn so that they could learn new techniques to use, implying that they are using pornography as a sexual education tool.

The taboo that this question sheds light on is the rejection of masturbation in Cambodian culture. Cross-tabbing these answers about releasing sexual tension and arousal by paying for sex with the replies to the question, ‘do you masturbate?’ where a high number of men said that they did not, has led the researchers to propose that masturbation can be used as a way of curtailing urges to pay for sexual services when aroused.

Lastly, there were two interesting ‘out-layers’ among the answers to this open-ended question that should be considered. The first quote is from a man who has created a link between his drug and prostitution habits. The second man appears to be referring to a shop that has the façade of a café but in fact is offering sexual services to its patrons. These may allude to a need
for more thorough research and understanding of Cambodia’s sex services providers and drug usage.

"Drugs are the only thing that affects my prostitution habits".

And,

"The porn coffee shops were very bad because they built this room where people could go and have sex".

**Minors and the Sex Industry**

Although the exploitation of minors in the sex industry was not the main focus of this study, two questions were asked to test for the presence of demand in this area. Due to the ethical policy regarding confidentiality that was adhered to for this study and the researchers’ legal obligation to report any activities endangering minors, the questions were phrased in such a way as to allow the respondents to disclose useful information without committing themselves. When asked whether they knew of other men who had paid for sex with minors, nearly a fourth (12/51) of the Khmer respondents and slightly over a third (8/23) of the foreign respondents gave an affirmative answer. Additionally, upon being asked whether they themselves had been offered a minor, close to a fifth (8/51) of the Khmer men and just over half (12/23) of the foreign men responded that they had. The difference between the level in reported offers between Khmer and foreign men may be significant. Moreover, when asked about types of pornography that the men preferred watching, 7/51 Khmer respondents included pornography-involving minors as a preference. Furthermore, some men affirmed that they would have sex with minors if it were legal. Without concluding that these men have or are likely to have sex with minors, these responses strongly suggest a low level of aversion to this practice.

**Views on Prostitution and Individuals who Sell Sex**

A significantly greater number of open questions were included in order to investigate the theme of prostitution use. The main goal was to gain some
understanding of perspectives on commercial sex and on male sex workers from within the demand. To this end, it was also essential to give participants an opportunity to expand on their experiences as clients of men involved in commercial sex. Furthermore, this allowed for the few who had not paid for sexual services to share their insights on their choice not to engage with male sex workers as well.

The series of questions focusing on perceptions of sex work was introduced through two general queries on respondents’ views on men and their history of relationships with men. These were included to explore possible factors motivating the interviewees to engage with sex workers.

**General View and History of Relationships with Men**

In the Khmer sample, 11 men had a positive view, 34 had a neutral, ‘normal’ or mixed view, and six had a negative general view of men. In the foreign sample, 14 men had a positive view, seven had a neutral, ‘normal’ or mixed view, none had a negative general view of men, and two foreign respondents did not answer this question (Graph #32). When expanding on their positive view, four Khmer participants answered that men have their good points, are all good or have been good to them, and two stated that they love men. Among foreign interviewees, five replied that they love, relate to or are attracted to men more than women, and four said that they think positively about, like, or have a high regard for people in general. When expanding on their neutral view, 11 Khmer men responded that anyone can be good or bad, five stated that it is not about gender, and four answered that some men are good and some are bad. In the foreign group, four said that there are good and bad people, and three replied that it depends on the individual. Finally, three Khmer participants who expanded on their negative view discussed problems in trustworthiness and one mentioned that a long-term relationship was undesirable because, “they should have children”.

Overall, the history of relationships with men (Graph #33) was said to be mostly positive by foreign respondents and mostly neutral by Khmer
respondents. In the foreign group, 13 men replied that they had a positive history, seven reported having had a neutral history and two stated that they had a negative history. In the Khmer sample, 15 men answered that they had a positive history, 30 men said that they had a neutral history and six responded that they had a negative history. Open answers given by respondents to expand on their history of relationships with men yielded a wide variety of different experiences. Foreign interviewees with a positive history most often replied that although they had experienced both positive and negative relationships with men, the positive aspects generally outweighed the negative ones. Those who were not currently in a relationship had, in many cases, maintained a friendship with ex-partners. Some said that they were still driven by curiosity. Khmer participants most frequently answered that they were in a positive relationship at the moment or had been. Others stated that they had experienced no mistreatment from men they had been with.

Expanding on a neutral history, foreign respondents most often discussed a blend of good and bad experiences. Some mentioned that because they dislike commitment or have gotten bored with long-term relationships, they especially focus on friendships or social relationships. Similarly, several Khmer participants answered that they have lived both good and bad experiences with past partners. Some also mentioned difficulties in relationships with their father, stepfather or other men. Others did not speak specifically of their own experiences, but replied generally that, “Some men are good, some are bad”. Finally, the two foreign men who expanded on a negative history spoke of an ex-partner who had been possessive or untrustworthy. The Khmer men mostly spoke of their past partners: stealing from, cheating on or leaving them.

**General Views on Prostitution** (Graph #34)
Respondents were also asked about their general view of prostitution. As seen in the graph above, the vast majority of the Khmer and foreign MSM who had purchased sexual services (45/46 and 16/18 respectively) reported
having a neutral (men who had a normal or mixed view towards prostitution were also placed into this neutral category) or negative view of prostitution. It should be noted, however, that the Khmer equivalent of the word neutral—tomadah—is the same word as usual and normal, which implies that it may have been understood to mean normal rather than neutral. This confusion became evident in the open answer some Khmer participants gave to explain their stance. Also, in most cases, the neutral response did not signify that the interviewee had no particular opinion on the issue, but rather saw both positive and negative aspects to prostitution; meaning they held a more mixed view towards prostitution. Overall, more than half the respondents (50/72 altogether) were defined (by the researchers and participants in conversation together during the interview) to have a neutral view towards prostitution.

### T.12.a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes need money and lack skills or alternatives. Prostitution can be exploitative. (5)</td>
<td>It’s their business or choice (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on the prostitute’s situation, okay if unforced and if their rights are upheld (5)</td>
<td>We cannot judge, they just do it to survive, they need money, they lack alternatives (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s necessary, has a practical function in society (4)</td>
<td>They do it because there is a demand, it’s necessary, it’s natural to need sex (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There can be good reasons for being a prostitute (3)</td>
<td>It should be a priority for them to protect themselves (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses expanding on the far more numerous neutral, ‘normal’ or mixed (Table 12.a), and negative views (T 12.b) were condensed from all relevant components and divided into thematic groups. The most frequent
ones are given in two tables in descending order by regularity and the incidence is given in parentheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.12.b</th>
<th>Negative Views of Prostitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s physically and emotionally dangerous (2)</td>
<td>Not good, dangerous for the individual or society (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative towards the industry not prostitutes themselves (2)</td>
<td>Disease (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and drugs are push factors (2)</td>
<td>An unacceptable way to make money (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An unacceptable way to make money (1)</td>
<td>It’s illegal (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the foreign and Khmer groups reflect very similar points of view. From these tables of themes, it seems that both sample groups were calling attention to need and lack of options as drivers into prostitution and to the practical social function prostitution fulfills.

There are also similarities between recurring themes emerging from both groups on negative views of prostitution. Foreigners and Khmer respondents alike spoke of it as a dangerous profession and an objectionable source of revenue. However, foreign participants tended to consider how prostitution was negative not only for clients, but also for prostitutes, some making a clear distinction between their views on prostitution and those on prostitutes themselves. This was not the case in the Khmer group. This difference is explored further in the section on attitudes towards prostitutes.

Only one Khmer and three foreign interviewees had positive views on prostitution. The Khmer man said: “I need it [sex]. If there are no prostitutes, where will I go to get it?” The foreign responses included: prostitutes should be respected, it’s a legitimate profession, it’s an individual's choice, and it’s the oldest profession.
Advantages and Disadvantages of Prostitution

All respondents were also asked about the pros and cons of having sex with a prostitute. These questions were included to explore the possible motivations of paying for sex rather than finding partners with whom one would not need to pay for sex.

Among the advantages responses (Table 13.a), the first two thematic groups that emerged among the foreign participants highlight the readily available, temporary and primarily physical qualities of the experience, while the two most mentioned by Khmer participants emphasize personal satisfaction. The last four thematic groups for both samples reflect very similar considerations. Moreover, two Khmer and four foreign men replied that there are no advantages; while two Khmer men answered that there are only advantages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.13.a</th>
<th>Advantages of Prostitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's available on demand (8)</td>
<td>It's fun, it feels good, makes me happy (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No commitment, no emotional attachment, no expectations (7)</td>
<td>It relieves stress, makes me feel comfortable, provides sexual release (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many prostitutes are attractive men (3)</td>
<td>It's a way to make money, a living (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes are professionals, they know what they're doing, provide a service (3)</td>
<td>They provide a professional service (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's a good way for them to make money (3)</td>
<td>Ready access for people without partners (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They make it pleasurable and exciting (2)</td>
<td>Many prostitutes are attractive men (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, the disadvantages answers (T.13.b) were similar to the previous, ‘General Views of Prostitution’ section. The recurring themes for both groups are identical or quite similar, even if they do not occupy the same rank for individuals within each group. Indeed, the risk of disease and other threats to personal health and safety are prominent preoccupations, as are concerns on the commercial and temporary nature of the experience. There is, nonetheless, a slight difference in perception between the two groups. The answers given by Khmer respondents emphasize personal inconvenience and discomfort, whereas the foreign replies reflect on how compensation overshadows romance, intimacy and even sexual desire, eventually making clients somewhat jaded. Finally, one foreign and four Khmer men affirmed that there are no disadvantages to prostitution, while one Khmer man replied that there are only disadvantages.

Reservations Concerning Prostitution and Feelings After Buying Sex
Well over half (39/47) of the Khmer respondents who answered this question reported having had reservations the first time they bought sexual services from a male sex worker against 11/19 of the foreign respondents
who reported the opposite. (Graph #35) When invited to explain their first-time reservations, 13 Khmer interviewees answered that they felt afraid of the prostitute because of laaung, theft, or threat of violence; nine stated that they were reluctant, hesitant, nervous, uncomfortable or worried; three replied that they felt shy; and three added that despite reservations, they also really wanted to do it. Of the foreigners who reported not having had first-time reservations, three implied that they did not view the person as a prostitute nor the situation as one involving commercial sex; one responded that he was intoxicated when it happened; and one said, “It was convenient and expedient”.

There was a reversal of the initial reservations trend in both groups over time. (Graph #36) Three-fourths of the Khmer respondents (37/49) reported no longer having reservations about visiting prostitutes now, while just over half of the foreigners (10/19) reported the contrary. Of the Khmer who reported having no reservations now, five answered that this change was due to the fact that they had gotten used to it; four said that they have experience now, either with sex or with choosing prostitutes; and three implied that this no longer generated any unusual feelings.

Respondents were further asked how they feel after having sex with a prostitute. The answers to this question confirmed the trend in their present reservations: over half the Khmer (25/44) and just under half (8/17) the foreign participants replied that their feelings were positive, 17/44 of the Khmer and about a fourth (4/17) of the foreign interviewees said that their feelings were neutral or normal, and only 2/44 Khmer and approximately a third (5/17) of the foreign men answered that their feelings were negative. Overall, these are mirror trends of the tendency in reservations now. Most Khmer men reported positive feelings after sex and no reservations now (25 and 37 respectively). There was a 23-person drop between the Khmer men with positive and those who had negative feelings. Likewise, there is a 25-person drop between the Khmer men with no reservations now and those who still have some.
Foreign responses to both questions were quite divided. Just under half (8/17) of the foreigners described having positive feelings after sex, and a similar share (9/19) reported to have no reservations now. The rest of the foreigners were divided between neutral/normal and negative feelings (4/17 and 5/17 respectively) which, taken together, come close to the share (10/19) of foreign men who reported still having reservations now.

When asked to expand on positive feelings after having sex with a prostitute, both Khmer and foreign interviewees said that they felt fine, good, comfortable, satisfied, and happy. Khmer participants expanding on neutral views mostly answered that they felt normal, while foreigners stated that they felt “the same” or “no different”. However, one Khmer man mentioned occasional disappointment with prostitutes’ performance and one foreign man mentioned occasional regret. The negative feelings of Khmer respondents after sex were reported to be due to fear, whereas among foreigners, they were linked to doubts about being truly desired, ambivalence regarding compensation, disappointment with the sex worker’s level of experience and occasional regret. One foreigner said:

“It feels like shit. I don’t want to pay. It feels weird”.

To summarize, over half the Khmer respondents reported no longer having reservations about visiting prostitutes now and having positive feelings after sex with a sex worker, while the same was said to be true by slightly under half the foreign respondents.

**Erotic Massage as a Form of Prostitution** (Graph #37)

The majority of the Khmer (39/49) and foreign (16/22) interviewees who answered this question said that they considered erotic massage to be a form of prostitution. The reasons given for maintaining such a position are given below in T.14.
Only eight Khmer and five foreign men said that they held the contrary point of view. When asked to expand, the Khmer respondents stated that they did not know, that sex was not automatically included in the price of the massage or that it happened at MSM spas between clients rather than between staff and clients. The foreign participants who made the same distinction replied that the sex services offered were only meant to relieve tension or that they were a value added to the main service provided. One foreign respondent went as far as to say that the only, “true” massages were ones that included a happy-ending due to it being a more thorough form of tension relaxation. Finally, one foreign and two Khmer interviewees answered that they were unsure of whether erotic massage qualified as prostitution or not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.14</th>
<th>Erotic Massage is Prostitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreigners</strong></td>
<td><strong>Khmer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It involved sexual contact, acts, services (7)</td>
<td><em>Boom boom massage</em> is a turn-on, it's the beginning of sex, involves sexual acts (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's an erotic trade for money, it's paying someone for sex (5)</td>
<td>It's a disguised form of prostitution, they provide sex services (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's part of the sex industry, it's disguised prostitution (3)</td>
<td>Masseurs asked me if I wanted sex services, clients can negotiate for a sex service (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masseurs do things that are arousing, they do it for tips (2)</td>
<td>Masseurs are arousing, do things that are arousing (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Differences Between Prostitution in the East and West** (Graph #38)
Most of the respondents in both groups, that is to say 30/50 of the Khmer and 18/23 of the foreign participants, were of the opinion that there is a difference between prostitution in eastern and western countries.

There was a visible “the grass is greener on the other side” perception in the open answers given to this question, at least as far as openness is concerned. Foreign responses imply that because prostitution in the East is driven by necessity, it is a more socially acceptable source of revenue. Khmer
responses, on the other hand, imply that a greater openness regarding sexuality in the West results in a deeper appreciation of prostitution and better working conditions for prostitutes.

Most of the Khmer respondents who held the opposite point of view, namely that there is no difference between prostitution in the East and in the West, said that they did not know enough about prostitution in the West. One stated that the underlying monetary motivation is the same and another speculated that if there were a difference, it would be in the price. Two foreigners responded that it is essentially the same, but one added that it is more visible here and the other answered that sex workers tend to work for themselves here as compared to his country, where they work under pimps.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.15</th>
<th>East vs. West - Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty is a driving factor into prostitution in Cambodia (7)</td>
<td>The West is better (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More 'open' attitude towards prostitution as a means to make money in Cambodia (6)</td>
<td>Price (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of opportunity in Cambodia (4)</td>
<td>More openness to sexuality/prostitution in the West (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger demand for prostitution in the East, cheap sex draw factor, local demand (4)</td>
<td>Difference in respect and treatment of prostitutes, in quality of services (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution helps the family in Cambodia (3)</td>
<td>Difference in execution of laws regarding prostitution (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Attitudes Towards Prostitutes**

The vast majority of Khmer respondents (47/51) asserted that they see prostitutes differently from people who do not sell sex, whereas about two-thirds of the foreign participants (15/22) stated that they saw no difference (Graph #39). On the one hand, the Khmer men who reported seeing them differently gave the following reasons: ten replied that they have different jobs & positions; seven stated that prostitutes are motivated by money; four
responded that they are more vulnerable due to poverty, discrimination, STI, and dependence on others; and three answered that prostitutes deceive their clients. On the other hand, two representative quotes from among the foreign men who reported not seeing them differently were:

“[Thinking of them differently would be] the same as seeing people differently because of the differences between their professions.”

And,

"Prostitutes are no different from other people“.

The participants were then asked if this would bring them to treat prostitutes and non-prostitutes differently (Graph #40). This second graph reveals that 20/47 of the Khmer respondents who reported seeing male sex workers differently said that they would treat them the same as men known not to engage in commercial sex regardless. On the whole, however, slightly over half of the Khmer participants (27/51) replied that they would treat prostitutes differently. Indeed, ten of the Khmer men who said they saw the two groups differently said they would treat non-prostitutes better, with more respect and would value them more than sex workers. Thematic reasons Khmer respondents gave included: disrespect for the prostitutes’ job, their monetary motivation, their limited education, their lower social position, and their immoral practices. Nine of the Khmer men who said they saw the two groups as not being different said they would treat or value them equally. One of them added: “I would not judge them from their position, but on their personality and their attitude toward people. [...] I don’t judge people by their cover”. The reasons these Khmer respondents gave include: prostitutes deserve to be treated equally well; and they are in need, do it to make a living and it’s their business.

For the foreign participants, the trend remained essentially the same, with most of them (17/22) responding that they would treat prostitutes no differently from non-prostitutes. Similarly, the foreigners who held this
position generally stated that they would judge prostitutes based on their behavior, not by their involvement in the industry.

**Reaction to Rape of Prostitutes and non-Prostitutes Scenario**

(Graph #41)

Respondents were next presented with an imaginary scenario in which they witness the rape of two different individuals: one of a man known to be a sex worker and one of a man known not to be one. After being presented with this scenario, the respondents were then asked, “who would you help?” This question was included to determine to what extent the interviewees would treat male prostitutes differently from other men. In the preceding question on the treatment of prostitutes, the Khmer group was divided between those who said that they would treat them no differently (24/51) and those who stated that they would (27/51), while the foreign group largely reported that they would grant them equal treatment (17/22). The Khmer trend deserves to be nuanced in light of the results shown in the graph on the rape scenario question.

About three-fourths (20/27) of the Khmer participants who answered that they would treat prostitutes with less respect or consideration in daily social circumstances responded that they would nonetheless help both a prostitute and a non-prostitute if they were to see them being raped. Altogether, 44/50 Khmer and 21/22 foreign interviewees stated that they would help both. One of the foreign men who replied that he would help both added: “I would give more attention to the person in prostitution. I would check his coping strategies and see if he is alright with what is happening”. Only four Khmer respondents replied that they would rather help the non-prostitute, following the reasoning that male prostitutes would already be accustomed to sex with men whereas the non-prostitute may not be and would thus be substantially more affected by such an experience. The one foreign and two Khmer men who said that they would help neither explained that there was a higher chance that their intervention would endanger them rather than rescue the
man being raped. However, on the whole, these answers indicate a high level of empathy with male sex workers facing such an extreme situation.

Though these results appear to be encouraging, it should be noted that the wording of this question was changed from the MSF ‘Listening to the Demand’ portion of this research (Havey, et al., 2013). There, the respondents were asked, “would your reaction to these two scenarios be different?” and “If so, how?” In this present research, using the word help in this question may have distorted the answers because this word is highly emotive and could have been leading the respondents to answer more favorably to securing the safety of both the prostitute and non-prostitute in this scenario. The results of the Love146 MSF-Demand study to this question are discussed in short in the analysis of this report (page 107).

**Reaction to Learning that a Friend or Relative is Selling Sex**

(Graph #42)

The respondents were asked how they would react if they discovered that a man close to them, namely a relative or a friend, was involved in sex work. This question had two purposes. Firstly, it completed the portrait of the likely treatment of prostitutes, even in the case that the interviewees were acquainted with them. Secondly, it gave the researchers the opportunity to bring the participants to reflect on the fact that they might be treating male prostitutes in a way that they would not like men they care about to be treated.

Only four Khmer and three foreign respondents implied unconditional support for their friend/relative, as opposed to nearly half of both groups (23/50 Khmer and 11/23 foreigners) who said they would have mixed feelings and about half (23/50) the Khmer and 9/23 of the foreign interviewees who replied that they would not react well to such a discovery. The Khmer men who replied that their reaction would be neutral explained that it would be their friend/relative's business or a choice he would have made out of need or a desire to have fun. Foreign men reporting a probable
neutral reaction clarified that they would want to make sure that their friend/relative was well informed and comfortable working in this field. Of those Khmer men who said that they would respond negatively, the majority indicated that they would either be very concerned for their friend/relative or angry with him. Most of the foreigners indicated that they would be supportive of their friend/relative regardless of their reaction. However, this would be the case only under certain conditions, such as, that their friend/relative had made a rational decision.

When expanding on the approach they would most likely adopt following their initial reaction, in the foreign group: seven replied that they would listen to him, get him to tell his story, be understanding, support him and continue to accept him; seven answered that as long as he is happy and enjoys it, it would be his choice; and finally, four foreigners stated that they would be surprised or that it would be unexpected. In the Khmer group, ten men answered that they would encourage him to stop; seven said that they would be fine with it; six responded that it is their choice, and six stated that they would be sad.

### Deterrents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.16.a</th>
<th>What is your nationality?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These questions were asked out of an understanding the researchers gained about the anti-prostitution laws adopted in Sweden in the 1990's (Please refer to the, *Legal Deterrents of the Demand* division in the Background
section of this report for more information). The respondents were asked if making the buying of sex illegal would deter them from purchasing it. As can be seen in the table, out of the 68 respondents who answered this question, 40 said, ‘yes, it would’, 25 said, ‘no, it would not’ and 3 respondents were not sure if it would or not.

Table 16.a appears to show an inverse effect of this law between the Khmer and foreign participants. The majority of the Khmer participants (34/49) said that they would be deterred from purchasing sex if it were made illegal, while only six of the foreign men answered this way. Furthermore, the majority of the foreign men (12/21) said that making the buying of sex illegal would not deter them from purchasing sex.

The respondents were further given several types of legal repercussions if they were to be caught buying sex. They were asked to rank them in order what would be the most effective to the least effective punishment to deter them from purchasing sex. When analyzing the integer data, the participant’s responses were ranked as either: poor, somewhat, quite or very effective. Jail time was listed as a very effective deterrent by over half of the foreigners who responded, and around 70% of the Khmer who responded. High fines were typically given as quite effective for the Khmer respondents and somewhat effective for the foreigners, but had a large spread within both groups. Public shaming was, overall, listed as very effective for the Khmer respondents and somewhat effective for the foreign respondents. The consensus amongst Khmer interviewed for government repossession of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your nationality?</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khmer</td>
<td>Foreigner</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T.16.b</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would the threat of losing your friends, family or partner deter you from paying for sex?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on who finds out</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
property as a deterrent was that it would be very effective, but there was no consensus amongst foreigners. The least effective deterrent was community service hours. Khmer respondents said this would be somewhat effective, and poor to somewhat effective for the foreigners.

The respondents were then asked the question, "Would the threat of losing your friends, family or partner deter you from paying for sex?" (T.16.b) This question proved to be interesting because it had the reverse effect on the foreign respondents with 13/21 answering, ‘yes, it would’ and eight saying, ‘no, it would not’. This question also split the Khmer population fairly evenly with 23/49 saying yes, and 25/49 saying no. There were two participants from each group who did not answer this question.

It appears from the open responses associated with this question (T.16.b.i) that the Khmer respondents were more focused on the repercussions of their actions than the foreign participants. This may be due to the need to ‘save face’ in Cambodian culture; leading the Khmer respondents to be wary of having the ‘wrong people’ find out about their payments of sexual services.

The foreign participants seemed to be more concentrated on the hypothetic aspect of the question itself. Though one of the top answers was a simple ‘yes’ to this open-ended response, it was equated with answers about depending on who their partner is at that time. This was also followed by the second most common response theme of ‘depends on who finds out’. However, it is interesting that there were two foreign men who answered in this way during the open-ended
response, but none said this answer during the initial question. This possibly was due to the respondents having more time to reflect on the question during the open response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.16.b.ii</th>
<th>Those Who Would Not be Deterred because of this Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreigner</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>Khmer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I do what I want, except when I have a partner.”</td>
<td>I don’t need my friends and family to support me/Independent/It’s my own business (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It depends. If friends and family don’t want to be around because of what I did at the massage place, I wouldn’t be that fussed about it.”</td>
<td>I don’t care if they find out (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It wouldn’t happen. My partner would accept me whatever.”</td>
<td>I cannot stop (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It just wouldn’t. What I do with my free time is part of who I am.”</td>
<td>I still: hope no one finds out, and/or would be embarrassed (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not enough responses from the foreign participants to condense into themes. The one other response to this question was, “This question doesn’t apply to me.”

Table 16.b.ii gives the responses of those men who would not be deterred by the threat of losing their friends or family if they were to be caught paying for sex. The foreigners seemed to have been somewhat nonchalant to this question, expressing that they were free to do what they wanted and did not care about losing family or friends. Similarly, the top theme among the Khmer respondents was they did not care. It is also interesting that tying for the second most common response theme was that the Khmer respondents would still feel embarrassed and/or hoped nobody would discover their activities.
Analysis

Sexual Orientation

In the results, we intentionally left out the answers from the Khmer respondents regarding sexual orientation due to the cultural differences between the Cambodian and Western understandings regarding this concept. Many of the Khmer men interviewed appeared to show a misunderstanding when they were asked how they would define their sexual orientation because in Cambodia and other South-East Asian cultures, sexual orientation is inherently linked to gender identity (please see pages 26-27 in the Background section of this report). This is not to say that there is no difference between gender identity and sexual orientation, but rather, there is fluidity regarding orientation in Khmer culture contrasting Western paradigms. For example, when asked about his ‘openness’ with family and friends regarding his sexual orientation, one Khmer respondent was adamant about being heterosexual, even though he had sexual intercourse with men. He answered this way because he portrayed the characteristics of masculinity and not femininity, “There is nothing to be open about. I’m completely straight.” Our sample group appeared to show an understanding of sexual orientation in Cambodia congruent with previous research on this topic.

Use and Views of Prostitution

Khmer MSM Men Participating in Both the Buying & Selling of Sexual Services

As shown in the table, 24 of 51 of the Khmer respondents who have purchased sexual services have also sold sexual services. This is a substantial proportion of our Khmer sample therefore thorough examination comparing these two sub-groups was done. The analyses for comparison were: age, education, occupation, income level, age virginity lost, religion, number of partners, and age of identifying their sexual attraction to men. We did not find any substantial difference between these two sub-groups. In light of this,
we will continue to treat the Khmer as a singular group throughout the analysis.

When I was younger, I needed money and everyone wanted to buy me. I also enjoyed the sex and I could eat good meals. Now I am mostly the buyer and as long as I don't hurt anyone it's ok.”

This is a revealing quote that appears to show a certain ‘life-cycle’ of prostitutes and buyers within the Khmer MSM community of Cambodia. When considering the preference among the Khmer respondents for younger sex workers as mentioned in the results of this report (page 61) and this quote, it appears that the life experience of an MSM prostitute is to reach a certain age and transit out of selling sex into being a purchaser of sex.

It is also worth pointing out that five of the eight Khmer men who had attended university had also sold sexual services. This follows the researchers’ observations of a growing Khmer student population who sell sex to pay for their higher education, and it is recommended that this be formally researched further.

**Giving Compensation in Exchange for Sex**

The Khmer population reported more frequent payment for sex than the foreign population, both on a more regular basis and over their whole lives. However, the Khmer respondents were interviewed at sexual health clinics,
which may attract men who are more sexually active than the average. Out of the 32 Khmer respondents under the age of 30, 26 said that they had already paid for sex. The largest portions of this age group were respondents who had paid one to five times including answers such as, “a few”; but one of these participants said he had paid for sex 30-50 times already. This could suggest that those Khmer men in the younger generation who are more sexually active are at relative ease with the practice of paying for sex.

This may be contrasted with the foreign men, with whom contact was predominately established by the researchers at bars, and for whom the largest portion had paid for sex one to five times in total. Many of these men had paid occasionally, with only two providing a frequency of at least once per month, whereas almost half of the Khmer men stated that they currently paid for sex at least once per month. Despite these differences, it is worth considering that such a frequency could be subject to notable fluctuation.

**Feelings After Paying for Sex**

The question, ‘how do you feel after paying for sex?’ revealed a varying degree of comfort with the practice of paying for sex among Khmer and foreign participants. Only 2/44 Khmer men, compared to 5/17 foreign men who responded to this question reported subsequently feeling negative, with the remainder answering neutral/normal or positive. Despite the smaller sample size, more foreigners responded feeling negative than the Khmer respondents. Of these, one foreign man said: “It feels like shit. I don’t want to pay. It feels weird.” Many foreigners and only a few Khmer, though not necessarily confined to moral uneasiness, implied forms of discomfort with engaging in paying for sex. Other foreign men expressed feeling some regret, doubt on the prostitute’s genuine desire for them or—common between both groups—disappointment with the sex worker’s level of experience and/or performance. The majority of the Khmer respondents versus approximately half of the foreign respondents said they felt positive afterwards. Proportionally more Khmer men reported feeling neutral or normal, 17/44, against 4/17 foreigners. Khmer respondents who answered in this way said
they felt happy, fine or normal. Indeed, within the context of this question, none of the Khmer responses expressed moral reservations but rather there appears to be a societal ‘normalcy’ to paying for sex among this research’s sample group.

**Access**

Through this research it was made clear the different means by which the respondents made acquaintance with another man to whom payment or compensation would be given in exchange for sex. These differences were especially clear between the Khmer and foreign populations interviewed.

Among the Khmer population, parks were unmistakably the most frequent location given to buy sex; nightclubs and spas/saunas were each given half as frequently. Taken together with the graph depicting the locations for buying sex (Graph #25, Appendix I), this indicates that a large proportion of the Khmer men interviewed made up part of the demand for street prostitution.

The foreign population interviewed became acquainted with a male sex worker principally at bars, massage parlors and spa/saunas. This suggests a large proportion of the foreign men interviewed made up the demand for perhaps some form of indirect sex work. However, the skew towards bars may be linked to the fact that these men were recruited for the interviewing process principally at bars.

The ways in which these two sample groups discovered the locations varied considerably. Most Khmer men said that this happened through friends. Sixteen of the 18 men who went to parks said that their friends had told them about these locations. This could suggest a high level of acceptance towards visiting prostitutes within their friendship circles possibly out of trust in their friends’ experience.

In contrast, the foreign men interviewed essentially found locations by their own initiative, often with the aid of the Internet. The lower use of the Internet
among Khmer respondents may reflect limited access to a private computer. In spite of this, it became apparent that the preferred and more frequently used technologies among the Khmer respondents to access a sex worker were mobile phones. At a point during one interview a Khmer man said, “When I feel like having sex, I call the person and we sleep together”. Furthermore, when asked to expand on their use of mobile technology and acquiring sex services, many Khmer participants specifically mentioned Facebook as a tool to meet sex workers.

In conclusion, it appears among the Khmer population that there was a certain value given in trusting the sex worker before engaging in payment for sexual services. This ‘trust’ seems to be fostered through a mutual acquaintance of the potential client and the sex worker aided by social networking technologies.

Possible Influences on Prostitution Habits

Relationships

One consideration regarding possible influences on prostitution habits were the type of sexual relationships the respondents were or had been involved in, and also their expectations within those relationships. When asked if there was any way they wanted to modify their sex habits, this subject came up frequently. Relevant quotes from the Khmer and foreign men will now be examined in sequence.

### T.18.a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Relationships as a Possible Influencer on Prostitution</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khmer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I would like to just hang out with friends, drinking, not looking for sex.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I would like a male prostitute to live with me. I would not pay him money, but compensate for his”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first quote could indicate that this man’s friends may be influencing his decision to pay for sex and also demonstrates a reflection that this person wants to decrease his use of prostitutes. It seems that the Khmer man who gave the second quote saw the option of living with a prostitute as more practical than living with a partner. It may appear that this man sought to have a more, ‘conventional’ relationship with a man but, in fact, the idea that prostitutes are the only realistic means to fulfill sexual needs was common in the Khmer sample. The final quote could relate to another perspective that arose in the interviews, namely that prostitutes are people with whom to experiment sexually.

The quotes from foreigners reflect an outlook upon their relationships with Khmer men in Cambodia. They both had experienced sexual relationships with Khmer men where the nature of the relationship was unclear on many levels. In fact, this phenomenon seemed fairly common among the foreign sample. For example, there could be initially a boyfriend-type relationship; however, when it was discovered that the Khmer man was financially dependent on the foreign man the relationship became confused. Therefore, the nature of the relationship determined whether, in reality, sex was being paid for.

**Pornography**

When asked if their pornography viewing affected their prostitution habits the majority of responses among Khmer were affirmative, compared with only one affirmative response among foreign men. The vast majority of reasons given was along the lines of wanting to try what they had just seen in a video or increased sexual desire shortly afterwards.
To examine whether pornography really was linked with practices, porn preferences - for anal, oral, kink/fetish, BDSM and group sex – were cross-referenced with preferred activities with prostitutes. For all of these five sexual activities, those who cited a preference for the corresponding type of pornography were more likely to favor the same sexual activities than those who did not cite such a preference. It therefore seems that there may be a link between porn preference and practices.

This finding is congruent with the results from a 2006 study about the effect of pornography on young boys and girls named, *As if they were watching my body*. During the surveys and interviews, “it became clear that the most immediate effect of exposure to hard-core pornographic films was that, after watching pornographic VCDs, boys wanted sex (ruam-phet) or, as some put it, they wanted to imitate what they saw in the film” (Fordham, 2006, p. 70). A telling quote of this paradigm from the present study was:

“I feel like having sex and doing what I see in porn. Then I look for prostitutes.”

Taken together with the responses from the Khmer men interviewed, pornography appears to have some part in fuelling unrealistic expectations towards sexual relationships within the sample, which in turn can affect prostitution use.
**Spirituality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.18.b.i</th>
<th>Do you feel that your spirituality and/or religion influence your sexual behavior?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreigner</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever paid or offered compensation in exchange for sex with men?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not anymore</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.18.b.ii</th>
<th>Do you feel that your spirituality and/or religion influence your sexual behavior?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khmer</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever paid or offered compensation in exchange for sex with men?</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not anymore</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above tables show that the foreign population felt that their spirituality and/or religion influenced their sexual behavior more than it did the Khmer population, though approximately the same proportion of both populations reported no influence. However, it is worth noting that a large proportion of Khmer respondents did not answer the question, either because they chose not to respond or because they were not asked it due to time constraints imposed by the respondent. In addition, those foreigners who reported an influence mainly said that it had done so in the past and/or does so indirectly rather than presently and profoundly. Most Khmer men who responded ‘no influence’ said that Buddhism taught them to do good deeds, but did not influence their sexual behavior. In conclusion, it seems that spirituality
and/or religion had little effect upon the sexual behavior of those interviewed, let alone upon their prostitution habits.

Deterrents
Legal deterrents may have a greater effective among the Khmer participants than the foreigners interviewed. The surveys show pronounced differences on public shaming and government repossession of property. However, whether these deterrents in reality could influence the behavior of the men interviewed is subject to much uncertainty. The fact that the vast majority of the Khmer men had paid for sex yet many of them listed deterrents as very effective is a sign that in practice enforcement is not perceived as happening.

Deterrent questions reveal the cultural importance of a need to, “save face” in Cambodian. This can be seen in the question about the threat of relationship loss, among friends or family if one of the Khmer men were to be caught buying sex. Though there was a moderately even split between those who would not be deterred and those who would, there still appeared to be the need to “save face” among Khmer men with answers about how they would feel embarrassed if people were to find out about them purchasing sex.

Independence and autonomy were some of the most popular themes among the Khmer respondents regarding this question about the potential to lose friends and family. Forty-three out of the 51 Khmer men were Buddhist, and one of the main goals in Buddhism is the relinquishment of dukkha. Mills states in his book that, “[dukkha] leads on to a strengthening of the ‘I-feeling’ and to making more things ‘mine’, which is just opposite to the way along which real happiness lies...one has to live in the world with others who have to be considered” (Mills, 1999; pg. 28). These Buddhist teachings and the responses from the Khmer men are contradictory. Though the Khmer participants made a distinction between Buddhist teachings and sexual action, it is possible that Buddhism could become a larger deterrent among

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6 Pali/Sanskrit word meaning “unsatisfactoriness” or more commonly mistranslated as “suffering” (Mills, 1999; pg. 22).
these Khmer men through a strengthening of spiritual education and adherence.

The foreigners caring more about loosing friends and family because of paying for sex rather than legal repercussions is also interesting. Though these questions were more about their general feeling towards deterrents, and not necessarily geared to be country specific, it is possible that the setting of the interview taking place in Cambodia and not their home country could have affected their responses. Perhaps stemming from the history of corruption and a sense of freedom in this country, these foreigners may feel that legal repercussions would not actually come to fruition; however, the threat of loosing their friends and family was more realistic.

**View of Prostitution**

In response to the question about general views on prostitution, participants first selected *positive, neutral or negative* and then expanded upon their answer. This elaboration was given in a variety of ways both in substance and focus, which could reflect the existence of differing standpoints within the sample and also that the question was understood differently. The question was intentionally left open, in part, to allow respondents to indicate what the word *prostitution* meant to them. There were some substance-based themes arising from the answers (outlined in the results section) and there were also trends in the answers that reflected different focuses in each group.

The majority of both the Khmer and foreign men cited having a neutral view on prostitution, possibly because they purchase sexual services from prostitutes themselves. Khmer men most often included in their response statements such as, “It’s their business”, or said that prostitutes need money. In fact, one response given was “I need money so I do such work”. There were also some responses given that justified prostitution use with the reason that it is natural to need sex. There were more responses that suggested
association of prostitution with those who engage in sex work rather than with those who use prostitutes.

A handful of Khmer responses indicated a broader understanding of prostitution as consisting of both the supply and demand but the foreign men gave even more responses of this nature. For example, the foreign participants reasoned that because there is a demand, there should be a supply. However, most of the foreigners’ responses were focused on the situation of the prostitute, including some that stated that prostitution could be exploitative. Amongst those with negative views, most foreigners saw problems with the industry itself, whereas most Khmer mainly saw the supply as the cause of problems. Whether or not Khmer respondents were aware of the exploitation present in prostitution can only be indirectly inferred, the focus of their answers was most certainly not upon this area.

**Advantages and Disadvantages of Paying for Sex**

The most cited advantage given by Khmer respondents was that it made them feel good or provided them with stress relief or sexual release; seemingly intrinsic rationalities, similar to the Love 146 MSF demand study (Havey, et al., 2013). Another common response was about sex work being a viable profession to earn money or to provide a professional service. One respondent said,

"Because I have money, I buy sex. I don't care what society thinks because I never force prostitutes to go with me. They need money so I give it to them."

This represents a misunderstanding that force is merely physical force, whereas it can take other forms such as exploiting the financial circumstances of the prostitute. The most cited advantages given by foreign respondents were that it was available on demand and that there were no commitments or expectations when seeing a prostitute. Six responses were
about sex work being a viable profession to earn money or to provide a professional service. One foreign respondent gave as an advantage,

“The adventure, the journey, the thrill of a nice sexual meeting.”

Perhaps this person finds satisfaction in the pursuit of having a positive sexual experience with someone he has never met before. Overall, the advantages for the Khmer and foreign groups were fairly similar in nature.

The disadvantages for the Khmer focused on personal losses, such as the risk of contracting STIs and the financial cost. The foreign responses were also focused on personal risks, but an equal number, if not more, responses revealed some level of discomfort with the nature of having sex with a prostitute. Among the foreign respondents specifically, these included that it is not genuine desire from the prostitute, there is lack of intimacy, there is no long-term commitment (which also was an advantage) and there is ambiguity about whether the relationship is more about romance or compensation. This would add weight to the idea that the Khmer sample had less relationship-based reservations with regards to having sex with a male sex worker. Given below are some short excerpts from the interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.19</th>
<th>Quotes from the Disadvantages of Paying for Sex Open Response</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mostly cons. Disease: STIs, AIDS. It takes money. Sometimes we do it with fear or doubt.”</td>
<td>“I was aware of the game. They pretend that they love you and find you beautiful, but it’s not so. They pretend they want sex with you, but they don’t really desire you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“All cons. There’s a very high chance of getting a disease.”</td>
<td>“It has not much to do with intimacy. There is also the risk of encouraging them to stay in the industry rather than leaving it.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first quote from each group is one that encompasses the content of a fairly typical response. The second quote from the Khmer sample is atypical because this man had also paid for sex over 50 times in his life, though cited as not paying for sex anymore. Perhaps being exposed to sexually transmitted infections was a factor in discontinuing this practice. In contrast, the second quoted foreign man, was not only critical of the lack of intimacy when paying for sex, but also aware that he may be encouraging the sex industry. He, amongst eleven other foreigners, is aware of some of the more complex negative effects of paying for sex and effects upon the sex workers themselves.

In summary, the differences in the disadvantages given for paying for sex with a prostitute between the Khmer and foreign populations are more pronounced than the advantages given. This suggests that the foreign population interviewed was more conscious of a greater range of potentially negative impacts surrounding the practice of paying for sex than the Khmer population interviewed. This can be compared with the 2013 'Listening to the Demand' (Havey, et al., 2013) study on men who pay for sex with women, where the answers to this same question from foreign men were more extrinsically focused than the Khmer answers.

**Attitudes Towards and Treatment of Prostitutes**

**Views Towards Individuals Who Sell Sex**

An essential distinction needs to be made between views on prostitution and view on prostitutes themselves. In both the Khmer and the foreign groups, most respondents expressed a neutral view on prostitution. While expanding on this position and in listing the ‘pros’ of having sex with a prostitute, they affirmed that prostitution had a practical social function both for clients, who have a natural need for sex that may not always be satisfied by a partner, and for prostitutes, who need to make a living however they can. Nevertheless, the answers to the ‘cons’ of having sex with a prostitute, on first-time reservations, feelings after sex with a prostitute, and on whether respondents think differently about a male acquaintance who is a prostitute have revealed
certain negative views about prostitutes themselves, especially among the Khmer respondents.

Several of the Khmer men suggested that prostitutes have bad morals because they deceive their clients and practice laaung (a colloquial term used to describe a situation where the prostitute tries to raise the agreed upon price after the services transpire), theft, and blackmail. Khmer interviewees also mentioned prostitutes’ lower social position, vulnerability due to exposure to disease, dependency on others, they had an “easy job”, and the idea that their monetary motivation had an affect on the clients’ trust in them.

Foreign respondents, to a lesser extent, expressed similar views when: expanding on disadvantages, thinking differently about prostitutes, and on their feelings after sex with them. Several foreign participants linked prostitutes to: risk of disease, theft, blackmail, and other threats to safety. Foreigners also discussed the ambiguity surrounding the relationship due to the money involved, doubts on genuine desire during and/or after sex, and ambivalent feelings about purchasing sex from someone poorer than themselves. A few of them also mentioned that prostitutes: have limited skills and education, are untrustworthy, they do it for “easy money”, and possess bad morals.

As far as thinking differently about prostitutes and non-prostitutes, clearly opposing trends emerged between the two groups. All but four Khmer interviewees said that they see prostitutes differently or slightly differently, whereas over half of the foreign interviewees stated that they did not see them differently. This divergence may be partially due to the fairly well-established human rights culture in the developed countries the foreigners come from and the present Cambodian context in which respect, importance, and consideration are still functions of one’s relative social position. To understand attitudes towards prostitutes, the effect of having received
compensation for sex, changes in reservations over time, and changes in attitudes were further explored.

When all components were analyzed together, the data showed that having received compensation for sex has no effect on whether respondents think of prostitutes differently or not. One might expect men who have received compensation to think of themselves no differently from other men and therefore tend to think of others receiving compensation as not different. However, the same opposing trend remains in both groups whether respondents report having received compensation or not. In fact, there are slightly more Khmer interviewees who see prostitutes differently and who have received compensation than those who have not, possibly because they themselves were made to feel different from other men when they were prostitutes. Thus, having received compensation appears not to be a factor in determining the way respondents see prostitutes.

**Changes in Attitudes and Reservations Towards Prostitutes Over Time**

Concerning the changes in reservations over time (Graph #43), the variation was especially substantial in the Khmer group, where most (39 against eight) reported having reservations the first time and most (37 against 12) reported no longer having reservations about visiting prostitutes (two Khmer respondents chose not to answer the first question). As was discussed in the results section, the open answers on first-time reservations mostly highlighted uneasiness about the possibility of facing threats to personal safety, which connotes negative perceptions on prostitutes. However, the important change resulting in a widespread lack of reservations now reflects no change in attitudes towards prostitutes. These Khmer respondents essentially said that it was habit and experience that brought them to abandon their reservations, not a change in their initial perspectives on prostitutes.

In the foreign group, more men (11 against 8) said that they did not have first-time reservations than the contrary. Half of the men who expanded on
this reported not seeing the men they engaged with as prostitutes nor the situation as one of commercial sex, although it did involve sex in exchange for money. The reversal in reservations over time was very slight in the foreign group, as 10 against 9 replied that they did have reservations now. Those who expanded on this mentioned some negative perceptions of prostitutes with regards to threats to personal safety, prostitutes’ lack of experience, their lack of selectiveness, and their pushiness. A few spoke of moral reservations. Thus, there appears to be, at best, a subtle change in attitudes towards engaging with prostitutes in the foreign group over time.

Respondents were also asked whether their attitude towards prostitutes has changed since their first time (Graph #44). Once again, there are opposing trends between the two groups, with 27 against 21 Khmer men replying ‘yes’ and 11 against 7 foreign men replying ‘no’. Three of the Khmer men who expanded on their change in attitude mentioned that they are more confident now, two discussed not going as often now for financial reasons or paying for expenses other than sex now, and one said he has an easier time finding prostitutes now. One said that he is more careful to use condoms with them now. Only one respondent actually disclosed a change in his attitude towards prostitutes. He said:

“When I first bought sex services, I wanted to please the prostitute. After awhile, I stopped because I was the client”.

In the foreign group, four of the six men who expanded on the lack of change in their attitude towards prostitutes mentioned or implied that sex is a need. However, one of these respondents affirmed that his initial reservations had become “even stronger” regardless of this need. One foreigner said that male sex workers were still soliciting him, implying that the transaction had always been sought and initiated by them rather than him. Two others gave answers that provide some insight into nonsexual reasons for engaging with prostitutes. One foreign participant replied,
“The situation changed. When I was young, I didn’t pay. Now that I’m getting older, I’ve got to pay”.

Another foreign interviewee stated,

“Instead of paying for sex, it’s paying for company”.

To sum up, most of the answers given by foreigners reflect the buyers’ motivations rather than attitudes towards prostitutes, with the exception of the one respondent who highlighted the active solicitation of foreign clients by Cambodian men selling sex.

In order to verify the consistency of the answers given on changes in reservations and those on changes in attitudes towards prostitutes, the variation is depicted in the two graphs associated with this section.

This first graph (Graph #43) illustrates the change respondents experienced with regards to reservations. The bars are divided according to whether they had reservations or not the first time they bought sexual services. The color of the bars indicates how their initial position evolved over time, whether these men have the same reservations when purchasing sex with a prostitute presently or not. The greatest change this graph reveals is that 28 Khmer men had reservations the first time, but now no longer have any. The main trend among foreigners, on the other hand, is the maintaining of their initial position.

This second graph (Graph #44) indicates that attitudes towards prostitutes have followed a similar pattern. The attitude of 27 Khmer men has changed, which is comparable to 28 Khmer men whose initial reservations have reversed. As for foreign men, 11 said their attitude towards prostitutes has not changed, which is similar to the 13 foreign men who had not changed their initial outlook of having reservations or not having them. The similarity of the trends in both groups suggests a link between reservations and
attitudes towards prostitutes, although this is not always confirmed by the open answers given to both these questions. What is clear, however, is that whatever reticence respondents have or have had toward purchasing sexual services from male prostitutes was expressed as emanating from personal motivations or attitudes towards prostitutes, especially in the Khmer group, rather than from moral reservations regarding prostitution itself.

In summary, what emerges from the open answers given to all of the questions discussed above appears to be a more neutral view on prostitution, but certain negative views towards prostitutes themselves. In the Khmer group, several interviewees mentioned the sex workers’ lower social standing, whereas participants in the foreign group spoke of their limited skills and opportunities. Respondents in both groups associated prostitutes with dangers to personal safety or property, sometimes implying and sometimes openly citing their involvement in or association with risky or illegal activities. Several Khmer participants stated that prostitutes have lower moral standards than other people, while foreigners tended to express the perspective that prostitutes do what they do out of need.

**Client’s History of Selling Sex and Future Treatment of Prostitutes**

The treatment of prostitutes was explored through a number of questions with the intent of verifying whether given attitudes towards prostitutes affected the buyers’ behavior with them. As discussed in the results, just over half of the Khmer respondents (27/51) affirmed that they would treat prostitutes differently, whereas most foreigners (17/22) replied that they would treat them no differently. A cross-tabulation was conducted to validate whether having received compensation for sex-affected participants’ position on this issue.

In this graph, of those who *have* received compensation in exchange for sex with men, just under half of the Khmer interviewees (13/27) and most of the foreigners (3/4) replied that they would treat prostitutes no differently than other men. As can be seen on the right side of this graph, slightly less than
half of the Khmer respondents (11/25) and most of the foreigners (14/18) who have never received compensation in exchange for sex with men answered that they would treat prostitutes no differently than other men. Thus, having received compensation in exchange for sex appears to not have a noteworthy effect on the client’s treatment of prostitutes.

Preferences in Sexual Activity and Treatment of Prostitutes

Another indicator of the treatment of prostitutes is the type of sexual activities preferred by buyers (Graph #22). The purpose of including a question on this topic was to verify whether buyers tend to expect prostitutes to engage in more marginal sexual activities, some inflicting pain, because they are being paid. For instance, this might be the case if the buyer sees prostitutes as a means of acting out fantasies of a more ‘hard-core’ nature, which he may feel is impossible with a partner. This might also be the case if the buyer objectifies prostitutes to an extreme level. To explore these possibilities, respondents were presented a checklist that enumerated most categories of sexual activities, ranging from kissing to BDSM. This checklist included an “Other” option in which interviewees could add any sexual activity not mentioned in the list. The graph in this section presents the results for both groups.

As shown in this graph, the main finding is that preferences for marginal activities with prostitutes appear to be rather rare both in the Khmer and foreign groups. The activities had been placed on the list so as to roughly range from ‘soft’ to ‘hard’. The first half of the activities received the bulk of the affirmative responses. The modes are kissing and foreplay in the Khmer group, and foreplay and receiving oral sex in the foreign group. Most of the preferences for the other activities in the ‘soft’ half gravitated around half of the respondents in each group, with two exceptions. It appears that giving oral sex was preferred by a little over three-fifths of the Khmer interviewees. Also, receiving anal sex was preferred by only a little over a fifth of the foreign participants. Anal sex was placed in the middle of the checklist
because it is not considered a marginal activity among the MSM population, although all men in this population may not practice it regularly.

There is a visible drop in preferences for all categories within the second half of the graph in both groups. The statistical mode for this half is kink/fetish in the Khmer sample (6/48) and group sex in the foreign sample (5/20). The responses under the category “Other” varied widely, ranging from kicking and being forced to have sex to spooning and exchanging massages. There is only one Khmer respondent who, while expanding on how he would treat prostitutes differently from non-prostitutes, said,

“With prostitutes, I will be more bossy and ask them to do more things. With others, I will listen more and not force them to do things they are not willing to do.”

This comment indicates the existence of buyer behavior that, at best, may be unacceptable to the prostitute unless he has consented to some form of role-playing and, at worst, borders on or constitutes rape. However, this attitude seems to be rather rare among the MSM. Taken together, the findings above suggest that the majority of MSM clients do not expect or pressure prostitutes to engage in more marginal sexual activities simply because they are being paid for sex.

**Forming a ‘Sweetheart’ Relationship with Prostitutes**

Forming a romantic relationship with prostitutes may be perceived as a positive treatment in the sense that it may involve a level of mutual interest that surpasses the purely sexual aspect of the initial transaction. Perhaps it might imply a reduction or disappearance of the objectification that may have animated one or both parties. As was discussed in the results, this phenomenon appears to occur quite frequently among the Khmer MSM. Indeed, about two-thirds (33 of 48) of the Khmer respondents reported having already done so on one or more occasions, while only about one-third (7/20) of the foreigners had done the same.
Khmer interviewees most commonly reported forming a ‘sweetheart’ or \textit{song-saa} relationship with prostitutes. As highlighted by Catalla et al. (2003: 37-38), this involves a greater degree of familiarity and trust than one has with casual partners. Several Khmer participants also mentioned taking sex workers out for meals or drinks, buying or giving them clothes, and/or offering them gifts. It is interesting to note that in the Khmer sample, there was such a divide on treating a prostitute properly and with dignity, and yet, there appears to be a heavy trend on forming romantic relationships with them. This was a much larger proportion than the foreigner sample in this research. Among the foreign men, not having this relationship focus may be due to various reasons, one being their length of stay in Cambodia. As was mentioned before, the Khmer however, may be seeking to have a longer relationship with a male sex worker because of a ‘trust’ that is established through a mutual friend or social networking sites. Another possible reason why these clients feel a need to build trust with the sex worker may be a need for discretion about their relationship, for fear of societal ramifications if their relationship were to be exposed.

Some foreigners had formed similar relationships with Cambodian or Thai prostitutes, considering them as boyfriends or describing a sincere care for them. In two cases, even when the romantic attachment was gone, the foreigners continued to support them by covering the cost for them to receive vocational training in another field or helping their family financially. One of them said,

“I am still good friends with the first guy I paid for sex with. I really care about him. He’s important in my life. I am helping him to get a different job.”

One Khmer man implied that he had kept such relationships short out of a desire for self-preservation. He said,
“A few times. They would be with me for 4 or 5 days. I would take them out, buy them gifts, but I told myself not to fall in love with them because they would keep having sex with other people. It would be too hard.”

As seen here, usually such romantic relationships were said by interviewees in both groups not to have lasted long, but this was not always the case. Of the respondents who disclosed a specific length of time, two Khmer men and two foreigners said that the relationship had lasted a few months, 3 Khmer men replied that the relationship had lasted over a year or more, and a few participants in both groups (1 Khmer and 2 foreigners) currently have a partner who used to be involved in sex work. These experiences suggest that clients’ attraction to prostitutes is sometimes strong enough to override the negative attitudes buyers may have towards sex workers. However, if the prostitute continues to be involved in sex work, this appears to eventually interfere in the development of a more committed relationship.

The buyer’s ability or willingness to support the prostitute seems to be an important decisional factor. One foreigner said,

“I tried to when I first arrived in Cambodia. I met a man and we were seeing each other, but he kept asking me for money. It was a small amount each time, but it built up. I tried to convince him that I shouldn’t pay. Eventually, I realized that it wasn’t going to work out.”

One Khmer participant stated,

“We hung out, but since I couldn’t support him, we couldn’t continue the relationship.”

This implies that the relationship may become more committed if the buyer agrees to support the prostitute and the prostitute agrees to end his involvement in sex work.
Witnessing Rape

Rape is one of the most brutal forms of treatment a prostitute may encounter. As was presented in the results, a question composed of a rape scenario was included in the questionnaire to assess whether respondents would empathize with and attempt to rescue a prostitute being raped as much as they would a man known not to be involved in sex work. The findings from answers given to this question somewhat nuance those received for the query on treatment. Even the majority (three-fourths) of the Khmer interviewees who had said that they would treat prostitutes differently showed equal empathy for and propensity to rescue prostitutes and non-prostitutes. On the whole, 44/50 Khmer men and 21/22 foreigners replied that they would help both.

This is what a few of the Khmer respondents said:

“I would react the same to both because rape is wrong all the time, even if one chooses prostitution to make a living.”

“I would help both of them. I would feel pity for both of them because neither deserves that. The prostitute is just trying to make a living.”

“I would help both because rape is against the law and against human rights which apply to everyone.”

“I would help both. Nobody wishes to be raped or forced to have sex, even though prostitutes sell sex for money.”

One foreigner said:

“Rape is rape. It’s a violent crime. That doesn’t change even when one is paying for sex and therefore feels he has more of a right to rape the person.”
While expanding on this, one foreign and two Khmer interviewees specified that they would find help, either by calling the police or reporting the case to an NGO. As discussed in the results, the four Khmer men who stated that they would only help the non-prostitute explained that men not involved in sex work would be more affected by such an experience because they might not have had sex with men before, whereas a male prostitute would have. Also, four of the Khmer participants who answered that they would help both added that if they had to choose one of the two or which one to help first, they would help the non-prostitute for the same reason. The three respondents (2 Khmer and 1 foreigner) who said they would rescue neither stated that they felt they did not possess the ability to do so because of their appearance. Taken together, these findings suggest a strong empathy within the MSM population with victims of rape regardless of whether they are involved in sex work or not.

This is a far more positive conclusion than that drawn in the heterosexual study, especially for the Khmer sample. In the MSF-Demand study, 17 of the 50 Khmer men interviewed said that they would react differently when witnessing a prostitute being raped as opposed to a non-prostitute. The majority of the Khmer men responding this way said, “it is normal for a prostitute to be raped” as a reason as to why they would react differently. Other than the aforementioned modification in the wording of this question, this variance could possibly be due to the fact that a number of MSM may have faced the threat of rape in the past, may know of fellow MSM who have lived through this brutal experience or may feel more vulnerable to it themselves.7

**Discovering a Friend or Relative is Prostituting Himself**

One final aspect to consider regarding the treatment of prostitutes is the reaction respondents said they would have upon discovering that a friend or

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7 Please refer to the Results section in this report about this question for further details of why the researchers think there was such larger positive response among the MSM Khmer than the MSF Khmer in the previous ‘Listening to the Demand’ research.
relative is a prostitute. As discussed in the results, the vast majority of the men interviewed in both groups answered that their reaction would be neutral or negative. Indeed, 23/50 Khmer and 11/23 foreign participants stated that their reaction would be neutral, whereas nearly the same number (23/50 Khmer and 9/23 foreigners) replied that it would be negative. Reactions were grouped in the categories of positive, neutral and negative to simplify and clarify their presentation. However, when broken down into their raw form as respondents gave them, the open answers reveal a wide range of reactions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.20</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reactions to Discovering a Friend/Relative is a Prostitute</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept it if he has the right motivations or enough risk awareness (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprised, shocked (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious-&gt;enquire about motivations (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afraid for them, concerned, partly worried (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give advice (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try to convince or help them to stop (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad, not happy (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be supportive (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not judge (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reaction, it’s their choice, business or decision (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try to convince, help them to stop (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad, not happy (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept it if he has the right motivations or enough risk awareness (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make allowances (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give advice (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be angry (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel shame (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprised, shocked (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious-&gt;enquire about motivations (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not judge (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kick relative really hard (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 clearly shows the wide variety of probable reactions reported by both groups, although the extremes are greater in the Khmer sample. Indeed, no foreigner replied that he would have no reaction at all nor that he would
resort to violence to make his point. On the whole, however, there are several similar answers in both groups, even if the ranking is different.

The divergence between the two groups may be due to cultural perceptions regarding prostitution. For instance, the two foreigners who said they would be supportive may reflect a wider acceptance of the existence of prostitution in the West. Likewise, the Khmer interviewees who said they would pretend they did not know or keep their friend's/relative's secret, and those who mentioned shame, may suggest deeper stigma towards prostitution in the East and personal reflections about how this discovery would affect their own reputation.

In both samples, however, negative reactions appear to reveal a degree of ambivalence or unease in participants regarding the use of prostitutes. On the one hand, the answers many of them gave suggested or clearly stated that because sex is a natural need and that some men need to be involved in sex work to make a living, prostitution is necessary and serves a social function. On the other hand, several of the open answers given on reactions to discovering a friend/relative involved in sex work indicate that respondents would not consider prostitution a good option for people they care about especially. If purchasing services from prostitutes is to be considered sexual exploitation, it might be helpful for programs raising awareness about this issue to continue emphasizing the fact that every sex worker is someone's relative or friend.

**Ambiguity of Compensation in Exchange for Sex**

It is important to mention that although the questionnaire used for this survey and therefore also the wording used in this report, deal with purchasing sexual services from prostitutes, several foreign participants pointed out that there are a number of ambiguous situations in which it is not clear that the young Cambodian man approaching them and seeking to connect with them is a sex worker. This ambiguity makes it difficult to determine whether the instances in which compensation was requested of
the ‘client’ by the ‘sex worker’ constitute ‘purchasing sexual services’, even more so when any sum of money was requested after the sex was completed, and not before.

Prostitutes’ Treatment of Clients

It would be misleading to speak of sexual exploitation without mentioning the fact that several of the respondents in this study, especially the foreigners, but also some of the Khmer, felt just as exploited as the young men selling their bodies for a living or for extra cash. Some participants in both groups described episodes in which they received ill treatment by sex workers, not only when encountering crime or violence, but also when supporting a prostitute who cheated on them or left them unofficially to get married to the girl they really loved. One foreigner mentioned feeling treated like a walking ATM machine. A few others implied similar circumstances. As was presented in the results, there are bait situations in which the buyer is unaware that he is a client, that the man with him is involved in sex work either occasionally or regularly and that he will be expected to disburse a sum after having sex with him.

These types of exchanges were reported to sometimes be convenient to both parties for a time, but in some cases, both of the men involved ended up feeling exploited or treated badly by the other. Even when buyers are aware that they are clearly transacting with a ‘money boy’, they still face a number of risks, just as the prostitute himself does. Finally, the experiences disclosed by some of the interviewees who had formed more serious relationships with prostitutes suggest that pledging to support a man involved in sex work in exchange for his abstaining from all such work guarantees neither the durability of the relationship nor that the supporter will emerge from it unscathed. As a result, some of the participants who have had much experience with one or more of these situations have become rather jaded, which may have affected both their attitudes towards and their treatment of prostitutes.
Erotic Massage

It is common knowledge that massages in Cambodia can be a precursor to sexual activity. When respondents were asked if they had received an erotic massage, 23/50 Khmer men who responded said yes and 16/23 foreign men said yes. This is a large proportion, especially for the foreign men. In addition, within this study, massage parlors were the second most common location disclosed by foreigners for the buying of sex. These results together suggest that erotic massage may be a popular activity among foreign men who pay for sex with men. It is noteworthy that three of these foreign men said that they stopped the erotic massage, presumably the masseur initiated erotic activities without the client’s prompting, and it can be inferred from the responses of four more that they had received an erotic massage between one and three times. The remaining nine foreigners possibly had erotic massages on a more regular basis, one of who remarked: “I favor masseurs giving happy endings.” Some of the Khmer men who clarified their response mentioned that the massage had led to sexual intercourse. For example, one Khmer man said “I used to go [to get erotic massages] and had sex with the masseurs.” The fact that slightly over half (39/74) of the men interviewed had received an erotic massage, which itself was strongly correlated with sexual activity, implies that massage establishments - such as massage parlors, spas and saunas - are propagating the male-male sex industry. For more information about why male masseurs in Cambodia feel pressured to offer sexual services to their clients, please refer to the two research papers in the References section of this report done by Davis & Miles in 2012 and by Miles & Blanch in 2011.\footnote{www.love146.org/research}

East and West

The consensus among the men who had paid for sex was that there is a difference between prostitution in the East and the West, with two-thirds of Khmer and three-quarters of foreign men holding this opinion. Between both groups, the most significant result was the prevalence of the notion that the
“grass is greener on the other side”. Though not necessarily true, there was a popular belief among the foreign respondents that poverty was a more significant driver of prostitution in Cambodia than in the West. A fair number of foreigners perceived that there was a more open attitude towards prostitution as a job in Cambodia, the price is cheaper and also some perceived that prostitution helps the family. Nine Khmer men stated simply that, “the West is better”, others felt that there is more openness to sexuality and prostitution and some said that there is more respect for prostitutes in the West. Especially conflicting is both the perceived openness to prostitution and perceived respect for prostitutes in the other group’s region. The price difference seems to be the most accurate and testable perception.

**Mobility of the Demand**

Although the sample in Siem Reap is relatively small it may be worth investigating the proportion of the demand interviewed in Siem Reap who had also paid for sex in Phnom Penh, compared to the proportion of those interviewed in Phnom Penh who had also paid for sex in Siem Reap. In the Khmer sample, there seemed to be proportionally more mobility away from Phnom Penh towards Siem Reap than vice versa. Perhaps this can be explained by the popularity of Siem Reap as a tourist destination or perhaps by larger wages in Phnom Penh. There are limitations in the sample however, with a large proportion of non-responses (including no answer and N/A).

Sixteen of the foreign men had said that they had purchased sex in other SE Asian countries apart from Cambodia. This is a fairly high proportion of the sample size. All of these men said that they had purchased sex in Thailand, while four mentioned a combination of other SE Asian countries as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.21 Count of Khmer Respondents and the Cambodian Provinces they have Purchased Sex in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siem Reap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battambang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banteay Meanchey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Som</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Cham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Chhnang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Speu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanakiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisophon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
well. This appears to support the notion that there is a strong link between travel/tourism and paying for sexual services in SE Asia. When asked further on how their experiences were different in the various countries, most of the men who answered talked about Thailand specifically. They said that the sex workers in Thailand were more experienced, skilled and professional, and the industry itself was a lot more organized. They also mentioned that in Cambodia, the men were shyer and sought to have a relationship with the respondents. This could suggest that the men selling sex in Cambodia are seeking monetary gain from individual clients as a way out of the industry, rather than in Thailand where the sex workers could potentially see longevity in the industry and themselves as employees of a professional service.

On the other hand, the mobility of the Khmer men interviewed was heavily focused on other areas within Cambodia rather than other SE Asian countries. Outside of Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, Battambang was a popular location, with 9/42 men who had paid for sex and gave a response citing having paid for sex there. Banteay Meanchey and Kampong Som were other noteworthy locations included. The number of Khmer men who disclosed having paid for sex in at least one location other than Siem Reap or Phnom Penh was 22 and the total count for other locations was 30. Therefore, assuming that these men had also paid for sex in their respective home provinces could serve as a partial explanation, with exception of a few men who had paid in many locations.

The researchers were curious to understand if these Khmer men who were purchasing sex in other provinces outside of Phnom Penh and Siem Reap were of a higher income level and, therefore could afford to travel and purchase sex elsewhere. However, when analyzed further, the highest income category for the Khmer men who answered this question ($201-500/month) had only purchased sex in three locations: Phnom Penh, Siem Reap and Battambang. Using the table as a reference, the middle-income group of Khmer men ($101-200/month) had purchased sex in the provinces
from Phnom Penh down to Kampong Cham, and the lowest income category of men (<$100/month) had purchased sex in all the rest of the provinces listed. Since Phnom Penh, Siem Reap and Battambang are epicenters of Cambodian development this may be a reason why a higher-income man would not travel and pay for sexual services elsewhere due to a perceived proletarian level of society in other more rural provinces. What is interesting as well is the exclusion of Kampong Som as a more popular location for Khmer men to purchase sex. It would seem that with the region’s development and popularity as a tourist destination for both foreigners and Khmer people alike, this would have been a more popular destination for these men to purchase sexual services.

When analyzing the income levels of the Khmer men who had purchased sex in other countries in SE Asia, again it was the men in the lower and middle-income categories, not those in the highest, which said that they had. Two of the Khmer men said that they had purchased sex in Thailand, and four men said that they had purchased sex in Vietnam. Though the sample group of Khmer respondents in this research were low to middle income individuals compared to the whole of Cambodian society, it would be interesting to research the mobility trends of the Khmer MSM demand further with a larger sample size and more specific objectives on this topic.

**Presence of Minors within the Sex Industry**

The demand for minors was not one of the main focuses of this study. However, because Love146 is dedicated to fighting sexual exploitation, especially that of minors, and due to the vigilance needed to combat the involvement of minors in the sex trade, three questions bearing some relation to interest in minors were included in the questionnaire. In the first question, respondents were asked if they had themselves been offered a minor for sex, regardless of whether they accepted or declined. A little over half of the foreign men (12/23) and 8/51 of the Khmer men reported that they had been offered a minor. In a previous study (Havey, et al., 2013), 14/50 of the foreigners and 5/50 of the Khmer men interviewed reported
that they had been offered a minor. Thus, proportionally more foreigners and slightly more Khmer men reported having been offered a minor in this study, than in the heterosexual survey. In contrast, this may be a substantial difference and indicative that there is a need for a larger focus on resisting boys and male youth from entering the sex industry.

Unlike Love146’s MSF demand research, this survey asked a few further questions about the presence of minors in the sex industry so more details about this issue could be obtained. The respondents were asked if they had known of other men who had paid for sex with a minor. Just over one third (8/23) of the foreign men and nearly one quarter (12/51) of the Khmer men disclosed that they had. This indicates the presence of a demand for minors. Notably, very few of the Khmer men interviewed in Siem Reap declared the affirmative in response to this question. However, this could be related to the fact that the majority of men within the Khmer group were between the ages of 18 and 21. Indeed, this knowledge of other men who had paid for sex with minors tended to be low among the Khmer who were under 30. However, there was a 50-50% split (four men said 'yes', four said 'no') regarding this knowledge among the men who were 40-49 years old.

Within the foreign sample group, this seemed to be the opposite. Three out of the four foreigners between the ages of 20 and 29 said that they had known of another person who had paid for sex with a minor. However, one of these respondents was a prostitute in his youth and had been compensated for sex with older men in his western country. In spite of this, the fact that 50% of the foreign respondents in this age group who knew of men who had paid for sex with minors in SE Asia is noteworthy.

When analyzed with other variables to see if there was a trend in the income or education level of the men who possessed this knowledge, the data proved to be fairly consistent throughout, meaning that, these different levels of income and education contained similar proportions in relation to the
amount of the respondents who possessed this knowledge within each category.

Finally, when asked about types of pornography that the men preferred watching, 7/51 Khmer and no foreigner respondents included pornography involving minors as a preference. Compared to the previous MSF demand study where 20% of the Khmer men responded that this was a preference, the prevalence here was somewhat lower. Furthermore, some Khmer men expressed that they would have sex with minors if it were legal. All of the affirmative responses to these questions strongly suggest an interest in this area. However, they do not confirm that these participants themselves have or currently engage in sex with minors.

In summary, these results strongly suggest there is both a supply and demand for minors in the MSM sex industry in Cambodia. They also demonstrate that there is a demand for minors within Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. In light of these findings, it is essential to raise awareness within the MSM population in Cambodia, particularly in urban areas, about the importance of abstaining from sex with minors, the gravity of the consequences this has on child development and the civic responsibility shared by all to report offenders.

**Practices Mitigating Risk Factors Linked to Prostitution Use**

As discussed in the section on attitudes towards prostitutes, many respondents in both groups gave answers in which they associated sex workers with risks to personal safety or property. This suggests a high level of awareness of the potential risk factors involved when engaging with prostitutes. To examine this further, a number of questions were designed to explore practices mitigating risk factors linked to prostitution use. Unprotected sex with multiple partners is considered a very high-risk activity with regards to contracting STIs; condom use is the most important mitigating practice. As the answers given by both groups on the cons of buying sex from a prostitute revealed, the majority of respondents are aware
of the possibility of contracting STIs through sex workers. Condom use was reported to be quite frequent: 36/51 Khmer and 9/23 foreigners answered “always”, while 14/51 Khmer and 11/23 foreigners said that it depended on their partner. There were one Khmer and one foreign respondents who said ‘never’ and two foreign men who answered ‘sometimes’. However, this was a somewhat leading question, especially so for the Khmer who were being interviewed in sexual health clinics that raise awareness about the importance of condom use.

There is also the question of whether or not respondents continue to wear a condom with prostitutes with whom they have a sweetheart or songsaa relationship. As Catalla and his colleagues pointed out in a 2003 study, with regards to songsaa relationships, there is an attitude against using condoms with a trusted partner (Catalla, 2003: 37-38). This mentality was confirmed in this study with 25 of 74 respondents saying that they would use a condom depending on who their partner is. This may be problematic if the ‘trusted’ partner is a prostitute who continues to have multiple partners. Still, the finding of the present survey on condom use suggests a high level of awareness of its importance for the protection of one’s sexual health, which is an encouraging development.

One last consideration related to sexual health is the use of lubricants. Though this survey did not include questions on lubrication usage during sex, it is an important tool to be used during anal intercourse to mitigate tearing of the anal wall. Catalla, Sovanara and van Mourik (2003: 36-37) found that only 28% of the MSM interviewed in Battambang, Phnom Penh and Siem Reap used water-based lubricants. However, this is a 2003 study and it is hoped that the awareness about using lubricants during sex has raised. It will be necessary for groups working with sexual health issues within the MSM communities in Cambodia to research further and address the propagation of awareness about lubrication.
On the whole, a high level of awareness was found among participants regarding the health risks involved when engaging with prostitutes. Furthermore, several respondents reported having adopted practices to mitigate these risk factors. Condom use was reported to be quite frequent. Only a small minority of both the Khmer and the foreign groups reported being intoxicated by alcohol most of the times they engage with prostitutes. Moreover, substance use both for recreation and specifically for sexual activities was reported to be quite low in both groups as well. This is a surprisingly low figure compared to the 2012 FHI360 MARP study conducted in Cambodia. In that survey, 27% of the 199 Khmer MSM respondents said that they used drugs before or during sex (fhi360, 2012: 18). In conclusion, the drug use among Khmer men is an issue needing to be researched more thoroughly and education about the health risks of drug use needs to be increased.

Finally, the number of interviewees who reported encounters with crime and/or violence represented about a fourth of the Khmer sample and slightly over a fifth of the foreign sample. In the absence of reliable figures on the total numbers of encounters in the entire population of sex buyers in Cambodia, it is impossible to conclude whether these findings are relatively high or relatively low. However, the fact that most of the participants who had such experiences reported having responded non-violently is somewhat reassuring. These findings suggest that a number of MSM clients have adopted practices with the aim to mitigate the risk factors associated with buying sex from prostitutes.
Summary of Findings & Conclusion

In concluding this report on the MSM demand in Cambodia, there are a number of essential findings that need to be highlighted and reiterated. Firstly, there were three main situations that the respondents gave as ways of paying for sex with a male in Cambodia. These are described in the replication of Table 1 of this report.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.1</th>
<th>Three Paradigms of Giving Compensation within the MSM Sex Industry in Cambodia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Money-boy</strong></td>
<td>The agreement and price of exchanging money for sex is discussed up front before sexual intercourse takes place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baiting</strong></td>
<td>No money is discussed before sexual intercourse, but when the activity is finished the ‘seller’ asks the ‘client’ for money for something other than the sex i.e. to fix his motor-bike or that a family member is in the hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Boyfriend</strong></td>
<td>A man and a sex worker are in a relationship together. Typically the non-sex worker helps financially support his ‘boyfriend’. There is often confusion and a displacement of commitment and attraction levels between the two parties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study also confirmed previous research in that the sexual orientation paradigms in the West cannot be attributed to peoples of SE Asian cultures. In Cambodia, sexual orientation is strongly linked to gender identity. It appears that there is a larger fluidity in sexual orientation in Cambodia among the male population. One example of this is the Khmer respondent who insisted that he was heterosexual because of the cisgender masculine characteristics he possessed, despite his history of having sex with male sex workers.
It is very interesting that over half of the Khmer respondents have both purchased and sold sex; have played the roles of both the supply and the demand. This led the researchers to inquire further with the data set about if there were a certain age, income level, age virginity was lost or number of partners that would emerge as a population characteristic which would determine whether someone would be more likely to participate in selling sex. However, this was not the case. When cross-tabulating this data, there was no substantial difference in any of these groups between the Khmer men who had bought & sold sex, and those who had only bought. What did appear to be shown was a certain ‘life-cycle’ of selling sex and then becoming a buyer, this quote is representative of this paradigm:

“When I was younger, I needed money and everyone wanted to buy me. I also enjoyed the sex and I could eat good meals. Now I am mostly the buyer and as long as I don’t hurt anyone it’s ok.”

It is also worth pointing out again that five of the Khmer respondents who had bought & sold sex had also attended university. From the researchers’ observation this is not an unusual way for students to help subsidize the costs of their higher education. This is something that should be researched and understood further.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.22.a Use of Prostitution Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khmer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid for Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48/51 of the respondents had paid for sex before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received Payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27/51 had received payment for sex.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Preferred Ages of Prostitutes</th>
<th>Age of First Use</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Use of Internet of Mobile Phone Applications</th>
<th>Erotic Massage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Inverse bell curve  
  - 12/51 had paid 1-5 times  
  - 10/51 had paid 50+ times  
  • Highest amount of respondents (10/51) paid for sex 2-3 times per month | • 38/51 said they prefer their prostitutes to be between the ages of 18-25 | • 14/46 before the age of 18  
  • 21/46 between the ages of 18-21  
  • 37/42 said that they were *not* coerced or pressured into doing it | • Top three:  
  - Parks  
  - Spas/saunas  
  - Nightclubs | • Use of phones more popular possibly because of easier access  
  • Facebook was by far most popular place to meet and get acquainted with a prostitute | • 23/50 have paid for at least one session  
  • Most men said that Erotic Massage is a form of prostitution |
| • 9/23 had paid 1-5 times  
  • One man had paid 50+ times  
  • The highest amount of respondents (7/23) paid for sex a few times per year | | • The largest amount (7/19) said that they were over the age of 40 their first time  
  • 12/17 said that they were not coerced or pressured into doing it | | • 50% (9/18) said that they had used the internet to meet a prostitute in Cambodia | • 16/23 have paid for at least one session  
  • Most men said that Erotic Massage is a form of prostitution |
Khmer men exhibited more relational tendencies when they bought sex while the foreign men were more interested in the services sex workers provide. Table 22.b depicts the most important answers and themes among the Khmer and foreign respondents for each category of questioning within the topic of possible influences on prostitution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minors in the Sex Industry</th>
<th>8/51 have been offered</th>
<th>12/51 know of other men who have had sex with a minor</th>
<th>7/51 said they prefer pornography depicting minors</th>
<th>Some men said that they would have sex with a minor if it were not illegal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Minors in the Sex Industry | 12/23 have been offered | 8/23 know of other men who have had sex with a minor | None said they preferred pornography depicting minors |

**Khmer**

- "I would like a male prostitute to live with me. I would not pay him money, but compensate for his living expenses"
- Many Khmer men saw prostitutes are the only realistic means to fulfill sexual needs

**Foreigner**

- Wanted to have a boyfriend but his life as a prostitute got in the way
- Confusion about relationship when Khmer partner became financially dependent on the respondent

**Table 22.b**

**Possible Influences on Prostitution Habits**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>&quot;I would like a male prostitute to live with me. I would not pay him money, but compensate for his living expenses&quot;</td>
<td>Wanted to have a boyfriend but his life as a prostitute got in the way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many Khmer men saw prostitutes are the only realistic means to fulfill sexual needs</td>
<td>Confusion about relationship when Khmer partner became financially dependent on the respondent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most important finding that this research has shown about the attitude and treatment of sex workers and the industry is that most men who buy sex from male sex workers had a mixed feeling about the industry itself but were more negative towards the individual prostituting himself. Similar to Table 22.b, this section has been broken down into the main findings from each question topic in Table 22.c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pornography</th>
<th>Spirituality</th>
<th>Deterrents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vast majority said pornography influences their prostitution habits</td>
<td>26/51 said that spirituality was not an influencer on their prostitution habits</td>
<td>Jail time most effective</td>
<td><strong>Only one foreigner affirmative answer to this question</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanted to experience what they had just seen and also release their increased sexual desire</td>
<td>A common response was that Buddhism teaches to do good deeds, not about sexual habits</td>
<td>Community service would be least effective</td>
<td><strong>¾ of the foreign men who had not used prostitutes before said that their spirituality had influenced them</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference in the type of porn and sexual activities preference highly linked</td>
<td></td>
<td>Many had paid for sex but were more likely to be deterred by legal actions, suggests a perception that enforcement would not be likely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 22.a**

Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia
### T.22.c

#### Views of Sex Industry and Prostitutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View of Sex Industry</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majority had a neutral, ‘normal’, or mixed view</td>
<td></td>
<td>Majority had a neutral, ‘normal’, or mixed view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It’s their business”</td>
<td></td>
<td>It depends on the prostitute’s situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative views were largely focused on the supply being problematic</td>
<td></td>
<td>It’s ok if the prostitutes rights are upheld and he’s not being forced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Larger understanding of the positive and negatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View of Prostitutes</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes have bad morals, lower social standing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prostitutes are no different from people who do not sell sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are different to people who do not sell sex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Doubts of genuine desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change of view towards Prostitutes between the Khmer who had sold sex and those who had not.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Less skills and opportunities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Change in Attitude Towards Sex Workers and the Industry Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39/47 had initial reservations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Shy, no experience, didn’t know how to have sex</td>
<td>o half of these men said that they didn’t see it as commercial sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37/49 no longer have reservations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Change came from habit and experience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Treatment of Prostitutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50/50 split of treating prostitutes different or not differently among the men who had sold sex previously</td>
<td>Treat no differently from those who do not sell sex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Relationships with Prostitutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>About 2/3 of Khmer have had</td>
<td>About 1/3 of foreigners have had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May seek this out of a need to trust the prostitute</td>
<td>Many would like to find a boyfriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of relationship</td>
<td>Prostitution got in the way of relationship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Rape Scenario**               | • 44/50 would help both  
  • Very different from the Love146 MSF Demand study  
  • 21/22 would help both |
| **Friend/Relative Prostituting Himself** | • A few men would have a positive reaction  
  • About an equal amount between the men who would react neutrally or negatively  
  • Top three response themes in order:  
    o No reaction -> it's their business  
    o Try to convince them to stop  
    o Feelings of sadness  
  • A few men would have a positive reaction  
  • About an equal amount between the men who would react neutrally or negatively  
  • Top three response themes in order:  
    o Accept it if he has the right motivations and understands risks  
    o Surprised/shock  
    o Curious -> enquire about motives |

**T.22.d**

### Prostitution in the East vs. West

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The West is better&quot;</td>
<td>Poverty is a more significant driver for prostitution in the East than in the West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The West is more open to prostitution and sexuality</td>
<td>Cambodia has a more open attitude to prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is more respect for sex workers in the West</td>
<td>The price of buying a prostitute is cheaper in the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prostitution in Cambodia helps the family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numerous false assumptions existed among the Khmer and foreign participant's answers regarding the MSM sex industries in opposing cultures. It appeared there was an overarching theme of, 'the grass is greener on the other side of the fence', to this question. To illustrate this, the top themes from the respondents are broken down in Table 22.d.

The MSM demand in Cambodia is fairly mobile, meaning; it would not be abnormal for an MSM individual in Cambodia who has purchased sex in one area, to have also purchased sex in another location within the country or SE Asia. Sixteen of the twenty-three foreign participants had paid for sex in other SE Asia countries (Thailand being the largest destination by far), and 15/51 Khmer had paid for sex in other Cambodian provinces other than the one they were interviewed in. Within the Khmer group, it was interesting that the highest earners had not paid for sex in any other provinces excluding Siem Reap, Phnom Penh and Battambang; rather it was the lowest income category of Khmer men who had purchased sex in the nine other named Cambodian provinces. It was also dually interesting that the highest earners of the Khmer group had not paid for sex in other SE Asia countries and again it was the lowest and middle income groups that made up the four Khmer men who had done so.

When assessing the actions used to mitigate risks involved when purchasing sex that there was a meaningful amount of both Khmer and foreign participants who use condoms, ‘depending on who their partner was’, is revealing. Even more significant, was the popular response among the Khmer men who would stop using a condom with a male prostitute who had become their, ‘sweetheart’. Table 22.e is broken into Khmer & Foreigner, and the differing sets of questions to understand this alleviation of risks. The important findings from this survey are then color coded by the researchers’
perceived level of effectiveness in mitigation of with green being ‘effective’, yellow as ‘moderate’, and red being ‘poor’.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.22.e</th>
<th>Assessing Actions Perpetuating or Mitigating the Risks Involved with Purchasing Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Khmer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Condom and Lubrication Use</strong></td>
<td>(g) 36/51 said they always use a condom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(g) Knowledge about what condoms do to protect against STIs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(y) 14/51 said they use a condom depending on who their partner is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(r) 1/51 said they never use a condom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(r) Stopping the use of condoms after the client’s prostitutes becomes his ‘sweetheart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(g) Further research about the prevalence of water-based lubricants used by the MSM community during anal sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alcohol Use</strong></td>
<td>(g) 27/51 never ‘drunk’ when purchasing sex with a prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(g) Two said it was unsafe to be drunk as alcohol affects alertness and/or reduces one’s preoccupation with precautions and safety.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(y) 17/51 ‘sometimes’ drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(r) 2/51 ‘most times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(r) 1/51 ‘always’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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9 The boxes have been referenced with: (g) for green, (y) for yellow, and (r) for red, if this report has been printed in black and white.
Finally, this research demonstrates that there is a prevailing supply of minors within Cambodia’s MSM sex industry. Twelve out of 23 foreigners and 8/51 Khmer participants said that they had been offered a minor for sex. This was slightly higher proportion between both groups than the Love146 MSF demand done in 2013 (Havey, et al., 2013). Furthermore, 8/23 foreigners and 12/51 Khmer possessed knowledge of other men who had paid for sex with a minor. Lastly, no foreigners and 7/51 Khmer men indicated that they had a preference for pornography depicting minors. This again is less than the previous Love146 research where 20% of the Khmer men held this type of pornography as a preference. Though this is encouraging that there appears to be less of a demand for minors in the sex industry among the MSM population than their MSF counterparts, any affirmative answers to these questions is problematic and persistent addressing of this issue is needed.
Recommendations

Recommendation to The Royal Cambodian Government—Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Health & Ministry of Education, Community Leaders, and Civil Society including the faith-based community to further the education within the Cambodian population of LGBT sexualities so as to foster respect, understanding and social acceptance. There was a higher proportion of Khmer men who were open about their sexuality than initially expected, showing that there appears to be a changing climate among the Khmer population and sexuality. However, this research appears to show that about a third of the Khmer men who expressed that they were ‘not comfortable’ talking about their sexuality among family, friends and colleagues. Therefore, It is the researchers’ opinion that these stigmas could be further lessened through the education of the larger Cambodian population to not discriminate against people of different sexualities and that an LGBT individual can live as an equal within a society.

Recommendation to engaged NGOs and the LGBT community to provide training to the communities, health workers, teachers and social workers to reduce stigma and understand more thoroughly the needs of sex workers so they can serve them better
This research appears to show that many of the Khmer men interviewed viewed prostitution as negative. What is discouraging though, was that their reasons for this view were focused on it being bad for the society and not necessarily for the individual who is selling sex. This is especially interesting since 53% of the Khmer participants had also sold sexual services. There needs to be an understanding of the everyday challenges that prostitutes face so that they are seen as people of equal value and not sub-human.

Recommendation to Community Leaders, Internet Cafés and Internet Service Providers and NGOs to understand more about how mobile applications and social media are used to perpetuate the buying and selling of sexual services so that exploitation of vulnerable people can be limited.
The buying and selling of sex in Cambodia has proliferated beyond websites and mobile applications that specifically depict sexually explicit content.
Some very popular social media websites were mentioned during this research as a tool to access men who were willing to sell sex for money. Though social media networking enables people to link together, the encouragement of sexual exploitation through social media we consider to be unacceptable. There is a need for more exploration of how social media and websites frequented by the MSM community can be used to challenge the way exploitation occurs through the social media.

**Recommendation to the Royal Government of Cambodia to continue to clamp down on the selling of pirated pornography.** It is also recommended that pornography depicting violent scenarios and minors involved in sexual activities be restricted/eradicated. As seen in this report, the use of pornography influenced 80% of the Khmer men interviewed into paying for sex. This is a very high proportion and something that needs to be curtailed. Along with this large proclivity to seek paying for sex after watching porn, one of the main reasons that the Khmer men said that porn influenced their prostitution habits was that they wanted to experience the various activities they had seen in the various pornographic videos. This can be seen as porn being a sex educator, which can be dangerous for the viewer to be given unrealistic expectations during sexual activity.

**Recommendation to the Royal Cambodian Government and Internet Cafés to curtail the access of pornography to Cambodia’s youth.** Pornography can influence a younger person’s mind and expectations of sexuality so that they are unrealistic and susceptible to vulnerability. It also may be used in grooming a youth into becoming sexually active before he is ready to start participating in sexual activities.

**Recommendation to The Royal Cambodian Government-Ministry of Health, Men’s Sexual Health Clinics and health and education NGOs with sex education curriculums to continue to raise awareness for MSM and develop and improve resources that encompass recent understandings of sexual behavior and sexualities so that people of various sexualities can be educated and protected from harm.**
The results of this research suggest that 14/51 of the Khmer men use a condom depending on who their sexual partner is. Some of these men however, further said that they do not use a condom or stop-using condoms when the prostitute they have been sleeping with becomes their ‘sweetheart’. A level of trust is built between the two individuals and their need to use a condom when having sex with each other falsely seems to become obsolete. Both partners may not know what STIs they or their partner may be carrying at the time of intercourse, especially where one or both have had multiple partners.

Educating communities regarding the risk of contacting and transmitting HIV/AIDS and other STI are an important ongoing service in Cambodia. We recommend that the Ministry of Health, Men’s Sexual Health Clinics and health and education NGOs continue to raise awareness and work to educate the MSM community to dispel myths about sex and the spread of HIV/AIDS and other STIs. We believe that the reduction of high-risk behaviors within this community (such as sex without a condom), can and will promote greater health and wellbeing among men in Cambodia.

Through observations by the researchers, there appears to be a lack of formal sexual education for men who have or want to have sex with other men. We recommend to Men’s Health Clinics, LGBT groups and anywhere else that are providing education to boys and men about having sex safely, that due to the nature of homosexual male intercourse and the use of the anus as a common place of penetration, there is a need for good education on safe anal and oral sex.¹⁰

¹⁰ One of the key safety precautions needed to be educated to the MSM community in Cambodia is the use of water based, rather than oil-based, lubrication. This lubrication is used to prevent tearing of the anus during sex, thus lessening the risk of spreading disease and causing injury to the receiver.
Following our observation of men’s sexual health clinics in Cambodia, it appears that there is an understanding that sexual health clinics for men are only limited to MSM or transgender men. If it is not seen that those who see themselves as heterosexual e.g. those who are married, can also be included in the MSM community is a misconception that needs to be addressed among all parties who participate in the healthcare. These clinics are not only for MSM or transgender men, but also for all men who are or would like to become sexually active. This is to ensure that all men feel comfortable addressing their sexual health inquiries without fear of societal repercussion if they are seen within one of the various men’s health clinics in Cambodia.

**Encouraging NGOs involved in prosecution of perpetrators and rescue of children who are exploited by foreigners and local Khmer to continue to be aware of and deal with exploitation of boys and young men, as well as girls and young women.**

This research has shown that there is a sustained presence of minors within the sex industry and a demand for these minors in Cambodia. With 12 of the Khmer men and eight of the foreign participants responding that they knew of other men who had sex with minors; and seven of the Khmer men saying that they preferred pornography depicting situations that involved minors, this an issue that needs to be address with vigilance and persistence until eradication.

**Recommendation to the Royal Government of Cambodia-Ministry of the Interior to study the approach Swedish government has adopted to combat the sex industry and has been endorsed by the European Union (2014).**

In this study, it appeared that the Khmer sample group would be deterred by the enforcement of legal repercussions if they were to be caught purchasing sex. Sweden has been able to significantly curtail its sex industry by criminalizing the buyers of sex. In many countries across the globe the suppression of this industry falls onto the supply, not the demand. Sweden has shown that if the sex industry is to be limited, law enforcement should seek to penalize the buyers of sex and not focus so heavily on the sellers. Curbing the demand will have a direct result in limiting the amount of supply.
Recommendation to researchers to conduct further research, specifically in SE Asia, on the psychology of why people enjoy and some go to great lengths to purchase sex.

Though the goal of this research is to give more of an understanding of the men who purchase sex with men, it is a baseline study with limitations that does not give a full account of the psychology behind why these men seek to pay for sex. It is able to provide some reasoning, but this demand study needs to be further deepened among various sexualities and cultural contexts in SE Asia.

Recommendations to the MSM Community:

• Consider the many variables and risks before purchasing or selling sex. Consult someone who has had experience working with the rehabilitation of an ex-sex worker about the dangers and often sad experiences these people have been through during their time of prostitution.

• Understand the proper ways to practice safe homosexual sex specifically for anal penetrative activities. This includes, but is not limited to: always using a condom, the use of water-based lubrication, and the relaxation of the receptive partner.

• Though not addressed in this report, empirical observations during the interviews showed that there were discriminatory behaviors and emotions towards the transgender female community of Cambodia. This is a marginalized community in Cambodia and elsewhere around the world susceptible to high rates of violence and bigotry. These individuals need to be respected and dignified just the same as all human beings.

Recommendations for further research on:

• The demand for the sex industry in SE Asia, specifically on the psychology behind why men pay for sex.
• The Khmer transgender female population and their role within the demand for Cambodia’s sex industry.

• The use of internet and mobile phone applications, specifically Facebook, and other social media websites and apps that are used by the MSM community to perpetuate the sex industry in Cambodia.

• The use of safe sexual practices within the MSM community, specifically on the prevalence of use of water-based lubricants.

• The frequency of Khmer youth having to prostitute themselves to pay for their higher education.

• Why there is such a high rate of MSM individuals in Cambodia who have bought and sold sex.

• The incidence of drug use among Khmer men and its effects on the Cambodian sex industry.

• The mobility of the demand in Cambodia, asking questions such as: ‘Why is the lower income Khmer men paying for sex in much more diverse areas than the higher?’ and, ‘Are these men travelling for work or visiting family during a holiday and paying for sex?’
References


Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia


Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia


Appendix I

Graphs used throughout this report in order of appearance.

1. Interview Location

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Location</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siem Reap</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battambang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

2. Age

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
3. Country of Origin

What is your region of origin?
- North America
- Europe
- Australia / New Zealand
- Asia
- Africa
- Middle East

4. Reason for Being in this City
5. Occupation

![Occupation Chart]

6. Income

![Income Chart]
7. Family Status

*Men were placed in this category if they had a boyfriend, were in a civil partnership or engaged to be married*

8. Education Level
9. Religion

![Graph showing religious affiliations]

- **Christian**: 43
- **Buddhist**: 1
- **Pagan**: 3
- **Atheist**: 3
- **Other**: 3
- **Non-practicing**: 1
- **None**: 1

*Participants were put into this category if they expressed that they had a combination of practices derived from multiple religions.

10. Alcohol Use

![Graph showing alcohol consumption]

- **Daily**: 4
- **Weekly**: 3
- **Monthly**: 1
- **Yearly**: 1
- **Few times per year**: 1
- **Rarely**: 1
- **None at all**: 1

*What is your nationality?*

- **Khmer**
- **Foreigner**
11. Drug Use

12. Discrimination
13. Self-Worth

What is your nationality?
- Khmer
- Foreigner

14. Different Sexual Partners Per Week

What is your nationality?
- Khmer
- Foreigner
15. **Length of Longest Sexual Relationship**

![Chart showing the distribution of the length of the longest sexual relationship by nationality in Cambodia.](chart15)

16. **Substance Use During Sexual Activity**

![Chart showing the distribution of substance use during sexual activity by nationality in Cambodia.](chart16)
17. Condom Use

18. Paid or Given Compensation in Exchange for Sex
19. Received Payment or Compensation in Exchange for Sex

20. Number of Occasions Respondents had Paid for Sex

*Includes answers such as, “a few”
21. Regularity of Occurrences

How often do you pay for sex?

22. Preferred Sexual Activities When Paying for Sex
23. Respondent’s Age First Time Paying for Sex

![Bar chart showing the age distribution of the first time respondents paid for sex, with ages ranging from 13-15 to 40+ and different colored bars for Khmer and Foreigner respondents.]

24. Were Respondents Coerced or Pressured to Pay for Sex the First Time?

![Bar chart showing the count of respondents coerced or pressured to pay for sex the first time, with different colored bars for Khmer and Foreigner respondents.]

25. Location for Buying Sex

![Chart showing location for buying sex]

26. How Did The Respondents Discover These Locations?

![Chart showing how respondents discovered locations]
27. Use of Internet to Buy Sex

28. Use of Mobile Phone Applications to Buy Sex
29. Price Paid for Sex

30. Erotic Massage
31. Romantic Relationships with Prostitutes

Have you ever formed a romantic relationship with a prostitute?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. General View of Men

What is your general view of men?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
33. History of Relationships with Men

![Bar chart showing history of relationships with men.]

34. General Views on Prostitution

![Bar chart showing general views on prostitution.]

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Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

156
35. Reservations the First Time Paying for Sex

Did you have any reservations the first time?

36. Current Reservations Towards Paying for Sex

Do you currently have any reservations about visiting prostitutes?
37. Erotic Massage as a Form of Prostitution

Do you view erotic massage as a form of prostitution?

38. Difference in Prostitution Between the East and West

Is there a difference in prostitution between eastern and western countries?
39. Do the Respondents Think Differently About Prostitutes and Non-Prostitutes?

![Bar chart showing responses to the question about thinking differently about a male acquaintance who is a prostitute and one who is not.]

40. Difference in Treatment of Prostitutes and Non-Prostitutes

![Bar chart showing the difference in treatment of prostitutes and non-prostitutes by nationality.]
41. Rape Scenario

Who would you help when witnessing rape?

42. Friend/Relative is a Prostitute

What would be your reaction if you found out that a male relative and/or friend of yours was a prostitute?
43. Change in Reservations Towards Purchasing Sex Over Time

![Bar chart showing changes in reservations]

- **Khmer**
  - Yes: 28
  - No: 11
- **Foreigner**
  - Yes: 16
  - No: 4

Did you have any reservations the first time?

44. Change in Attitude Towards Purchasing Sex Over Time

![Bar chart showing changes in attitude]

- What is your nationality?
- **Khmer**
  - Yes: 27
  - No: 7
- **Foreigner**
  - Yes: 21
  - No: 11

Has your attitude towards prostitutes changed since your first time?
45. History of Selling Sex and Future Treatment of Prostitutes

Have you ever received compensation in exchange for sex with men?

![Bar chart showing the distribution of responses.]

Would you treat these two populations differently?
Appendix II

This survey has been condensed from its original format. All questions were given ample amount of room for note taking during the interview process of this research.

All questions with a strike were intentionally redacted from this report due to various possible reasons: 1. It was a question used as a tool to gain the confidence of the respondent. 2. There was a miscommunication of the question and so yielded inaccurate results or 3. The question was deemed to not be consistent, or not useful for the goals of this research.

Team Members: ____________________
Date: _______/2014 (dd/mm)
Survey Number: _____
SPSS #: _____

Introduction

Hi we’re working for an NGO called Love146 and we are trying to understand more about the sexual health and activity, sex industry and attitudes within the men seeking men (MSM) community in Cambodia. Our goal is to survey 50 Cambodian and 50 foreign males. We will be writing a formal report that will be distributed to various NGOs and interested persons, so that this community is more understood.

Confidentiality and consent—I am going to ask you some very personal questions. Your answers are completely confidential. Your name will not be written on this form, if and when the report is written, any identifying information will be removed, with any of the information you tell me. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. However, your honest answer to these questions will help us better understand what people think, say and do about certain kinds of behavior. As an exception, because our organization fights the exploitation of children, we are ethically obliged to report any person who admits to sexual conduct with a minor to the authorities. We would greatly appreciate your help in responding to this questionnaire. However, if you feel uncomfortable at any point of time, you may discontinue the proceedings. We have some recording software with us. This is purely for research purposes and would not be passed on to anyone else. Would it be alright for us to audio record our conversation?

Audio Record? yes no

Demographic Information

Age- ________
Country of origin: ________________________________
Length of Stay in Cambodia: (dd/mm/yy)
Arrival Date __________ Planned Departure Date __________
How many visits have you made to Cambodia up to this point? ______
Other planned destinations in SE Asia:

Reason for being in this particular city:

Income: __________ Dollars/month
Occupation: ____________________________________________
In Country of Origin: ____________________________ In Cambodia: __________
Family Status: Single:__ Married:__ Divorced:__ Widowed:__ Other:
Kids: Yes:__ No:__ Number:_____

Education Level
Primary School  Secondary School  Vocational/Trade School  University  Postgraduate

Religious affiliations: ________________________________

Alcohol use  Yes  No
Frequency: ________units/week
Recreational drug use:  Yes  No
Type of Drugs:

Drug usage per week:

Sexual Orientation:
How would you define your sexual orientation?  Gay___  Bisexual ___
Straight____

How long have you understood yourself as being this sexual orientation?

Do you feel that you have more male or female gender characteristics?
Male____ Female____ Mix____

Expand:

What is your sexual preference:
Sex- Male__  Female__  Bisexual__  Transgender__
Race(s): __________________
Age(s): ________________
Not older than: ________
Not younger than: ________

Sexual Health/Activity:
Age Virginity Lost- ____
Who did you lose your virginity to? (i.e. sweetheart, friend, prostitute, sexual assault etc...)

What is the number of people you have had sex with in each gender category? Men____ Women____ Transgender____
What is the number of sexual partners you have had in your lifetime?

How many times do you have sex per week?-____
With how many different people per week?-____
Who are your sexual partners? (husband/wife/life partner, boyfriend/girlfriend, neighbor, prostitute, acquaintance, etc.?)

What is the length of your longest sexual relationship?
Expand i.e. with which gender?

Do you use a condom when you have sex? ___yes ___no ___sometimes ___depends on who my partner is

Do you take substances specifically for sexual activity (ie. roofies, poppers, performance enhancing)? ___yes ___no
How often?______

Have you ever experienced any of the following symptoms:
1. urethral discharge, difficulty passing urine, or pain in your testicles within the past six months?
   Yes____No
   Symptoms:

2. rashes, ulcerations, or lumps in your genital area within the past six months?
   ____Yes____________No

Symptoms:

3. presence of other symptoms or illnesses within the past three months?
   ______Yes____________No

Symptoms:

Have you ever experienced difficulty maintaining an erection?

Have you ever received treatment for an STI?

Prostitution Use:
Have you ever paid or offered compensation in exchange for sex with men?
   Yes No
Expand:
Have you ever received compensation in exchange for sex with men?
   Yes No
Expand:

If yes to paying for male prostitutes:

Frequency of paying for sex with prostitutes-
What sexual activities do you prefer with a male prostitute?

___ kissing
___ foreplay
___ oral sex receiving
___ oral sex giving
___ anal sex receptive
___ anal sex giving
___ mutual masturbation
___ dry humping/rubbing
___ kink/fetish
___ group sex
___ BDSM
Expand/Other:

What kind of people do you typically purchase sex from?
Sex-  Male___  Female___  Bisexual___  Transgender___
Race(s)-____________________
Age(s)-_______________
Not older than:_____  Not younger than:_______

Where do you go to buy sex?

How did you discover these locations? (i.e. friends, family, guidebook, internet, etc.)

If Internet is included: What websites/applications?

Have you paid for sex in other SE Asian Countries/Cambodian cities?
Yes___  No___
If yes, which countries/cities?

Differences in sexual services between various SE Asian countries/Cambodian cities?

How much do you usually pay for sex?

Rank 1-7 (one being most important) these considerations with regard to the price of paying for sex:

  age____
  sex____
  race____
  location____
  sexual services____
  body type____
  time period____
  Expand/Other:
How often are you intoxicated when purchasing a prostitute?

- Never
- Sometimes
- Most times
- Always

Explain-

**First use of a prostitute**

At what age did you first pay for sex? _____

When you first paid for sex were you alone or in a group?

- Alone
- Group

If in a group who were you with?

- Friends
- Family
- Partner
- Mix

Did you feel coerced/pressured?

Were you?

- Intoxicated
- Sober

Do you prefer to seek prostitutes in?

- Groups
- Alone

Explain-

Do you prefer to have sex with a prostitute in?

- Groups
- Alone

Explain-

Have you ever formed a romantic relationship with a prostitute? (Gifts, holidays, etc.)

- Yes
- No

Explain-

Do you know of other men who have paid to have sex with minors?

Have you ever been offered someone you suspect to be a minor for sex?

- Yes
- No

Explain how and where?-

Have you encountered violence and/or theft and/or other criminal activities as a client of a prostitute?

- Yes____
- No____

Expand-

Do you have any reservations about visiting prostitutes?

- Yes
- No

Explain-

Did you have any reservations the first time you had sex with a prostitute?

- Yes
- No

Explain-

(IF yes) how do you feel after having sex with a prostitute?

Explain-
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

Has your attitude towards prostitutes and visiting prostitutes changed since your first time?

Would you pay for sex in your own country?
Yes
No
Explain-

Pros and cons list about prostitution and having sex with a prostitute:
Pros-
Cons-

Do you feel controlled by your sexual desire?

Is there any way you want to modify your sex habits?
Yes
No
Explain-

View of men
How do you view men?
Positive
neutral
negative
Why?

History of relationships with men:
positive
neutral
negative
Explain?

What is the difference between a male acquaintance who is a prostitute and male acquaintance who is not?

Would you treat these two populations differently?

What would be your reaction if you found out that a male relative and/or friend of yours was a prostitute?

Why?

Different scenarios with men who are prostitutes and men who are not (i.e. what would you do with a man known to be a prostitute being raped compared to if a man who is not a prostitute in the same situation.)

Do you think there is a difference in prostitution between eastern and western countries?
Yes
No
Explain?

Do you find erotic massage as a form of prostitution?
Yes
No
Explain?
Have you had an erotic massage yourself?

Yes  No

Explain?

Homosexuality in Family and Society

How accepting/comfortable do you feel with your own sexuality?

1  2  3  4  5

Expand-

Who are you open with about your sexuality? (friends, partner, family, work colleagues)

Expand-

If you were in a romantic same sex relationship how comfortable would you be to talk about it?

1  2  3  4  5

Have you experienced any discrimination against you because of your sexuality?

_____Yes  _____No

If yes, by whom? (family, friends, etc)

If yes, where? (school, workplace etc)

How did you respond or retaliate?

Pornography

Your views towards pornography:

positive  neutral  negative

Why?

Do you view pornography?

Yes  No

Why?

At what age did you first intentionally view pornography?

How often do you view pornography and for what length of time?

Do you masturbate?

Yes  No

Frequency

Pornography preference (check all that apply)

_____gay
_____lesbian
_____anal sex
_____oral sex
_____masturbation
_____vaginal
_____group sex
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy
Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

____kink/fetish
____pornography involving minors
____bestiality
____rape
____BDSM
____virgin
Other?

Is the kind of pornography you watch now different than what it was?  
yes________no

Why?

If said yes to prostitution as well, have your pornography habits influenced your prostitution habits?  
yes________no

How?

Self Worth
How do you view yourself? (self worth and value rating from 1-10, one is lowest and ten is the highest)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Why?

Have you ever sought therapy for sexual behavior you did not like?  
Yes________No

Expand:

Religion
Please explain your experience and views on spirituality and/or religion:

Do you feel that these influence your sexual behavior?

Deterrent Ideas
Would making the buying of sex illegal deter you from participating?  
yes________no

Which of the following would deter you from paying for sex (on a scale of 1-10)?

_____public shaming  ____government possession of property
_____high fines  ______jail time  ______service hours

Would the threat of losing your friends, family or partner deter you from paying for sex?  
Yes________No

Explain?

(The final full page of the survey was entitled and used for, ‘Field Notes’ during the interviews)
Appendix III

Listing of the Men’s Sexual Health Clinics the researchers partnered with during this study and their locations in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap:

Men’s Health Cambodia-Phnom Penh (MHC)
#28B5, St. 75, S/K
Srah Chark, Khan Daun Penh,
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

M. Style
N#9A, St. 430
Sankat Tumnum Teck, Khan Chomka Mon,
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Men’s Health Social Services (MHSS)
#73, St. 430
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Men’s Health Cambodia-Siem Reap (MHC)
#669, Phar Kroum Street,
Vihea Chen Village, Svay Dongkum Commune,
Siem Reap District, Cambodia
Appendix IV

More details about Sexual Orientations, Gender Identities and Behaviors in Cambodia

MSM Sexual Orientations in Cambodia

A clearer sense of orientations within the MSM population in Cambodia may be further acquired through the distinction between the colloquial terms used in Cambodia for transgender women and cisgender men: ‘long-hair’ MSM and the ‘short-hair’ MSM respectively. In the Khmer language, \textit{sray sros}, meaning ‘charming girl’, is used by some transgender women when speaking of themselves and \textit{sak veng} designates the long-hair MSM (Catalla et al., 2003: 3). Not all \textit{sray sros} or \textit{sak veng} cross-dress, but they often speak and move in a manner that is considered culturally feminine and thus often used in a derogatory manner towards some men. The ‘short-hair’ MSM are referred to in Khmer as \textit{sak klay}. \textit{Pros saat}, meaning ‘handsome man’, is used to designate both the ‘short-hair’ MSM and heterosexual cis-men (Catalla et al., 2003: 3). The table reproduced gives an in-depth description of each group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appearance</th>
<th>Identity/feeling</th>
<th>Sexual behavior /partnerships</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Sray sros, sak veng, krom neak weang}</td>
<td>Behaves and strives to appear like a woman</td>
<td>Feels like a woman; identifies as a woman</td>
<td>Sleeps only with men who seem to be or are cisgender and heterosexual; stimulates partner and is usually penetrated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Catalla, Sovanara and van Mourik, 2003: 16
The MSM in the *sray sros* and *sak veng* group can be described as transgender women. Indeed, for these MSM, sex with cisgender women is “out of the question” because they consider themselves as such (Morineau et al., 2004: 18). However, “[s]ome ‘short hairs’ may psychologically be ‘long hairs’ but cut their hair short in order to ‘pass’ in society” (CCHR, 2010: 11).

This same report further argues that because they identify as women and prefer to be with normatively masculine men, transgender women should not necessarily be included in the MSM. However, the researchers who produced the table above (Catalla et al., 2003) have included them because due to being born biologically male. The MSM in the *pros saat* and *sak klay* group includes both homosexual and bisexual individuals. By definition, the heterosexual cisgender men who are called *pros saat*, but who do not have sex with men, cannot be designated as MSM.

Bisexuality is quite common in the *pros saat* and *sak klay* group. Indeed, “[f]ew ‘short hairs’ only have sex with men” (CCHR, 2010: 11). Morineau, Song and Phal (2004: 6, 11, 27 and 29) cite a 2000 study of the MSM in Phnom Penh which included both cisgender men and transgender women and which found, “that more than half of the MSM were bisexual”. The broad survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Pros saat, sak klay</strong></th>
<th>Behaves and acts like a heterosexual cis-man; mostly young and likes to dress up fashionably</th>
<th>Feels and acts like a heterosexual cis-man; identifies as a cis-man; waits to be approached</th>
<th>Sleeps with <em>sray sros, pros saat</em>, women and men; expects to be approached, stimulated by and penetrates partner</th>
<th>Unless admitting to their sexual preferences, difficult to distinguish from cisgender heterosexual men who would not identify as <em>pros saat/sak klay</em>.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
<td>Behaves and acts like a heterosexual cis-man; may be a heterosexual cis-man</td>
<td>Feels and identifies as a heterosexual cis-man</td>
<td>Sleeps with <em>sray sros, pros saat</em>, women and men</td>
<td>Seen as the “ordinary” cisgender heterosexual male majority, and may also be called <em>pros saat</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Pros saat**
- Behaves and acts like a heterosexual cis-man; mostly young and likes to dress up fashionably
- Feels and acts like a heterosexual cis-man; identifies as a cis-man; waits to be approached
- Sleeps with *sray sros, pros saat*, women and men; expects to be approached, stimulated by and penetrates partner
- Unless admitting to their sexual preferences, difficult to distinguish from cisgender heterosexual men who would not identify as *pros saat/sak klay*.

**Sak klay**
- Behaves and acts like a heterosexual cis-man; may be a heterosexual cis-man
- Feels and identifies as a heterosexual cis-man
- Sleeps with *sray sros, pros saat*, women and men
- Seen as the “ordinary” cisgender heterosexual male majority, and may also be called *pros saat*.
conducted by these authors in 2003 found that 55% of the MSM were bisexual, 63% of whom were short-hair MSM who “report[ed] a high number of sexual partners with men as well as women”. Similarly, Storer (in Jackson and Sullivan, 1999: 151) mentioned that many male bar workers in Thailand were “behaviourally bisexual”. Likewise, Lyttleton (2008: 14) found that in Laos, as in Thailand, “social pressure on men to marry and have families had lead to widespread tendency to accept bi-sexuality as preferable to a more distinct gay identity”. Thus, bisexuality appears to be a prominent orientation within the MSM population in Cambodia, as in other Southeast Asian countries.

**MSM Gender Identities in Cambodia**

In a study published by UNESCO, Phong Tan (2008: 21-23) enumerates the five terms frequently used in the Khmer language to refer to gender. *Gni* and *chhmol*, meaning female and male respectively, are usually employed for plants and animals, but may be used derogatorily for humans. *Srei* designates a human of female sex and *pros* a human of male sex. Finally, there is *khteuy*, which the Buddhist Institute dictionary defines as “a human being with sex organs, half male, half female”. However, depending on the speaker’s age and background, *khteuy* is used to designate a hermaphrodite, a man with a small sex organ or who is sexually deficient, a person “whose personality is opposite to his or her sex”, and in urban areas, cross-dressers. Furthermore, when Cambodians use *khteuy*, they are referring to “personality or sexual attributes”, and “no one uses the term to make any allusion to sexual behavior”. (Tang 2008: 21-23)

The use of the word *khteuy* to describe all males who possess feminine characteristics or men who do not fit the hetero-normative masculinity leaves a void in the Khmer language to distinguish between gender identity and sexual orientation. There is a modern trend among the Khmer population in creating this distinction through describing MSM men and transgender women as either “short-hair” or “long-hair” people. The main distinction between the “long-hair” and “short-hair” individuals, is that the
former identify as women and/or MSM who “adopt feminine attitudes” which also make them more visible; while the latter identify as cisgender men and are more “hidden” because of their masculine appearance and mannerisms (Morineau et al., 2004: 6 and 8; Sovannara and Ward, 2004: iv). As highlighted by Phong (2008: 30), some people who consider themselves *tuon phluon* (gentle and docile) “do not feel it is necessary to express this identity by visible signs. This allows them to blend in with the rest of the population.” If these people identify as transgender women, they are considered “long-hair”, whereas they are deemed to be “short-hair” when they identify as cisgender men. Because “long-hair” MSM and transgender women are usually visible and the “short-hair” MSM often wish to remain discrete, these two groups tend not to associate with each other, especially in Phnom Penh (Morineau et al., 2004: 6 and 8; Catalla et al, 2003: 16).

According to Catalla, Sovanara and van Mourik, short-hair MSM:

[T]hink of themselves as real men; they love girls and like sports. They are strong, not soft; they are brave, have big voices and like to drink alcohol. Real men like to woo women. It was also observed that this group – especially the younger members – rarely approached other men for the purpose of sexual gratification. In the survey, a small number of respondents identified themselves as heterosexuals, although they were able to answer all the questions about male-to-male sexual behavior during interviews. It may be that this group, because they plan to get married and have children, do not think that their sexual activities with men classify as homosexual acts. (Catalla, Sovanara and van Mourik, 2003: 19)

It is also possible, as Jackson pointed out regarding Thai gay men, that the Cambodian “short-hair” MSM “strategically ‘regards himself as more different from a *kathoey* than from a heterosexual man’ (1997: 182) precisely because it is more important for him to avoid the social stigma associated with feminized males than the lesser stigma attached to male-male sex” (Lyttleton, 2008: 15). [Note: the authors of this report do not condone the use of the term “feminized males” in reference to transgender women, and have only included it as part of a quoted literature review reference.] Following the same logic, they
may identify as heterosexual to avoid even this lesser stigma. The description above clearly presents the heterogeneity within this group. While a few “short-hair” MSM may earnestly consider themselves heterosexual, Girault and his colleagues (2004: 37) found that “[a]mong those who had female partners, multiple female partners were less common than multiple male anal partners in all identity groups”. This suggests that regardless of self-identification, the “short-hair” MSM who are technically bisexual have a stronger preference for cisgender men. This appears to confirm the trend identified by Lyttleton (2008:14) and others wherein bisexuality is seen as preferable and is more widely accepted because it is not perceived as an identity that might interfere with marriage and parenthood.

Finally, it is relevant to mention the difference between self-identity and disclosed identity, both with regards to gender identity and sexual orientation identity. In their recent study that focused mostly on Phnom Penh, Salas and Sorn (2013: 9-10) found that transgender women “tend to have higher levels of disclosure (66%) probably because of obvious appearance and expression in clothes, and behaviors. [...] However, only 30% of gay men [short-hair MSM] said they had disclosed [their identity] to their families”. This suggests that “long-hair” MSM disclose their gender identity because, despite the stigma and discrimination they know they will face, they find it somewhat inevitable. On the other hand, knowing that apparent conformity to social roles will spare them both the stigma and discrimination, most “short-hair” MSM choose not to disclose their sexual orientation. These authors indeed confirm that both coming out as transgender or assuming a feminine gender expression as a cisgender man are considered more unacceptable by Cambodian families than same-sex sexuality between men (Salas and Sorn, 2013: 9-11).

**MSM Sexual Behaviors in Cambodia**

Short-hair MSM, “try to blend in with the general population” for the most part (Morineau et al., 2004: 8). Consequently, “behaving manly and being discrete about homosexuality” are highly valued and expected within this
group. Short-hair MSM are not aroused by cisgender men they perceive as feminine or transgender women and generally do not associate with them (Morineau et al., 2004: 22-23). Girault and his colleagues (2004: 37) found that “short-hair” MSM were “more likely to play the insertive role”, 64.1% of their respondents having reported as much, while only 8.7% of them reported an exclusively receptive role. As highlighted by Lyttleton (2008: 14), this is because “[t]o be the receptive partner is indicative of non-masculinity”, which would be inconsistent with their self-identification as cisgender men. Furthermore, “short-hair” MSM enjoy having a large number of partners and most have sex with cisgender women as well as cisgender men. Some of them “are also bridging with students and/or street kids” (Morineau et al., 2004: 25-27).

“Short-hair” MSM were found to prefer buying sex rather than selling it. This is because buying sex is considered to be “a luxury and a supreme pleasure” and gives the client the feeling that he has power and a “high social status”. At the same time, they believe buying sex to be “a normal, consensual and equal relationship” and “simply a way to find a matching sexual partner” (Morineau et al., 2004: 24). Intercourse mostly occurs in guesthouses, the client’s home or in parks. As is the case with the “long-hair” individuals, sexual activities and the duration of the encounter depend on the location. Moreover, to meet new partners, “short-hair” MSM will move from one venue or meeting place to the next every few months (Morineau et al., 2004: 22-23). Morineau and his colleagues (2004: 12) also found that, “short hair MSM were more likely to be involved in paid sex than long hair MSM” and that “[t]hose selling sex regularly were more likely than others to be aged under 20”. However, selling sex is most commonly an occasional activity among the “short-hair” MSM, as a means to make money or to meet new partners (2004: 19-20). They frequently receive 5$ for sex, but prices vary depending on several factors considered in the negotiation preceding the transaction (2004: 20-22). Morineau and his colleagues (2004: 27) concluded that “[t]here is no clear division line between sex workers and non sex workers among those selling sex”.

177
Both the “long-hair” and “short-hair” MSM individuals are faced with choices regarding marriage and having children. They are born and raised in a culture in which the adage “a person who is not married, who does not have a family, has no future” is oft repeated and widely accepted (Phong, 2008: 33).

Though male-to-male sex is not prohibited in Buddhism nor by Cambodian law, because the family is very highly valued and intergenerational support is the main social mechanism ensuring household welfare in Cambodia, there is often strong family pressure on the MSM to carry on the lineage (CCHR, 2010: 12, 14-16, and 19; Phong, 2008: 33-34; see also Lyttleton, 2008: 40 and 53 for the same trend in Laos). Indeed:

Cambodian society can be tolerant of male homosexual behavior (in the cases of ‘short hairs’ and ‘real men’), provided it is discrete and does not affect the traditional family structure. Sexual behavior amongst male youths may be seen as harmless experimentation, since women are expected to remain ‘pure’ until marriage. Youthful indiscretions may be forgotten or may continue unnoticed. However, eventually men are expected to marry and father children. (CCHR, 2010: 14)

Cambodian MSM are therefore faced with three options: (1) they can marry a cisgender woman and abandon all MSM activities, (2) they can marry and pursue MSM activities, or (3) they can decide not to marry (Phong, 2008: 33-34). Pursuing MSM activities and even liaisons may be tolerated “insofar as husbands in particular could engage in same-sex relations without necessarily calling into question their loyalties to their wives, their commitments to matrimony, or their masculinity” (Peletz, 2009: 129). Nevertheless, because same-sex relationships “are considered to bring shame upon the family” and present a “risk of ostracism from a close family network”, there is a strong incentive to keep such relationships secret (CCHR, 2010: 15-16) and, most likely, temporary. Phong (2008: 34) found that the MSM she interviewed most often chose this second option. In theory, a
monogamous relationship out of marriage would be possible for the MSM choosing the third option. However, as Lyttleton (2008: 52-55) found in Laos, this idea seemed entirely impossible to all the MSM interviewed. This is because they believed that shared domesticity would place them in a situation of permanent competition due to “the lack of clear role distinction”. They did not hold the same view regarding monogamous relationships between Laotians and Westerners, because the former view the latter as a source of financial security. It may well be that a similar perception exists among Cambodian MSM.

From what has been discussed here regarding sexual orientation, identity and behavior in the Cambodian MSM population, it can be concluded that perceptions and experiences of gender and of male same-sex sexuality share several similarities with those in neighboring countries, but should not be inferred as constituting a gay culture in the Western sense of the term (see Phong, 2008: 39-42). Moreover, the present study surveyed men in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, two highly touristic urban centers, and most of the respondents were recruited either in men's health centers or gay bars, that is to say in venues where there is a presence of Western influence. Consequently, it is important to note that MSM realities and perspectives may be quite different elsewhere in Cambodia, especially so in more remote rural areas.
Appendix V

The following are four graphs pertaining to the sexual health history of the respondents. These were not used in this report because of the questions were more of tools to build the survey up to the questions about prostitution and to also fit the context of asking the Khmer men in men’s sexual health clinics.
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

Have you experienced the presence of other symptoms or illnesses in the past 3 months?

Have you ever received treatment for an STI?
Appendix VI

One of the foreign participants wrote a short essay about his observations of Cambodia’s sex industry. He is 30 years old and originally from Europe. He came to Cambodia as a tourist but has stayed seven months because he formed a relationship with a Khmer man in Phnom Penh. He had this to say:

The main difference, in my opinion, between prostitution in western countries and prostitution in Cambodia lies primarily not in the practice of prostitution itself, which I guess is quite similar in every country, but in the lack of values regarding sex and love.

The contaminated context for years by sex tourism, and the normality of the exchange of money for sexual favors, and even marriages, make the prejudices about prostitution to dissipate.

Thanks to my close contact with locals, I have witnessed in not [a] few occasions the offer of jobs under the only condition of undergoing sexual favors. This [sic] practices are the daily bread for young people who want to succeed in the world of fashion, television, singing, etc.

This lack of values binds to the lack of basic education and, of course, the marginal living under poverty of most of Cambodians. When a society lacks the necessary resources for basic subsistence, as well as education and values regarding sex and love, it is relatively easy to forget about dignity.

The extreme poverty deprives them of the power of ‘dream’. Social immobility and the lack of money and opportunities prevent them to think in [sic] and better future. The result of these deficiencies is the need to keep the mind always in the present, trying to get fast money to
Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Male Prostitutes in Cambodia

183
eat today and pay the rent next week. Of course, the poorest Cambodians have never been able to save money, and actually for [sic] what I’ve seen, many of them don’t even know about the concept. That imperative need to get quick and easy money largely explains the alarming proliferation of prostitution, gambling and robbery.

Many of the poor Cambodians don’t receive help from anyone. They found themselves hopeless [sic] from government, NGOs, friends and families. With their average salary of $100 per month they also cannot help their families living poorly in the provinces or their city friends.

[It] is important then to compare the standard of living of ‘money boys’ with their friends in normal jobs. The ‘money boy’ works for himself because, unlike female prostitution, they don’t work for any particular bar. ‘Money boys’, mostly gays, can earn $100 a day if they have several customers or a generous one.

The lucky ones are the ‘money boys’ who get the customer [sic] loyalty, in many cases, unaware that his new boyfriend practices male prostitution. Thus, the boy gets a monthly salary, which can even be around $1,000, and still charging other customers around $30, free travelling to Asian countries and receiving constant gifts from his customers; normally older men who, otherwise, could not enjoy the company of a handsome young man willing to have sex with them.
Appendix VII


Article 2, Section 1:

Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 26:

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

“For sexual orientation the Covenant - the main international treaty on civil and political rights - is important because in 1994, in the case Toonen vs. Australia, the Human Rights Committee held that the references to "sex" in Articles 2, paragraph 1, (non-discrimination) and 26 (equality before the law) of the ICCPR should be taken to include sexual orientation. As a result of this case, Australia repealed the law criminalizing sexual acts between males in its state of Tasmania. With this case, the Human Rights Committee created a precedent within the UN human rights system in addressing discrimination against lesbian, gays and bisexuals.” (Human Rights Education Associates, 2003)
**Appendix VIII**

Childsafe Network Traveler Tips: Seven Better Ways to Protect Children from Around the World.

These tips were taken from the Childsafe Network website and can be found at: http://www.thinkchildsafe.org/

Tip 1 Support Childsafe network members.

Tip 2 Think! Before buying or giving to begging children.

Tip 3 Think! How to protect children from exploitative labor.

Tip 4 Think! Children are not tourist attractions.

Tip 5 Think! Before taking a Child back to your hotel room.

Tip 6 Think! When faced with a situation of potential sexual exploitation of children.

Tip 7 Think! Keep your eyes wide open.
Appendix IX

The Tiers of human trafficking from the Trafficking In Persons (TIP) 2014 Report

Source: http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/226844.pdf

Tier Placement

The Department places each country in the 2014 TIP Report onto one of four tiers, as mandated by the TVPA. This placement is based more on the extent of government action to combat trafficking than on the size of the problem. The analyses are based on the extent of governments’ efforts to reach compliance with the TVPA’s minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking (see page 425), which are consistent with the Palermo Protocol.

While Tier 1 is the highest ranking, it does not mean that a country has no human trafficking problem. Rather, a Tier 1 ranking indicates that a government has acknowledged the existence of human trafficking, has made efforts to address the problem, and meets the TVPA’s minimum standards. Each year, governments need to demonstrate appreciable progress in combating trafficking to maintain a Tier 1 ranking. Indeed, Tier 1 represents a responsibility rather than a reprieve. A country is never finished with the job of fighting trafficking.

Tier 1 – Countries whose governments fully comply with the TVPA’s minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking.

Tier 2 – Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA’s minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards.

Tier 2 Watch List – Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA’s minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards, and for which:

a) the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing;

b) there is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecution, and convictions of trafficking crimes, increased assistance to victims, and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or

c) the determination that a country is making significant
efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional steps over the next year.

Tier 3 – Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA’s minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so.

The TVPA lists additional factors to determine whether a country should be on Tier 2 (or Tier 2 Watch list) verses Tier 3.

1- the extent to which the country is a country of origin, transit or destination for severe forms of trafficking.

2- the extent to which the country’s government does not comply with the TVPA’s minimum standards and, in particular, the extent to which officials or government employees have been complicit in severe forms of trafficking.

3- reasonable measures required to bring the government into compliance with the minimum standards in light of the government’s resources and capabilities to address and eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons.