

# LISTENING TO THE DEMAND:

A Study of Men Who Buy Sex from Female Prostitutes in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

**50**  
CAMBODIAN  
MEN



**50**  
WESTERN  
MEN



April 2014

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**LOVE 146**.ORG  
end child sex slavery & exploitation

THE **MESSAGE PARLOUR**  
សារព័ត៌មាន

## **Forward**

By: Glenn Miles PhD, Asia Capacity Building Facilitator, Love146

Since Love146 started working in Cambodia in 2009, they have been concerned about both the supply and the demand side of sexual exploitation. Whilst a large number of organizations seeking to address sexual exploitation focus on the survivors very few organizations are doing anything to address the demand.

There has been some research that has been done with Cambodian men in recent years, but very little with expatriate men. Whilst the authors are well aware that the majority of sexual exploitation that occurs is by Cambodian men, the number of tourists and expatriates in Cambodia is increasing and so the number of foreign men who frequent red light areas is also increasing, so to ignore this growing issue is irresponsible. A few years ago there were a few bars spread out across the city geared towards foreign men and to access young women one had to go behind closed doors. Now there are open bar areas where entertainment workers are readily accessible. Sadly, some are suggesting that Cambodian red light areas are becoming like they are in Thailand.

Organizations who are addressing demand are usually doing so by prosecuting those men who are having sex with children under the age of consent. When young people are over the age of consent, we believe that they can and are still sexually exploited but it is much harder to do anything about it. Non-Government Organizations need to be creative in the way that they appeal to men to understand the impact that it is having on themselves, on the people they are exploiting and on their communities. Rather than believe that all men are un-teachable we choose to believe that men can be positively influenced to behave responsibly if challenged to do so. We are therefore supporting initiatives such as “Good Real Men” (Borah L’Or Pith) for Khmer and GLUE ministries for foreigners. We want to have conversations with men where we talk to them as people who are treated with respect. Change doesn’t happen when people feel demonized.

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On completion of this report looking at men who have sex with female sex workers we plan to do a follow up report with men who have sex with male sex workers. We believe that both hetero and homosexuals need to encourage their peers to be aware of the enormous power differential between the client and the sex worker. This power difference makes genuine choice impossible. Rather than resorting to the rather fatalistic, "Prostitution is the oldest profession", we need to create and sustain serious alternative work opportunities.

It is understood that you cannot 'lump' together foreign men any more than you can 'lump' together Cambodian men and say that this represents one population or another. However, it is still valuable to notice in this research different patterns between the two groups. As we notice differences, we can seek to find creative ways to educate both adults (pro-actively in red light areas and tourist destinations) and children (preventatively through sex education).

## **Acknowledgments**

We would like to thank all of the persons and organizations that worked in collaboration with us on this research. Namely:

- Dr. Glenn Miles Ph. D., for his direction and dedication to gain more of an understanding about the men who participate in the sex industry's services.
- Tesia Geyer and Joshua Beer, for their assistance in compiling, editing, and writing the final report.
- Our various translators: MOUNG VANDY, SAY BOREY, PHUONG SOPHORN, and NOU VANDETH. We would not have been able to do this research properly without your help with interviewing the Cambodian male population.
- Ken Taylor psychologist, who helped us gain more of an understanding about sex addiction and the importance of therapy.
- Ingrid Nauc ler, who gave us more insight into the realities of the Swedish approach to combatting prostitution and its longer-term effects.
- We would also like to thank our respondents who allowed us to sit down with them and talk about personal subjects.
- Thank you to all the caf es and restaurants throughout Phnom Penh who were willing to allow us to use their space to perform these interviews.
- And finally, thank you to all of our various presentation audiences that gave us feedback and better understandings of what actions should be taken next when approaching the issue of, 'The Demand'.

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## **Executive Summary**

This is the first of a two-part baseline comparative study done by Love 146 about the 'Demand' for the sex industry in Cambodia. In this study a team of four researchers and five Khmer translators interviewed 50 Khmer and 50 foreign heterosexual and bisexual males about their views and use of Southeast Asia's sex industry with female prostitutes. The focus was specifically on the sex industry in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. In doing this research it is hoped that a more 'well-rounded' perspective will help the effectiveness of various approaches to combating the exploitation of sexual services in Cambodia. Utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data, this research pursues to provide a better understanding of the demographic of men who seek paying for sexual services and what their motives are in doing so. Surveys were conducted from September through October of 2013.

Though this study focuses mainly on the men who had paid for sex in the past, when a respondent answered that he had never paid for sex the survey was not stopped. This is due to the researcher's understanding that the participant would be able to provide some insight as to why he had never paid for sex and general views on prostitution and the use of prostitutes. Among the foreign population interviewed, 42% said they currently pay for sex, 36% said they never had paid for sex, and 22% answered that they had paid for sex in the past but because of various reasons, do not anymore. The majority of the foreign men who had never paid for sex were under the age of 30. Furthermore, all of the foreign men interviewed who were between the ages of 18 and 23 had never paid for sexual services before. When asked why they had not paid for sexual services, this younger foreign population, the answer given by almost all of the men in this particular age group was, "Why pay for sex when I can get it for free?"

The Khmer male population interviewed had a slightly higher percentage of men who currently pay for sex than the foreign population. Twenty-eight out of fifty (56%) Khmer respondents said that they currently pay for sexual services, 40%

answered they had never paid for sex, and 4% of the Khmer participants had paid for sex in the past but do not anymore.

Due to its comparative nature, this research tentatively seeks to deliver some information on the differences in culture between the foreign and Khmer men who seek to pay for sexual services. Examples can be seen from the results of the question, "Please give some pros and cons of prostitution and prostitution use". The Khmer men responded with intrinsic reasons for paying for sex, such as: "It makes me feel relaxed". The foreign men often responded to this question with extrinsic reasoning, for example: "it [prostitution] is another way a poor family can receive an income", or "it can lead to human trafficking" as a common argument against prostitution. These quotes and other results point to the need for different approaches when planning projects that reach out to men purchasing sex.

Another differing result between these two populations was the responses given when asked a scenario question regarding the rape of a woman who is paid for sex. Out of the 37 Khmer men who responded to this question, 46% said that they would react differently to a prostitute being raped as opposed to a non-prostitute. They responded that it was "normal" for a prostitute to be raped. Only one foreign respondent who was asked this question said that he would react differently, the rest responded that their reaction would be the same and would try to intervene to the best of their abilities. These results indicate a difference in views towards prostitutes and non-prostitutes in Khmer society, possibly that a woman who is a prostitute is of a lower societal class than her non-sex worker counterpart.

This study provides information on the men's interest and preferences in pornography. The researchers were seeking to understand if pornography use correlated with prostitution use and if so, how? A common response for both foreign and Khmer respondents who said that pornography *did* influence their prostitution habits was that pornography was a sort of 'educator' for the men, and they would like to experience the various techniques they saw in porn with a prostitute. This research also appears to indicate that the Khmer population interviewed largely preferred more deviant genres of pornography than the foreign population. These results depicting pornography as a sex educator and other results appearing to show a lack of sexual education, has led the authors of this report to

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recommend that a more thorough sex education curriculum be adopted by schools and NGOs in Cambodia. There is hope that as a result, a population better educated about sex would be a deterred from viewing deviant pornography and normalizing the use of prostitution as a means of sexual release.

The research also shines light onto what these two populations believe would be the main deterrents for men to not purchase sex. The researchers studied the paradigm of laws implemented by Sweden in 1999 that legalized prostitution, but made the *purchasing* of sex illegal, thus putting the risk of prosecution on the buyers of sex and not the prostitutes themselves. In this study the respondents were asked if making the buying of sex illegal would deter them from purchasing it. Out of the 42 Khmer respondents who answered this question, 62% answered that this would deter them personally from purchasing sexual services in the future. This is in contrast with the foreign participants where only 11% said this would successfully deter them from paying for sex.

'Listening to the Demand' emerges out of a need to understand more about the men who pay for sex. The authors of this report desire to perpetuate the reality that the sex industry, like all other more conventional industries, relies on the relationship between the supply and the demand. In gaining a deeper knowledge of the beliefs and behaviors among the demand population, this report may be able to suggest more effective approaches to combating the sex industry within Cambodia.

## **Introduction**

This survey was designed in order to more fully understand the actions, opinions, and motives of heterosexual sex buyers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The survey sought to answer questions in regard to the use of female prostitutes and how it relates to: the view of women, view of prostitution, history of relationships with women, their family status, length of stay in Cambodia (for foreigners), alcohol and drug use, pornography use and preferences, perceived self-worth, and their spirituality. In addition, the survey was developed in order to understand the opinions and behaviors of men who use prostitutes by asking about frequency, typical locations, considerations regarding the price, first use, whether they seek and use prostitutes in groups and/or alone, if they have ever formed a relationship with a prostitute, their reservations about prostitution use, the pros and cons to prostitution use, and their opinions on deterrents against prostitution. Lastly, the Khmer and foreign men's answers were compared to one another in an effort to discover useful comparisons and distinctive cultural differences.

## **Literature Review**

### **The tourist and sex industries in Cambodia**

Cambodia is increasingly a popular place for tourists to visit. The Ministry of Tourism promotes Cambodia for its culture, including the famous temple of Angkor Wat. Its warm climate, kind people and cheap living costs make it a great place to come. As Rough Guides states:

Thanks to the stunning temples of Angkor, Cambodia is now firmly established on the Southeast Asian tourist trail... Cambodia, with its balmy climate and laid back attitude to life has much more to offer: white-sand beaches and relaxed off-shore islands, forest-clad hills and impenetrable jungle, a

dynamic, yet beguiling, capital and sleepy provincial towns.

(Rough Guide, n.d.)

It is the people of Cambodia who make it such as beautiful place. Lonely Planet states:

Cambodia's real treasure is its people. The Khmers (sic) have been to hell and back, struggling through years of bloodshed, poverty and political instability. Thanks to an unbreakable spirit and infectious optimism, they have prevailed with their smiles intact. No visitor comes away without a measure of admiration and affection for the inhabitants of this enigmatic kingdom.

(Lonely Planet, n.d.)

Other cities in the region such as Bangkok, Pattaya and Manila have become known for sex tourism and this trend is becoming increasingly apparent for tourists visiting Phnom Penh and Siem Reap.

It is estimated that there is a global income of up to \$186 Billion per year from the sex industry (Havocscope, n.d.).<sup>1</sup> This illustrates the prevalence of the sex industry in contemporary culture. South East Asia in particular has become notorious for "sex tourism". This could be linked to a stereotypical view of Asian women by Westerners who see them, "... as being subservient, obedient, hard-working, submissive, passive, docile, shy, demure, softly spoken, eager to please, exotic — the china doll, Suzy Wong, and geisha syndrome contribute to the demand for Asian girls trafficked into the sex industry" (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

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<sup>1</sup> This was calculated by adding up the estimated market value from countries where prostitution revenue was available.

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Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in 1991 (Farley, 2012). On 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 (UNICEF, 1995 as cited in Farley, 2012). 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 has 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 many people exploited by the sex industry.

The UN defines trafficking in persons as:

...the recruitment...by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion...of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services...

(UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013)

In the 'Trafficking of Persons Report' (2013) it stated that "Cambodia is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children who are subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking" (U.S. Department of State, 2013, 116). This report states that Cambodia had dropped from Tier 2 to a Tier 2 watch list country this is because the government of Cambodia has not been meeting the minimum requirements in fighting trafficking (see appendix for definitions of Tiers). The government of Cambodia has failed to progress in prosecuting traffickers and child sex tourists. They convicted fewer trafficking offenders and identified fewer victims, as well as they did not make attempts to tackle corruption within trafficking. This lack of action against human trafficking seems to be partly because of the endemic corruption at all levels (U.S Department of State, 2013).

## **Traditional views on gender in Cambodia**

### **Women**

Women's roles in Cambodian society are still largely rooted in tradition, which Katherine Brickell details in the article "We don't forget the old rice pot when we get the new one: Discourses on Ideals and Practices of Women in Contemporary Cambodia" (2011). For centuries a code for the correct behavior of women, called Chhap Srei (Code for Women) has been passed down in Cambodian society, detailing how women should correctly behave. "A woman is instructed to move quietly around the house, be polite, avoid vulgarity, and be careful to preserve the dignity and feelings of her husband despite any indiscretion on his part" (Brickell, 2011, p. 438) is a part of this code that describes ideals still valued in modern-day Cambodia. Unmarried women living apart from their families because of their jobs are often viewed with suspicion and assumed to have lower moral standards than those who are living under the protection of either their husband or male relative. A well-known Cambodian proverb says that "men are gold; women are cloth", encapsulating the idea that a woman must maintain not only her own sexual purity, but also a spotless reputation, that cannot be fixed once it is damaged, while a man's mistake can simply, "be washed away" (Brickell, 2011, p. 450). Some of the men interviewed by Brickell stated that, "Khmer culture should not be sacrificed in the name of gender equality" (Brickell, 2011, p. 455), holding fast to the traditions that secure men a position above women in society and their own homes.

In the 2007, "Report on the Status of Cambodian Women" by Mélanie Walsh, found that these traditional gender roles are often inherently unequal and used as an excuse for men to treat women badly. Domestic violence and abuse within a marriage are not uncommon; about one in six Cambodian women had been physically harmed by their husbands while one in four has been abused in other ways, such as emotionally or sexually. There is a Cambodian proverb that talks about a man not being "under the wife's apron." This proverb addresses the hierarchy of the household. It is seen as insulting and unacceptable for a man to be under the authority of the woman and for her to control what he does. Men have the ultimate authority, and it is considered an

insult to insinuate otherwise. Women are also easily viewed as commodities rather than people, making trafficking and exploitation easy to perpetuate and difficult to stop (Walsh, 2007).

The 2011 'Report on the Violence Against Women in Cambodia' from the NGO Human Rights Now (HRN) states that a major cause in the high rates of violence against women in Cambodia is the widely accepted lower status of women compared to men. "The deviation from such traditional norms tends to be used as justification for sanctions against women" (HRN, 2011, 11); these sanctions are in many cases accepted by the women being punished. The Cambodia Demographic Health survey from 2005 found that 55% of the women interviewed believed that "domestic violence was justified under circumstances" such as not obeying their husband or not taking good care of their children (HRN, 2011, 11).

### **Men**

'Deoum Troung Pram Hath in Modern Cambodia', a report by the organization Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC, 2010), identifies five constructs that are central to men's roles in Cambodian society. A man is "the head of the household, the breadwinner, superior to women and girls, dominant over women, and strong and brave" (GADC, 2010, 20). Being the head of the household includes being the one who makes decisions and provides for the family, supporting his demand that his wife be subordinate and obey his wishes and his right to discipline her if she does not. It was also often stated that boys were afforded more opportunities while growing up than girls, especially in the case of pursuing higher education. This practice is supported by the belief that a man needs to be able to be the provider for his family, while a woman need only take care of the household and children, which does not require good education. The report found that a man's physical strength is commonly seen in relation to weakness in women, emphasizing that a man is "strong, firm, brave, determined and reliable" (GADC, 2010, 22).

Within the traditional men's role in Cambodia two almost competing sets of ideals can be found, which is described more closely in the 2007 study 'Let's Go for a Walk: Sexual Decision-making among Clients of Female Entertainment Service Workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia' by Reid Smith. The one set of ideals is referred to as self-restraint masculinity, which places a high value on traits such as respecting one's elders, being

responsible, caring for your family, fidelity, and honesty (Smith, 2007). The contrasting strand is labeled as pleasure-indulgent masculinity, which is most noticeable when men are in the company of their male friends. Going out together, high alcohol consumption, and a strong sexual appetite which results in seeking prostitutes are valued in this context.

The working paper from 2011 'Mapping Masculinities: A Framework Analysis of Factors Associated with Violence against Women in Cambodia' by Stephanie Miedema found that male peer groups have a powerful influence on men. The report states that:

Second only to law enforcement, the most frequently cited influence on male behaviour toward women is peer pressure from male friends, and male peers provide benchmarks against which men measure themselves. Most relationships between men involve behavioural issues such as drugs, alcohol and prostitution, that frequently correspond with violent behaviour against women.

(Miedema 2011, p. 15)

In Cambodia, many men tend to believe that having more than one sexual partner as well as many sexual experiences are part of being a man. This comes from an idea of masculinity which involves a commitment to the group, which according to most men, involves socializing, drinking, and seeking prostitutes (Smith, 2007). Solidarity is important to the men, and so when a group pressures an individual man into visiting prostitutes, they often feel compelled to say yes, wanting to avoid being labeled as "gay, womanly, [...] cowardly or fearful of one's wife" (Smith, 2007, p. 6).

### **Men who pay for sex with female prostitutes**

#### **Cambodian Sex Buyers**

Farley's 2012 study 'A Thorn in the Heart', looked at the reasons Khmer men purchase sex. One of the perceived 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"

Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Female Prostitutes in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (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 paid for sex 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 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 '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 'bauk' 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**

Melissa Farley has also been involved in research projects about western men who pay for sex in Scotland and Boston. In Scotland, 110 men who paid for sex were interviewed. Fifty-two percent of the men interviewed had bought sex by the age of 21 and 74% by the age of 25 (Farley, 2011). Approximately half the men (55%) were alone when they first bought sex and 41% were with one or more friends. One of her key findings was that 41% believed that without prostitution there would be more rape. These respondents believed that some men would become sexually aggressive if their sexual needs were not met. However, she also found that those who had sex with prostitutes more frequently were more likely to have aggressive sexual behavior towards those not involved in prostitution (Farley, 2011).

In Boston, Farley compared those who pay for sex with those who do not. As was the case in Scotland, the belief in rape myths was brought up by the sex buyers, who were more likely to believe rape myths than non-sex buyers (Farley, 2011). The average age of first use was 21, with 58% going alone when they first bought sex and 43% with friends. She also noted that some men saw prostitutes to be like girlfriends. In a comparison of stated advantages and drawbacks of purchasing sex, some common reasons for paying were to satisfy an immediate urge or to seek variety from their current relationship. Some common reasons for not paying for sex were fear of STI's, feeling less of a man, or they already had access to sex in a relationship (Farley, 2011).

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 the book titled, "Addicted to Love", he appears to encourage foreign men who are looking to pay for sex in Cambodia to do so, sharing his experiences of women he has paid for (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.

### **Pornography and sex education**

Within Cambodia there has been some research about pornography. Farley sees a direct correlation between Cambodian men's pornography use and prostitution use (Farley, 2012). The men who watched pornography more frequently also had sex with prostitutes more frequently. In Farley's research, 79% of the men stated their sexual behavior had changed with prostitutes and for the most part these changes came from viewing pornography. Seventy-one percent of the men she interviewed said that they copied acts they had seen in pornography with prostitutes. Farley also notes a link between pornography use and violent sexual behavior such as rape and domestic violence (Farley, 2012).

Child Welfare Group's 2005 report, 'A Preliminary Study into the Accessibility by Minors of Pornography in Cambodia', looked at minors in Phnom Penh, Kompong Som, Siem Reap, and Kompong Cham. The survey found that 51% of all minors surveyed had viewed pornography. Minors in Phnom Penh were more than twice as likely to view pornography than in other areas. The report noted that 30% of children access pornography through public coffee shops. The second highest percentage viewed pornography in their own home. Another finding was that 35% of the locations they looked at in Phnom Penh sold violent pornography with 15% selling child pornography. This illustrates the availability of deviant pornography to minors in Cambodia.

Fordham's 2006 report, 'As If They Were Watching My Body' looked at the effect of pornography on young people in Cambodia. The report looked at two rural districts and one urban commune. In contrast to Child Welfare's report they saw a greater movement towards pornography use amongst children in their personal homes. As they write, "... children and adults now access pornography, for the most part, in private spaces, which means that policing this activity will be much more difficult than when pornography was confined to public venues" (Fordham, 2006, p. 92).

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In Sophorn Phuong's report 'Cambodian Youth Access to Pornography', there were a number of negative opinions towards pornography. "Most children and youth believe that pornography is unhelpful and should be banned or become illegal due its negative effects on people" (Phuong, 2013, unpublished<sup>2</sup>). Furthermore, 88% of the children in this survey thought that pornography leads to rape. The research also found that many of the children thought that porn damages their mind and future. The survey found that 54.2% of boys watched porn compared to 16.9% of girls. Around a fifth (21.8%) of boys said they learned about sex from pornography. However, 29% of boys and 15.1% of girls said they wanted to learn about sex from teachers (Phuong, 2013).

The idea that pornography is an educator for sex could indicate a lack of alternative appropriate sex education within Cambodia. Laignee Baron wrote an article in the Phnom Penh Post (October 2013) addressing this issue. " 'According to data from the Ministry of Education, only one in three schools teach sexual and reproductive health. . . but it's crucial for youth to know about this subject,' said Dr. Kaing Sophal, program manager at ACTED " (Baron, 2013). In another recent article it states:

Sex education among Cambodian youth is still limited. Tradition has it that sex education is erotic and goes against national traditions. The effects are devastating because young people have sex anyway.

(San Sel, 2013)

Due to sex often being stigmatized or taboo to speak about, there has been a lack of education and open dialogue about the topic. This has led to people learning about sex through other means, such as pornography which may perpetuate a lack of understanding about appropriate sexual behavior.

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<sup>2</sup> This report has not been printed yet and is still on power point so that is why there is no page number here.

### **Legal deterrents of demand**

In 1999, Sweden adopted a law punishing 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, you limit the supply and thereby limit trafficking and exploitation. 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 had been established in 1999 street prostitution has halved (Ministry of Justice Sweden, 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 which, despite being half the size of Sweden, has an estimated number of 15,000 (Anwar, 2007). This illustrates how Sweden's law appears to be effectively cutting down on prostitution and trafficking. Since 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 as a positive way to fight sex trafficking.

In a recent report by European Women's lobby "18 Myths of Prostitution" they compare the Swedish model with Amsterdam where prostitution has been legal since 2000 (European Women's lobby, 2014). The Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands found in 2007 that the situation of those in prostitution had not improved since 2000: prostitutes' well-being was lower than it was in 2001 and the number of those who used sedatives had increased (Daalder, 2007). Furthermore, many of the women who had been exploited or been victims of violent treatment were working in legal brothels (KLPD, 2008 as cited in European Women's lobby, 2014). Since the legalization of prostitution, organized crime appears to have been

in control of the legal sector of the sex industry and perpetrating trafficking and exploitation (European Women's lobby, 2014). It was also found that legalization of prostitution did not prevent an increase in hidden or illegal prostitution (City of Amsterdam and Ministry of Justice, 2011 as cited in European Women's lobby, 2014).

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 was to follow the Swedish model and as more countries adopt these similar paradigms, 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 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**

This research was conducted by surveying 50 Khmer men and 50 foreign men in Phnom Penh. The Khmer men who were approached held a variety of different jobs, from moto and tuk-tuk drivers to students and businessmen.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the men were found in public areas, but a few of the Khmer men interviewed were friends and acquaintances of one of the Cambodian researchers. The foreigners ranged from short-term tourists to long-term expatriates. The interviews were conducted from September to November 2013.

The preliminary introduction to the research relayed to the participants was taken from previous research conducted in Mumbai by Miles and Thakur (2013). Some of the questions were adapted from other Cambodian demand research studies such as: Melissa Farley's "Thorn in the Heart" (2012) and Population Services International (PSI) and Family Health International (FHI)'s "Let's Go for a Walk" (2007).

The foreign men were approached by a combination of four English-speaking interviewers in teams of two. The Cambodian respondents were approached by one of five volunteer translators and an English-speaking researcher. The English speaker typically did not take an active part in the survey, but instead was there for the benefit of the Khmer translator to clarify anything they were unsure about. 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 interviewer himself.

One of the main focuses of this research project was the participation of the respondents in the sex industry in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. To gain as much as information as possible, the participants were first asked general questions about prostitution. Then, the questions became more personal in order to gain deeper

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<sup>3</sup> A tuk-tuk is a common form of public transportation made up of a motorbike with a carriage for up to 4 passengers.

insights from the participants. To make this conversation as comfortable as possible for the participants, the general questions were considered to be a good way to lead both parties, respondent and researcher, into a conversation rather than an interview. Building trust was important to receive honest answers, especially during the more personal part of the interview. To go beyond the surface of this issue and get a deeper understanding, personal questions were important. Though the focus of this research is on the demand side of prostitution, the interview still continued if the respondent had never engaged with a prostitute, because they still retained important information about their views toward Cambodia's sex industry and its participants. For those who had not used prostitutes at the time of the interview, some questions were not relevant and as such omitted. In this report the authors decided to round the percentages up or down to the nearest whole number to perpetuate fluidity within the results and analysis.

### **Safety and Ethics**

Throughout this research we adhered to the, "Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on the Perpetration of Sexual Violence" presented by the Sexual Violence Research Initiative (SVRI) out of South Africa. Within this document it recommended: that the survey must keep the respondent's 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 to 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.

Some of the Khmer respondents were provided with \$2 phone cards in exchange for their cooperation with the researchers and to compensate for time lost when they might have been working. Foreigners were usually approached in restaurants, so food and drinks were offered in compensation for their participation.

## **Limitations**

As with any research, there were challenges and limitations where potential error may have arisen. The first and most obvious of these are the cross-cultural translation challenges. There were initially two experienced Cambodian translators, though one of these was forced to withdraw early in the process due to ill health. Consequently, translators were brought in who were younger and less experienced in the issues surrounding the content of our survey. The foreigners were all interviewed in English, but for many respondents, English was a second or third language. In addition, there were contrasts between interviewers and participants with regard to accents and dialects. Taking all this into consideration, some information may have been lost.

A second limitation relates to the translators themselves. There were five different translators, all of whom were volunteers, including an eighteen year-old and a nineteen year-old. It became increasingly clear that, while discussing some topics, many Cambodian men were more reserved with the younger translators. When the surveys of the men interviewed by the younger interviewers were compared to the interviews completed by the older Cambodian volunteers, the answers seemed insufficient at points. Both of these volunteers conducted only two or three interviews before they finished their participation in translating.

One of the main factors that presented some confusion while compiling the report was the use of 'N/A'. This was due to various understandings of the answer's

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meaning, those being: 1) not answered, 2) not applicable, and 3) not asked. In our report we have the results of the questions displayed as: number of participants fitting what is being defined/how many participants answered this question (percentage of the previous fraction). In doing so we are able to show exactly who fits the result we are explaining out of the number of people who answered that specific question.

There was a set of questions that, from the beginning, was problematic for the Khmer men to understand; these were the PATHOS questions. The PATHOS questions are a set of yes/no questions that if a person were to answer three of them positively, this would indicate a tendency towards sex addiction. These set of questions were ultimately stopped being asked throughout the rest of the interviews among the Cambodian population because they did not culturally fit a Cambodian's understanding when it comes to sex and sexual habits. This misunderstanding may stem from a lack of sex education and knowledge about sexual health which is discussed further in the Recommendations section of this report.

The quality of the survey is dependent on the honesty of the respondents. The shame-based nature of the Cambodian culture could mean that some of the responses were affected by this. In a few of the Khmer interviews, the Cambodian researchers commented that perhaps a respondent was simply relaying what he believed the interviewers wanted to hear, rather than a more accurate response. This may indicate therefore that the results are somewhat conservative.

Originally there seemed to be a problem of access. These interviews were initially carried out in strictly "red light" districts at night because of the target group. However, we quickly realized that interviewing at this time was unfeasible. At night, the foreign men in these areas were there for a specific reason and were therefore not interested in taking part in a lengthy survey. The interview times were therefore moved to the afternoon where more men were sitting alone and willing to engage. A similar problem occurred with the Cambodian men. At first, known red light areas were targeted, with the aim of interviewing men outside KTV's or inside cafés at night. This was ineffective, because many Khmer men like to

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go out at night with a large group of friends, making it difficult to address an individual. Therefore, the focus was shifted to highly frequented areas during the day, including cafés and markets.

We are aware that this research focused on lower and middle class urban Khmer men. Wealthy and the poorest economic class of the Cambodian population were not available to be surveyed due to their work schedules and location. Similarly, it was impossible to get a representation of foreign men from all the different countries that tourist and expatriates come from. The population surveyed represents a small section of men who A) spoke English, B) were wealthy enough to travel to Cambodia, and C) willing to be interviewed.

## **Case Studies**

From the report these were some case studies of the men interviewed. The names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of those who took part in the research. The stories are written in present tense to represent how they were told to the researchers at the time.

### **Foreigners**

Ray is in his 30's and on vacation from America. He has heard about how beautiful Asian women are and is planning to visit Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia. Before he came to Asia he researched on the internet the best places to find prostitutes as well as the best prices. He claims that he is not a sex tourist. While staying here in Phnom Penh, he visits dance clubs, as well as walking around the streets where he finds prostitutes to pay for sex. He arrived six days ago and since being in South East Asia has had sex with a prostitute every night. He pays \$20-\$25 for a 'short time' and \$50 for a 'long time'. He believes that prostitution should not be frowned upon and is healthy for men. He also states that it is a transaction and fine as long as both parties are satisfied, meaning that the prostitute gets the money and he gets to have sex. He is also trying to find a Cambodian wife or girlfriend and uses an internet application where he can arrange to go on dates with traditional Cambodian women. He does not think that prostitution should stop and thinks it is positive, however he does think it should be made safer.

Lucas is retired and used to be in the military. He became fed up with the West and after visiting Cambodia in 2004 decided to move here in 2012. He now has some regrets and feels like he abandoned his family. While being here he gets lonely and uses prostitutes. He lives near one of the red light areas, so when he feels lonely he can walk down the street and pay women for sex; he pays \$15 for a 'short time' and \$30 for a 'longer time'. He was in a relationship with a prostitute for two years. Every month he gave her \$350 and helped look after her three children. He loved her and was interested in marriage. He expected her to remain loyal to him, however one day he found out that she was already married to a Cambodian man.

She had been married even before their relationship started. He states that he wants a 'proper' relationship and not just something sexual.

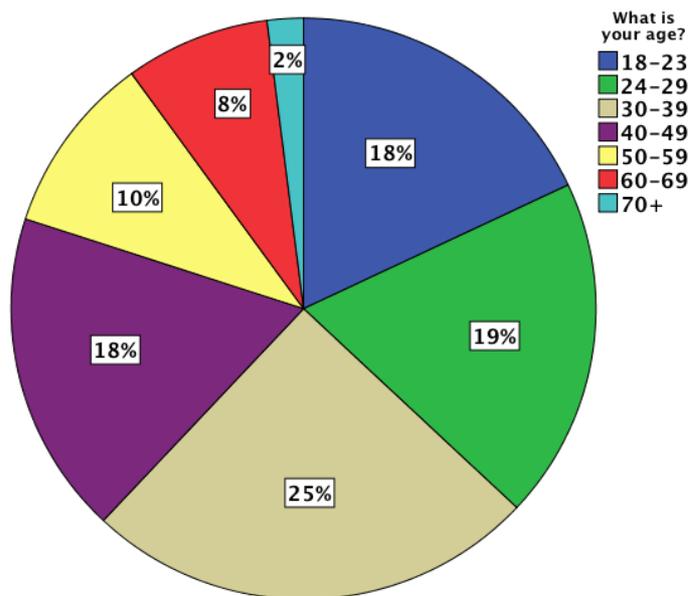
### **Khmer**

Thea is a 45 year-old moto driver in Phnom Penh. He is married with children. He is a Christian and says it is good to believe and likes to follow the Gospel. When asked about self-worth he gave himself a ten out of ten as he says a man needs to give himself value. In his lifetime he has had sex with between 500 and 600 prostitutes. He believes that prostitution is necessary for men in society. He typically likes to have sex with women who are 21 or 22 and does not like to have sex with the same woman so that there are no strings attached. He says he likes to have sex with prostitutes, because it keeps him calm and feels good. He typically pays \$5 and goes on his own to what he calls "houses" which are family businesses, where he pays to have sex with the daughters there.

Kaliv is 33 and a coffee shop seller. He was married, but has now been divorced for three months. He says that his wife did not listen to him and did what she wanted. After getting divorced he felt distressed, so his friends pressured him into having sex with prostitutes. He sometimes goes out with his friends and they find prostitutes together and other times he goes on his own. When meeting a woman on the street he pays her \$5 and then brings her back to his home. Sometimes he and his friends have sex with a woman together and other times he just has sex with a woman on his own. He says sex with prostitutes is no different from having sex with his wife, but adds that he would take his wife back instead if she came back. For him there is a difference between a 'normal' woman who is raped and a prostitute who is raped, as he states that it is "normal" for prostitutes to be raped and he does not pity them. To have sex with a prostitute is fun for him and a stress release but is also a waste of money and he is concerned about STIs and HIV.

## Results

### Demographics

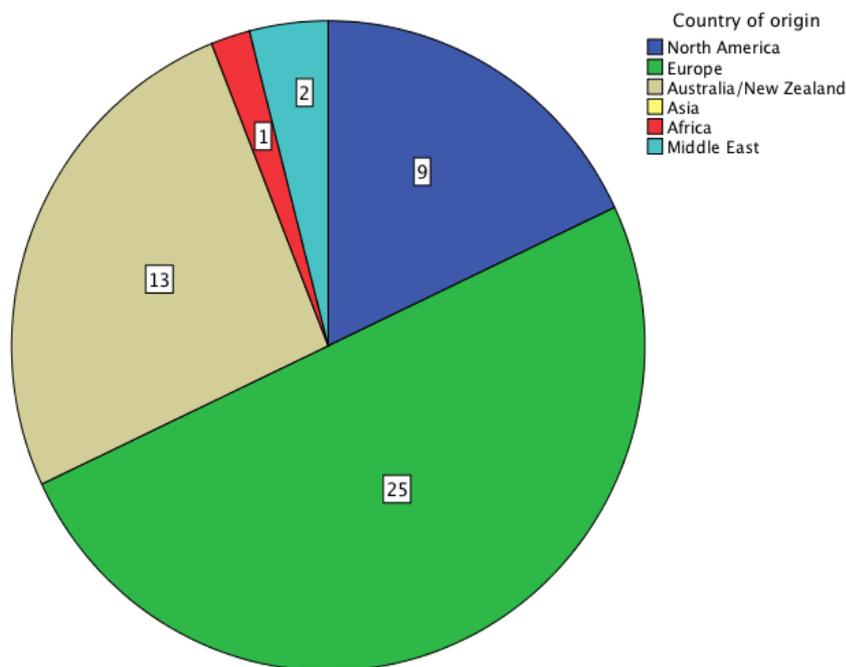


### **Age**

As shown in the graph above the ages of the men interviewed were fairly evenly spread out. Eighteen of the respondents were 18-23, seven of the men in this age group were foreigners and 11 of the men were Khmer. There were 19 men interviewed who were 24-29, nine of the men were foreigners and ten of them were Khmer. The highest percentage of the men fell into the age group of 30-39. Eight of these men were foreigners and 17 were Khmer. Eighteen men interviewed were of the ages 40-49, eight of them were foreigners and ten of the men were Khmer. Ten men were 50-59 with one of the men a foreigner and the rest Khmer. Eight of the respondents were ages 60-69 all of them were Khmer. Finally, only two men were interviewed that were above the age of 70, one of the men was a foreigner and the other was a Khmer man.

### Country of Origin

All of the Khmer men (50/50 [100%]) interviewed were originally from Cambodia. Among the foreign population, the respondents were mainly from Western countries, with a few men from the Middle East and countries within Africa.



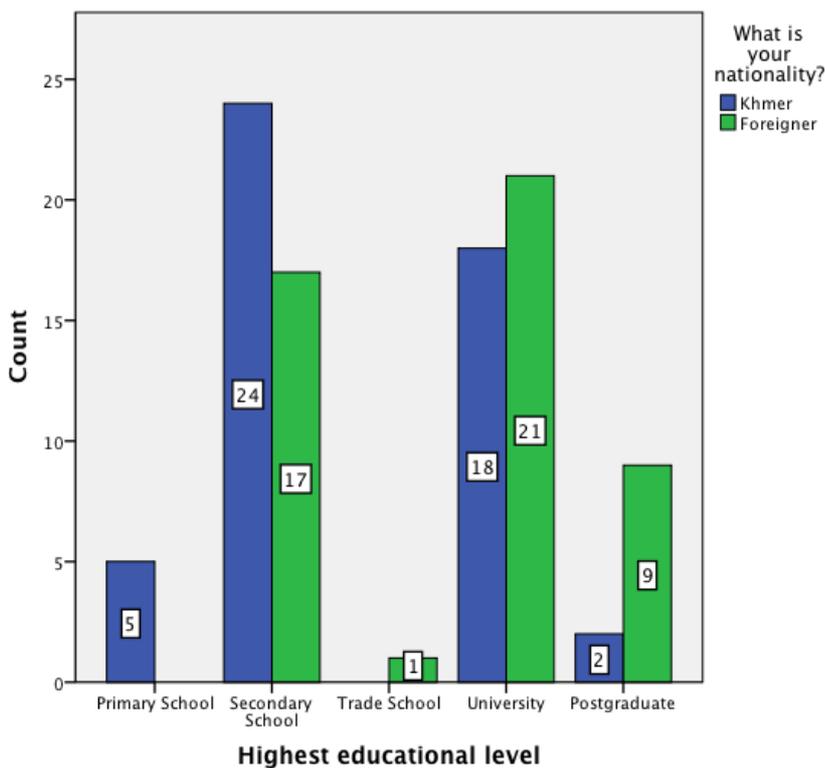
The largest percentage of foreigners interviewed was from Europe, 25/50 (50%). Australians and New Zealanders were the second largest with 13/50 (26%) of the foreign respondents. All the respondents who answered that they were from the United States of America or Canada were placed into the North America category making the total number, 9/50 (18%). The smallest categories of the foreign men we interviewed were from the Middle East, 2/50 (4%), and 1/50 (2%) was from South Africa.

### Education

Among the Khmer population interviewed, 5/49 (10%) respondents stopped going to school before or after they finished their primary schooling. The largest percentage of the Khmer interviewed, 24/49 (48%) attended secondary school for at least one year, but stopped their education just before or after graduating the

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12th grade due to various reasons. None of the Khmer population went to a trade or vocational school, but 18/49 (36%) of the men went to University for at least a year after they finished their secondary school education. Two (2/49 [4%]) of the Khmer respondents had pursued some form of postgraduate degree in addition to their bachelors from university.

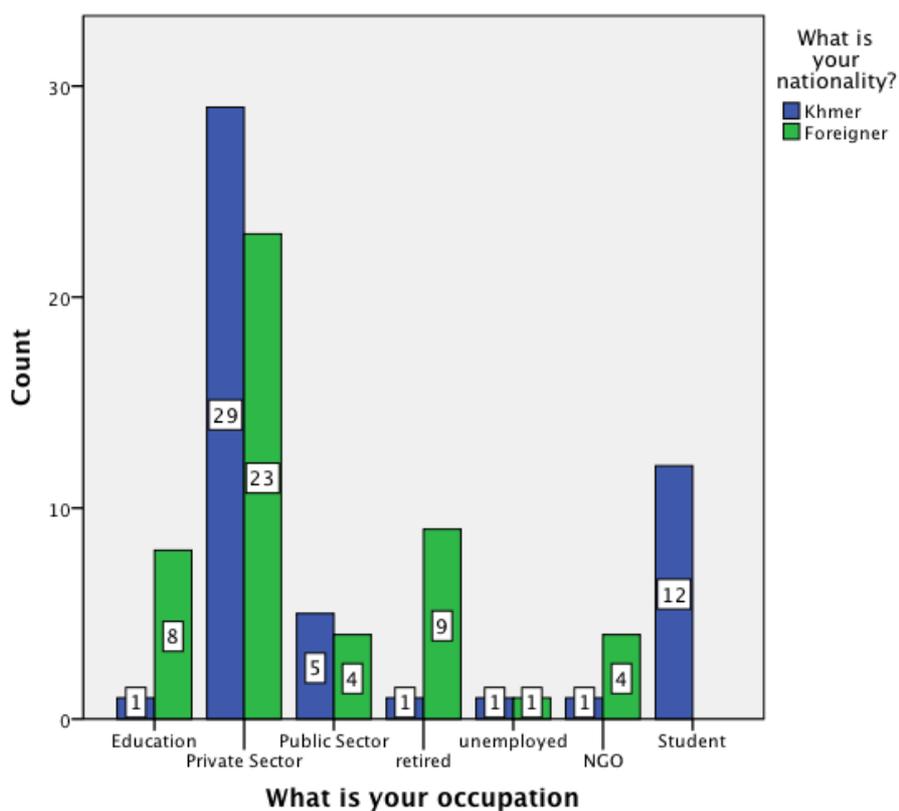


The foreign population on average had a higher level of education than the Khmer men interviewed. All of the men had went on to pursue higher education past primary school and 17/48 (34%) of the foreign respondents had gone to secondary school at least for one year. One of the foreign men (1/48 [2%]) had went to a trade of vocational school and 21/48 (42%) of the men had went to university, with or without graduating. Nine of the foreign men (9/48 [18%]) continued their education past their bachelor’s degree and pursued some form of postgraduate degree.

### Occupation

The largest percentage of the Khmer interviewed, 29/50 (58%), were a part of the private sector for their career, and the majority of these men were tuk-tuk and moto taxi drivers. The second largest category of the Khmer respondents was students, 12/50 (24%). The third largest category of men interviewed were men who worked in public sector jobs, 5/50 (10%). After this, all of the other job categories (education, NGO, retired or unemployed) had only one Khmer respondent (1/50 [2%]) in each.

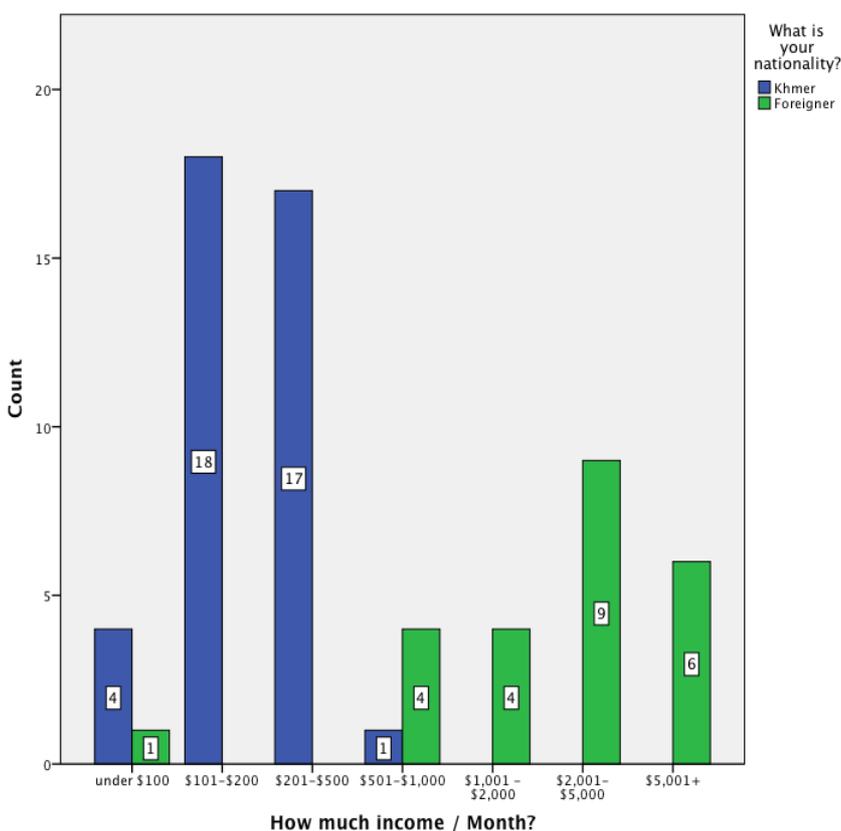
The foreign respondents were somewhat more diverse in their job choices than the Khmer. Still, the largest percentage of foreigners worked within the private sector, 23/49 (46%), but worked for many various companies and trades. The second largest job category for the foreign respondents was retired, 9/50 (18%). There were 8/49 (16%) foreign men working in education either in Cambodia or back in their home country. The number of foreign respondents who worked in NGOs or in the public sector was equal in being, 4/49 (8%). There was also one respondent who declined to respond as to what his occupation was and one respondent who was unemployed at the time of the interview, 1/49 (2%).



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### Income per month

Due to Cambodia being of a lower economic society than the West and the greater purchasing power of the US Dollar, the income of the Khmer population was considerably lower than the foreigners interviewed. There was also a significant number of respondents of both the Khmer and foreigner populations who declined to answer this question, resulting in the percentages given below to be only out of the number of respondents who did give their income information during the interview.



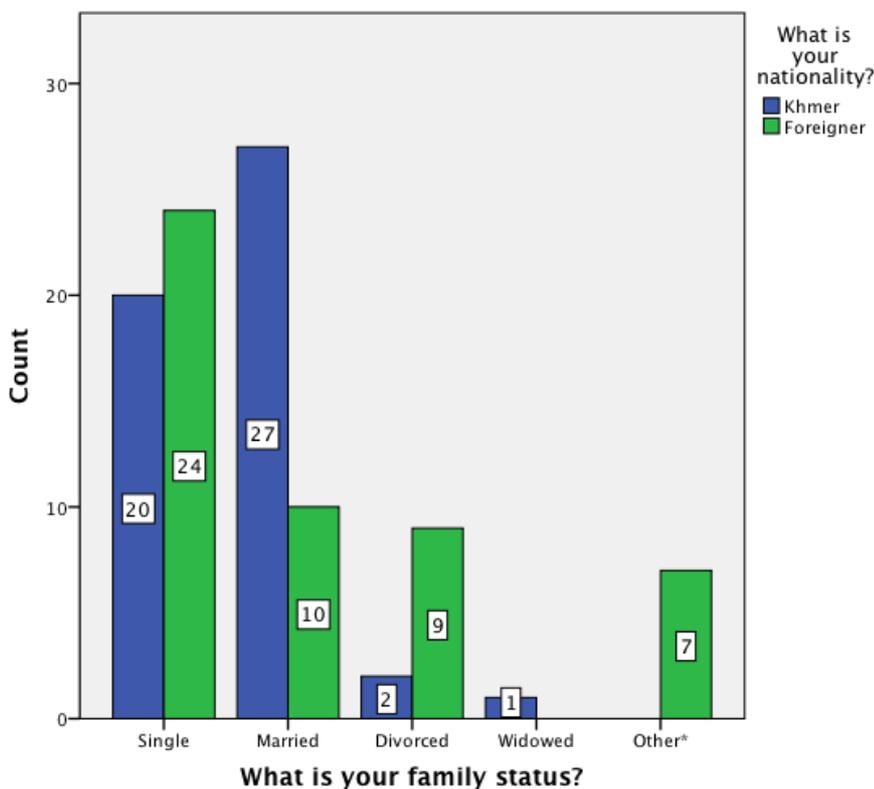
The lowest income of the foreign respondents was from the man who was unemployed at the time of the interview, 1/24 (4%). The next two income levels that had foreign respondents in them were the \$501-\$1,000 and \$1,001-\$2,000 ranges, both had 4/24 (17%). The next level of income, \$2,001-\$5,000 range, was the largest percentage of foreign respondents who chose to answer this question, 9/24 (38%). Finally, there were 6/24 (25%) foreign respondents who said that they made more than \$5,001 per month.

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Four out of the 40 Khmer men (10%) who answered this question said that they made less than \$100 per month. The highest percentage (18/40 [45%]) of Khmer men in this research responded saying that they made \$101-\$200, most of these men were either tuk-tuk or moto taxi drivers. Following closely behind, 17/40 (43%), of the Khmer men responded that they had made \$201-\$500 a month. There was only one Khmer man who answered that he made between \$501 and \$1,000 a month.

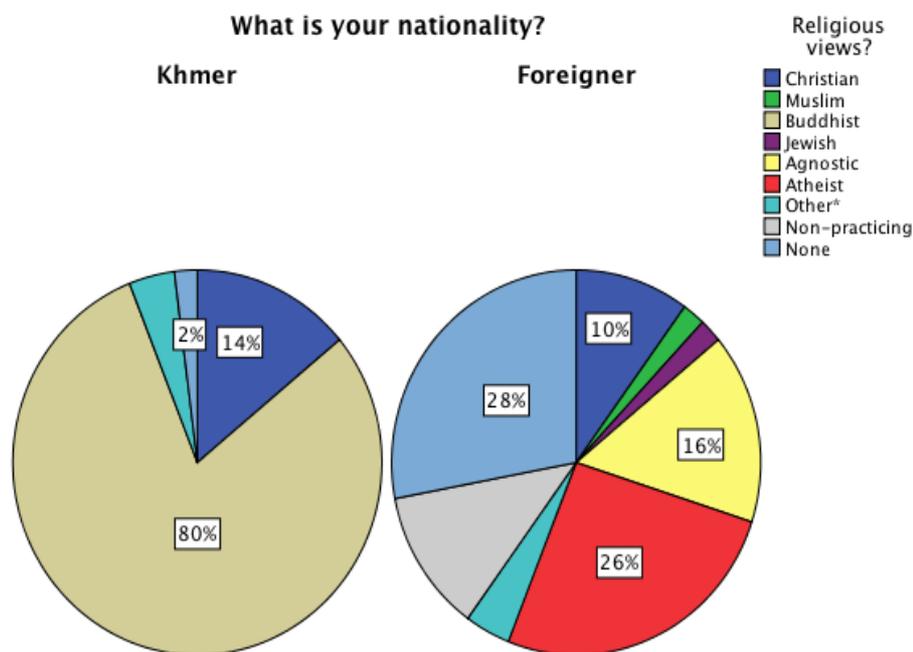
**Family Status**

The majority of all the men interviewed were single, 44/100 (44%), followed by married men in second, 37/100 (37%). Twenty-seven of the 37 men interviewed who were married were Khmer. Also, nine of the 11 men who were divorced were foreigners. A category entitled, 'other' was established for men who were in an exclusive relationship (girlfriends) or engaged to be married. Many Cambodian men were married and few were divorced, appearing to show a difference in how much importance Cambodian society puts on marriage.



## Religion

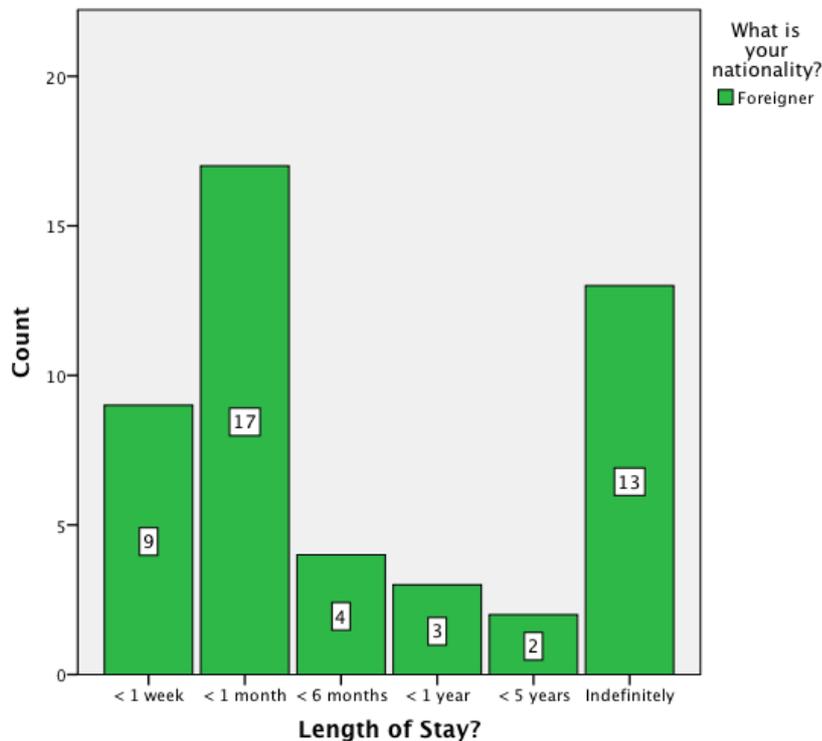
As was expected due to the common knowledge of the religious demographic of Cambodia, 40/50 (80%) of the Khmer men responded that they were Buddhist. Seven of the 50 Khmer men (14%) said they were Christian. One Khmer man (2%) responded that he had no religious affiliation and two Khmer men (4%) answered that they have a number of religions that they draw practices from, leading the authors of this research report to put them in the category of 'Other'.<sup>4</sup>



The foreign respondents were largely non-religious with 14/50 (28%) saying they had no religious affiliation, 13/50 (26%) were atheist, and 8/50 (16%) answering that they were agnostic. There were 5/50 (10%) foreign respondents who said that they were Christian, one man answered that he was Muslim and one man responded that he was Jewish. Another 6/50 (12%) of the foreign participants had a religious affiliation growing up but were largely non-practicing, and 2/50 (4%) respondents said that they practiced traditions from a number of various, religions putting them in the category of "Other".

<sup>4</sup> A graph depicting the cross-analysis between religion and prostitution use can be found in Appendix 2 of this study.

### Length of stay in Cambodia



Along with the next section entitled, 'Reason for being in Cambodia', these sections are only dedicated to the foreign respondents of the survey. The researchers were seeking Khmer men who live and work the majority of their lives in Cambodia, so these two questions were not applicable to them. Since Cambodia has a large focus on the tourist industry, it was not surprising that the majority of the foreigners interviewed were in the country for less than a month, totaling to 26/49 (53%). The second largest category was the foreign men who had an indefinite date of departure from Cambodia, 13/49 (27%). Many of these men had moved their lives here to follow a job, or had decided to move here for retirement.

### Reason for being in Cambodia

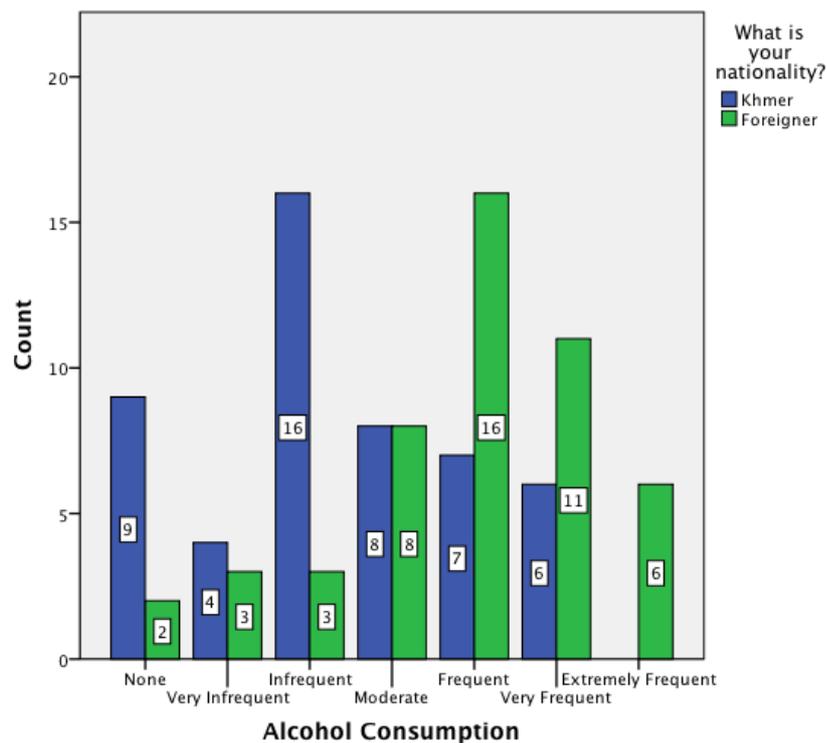
In the chart titled, "Why are you here?" the respondents were asked their reason for being in Cambodia. As mentioned before, the largest percentage of the men interviewed were in Cambodia or Phnom Penh specifically for travel 19/47 (40%), then the number of responses tapered off from there. Fifteen out of forty-seven (32%) of the foreign men were in Cambodia for business, 7/47 (15%) of the men lived in Cambodia and the remaining 6/47 (13%) of the men were in Cambodia on

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either a visa visit, or a combination of work and leisure, so the researchers decidedly made a specific 'other' category for them.

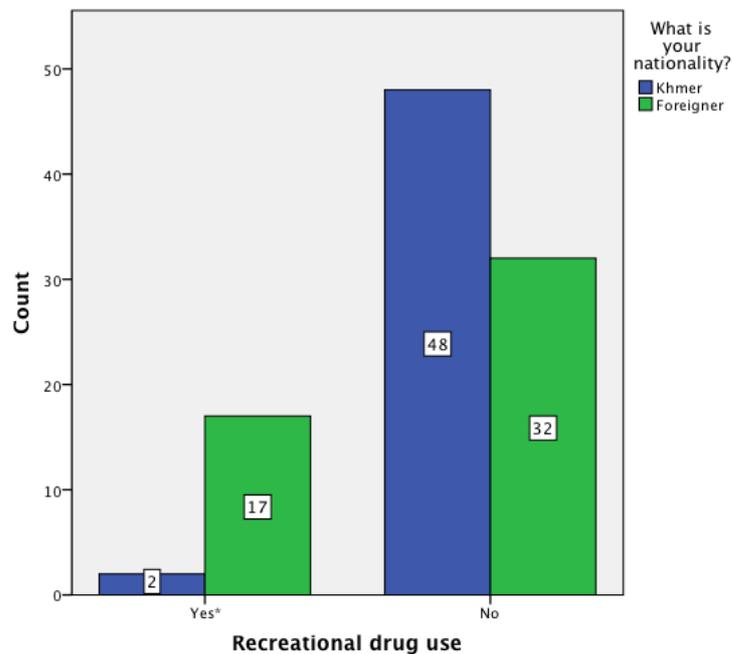
### Alcohol Use



The respondents were asked how frequently they drink alcohol and their answers divided into categories. Very infrequent was once or twice a year, infrequent was once or twice every three months, moderate was one to two times a month, frequent was a couple of times a week, very frequent was daily and extremely frequent was two or more times a day. From looking at the chart it can be seen that foreigners generally drink more than the Khmer men interviewed. The highest number of foreigners said they were frequent drinkers 16/49, (32.7%), for Khmer the highest number said infrequent 16/50, (32%). Of the Khmer 9/50, (18%), said they didn't drink alcohol at all compared to 2/49, (4.1%) of foreigners. For Khmer 20/50, (40%) said very infrequent or infrequent, compared to only 6/49, (12.2%) of foreigners. For moderate, 8/50, (16%) of Khmer said this with 8/49, (16.3%) of foreigners. For frequent and very frequent, 13/50, (26%) of Khmer said this

Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Female Prostitutes in Phnom Penh, Cambodia compared to the much higher 27/49, (55%) of foreigners. For extremely frequent, 6/49, (55.1%) of foreigners said this and no Khmer.

## Drug Use



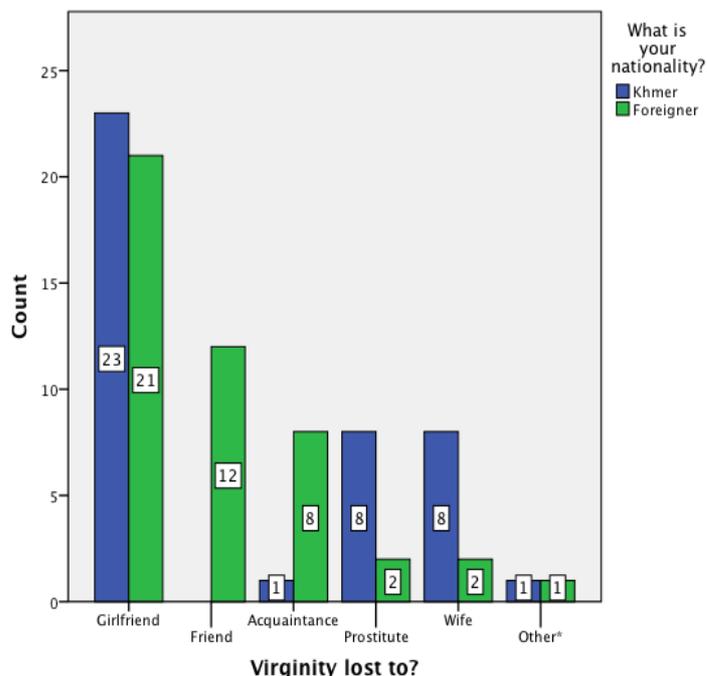
One of the questions asked was about whether the men took recreational drugs. 17/49, (34/6%) of the foreigners said they did. The majority of them said marijuana, ecstasy was also mentioned. For Khmer 2/50, (4%) said they took recreational drugs, the answers were methamphetamine (meth) or marijuana.

## Age Virginitly Lost?

The respondents were asked at what age they lost their virginitly. From the bell curve it can be seen that foreigners generally lost their virginitly at a younger age than the Khmer respondents. The highest number of foreigners lost their virginitly between the ages of 16-17, 17/46 (36.9%). The highest percent for Khmer said 21-25, 17/49 (34.7%). Three foreigners and one Khmer said they lost their virginitly between the ages of 10 and 12; these cases were through sexual assault. From the ages of 13-17, 20/46, (43.5%) of foreigners lost their virginitly compared to 9/49 (18.7%) of Khmer who all said 16-17. From the ages of 18-25, 19/49, (38.8%)

Khmer lost their virginity, compared to 13/46 (28%) of foreigners. Of the Khmer, 8/49 (16.3%) stated that they were virgins at the time of the interview.<sup>5</sup>

### To who was your virginity lost?

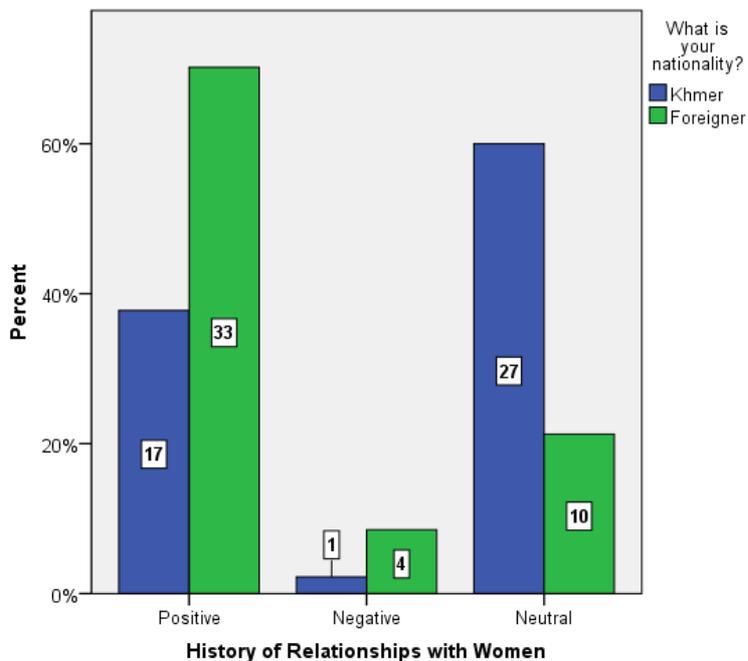


The question was asked to the respondents, “to whom was your virginity lost?” It can be seen from the chart above that the highest number of both foreigners and Khmer lost their virginity to their girlfriend, with 23/41 Khmer (56.1%) saying this and 21/46 foreigners (46%). It can also be seen here that 12/46 foreigners (26.1%) gave the answer friend compared to no Khmer. Similarly 8/46 foreigners (17.4%) said an acquaintance compared to only 1/41 Khmer (2.4%). For Khmer, 8/41 said they lost their virginity to their wife and the same amount also that said they lost their virginity to a prostitute. In comparison, of the foreigners interviewed, 2/46 said they had lost their virginity to their wife, the same amount that said they’d lost their virginity to a prostitute. Other refers to sexual assault and one of each population mentioned that they had lost their virginity in this way.

<sup>5</sup> A graph showing the cross-analysis between the age virginity lost and prostitution use can be found in Appendix 2 of this report

## View on and history of relationships with Women

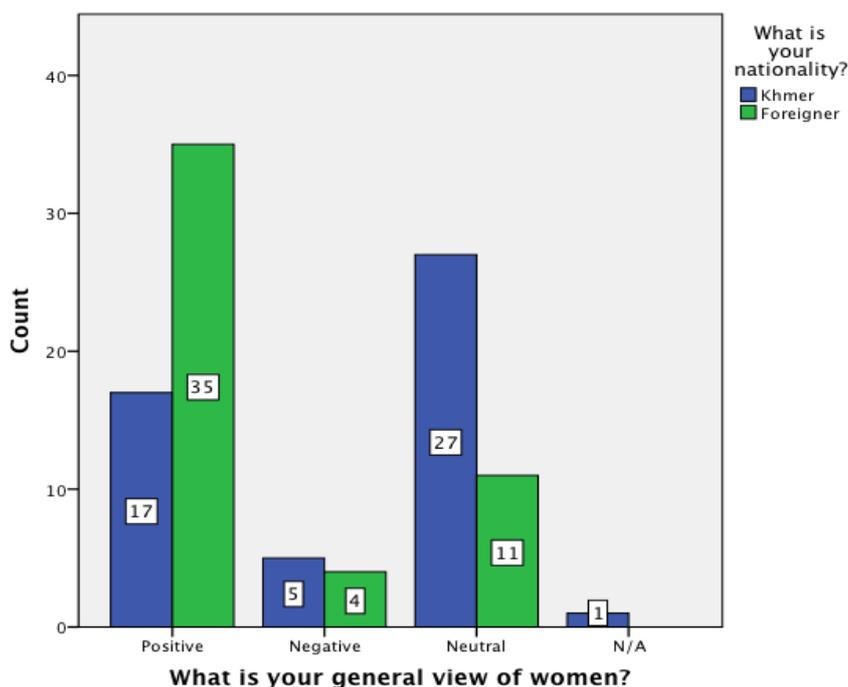
### History of Relationships with Women



We asked the men whether their history of relationships with women was positive, negative or neutral. Out of 92 respondents 55/92 (60%) answered positive, 5/92 (5%) answered negative, and 37/92 (40%) answered neutral. The majority of the Khmer respondents, 27/45 (60%) answered neutral while the majority of foreign respondents, 33/47 (70%) answered positive.

### General View of Women

The participants were asked for their general view of women and out of 99 respondents 52/99 (52%) answered they have a positive view of women, 9/99 (9%) a negative view and 38/99 (38%) a neutral view of women. As in the previous question, the Khmer respondents again made up the majority of those who answer neutral, 27/49 (55%) and the foreigners made up the majority of those having a positive view of women, 35/50 (70%). This is noticeable because it mirrors the graph showing the men's history of relationships.



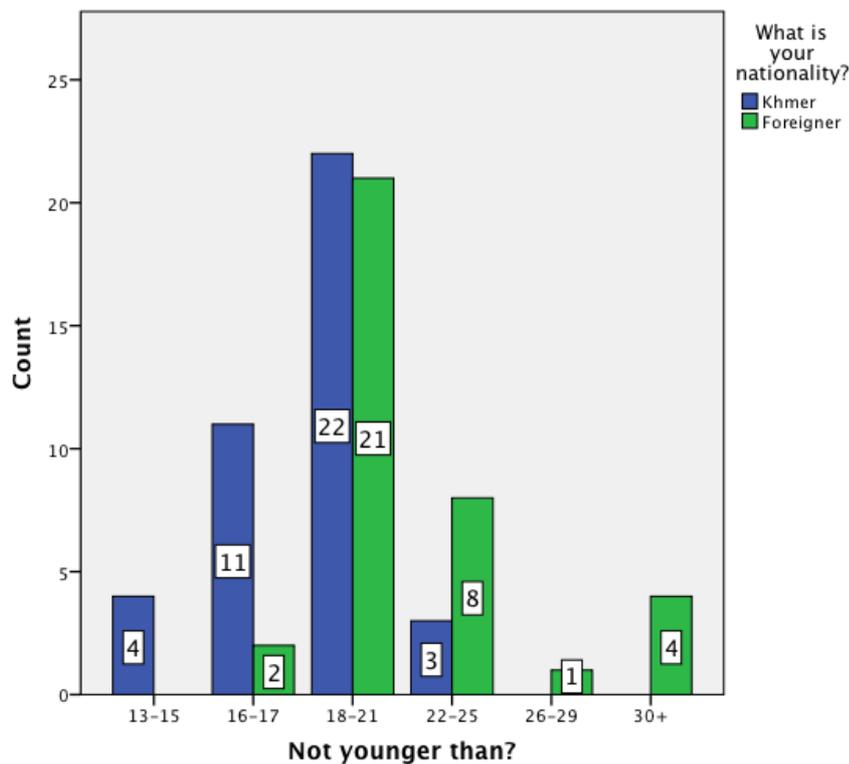
### Physical preferences of women chosen as sexual partners

Ninety-nine heterosexual men and one man who identified himself as bisexual were interviewed. The respondents were asked to answer in further detail the preferred physical characteristics of women with whom they have had sex. The answers included age, race, level of intellect, etc.

### Preference of Race

It was interesting to note the races of preference among the men interviewed. Thirty-six out of fifty (72.0%) Cambodian men responded that they sexually prefer to be with Khmer women, with the other 14 men responding that they would prefer various other Asian ethnicities, the second most popular being Vietnamese women. The foreign men largely had 'no preference' 31/49 (62%) when it came to the ethnicity of those they were most sexually attracted to, but this was followed by 17/49 (34%) foreign men who just said, 'Asian women' and not giving further details.

### Preference of Age



The respondents were also asked to answer some questions about age ranges they were most attracted to. The highest majority for a preferential age range among the foreign respondents was 26-30 years old, with the range 21-25 the second highest. The largest majority of Cambodian men interviewed responded that 18-20 was their preferred age range of women with one 40-49 year old Cambodian man answering he prefers girls younger than 18. To further understand these men's sexual preferences we asked them, 'how old is too old?' and, 'how young is too young?'

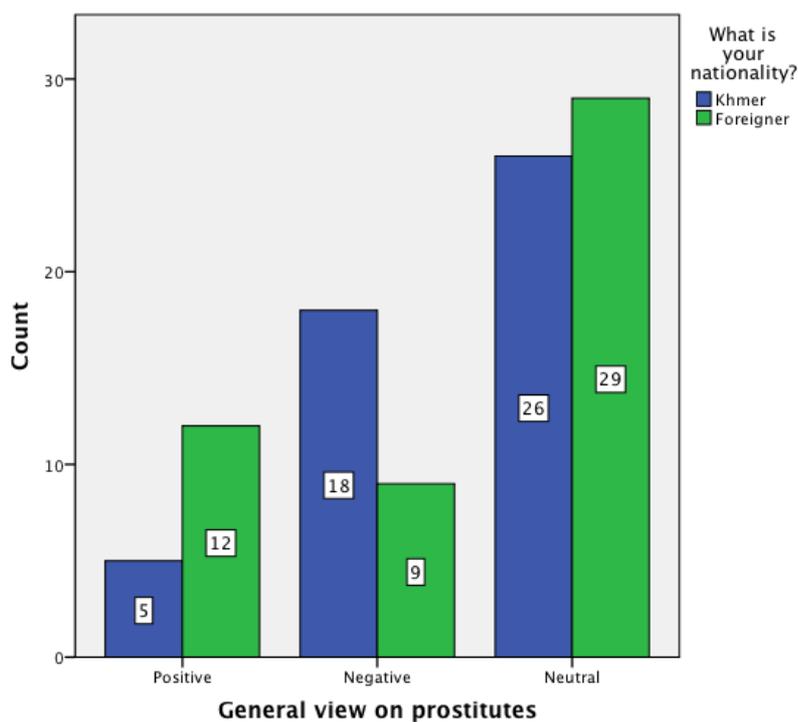
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The, 'how old is too old?' procured no real interesting responses, with the average age being about 40-45. It was interesting to analyze the difference in culture and age preferences. There appear to be two definite bell curves that distinguish the foreign and the Cambodian male populations. Both majorities are within the 18-23 age range, with the age 18 specifically answered the most out of both populations.<sup>6</sup>

### General views on and use of prostitutes

#### **What is your general view towards prostitution?**

The participants were asked about their general view on prostitution. This question was not restricted to prostitution in Cambodia, so not limited geographically. The respondents had the choice to answer positive, negative or neutral.



<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed graph about the ages of the respondents and their specific preferences in the ages of the women they are most attracted to, please see Appendix XX

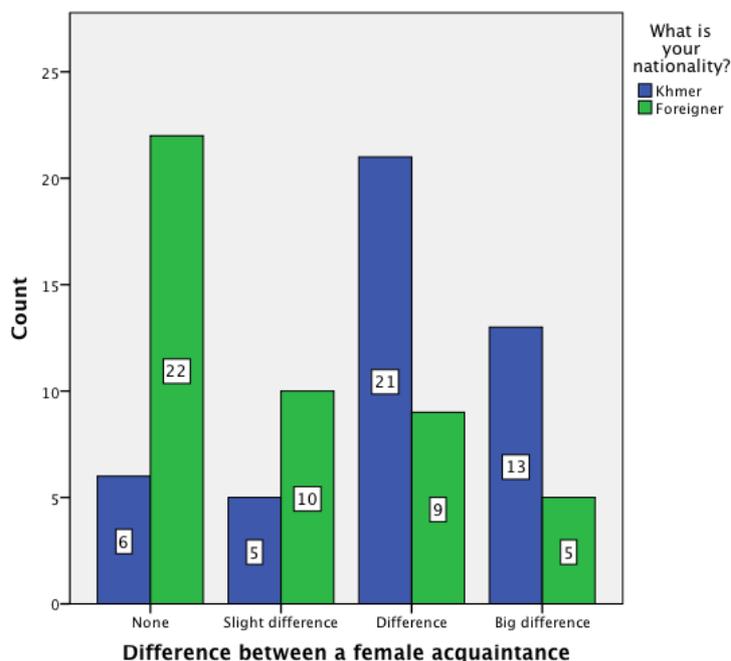
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Seventeen out of ninety-nine (17%) answered that they had a positive view towards prostitution, 27/99 (27%) had a negative view of prostitution and the majority, 55/99 (55%), answered that they had a neutral view of prostitution. The majority of the Khmer respondents 26/49 (53%) and the majority of the foreign respondents 29/50 (58%) had a neutral view of prostitution. The second largest majority of the foreigners, 12/50 (24%), said that they had a positive view of prostitution and the second largest majority of the Khmer, 18/49 (37%), said they had a negative view. Out of 27 respondents having a negative view of prostitution, 11/27 (41%) respondents were currently paying for sex with prostitutes, eight being Khmer and three being foreigners.

Furthermore, the men were asked why they had a positive, negative or neutral view of prostitution, to be able to understand their reasons for that point of view. This was an open-ended question to give these men the chance to explain in their own words. A common answer of foreign men with a positive view on prostitution is that these 'girls', referring to young women working as sex workers in South East Asia, have no other choice of earning money to support their families and so it is seen as "a good way", sometimes seen as even "the only way", for them to earn money. Another reason given by foreign men for having a positive view of prostitution was that in their opinion there would be many more rape cases without prostitution. For Khmer men a main reason for a positive view was that prostitution is seen as a good way to relieve sexual tension. This was the first indication for the researchers that Khmer men's understanding of prostitution focused on its relation to themselves (intrinsic factors). In contrast, foreign men tended to talk about issues related to the sex workers and their context (extrinsic factors).

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**Is there a difference between a female acquaintance who is a prostitute and a female acquaintance who is not a prostitute? If so, how?**



These results appear to show that the highest percentage of foreign men interviewed found that there were no difference in a female acquaintance who is a prostitute and one that is not, 22/46 (48%). From here, there was a significant drop in the number of respondents who did not find a difference to ones who found a slight difference, 10/46 (22%). There were 9/46 (20%) foreigners who saw a definite difference in the two populations and 5/46 (11%) of the foreigners found a big difference between women who were prostitutes and women who were not. A common response among the foreigner and Khmer men who found no difference to these two populations, was:

“They are the same as any other human being and I would treat them equally.”

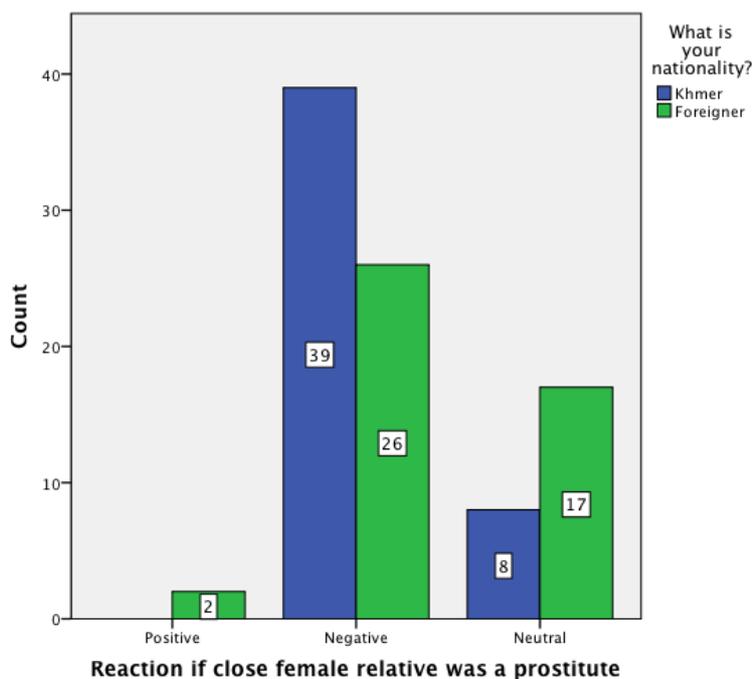
A common response among the foreigners who found a slight to big difference among women who are or are not prostitutes, was:

“Prostitutes are after what it is that’s in your wallet.”

The Khmer respondents were quite different in their views towards women who are and who are not prostitutes. Out of 45 respondents, 6/45 (13%) of the men found that there was no difference, 5/45 (11%) found that there was a slight difference, 21/45 (47%) responded that there was a difference, and 13/45 (29%) responded that there was a big difference in the two populations. A common response the Khmer men gave as to why they believed that there was a difference in this population, was:

“ ‘Normal’ Khmer girls are timid. Prostitutes like to talk about sex all the time.”

**What would be your reaction if you found out that your sister or female relative was a prostitute?**



Two of the 45 foreigners (4%) who responded to this question gave the interviewers answers that were positive in nature. They were placed into this category because these two men actually had found out that their sister and/or mother were prostituting themselves as a means of income and had condoning reactions to this news. One of the men went so far as becoming the bodyguard for his mother and sister when they went to go visit clients so that they would be safe during their work. There was 8/47 (17%) Khmer respondents who answered with a neutral reaction and 17/45 (37%) foreigner participants. Men were placed in this category based on the common answer given, that:

“I wouldn’t judge them for it, but I would be concerned for their safety and health.”

The highest majority of respondents said they would have a negative reaction to finding out that their female relative was prostituting themselves. Thirty-nine out of 47 (83%) Khmer respondents answered in this way and 26/45 (58%) foreigners did so as well. Both of the populations had reactions that they would be angry and it is not socially acceptable. A common answer the foreigners would give, was:

“In the West it is different, there are many opportunities there for women and they don’t have to prostitute themselves. Here, there is little education and jobs are scarce so some women have to.”

### **Have you ever been offered a prostitute in Cambodia?**

Before differentiating between those who use prostitutes or have used prostitutes and those who never have used prostitutes, all 100 participants were asked if they had been offered a prostitute in Cambodia. Out of 85 respondents, 47/85 (55%) men said yes, they had been offered a prostitute and 38/85 (45%) respondents had never been offered a prostitute. Noticeably, out of the 47 men who had been offered a prostitute in Cambodia only six men were Khmer. Out of the 38 Khmer respondents to this question, 32/38 (84%) had never been offered a prostitute. A

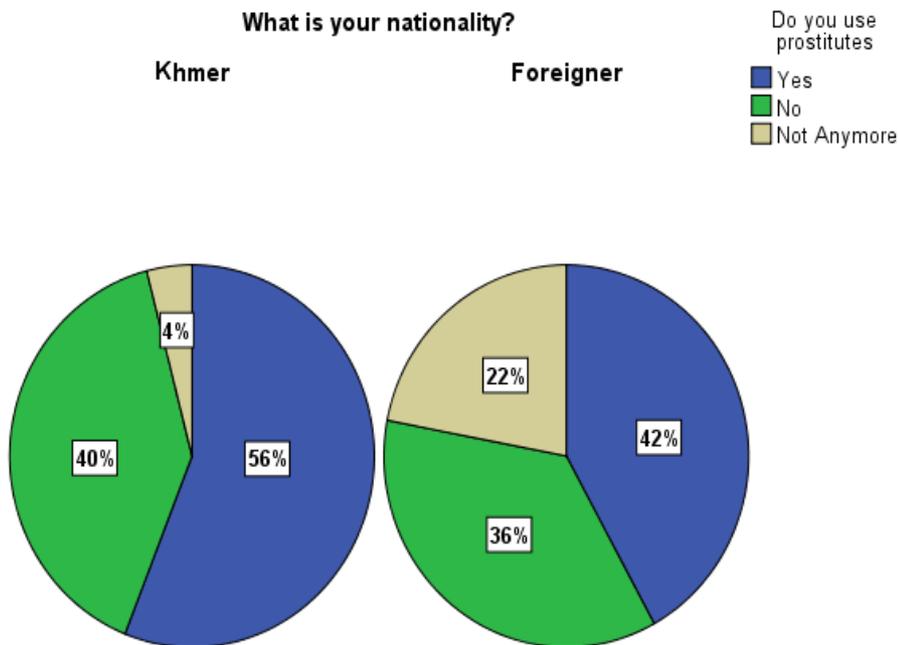
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possible reason could be that Khmer men know where they can find the services of a prostitute. Foreigners on the other hand are assumed to have money and so are more likely to be offered the services of a prostitute.

**Have you ever paid for sex?**

Out of 100 responses, 49/100 (49%) were currently using the services of prostitutes, 38/100 (38%) had never used them and 13/100 (13%) were not using these services anymore. Out of the 49 respondents currently using prostitutes, the majority were Khmer respondents 28/49 (57%) and 21/49 (43%) foreign respondents. Out of the 38 who never have used a prostitute, 20/38 (53%) were Khmer and 18/38 (47%) were foreigner. There were eleven foreign and two Khmer respondents who said they did not use prostitutes anymore.

For the following section, the participants were divided into two parts, one part being those who never had used the service of a prostitute and the other part being those who were either currently using or used these services before.



**Had never paid for sex**

Out of the 38 respondents who had never used the service of a prostitute before, 20/38 (53%) were Khmer and 18/38 (47%) were foreigner. Instead of stopping the interview with these men at this point, the interview was continued to understand why they have never used the service of a prostitute. We felt it was important to understand from these 38 men why they said they had never slept with a prostitute. So this question was open-ended and they were able to give the reasons in their own words. Some common responses for not using the service of a prostitute were made about Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs):

**Foreigner:**

“25% of people who go to Calamette Hospital test positive for STIs”

Many of Khmer mentioned that they were afraid of HIV/AIDS, which appears to show that they were aware of and had some understanding of it and for a few this was reason enough not to use the services of a prostitute. This shows that HIV/AIDS and STIs are a common deterrent for men to use the services of a prostitute. Another unique and interesting quote made by a Khmer respondent:

“I’m afraid of AIDS because my friend died of AIDS. I think about my children. I want to provide for them”

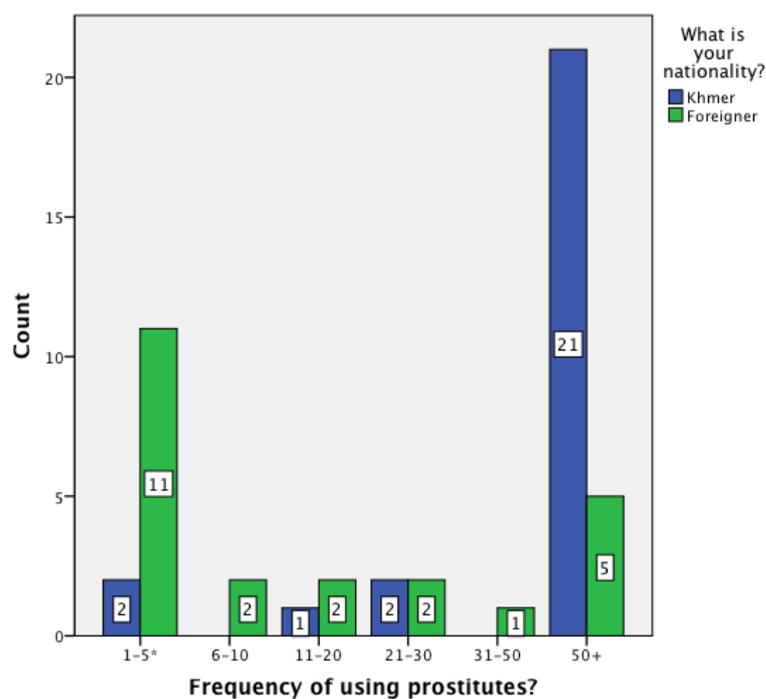
“I understand how my wife would be heartbroken if I went [to a prostitute].”

This response, made by a Khmer man, about the feeling of his wife shows how he understood the pain his wife would experience if he used the service of a prostitute.

### Have paid for sex

The following part is only about those respondents who were currently using the services of prostitutes and those who had in the past. Forty-nine respondents (28 Khmer and 21 foreign) were currently using prostitutes. Thirteen respondents (two Khmer and 11 foreign) had not used these services anymore but have used them in the past.

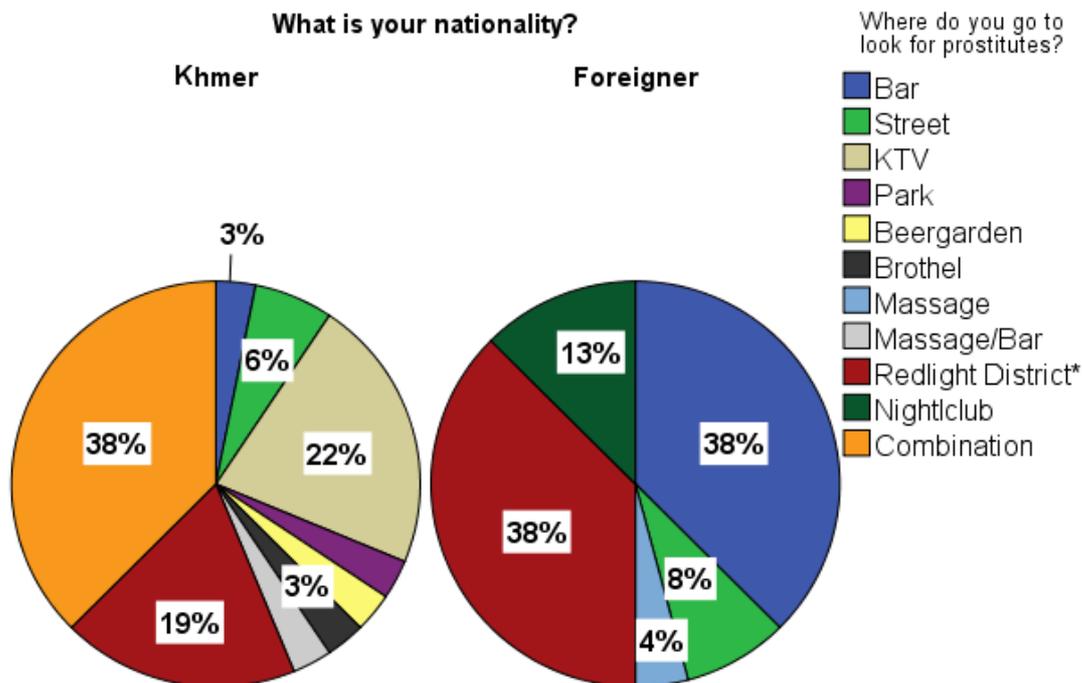
Out of 49 responses from both Khmer and foreign men, the majority, 26/49 (53%), had slept with fifty or more prostitutes in their lives. The second largest majority, 13/49 (27%), had slept with between one and five prostitutes. This category also included those who answered, "a few" which mean the men had paid for sex at least more than one time but it was not specific enough to include in any other category than between one and five.<sup>7</sup>



<sup>7</sup> Rather than an exact number, some respondents answered how many prostitutes they have had sex with on average per week, month or year. The total number was extrapolated using the age of first use [of the service of a prostitute], their current age and their frequency of use.

## Locations

Having an easy access to the sex industry in Phnom Penh, the participants were asked where they typically go for the services of a prostitute. This was an open ended question in order to gather more specific information.<sup>8</sup>



As expected, out of 24 foreign respondents the majority of 9/24 (38%) met with prostitutes in bars and 9/24 (38%) in red-light districts. The 38% who answered red-light districts specifically mentioned the number of the streets or location.<sup>9</sup> Another 3/24 (13%) of the foreign respondents answered that they had met with prostitutes in specifically named nightclubs. Thirty eight percent of the Khmer respondents did not mention a specific location but suggested several possible venues. The second largest majority of Khmer 7/30 (22%) answered that they went

<sup>8</sup> Definition of the categories: Bar: bars and restaurants such as those along the riverside; Street: at streets or along the riverside; KTV: Karaoke-bars where girls mostly sit at the entrance to be chosen; Park: a public park; Beergarden: typically a Khmer beer garden; Brothel: hidden brothels mostly established as Cambodian cafés; Massage: a massage parlour; Massage/Bar: a combination; Red-light district: special areas which are known to be red-light districts; Nightclub: establishments with dance floors; Combination: mixture of three or more of the above non-combined categories.

<sup>9</sup> We chose not to list specific street numbers or names of venues in the report.

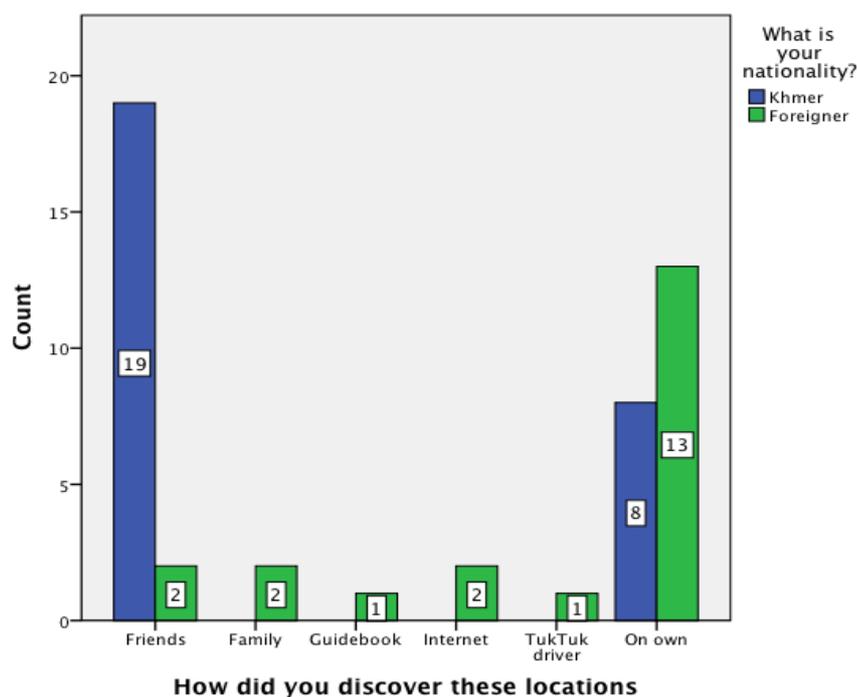
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to KTV places to meet a prostitute. This graph shows that the location to find a prostitute for both foreign and Khmer is typically at an establishment. Meeting prostitutes on the street was uncommon for both of the interviewed populations, 2/24 (8%) for foreigner and 2/30 (6%) for Khmer. Four percent of the foreigners specifically answered that they went to massage parlors for the service of a prostitute.

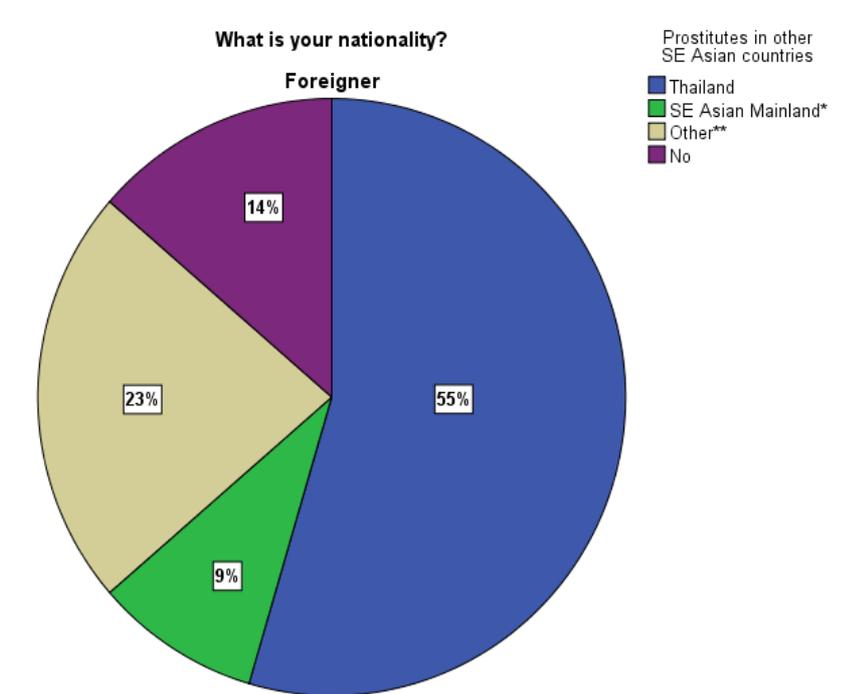
### Finding the location of prostitution services

The participants were asked how they discovered these previously mentioned locations for finding prostitutes. The respondents chose from one of the following possible answers: friends, family, guidebook, internet, tuk-tuk drivers, on my own, or no response. Out of 48 respondents, the majority of the Khmer respondents 19/27 (70%), discovered these locations from friends. The majority of the foreign respondents, 13/21 (62%) discovered these locations on their own.



### Have you paid for sex in other South - East Asian countries?

This question was directed solely at the foreign respondents who either were using or had used prostitutes in the past, to get more information if they had used prostitutes in other South East (SE) Asian countries as well. If they had done so, they were asked in what countries specifically.



More than half of the respondents, who answered this question, 12/22 (55%), said they had used a prostitute specifically in Thailand. The second largest majority was combined into the 'other' category, which included: the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, and as couple of our responses suggested:

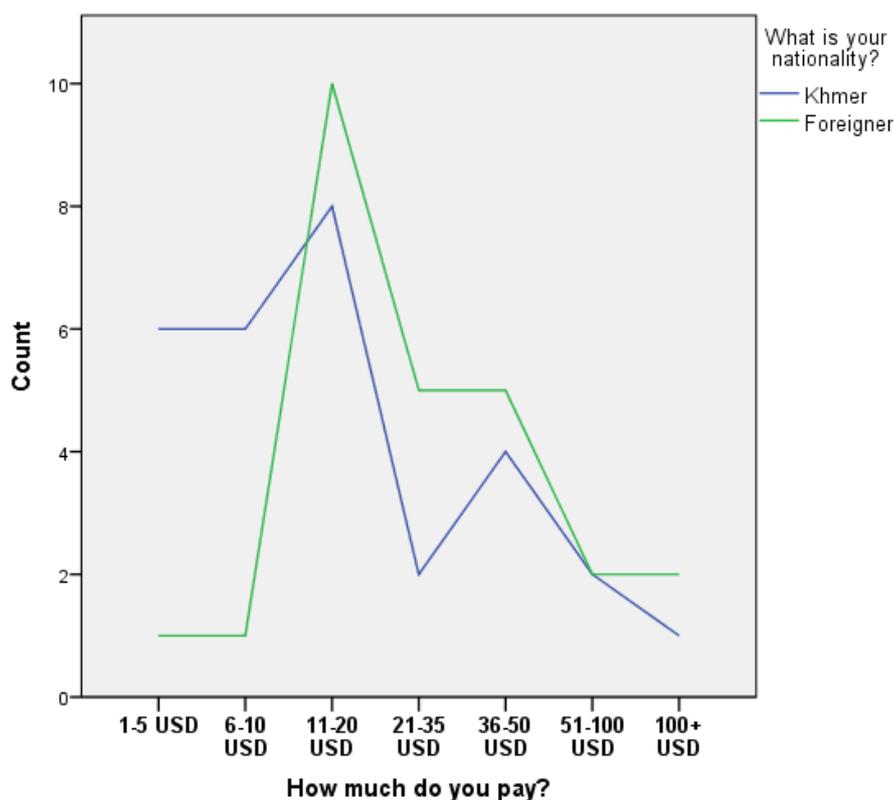
“every single country I visited“

This category included 5/22 (23%) of the respondents. Fourteen percent answered that they had only used the services of a prostitute in Cambodia, whereas 2/22 (9%) answered a combination of countries included in the category South East Asia

Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Female Prostitutes in Phnom Penh, Cambodia Mainland (Thailand, Vietnam and Laos). So, out of the 22 respondents to this question, more than half 12/22 (55%) had also slept with a prostitute in Thailand, which is well known as a location for sex tourism.

### Cost

We wanted to determine how much the participants paid for the service of a prostitute. This question was answered by 55/62 respondents:



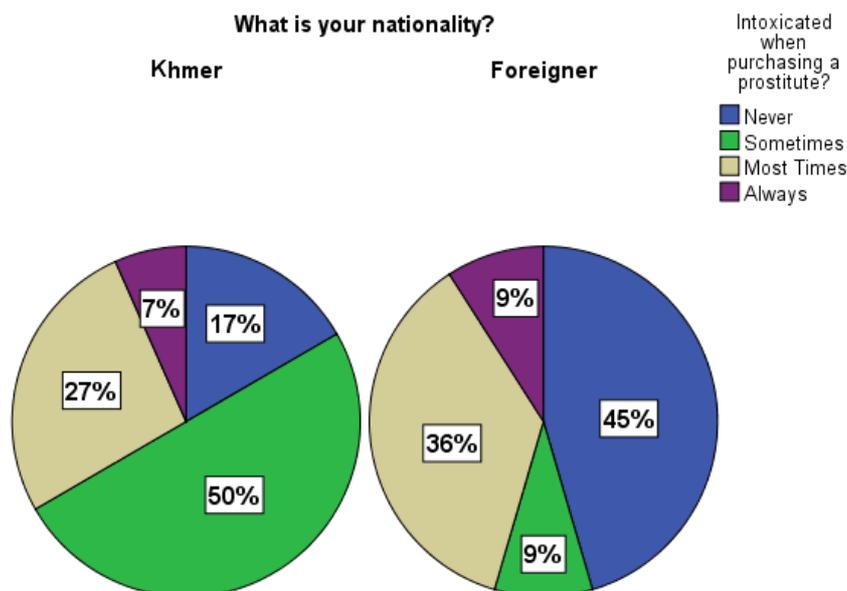
The bell curve in green shows that foreign respondents tended to pay more than their Khmer counterparts. One of the foreign respondents paid 1-5 USD for sex while six of the Khmer respondents paid the same price. The majority of both populations paid 11-20 USD. Two foreign and one Khmer respondent paid 100+ USD. However, it also shows that within both Khmer and foreign populations there was a wide range of cost from 1-5 USD to more than 100 USD.

### Price Considerations

The respondents were asked if they had any considerations regarding the price they pay. This was an open-ended question. Out of 20 respondents, 15/20 (75%) Khmer answered that the amount they were willing to pay depended with almost equal percentage on age, location, ethnicity, length of encounter, various sexual techniques, and the beauty of the prostitute herself. Out of 20 foreign respondents, 5/20 (25%) said the amount they were willing to pay depended on age, location, length of encounter, and sexual activity. This may indicate challenges for some prostitutes to find customers, because of the demands required and high rate of competition in the area.

### Intoxication Level

Risky sexual behavior increases with alcohol consumption (“Alcohol Use and Sexual Risk Behavior”, World Health Organization, 2005). To better understand their self-control men were asked about their use of alcohol while seeking the services of a prostitute. The 52 respondents who answered this question were able to choose one of the following categories: never, sometimes, most times, and always.



The lowest percentage 4/52 (8%) answered they were always drunk while purchasing the services of a prostitute. The three remaining categories had similar

frequencies: most times 16/52 (31%), sometimes 17/52 (33%), and never 15/52 (29%). In order to see if there are differences between the Khmer and foreign population these 52 respondents were divided by nationality.

There appears to be a link between alcohol use and the use of prostitutes, but this study is unable to say conclusively whether alcohol and prostitution use are directly correlated. However, on observation, among both the Khmer and foreigners interviewed, alcohol was largely a precursor to the use of prostitutes. Thirty-nine percent out of all 52 respondents were drunk either most of the time or always while seeking prostitutes. Furthermore, the respondents were asked why they feel the need for alcohol use before purchasing the services of a prostitute. A common Khmer explanation was:

“When I am drunk I don’t feel shy anymore, I feel more courageous...”

This could mean that for some of these men, they would not purchase the service of a prostitute if they were sober, but drinking alcohol gave them the confidence to make that purchase. For some, intoxication may be a prerequisite for purchasing a prostitute, but the majority, 62% of the 55 respondents were never or only sometimes drunk, meaning alcohol was not essential.

### **Do you prefer to seek prostitutes alone or in a group?**

The men were asked whether they prefer to seek prostitutes alone, with friends, or both. Out of 48 respondents, 34/48 (71%) preferred to seek prostitutes alone, 9/48 (19%) in a group, and 5/48 (10%) do both. The majority of the Khmer, 18/28 (64%) as well as the majority of the foreigners, 16/20 (80%) preferred to seek prostitutes alone. While only one foreign respondent preferred to seek in a group, eight Khmer respondents preferred to seek prostitutes in this way. Two Khmer and three foreign respondents answered a combination of the two.

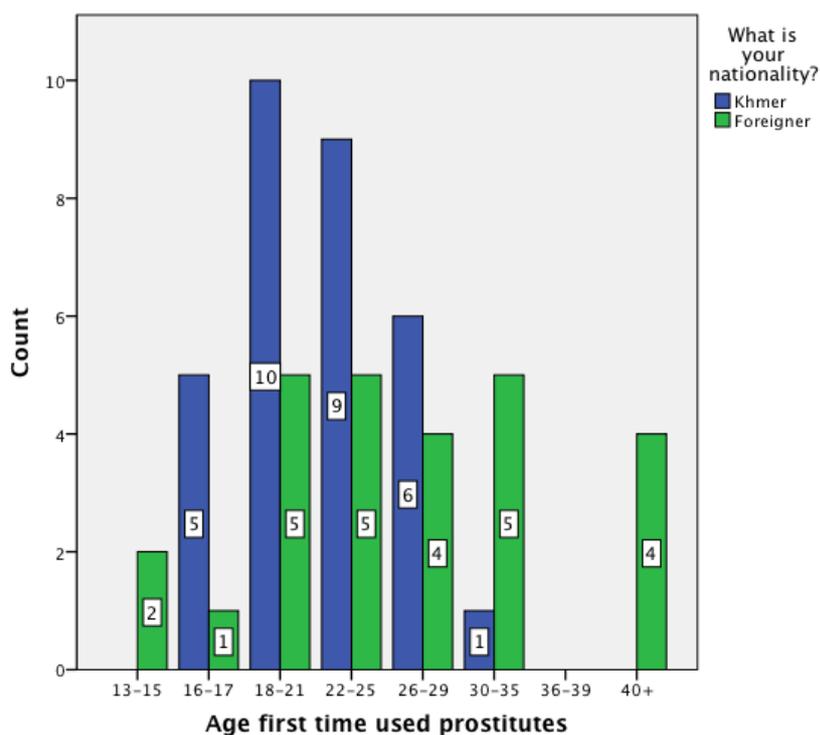
**Do you prefer to have sex alone with a prostitute or in groups?**

Out of 47 respondents to this question, 40/47 (85%) respondents preferred to have sex alone with a prostitute; 5/47 (11%) did not have a real preference whether they had sex alone with a prostitute or in groups, and 2/47 (4%) preferred to only have sex in groups. Out of 27 Khmer respondents, 23/27 (85%) preferred to have sex with a prostitute alone, 2/27 (7%) had sex in groups and alone, and 2/27 (7%) preferred to have sex in groups. The foreigner responses were similar; out of 20 respondents the majority, 17/20 (85%), preferred to have sex with a prostitute alone and 3/20 (15%) respondents had sex in groups and alone. None of the foreign respondents reported that they preferred to have sex in groups.

**First Use**

An important part of this research is the following questions detailing the first time these men used the services of a prostitute.

**How old were you when you first used a prostitute?**



Out of 57 respondents, the largest age group was 18-21 years old, with 15/57 (26%). The second largest age group was 22-25, with 14/57 (25%), and the third largest was 26-29, 10/57 (18%). The other categories fell between 4 to 11%. The graph shows differences between Khmer and foreign responses.

The Khmer responses had a clear bell curve starting from 16 up until 35 years of age with the majority in the age group 18-21. In comparison, the foreign responses were distributed fairly evenly among every age group. Out of the 31 Khmer responses, everybody who had used prostitutes had used the services for the first time before the age of 36. Two foreign respondents had sex with a prostitute by the age of 13-15 years. A quote from a foreign respondent who first used the service of a prostitute at the age 40+ :

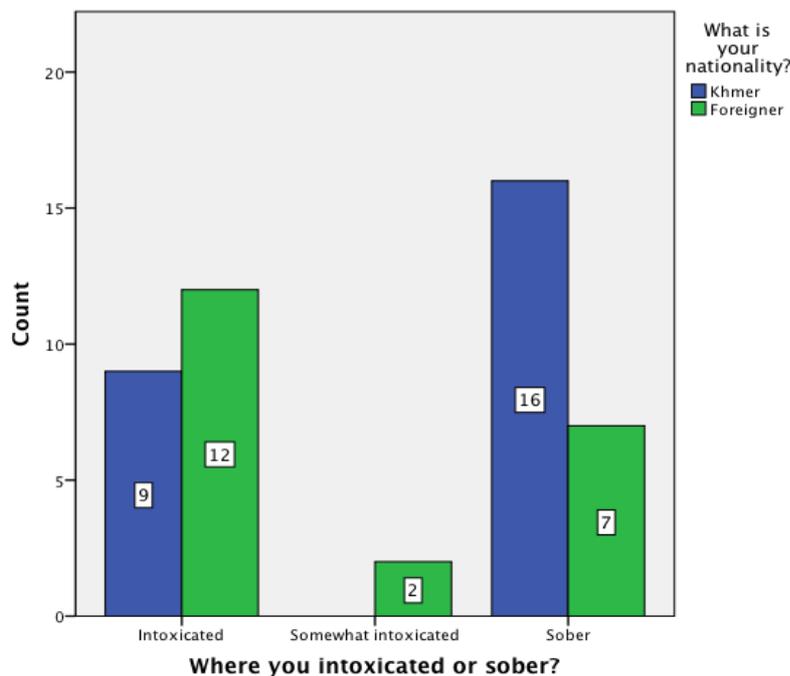
“When I was young I never thought about sleeping with a prostitute, but now that I am old I think differently about it...”

### **Who were you with when you first had sex with a prostitute?**

Out of the 58 respondents, the majority, 35/58 (60%), answered that they were with friends; 20 were Khmer and 15 were foreigners. The second largest majority, 21/58 (36%), answered they were alone; ten were Khmer and 11 were foreigners. Only one respondent answered that he was with family and one other was with a combination of friends and family. Both of these respondents were foreigners. It was common for both populations that their first experience in paying for sex was in the company of friends.

### Were You Intoxicated When First Using a Prostitute?

Out of 46 respondents, 23/46 (50%) answered that they were sober during their first time having sex with a prostitute, 2/46 (4%) answered somewhat intoxicated, and 21/46 (46%) of the respondents said they were intoxicated. Out of 25 Khmer respondents, 16/25 (64%) were sober the first time they had sex with a prostitute and only 9/25 (36%) were intoxicated. On the other hand, out of 21 foreign respondents, only 7/21 (33%) were sober, 2/21 (10%) were somewhat intoxicated, and 12/21 (57%) were intoxicated when they first had sex with a prostitute. The nationalities appear to show a significant difference from each other, however as the majority of respondents did not answer this question these results could be distorted.



### Were you pressured into having sex with a prostitute the first time?

Out of 47 respondents, 40/47 (83%) answered that they were not pressured into having sex with a prostitute. However, 8/47 (17%) said yes, they were pressured into having sex with a prostitute for the first time.<sup>10</sup> A quote about one type of 'pressure' these men experienced:

<sup>10</sup> Four of these respondents were Cambodian men and four were foreign men.

“The prostitutes are wearing sexy clothes and always asking for sex more and more, and then I had sex with her.”

This same type of ‘pressure’ was repeated by several of the other Khmer respondents. These quotes were included into the category, ‘no, not pressured’, because this question was asked specifically to learn about peer pressure by friends and family.

### **Did you have any reservations the first time you visited a prostitute?**

Out of 51 respondents the majority 28/51 (55%) answered yes, they did have reservations and 23/51 (45%) said they had no reservations. The findings from the two populations were similar. Out of 29 Khmer respondents, 16/29 (55%) said they did have reservations and 12/22 (55%) foreign respondents also answered that yes, they did have reservations the first time they paid for a prostitute. The most common response from both populations was that they were, “very nervous”. Interestingly, the reasons for being nervous were different between Khmer and foreign respondents. The most common reason for being nervous given by foreign respondents is represented in the following quote:

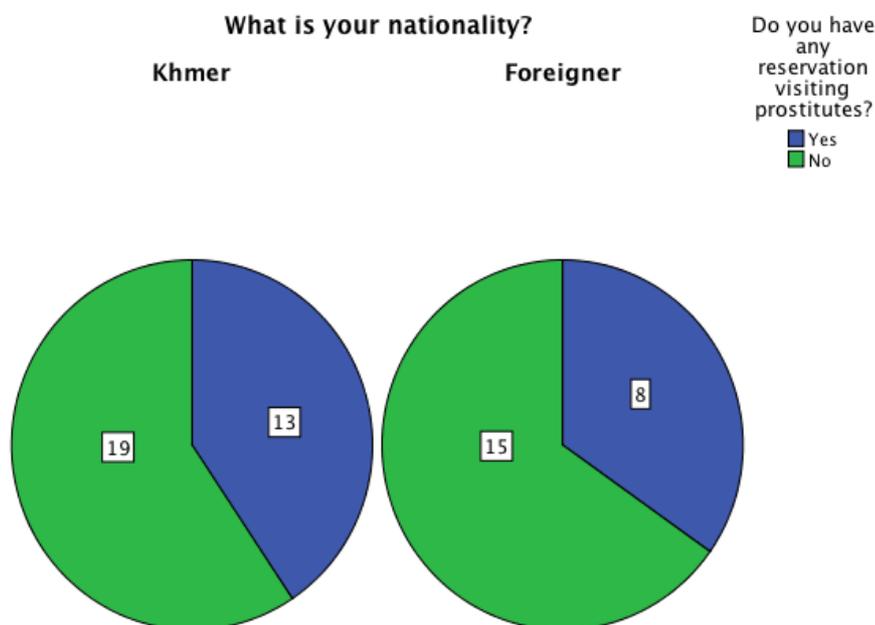
“I know about the issue of diseases and STIs and sleeping with a prostitute is a higher risk to get infected.”

The foreign men were mainly nervous about getting STIs from the prostitute which, shows that there is a high level of awareness about STIs. Whereas the main reason for Khmer responses for being nervous was illustrated in the following:

“I was nervous because I didn’t know if I had the ability to have sex, and prostitutes are very good in doing sex”

This shows how some Khmer men feel intimidated by prostitutes level of sexual experience and feel insecure in comparison.

### Do you currently have any reservations about using prostitutes?



Another interesting point is to see if there was a change of reservations since the first time of having sex with a prostitute. The participants were asked if they have any reservations while currently seeing prostitutes. Out of 55 respondents, 21/55 (38%) had reservations when purchasing the service of a prostitute, 34/55 (62%) respondents did not have any reservations about purchasing the service of a prostitute. Twenty-eight respondents answered they had reservations about their first time sleeping with a prostitute. Out of these 28 respondents which had reservations their first time, 15/28 (54%) respondents did not have reservations anymore; nine were Khmer and six were foreigner.

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

Out of 53 respondents, 35/53 (66%) answered that there was a change of attitude towards prostitutes and 18/53 (34%) respondents answered that there was no change in their attitude. Out of 22 foreign respondents, 12/22 (55%) said that there was a change and 10/22 (45%) said that there was no change. Those who answered that there was a change in their attitude towards prostitutes and prostitution were

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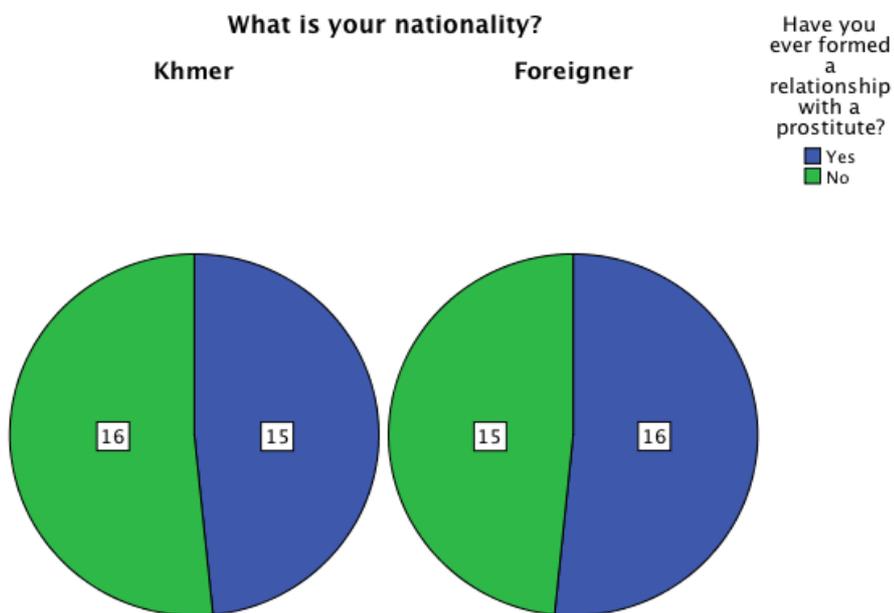
asked if they could expand on their answer. The most common explanation for the change within the foreign respondents is represented in the quote below:

“I am much more comfortable [purchasing the services of a prostitute] now than during my first time.”

Out of 31 Khmer respondents, 23/31 (74%) answered that they had a change of attitude towards prostitution. A common quote for change in attitude was:

“I want to have more and more sex with prostitutes.”

**Have you ever formed a relationship with a prostitute?**



Out of 31 foreign respondents 16/31 (52%) answered that they had formed a relationship with a prostitute. Some foreign respondents answered that their relationship lasted for a couple of weeks and was like having an escort for traveling,

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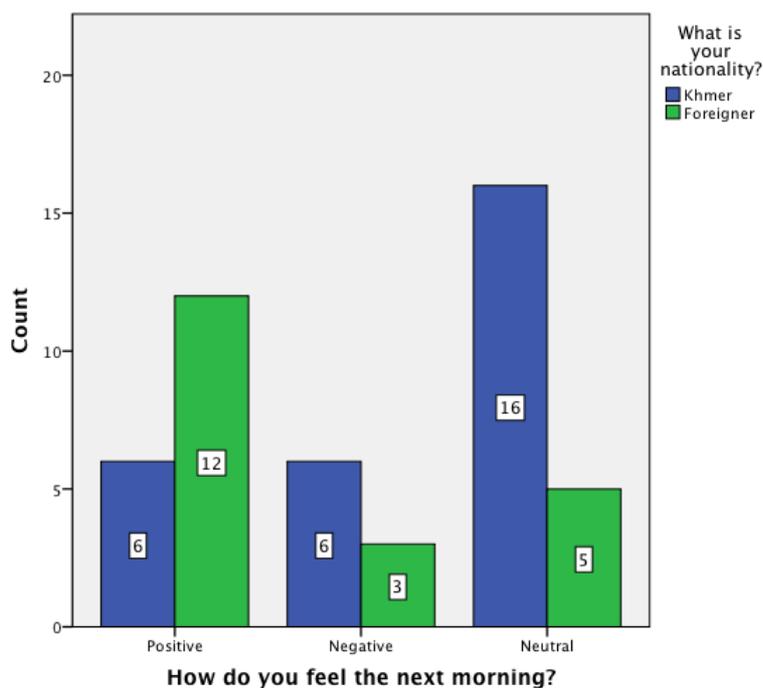
while for others it was a more 'long term' relationship, for example one foreigner stated:

"I had a girlfriend for two years. She was 'kind-of' a prostitute because she didn't choose everybody."

Out of 31 Khmer respondents 14/31 (48%) answered that they had formed a relationship with a prostitute. The majority of the Khmer respondents gave answers similar to the following quote:

"I have her number and call her always when I want to have sex"

### Feelings after having sex with a prostitute



As shown in the graph, 6/28 (21%) of the Khmer respondents and 12/20 (60%) of the foreign participants answered that they feel positive after having sex with a prostitute. The largest percentage of the Khmer, 16/28 (57%), feel neutral, or the most common answer, "tohmahda" meaning 'usual' or 'normal'. The foreign

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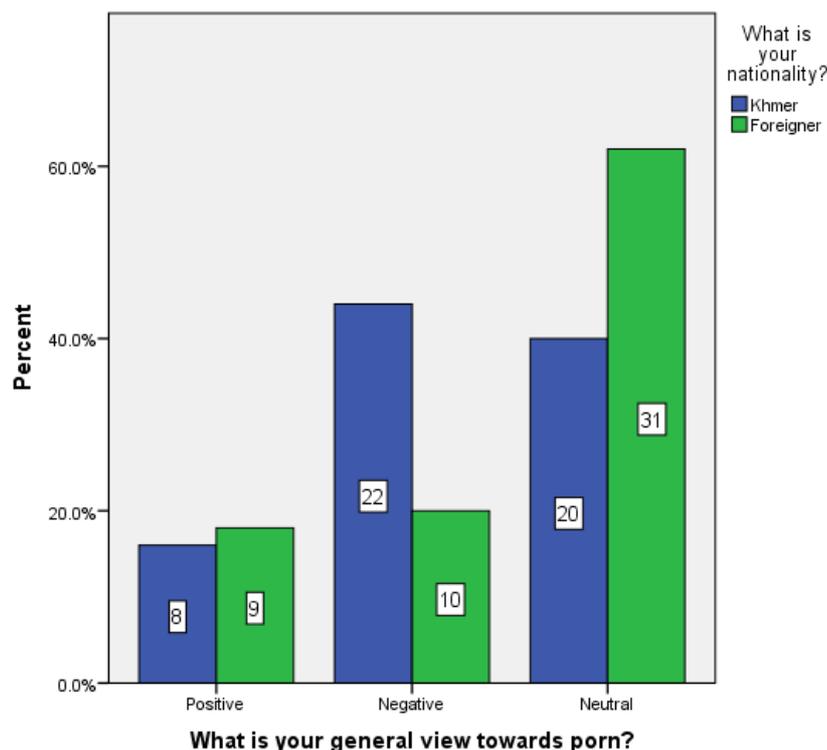
respondents answered neutral at a smaller rate than the Khmer, 5/20 (25%). Three of the 20 foreign respondents (15%) answered that they feel negative after having sex with a prostitute and so did 6/28 (21%) of the Khmer participants.

## Pornography

### Do you view pornography?

When asking respondents, it was found that more Cambodians 42/50 (84%) admitted to viewing pornography compared to 29/49 (59%) of foreigners. Of the 84% of Cambodians who viewed pornography, 24/50 (48%) paid for sex, 16/50 (32%) had not paid for sex, and 2/50 (4%) had stopped paying for sex. Of the 59% of foreigners who viewed pornography, 12/49 (24.5%) paid for sex, 12/49 (24.5%) had not paid for sex, and 5/49 (10.2%) had stopped paying for sex. These figures show that a range of those who paid for sex and had not paid for sex, also viewed pornography. With the Cambodians, a higher percent who viewed pornography also had sex with prostitutes (48%).

### What is your general view towards pornography?

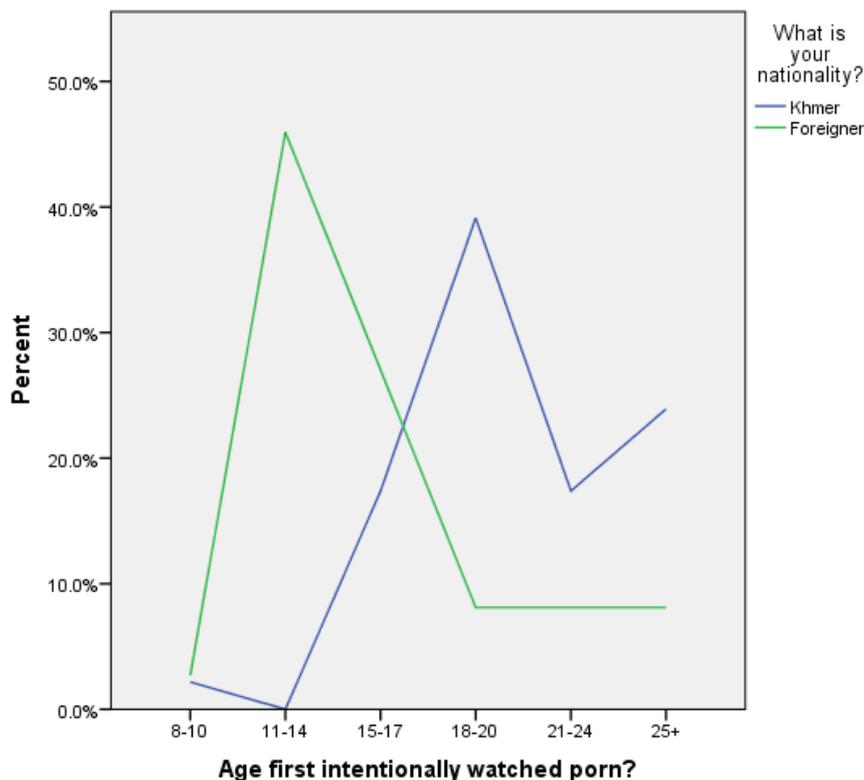


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Of the Cambodian men who were interviewed, 8/50 (16%) answered that pornography is positive, 22/50 (44%) said negative, and 20/50 (40%) said neutral. Among the foreign men, 9/50 (18%) said positive, 10/50 (20%) said negative and 31/50 (62%) said neutral. From this data it can be seen that more Cambodian men viewed pornography in a negative light compared with foreigners. It is interesting to see that 42/50 (84%) of Cambodians viewed porn, yet only 8/50 (16%) saw it as positive. This can be shown in the table below. Out of Cambodians who viewed pornography, 8/42 (19%) said positive, 16/42 (38%) said negative, and 18/42 (43%) said neutral.

				What is your general view towards porn?		
				Positive	Negative	Neutral
				Row N %	Row N %	Row N %
What is your nationality?	Khmer	Do you view porn?	Yes	19.0%	38.1%	42.9%
	Foreigner		Yes	24.1%	6.9%	69.0%

### What was the age you first intentionally watched porn?

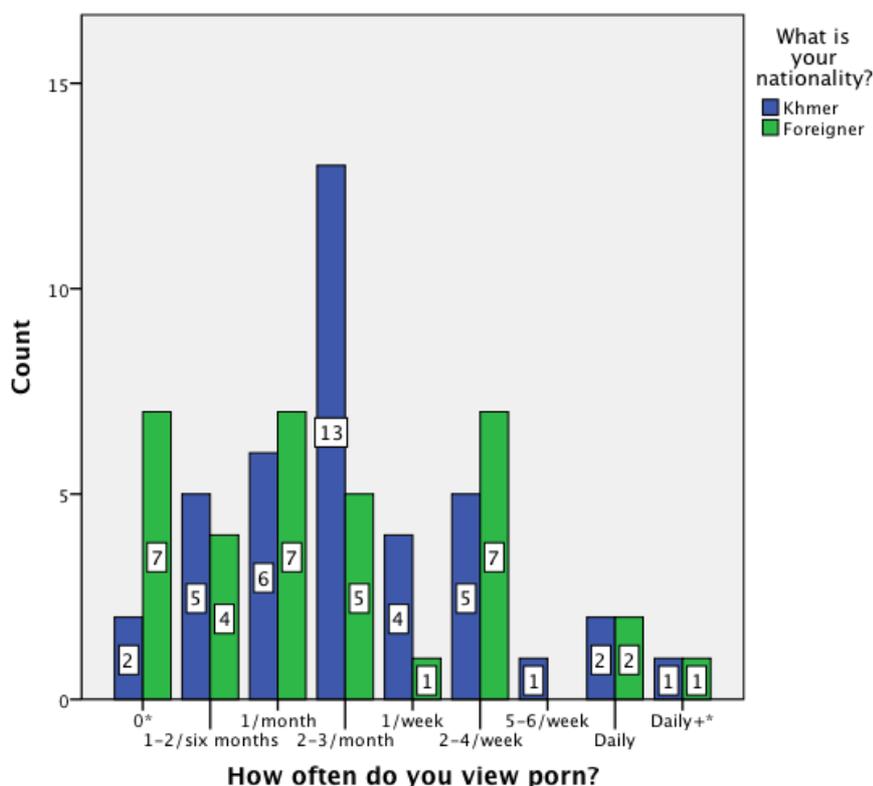


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We can see from this graph, the highest percentage of foreign men 17/37 (46%), first watched pornography between the ages of 11 and 14. For the Cambodian men, the highest percentage 18/46 (39%) first viewed pornography between the ages of 18 and 20. This illustrates how Cambodian men generally started watching porn later than the foreigners. A couple of Khmer men mentioned that pornography is bad for those who are younger. It can also be seen that the most common reason for pornography being a negative for Cambodians was concern about youth.

### How often do you view porn?

From the graph below we can see for Khmer, only 2/39 (5.1%) said they never watch pornography compared to 7/34 (21%) of foreigners. For once or twice every six months 5/39, (12.8%) of Khmer said this compared to 4/34 (11.8%) of foreigners. 19/39, (48.7%) of Khmer said they view pornography 1-3 times a month compared to 12/34, (35.3%) of foreigners. For one to four times a week 9/39, (23%) of Khmer said this compared to 8/34, (23.5 %) of foreigners. Only one person said 5/6 times a week and that person was Khmer.



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For daily and multiple times daily, 3/39 (7.7%) Khmer said this and 3/34 foreigners said this (8.9%). The highest percentage of Cambodians 13/39 (26%), admitted to viewing pornography two to three times a month. For the foreigners the highest percentage, 7/34, (21%) said they had never watched it, another 7/34, (21%) watched it once a month, and another 7/34 (21%) said two to four times a week. This illustrates how the results were quite scattered especially for foreigners.

### What genre(s) of pornography do you prefer to watch?

Another question asked, was about the type of pornography that both Khmer and foreign men watch. They were asked to respond to a range of different types of pornography, starting with more 'conventional' genres developing into more 'violent' and 'deviant' genres.

<b>Porn Preferences</b>	<b>Foreigner</b>	<b>Khmer</b>
<b>Vaginal Sex</b>	100%	100%
<b>Oral Sex</b>	89%	27%
<b>Anal Sex</b>	43%*	28%*
<b>Gay Sex</b>	0%	9%
<b>Lesbian Sex</b>	57%	20%
<b>Group Sex</b>	46%	24%
<b>BDSM</b>	20%	22%
<b>Virgin</b>	6%	48%
<b>Minors</b>	0%	20%
<b>Bestiality</b>	0%	22%
<b>Rape</b>	0%	24%

We wanted to see if there were differences in the preferences of pornography for foreigners and Cambodians. It is important to note that this is not just pornography that they have seen but rather, pornography that they prefer to watch. It is worth mentioning that two Cambodian respondents answered, “yes” to every option on the list.

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

Fifteen out of thirty, (50%) of foreigners who answered this question stated that the type of porn they watch had changed since the first time. More than half of Cambodians 20/39, (51.3%) stated that the type of porn they watch had changed since the first time.

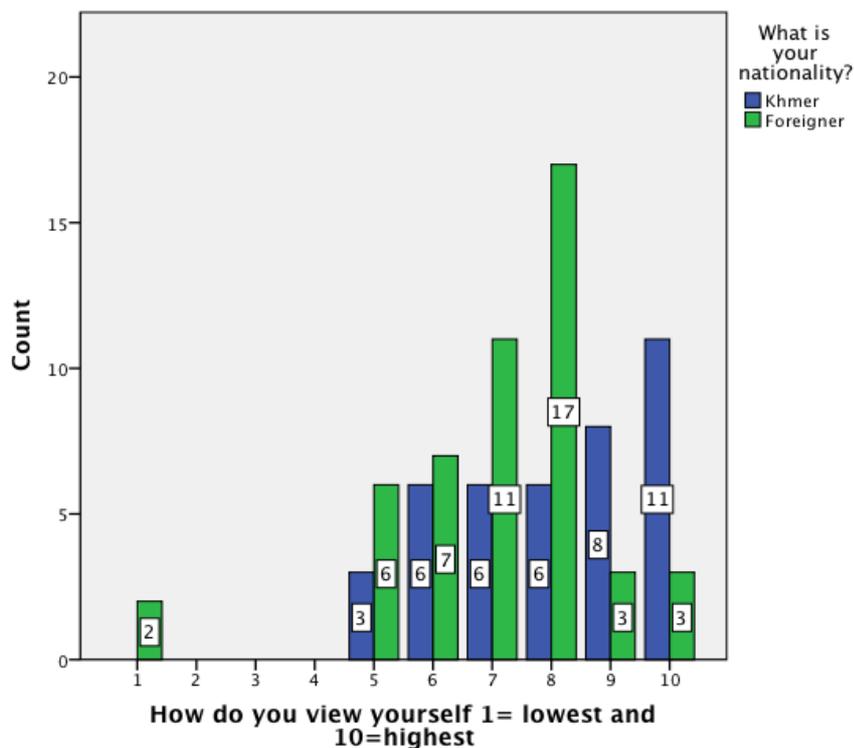
**Did pornography influence your prostitution habits?**

We asked this question to see if there was any correlation between viewing pornography and purchasing a prostitute. In our research, 18/34, (52.9%) of Cambodians stated that pornography had influenced their prostitution habits. Over a third of foreigners 9/26, (37.5%) stated that pornography had influenced their prostitution habits.

## Self-Worth

### How do you view yourself on a scale of 1-10?

Firstly, we asked the respondents to say how good they felt about themselves on a scale of one to ten to give an indication of how they valued themselves.



The graph shows that the highest percentage of Cambodians viewed themselves as 10/10 with 11/40, (27.5%) saying this. However for foreigners, the highest percentage 17/49, (34.7%) answered 8/10. We can see that 19/40, (47.5%) of Cambodians viewed themselves as 9 or 10/10 compared to only 6/49, (12.2%) of foreigners.

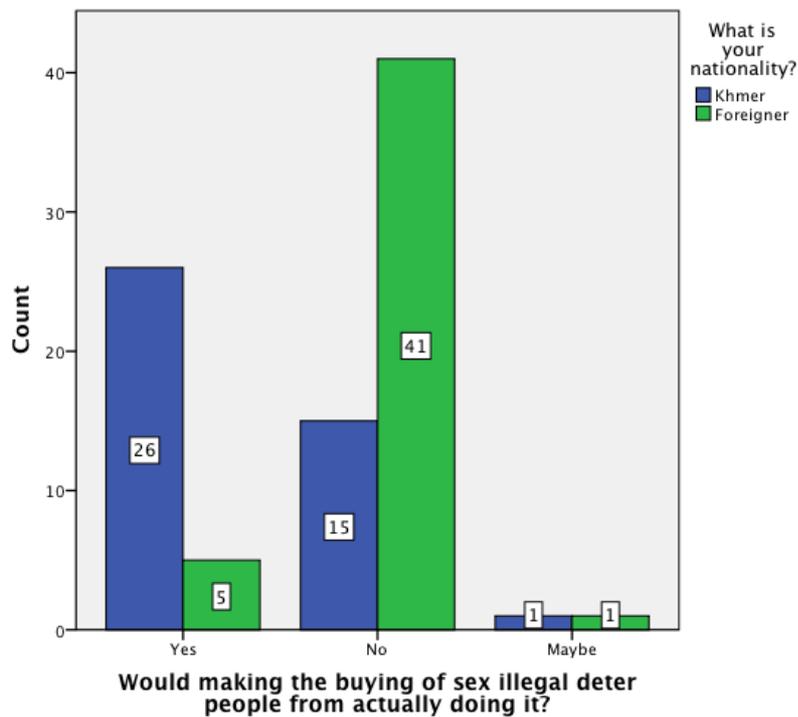
## Deterrents from purchasing sex

Respondents were asked whether or not they believed that making the purchasing of sex illegal was a good way to stop men from purchasing sex. Among the Cambodian respondents, 26/42 (62%) said it would prevent them from going to prostitutes. Out of those 26, 14 were still currently using prostitutes and two had in the past. Therefore, 16/42 (38%) of the Khmer participants who used or had used

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prostitutes believed that making the buying of sex illegal would stop them from going to prostitutes. This is in contrast with the foreign respondents. Only 5/47 (11%) reported that making the purchasing of sex illegal is a good way to stop people from going to prostitutes. Out of those five, two were currently using prostitutes and one had used prostitutes in the past.



## Analysis

### Introduction

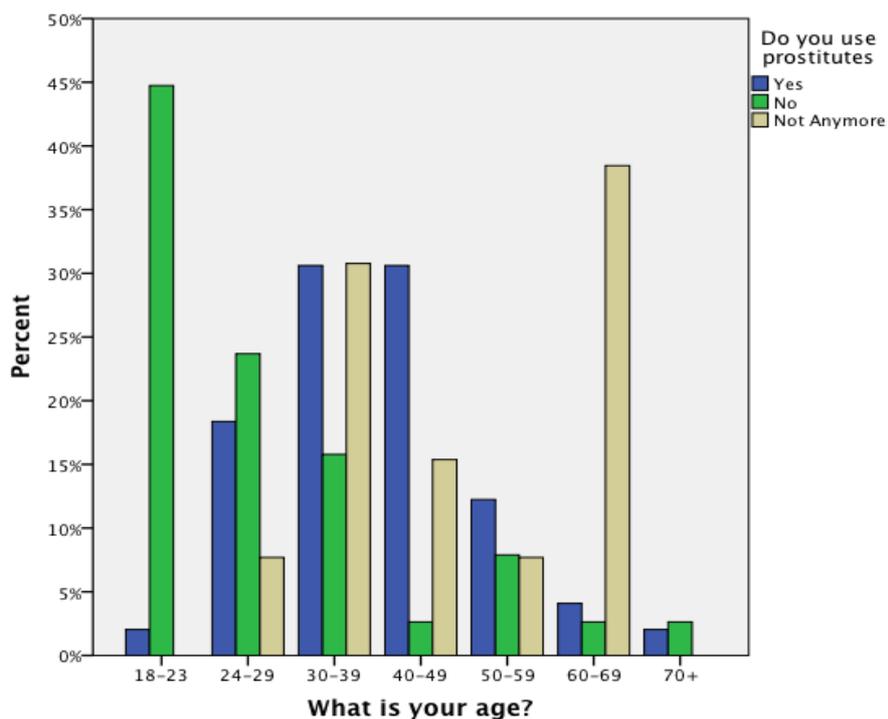
In this section we will discuss how different demographics, beyond just Khmer and foreigner, affect these men's prostitution use. We will also discuss a few scenario based questions that were asked and how our results shed light on how Khmer and foreign men approach and view prostitutes differently.

## Demographics

### Age

Our respondent's ages were fairly evenly spread out across the spectrum. When we take this information and cross-analyze it with our results on prostitution use, it shows that age is a major factor if a person uses a prostitute or not.

The graph is broken down into 'currently use prostitutes' in blue, 'never have used prostitutes' in green, and 'do not use anymore' prostitutes in tan. The percentages take everyone who gave their respective answer and places them into which age group they are in. As we can see, out of all the respondents who gave us an answer of, "no, I have never used a prostitute", 45% (17 respondents) of them were between the ages of 18 and 23. Only one of the respondents (who is Khmer) in this age group sleeps with prostitutes.



The percentage of the respondents who have never used a prostitute begins to taper off after the youngest age group, while the percentage of the 'currently use' and 'have used in the past' respondents begins to grow exponentially. The largest percentages of the respondents who answered positively to this question are between the ages of 30 and 49. Sixty-two percent of the respondents who currently use prostitutes fall in this age range along with 46% of the 'not anymore'

respondents. Comparing this to the 19% of the respondents who are of these ages and have never used a prostitute, there is a large difference.

The typical answers from youth (15-24 according to the UN definition of youth reference) as to why they had not had sex with a prostitute varied greatly between Khmer and foreign youth. Many of the Cambodian respondents who were in this age group had not lost their virginity yet. When the responses of those who were still virgins were excluded, a common theme emerged that having sex with prostitutes is time consuming and costs a lot of money. Some young Khmer respondents said they were nervous about having sex, especially sex with a prostitute, because a common understanding is that prostitutes are 'very good' at having sex. The high cost of prostitution was another reason that Khmer youth said they were not using the service of a prostitute.

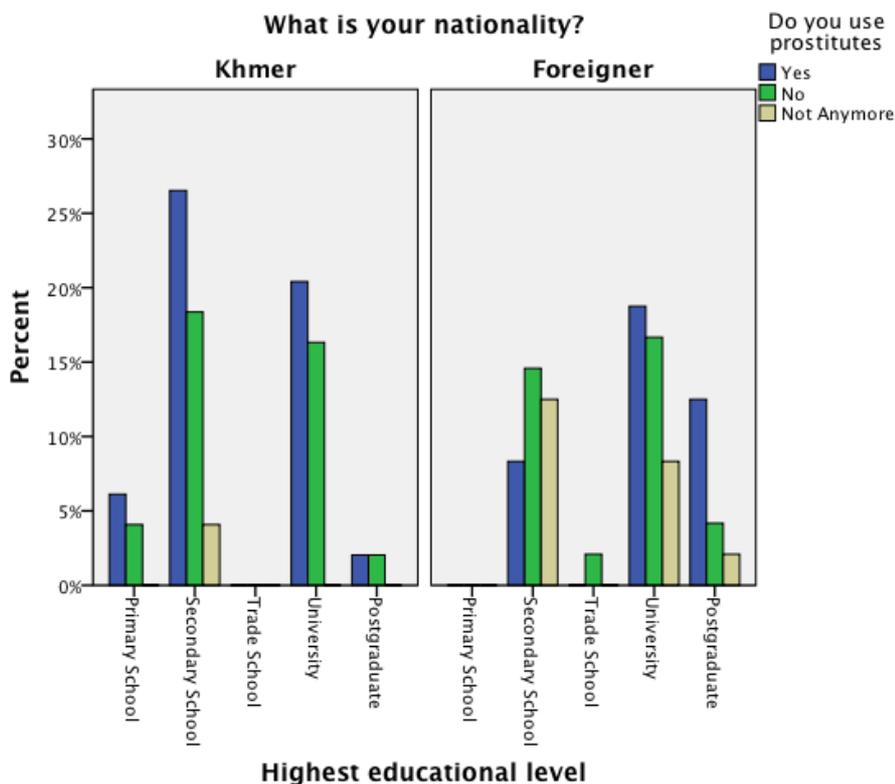
"I don't have the money. I don't know how to have sex, not comfortable, nervous about it."

Some foreign youth respondents would not pay for sex because they could get it "for free" with a girlfriend or female acquaintance. A possible reason could be that in Western countries, it is culturally more acceptable for women to have sex before marriage. Virginity in Cambodia is highly prized, so women who have sex outside of marriage are seen as highly promiscuous (Collins & Naren, 2004). There is a Cambodian proverb that says "Boys are like gold, girls are like white linen" referring to the tradition that women are like a piece of white linen which has less value once 'stained'. The reference of men being 'like gold' indicates that men are free to satisfy their sexual needs, but women are expected to remain a virgin until marriage (Phan & Patterson, 1994). We also got one uncommon response that sheds light on a possible change in paradigm for Cambodian youth:

“[I do not need to have sex with a prostitute] because it is more open today to have sex. I can find a girlfriend at school and have sex”.

**Education**

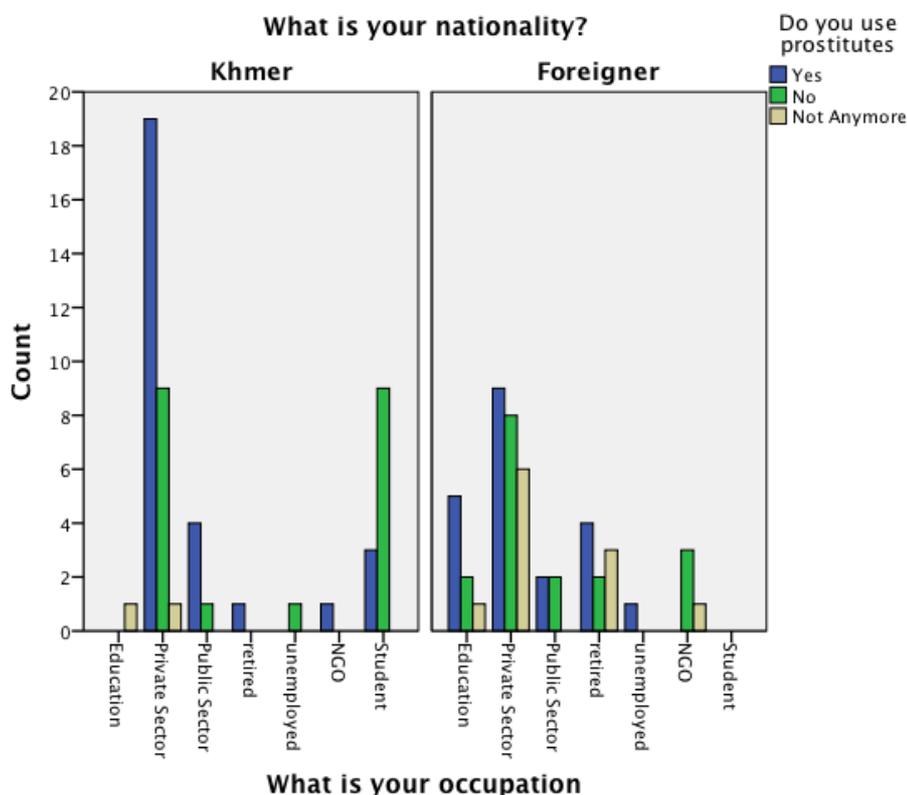
The Cambodian population we interviewed had less education than the foreigners we interviewed. The largest percentage (48%) of the Cambodians interviewed stopped their education sometime during secondary school or did not go onto further education after completing the grade 12, whereas 42% of the foreigners interviewed went onto study at University. This can be partly explained through the fact that foreigners who travel are likely to have more money because they are better educated. In addition, the majority of Khmer who we interviewed were lower-middle class mainly because the more educated and wealthy were less accessible.



The graph shows that the percentage of Cambodian men who sleep with prostitutes is either equal to or higher than those who do not, regardless of their education level. There appears to be a correlation between education level and prostitution use among the foreigners surveyed: higher educated men seem to be more likely to sleep with prostitutes than the rest, but this statement cannot be validated in this research due to the small number of foreigners who participated.

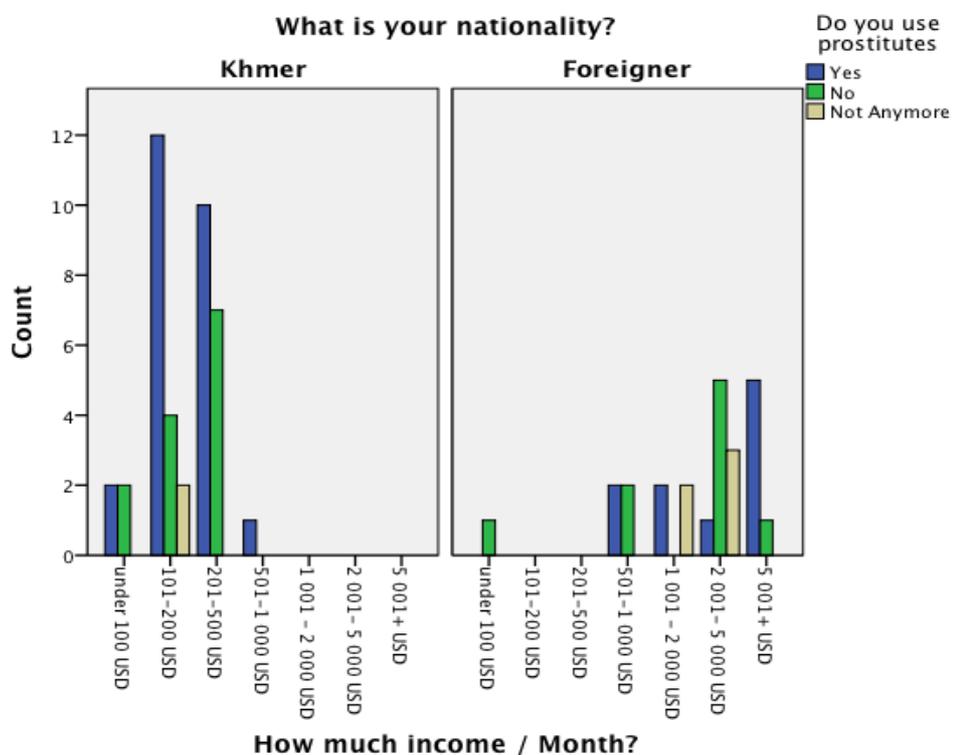
**Occupation and Income**

The majority of the respondents worked within the private sector: 58% of the Khmer and 47% of the foreigners. The highest responses from the Cambodians within the private sector were from tuk-tuk and moto-dup drivers. It is interesting to note that 24% of the Khmer respondents were students, but no foreigners interviewed were students. Rather, the second highest percentage of the foreigner occupations was retirement at 18%.



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This next graph depicts a cross-analysis between income of the respondents and their prostitution use. This graph shows a small correlation between income and prostitution use, but not a great one. The highest percentages of foreign men who use prostitutes have an income of greater than \$5,001 per month. This can be due to the fact that these foreign men have more expendable money they can spend on non-essential pleasures and services. The Cambodian men appear to show that prostitution use is prevalent at all levels of income. The four participants with the lowest amount of income are evenly divided between 'currently pay for sex' and 'never have purchased this service'.



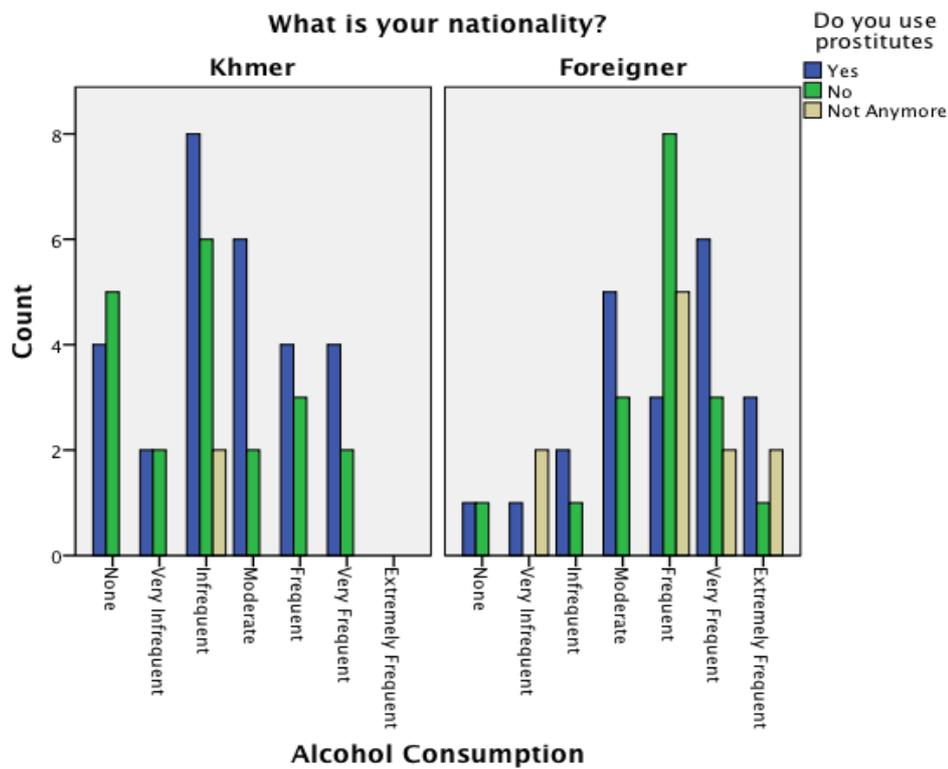
### Substance Use

The men were asked about their use of alcohol and recreational drugs. There was a higher level of alcohol drinkers than drug users. Forty-one Khmer men said that they drink alcohol, but four of those men responded that it was 'very infrequently'. Forty-eight foreign men said that they drank alcohol, with the largest majority

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saying that their consumption was frequent, and 11 saying that it was 'very frequent'.



Many of the foreign men said that their drinking habits on vacation were different than when they were back in their home country during a 'normal work week'. The amount varied from person to person, but one respondent went from five drinks a week while at home and working to 20 drinks a day while on vacation. Due to what has been previously recorded in the research, "Let's Go for a Walk" (Smith, 2007), many Khmer men enjoy paying for sex after a night of drinking with their friends. This same sentiment has also been found in our research:

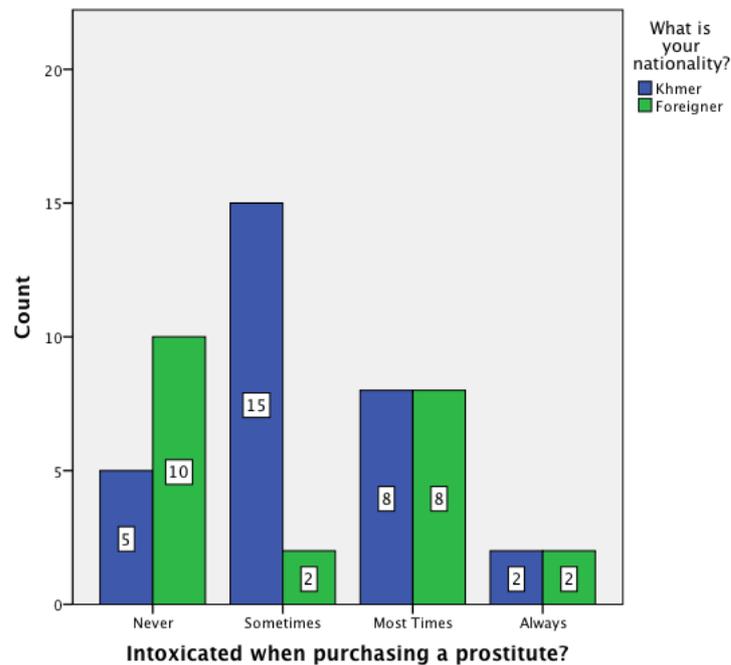
"Drinking alcohol gives me the feeling of wanting to have sex."

Though still prevalent, the previous graph appears to show that alcohol and paying for sex does not have as strong of a correlation as formerly understood. Out of the 28 Khmer respondents who currently pay for sex, the highest percentage of them, 8 respondents said that they drink alcohol infrequently. The graph below shows the frequency of intoxication for Khmer and foreigners while purchasing sex with a prostitute. As shown, the highest percentage of Khmer men answered that they are

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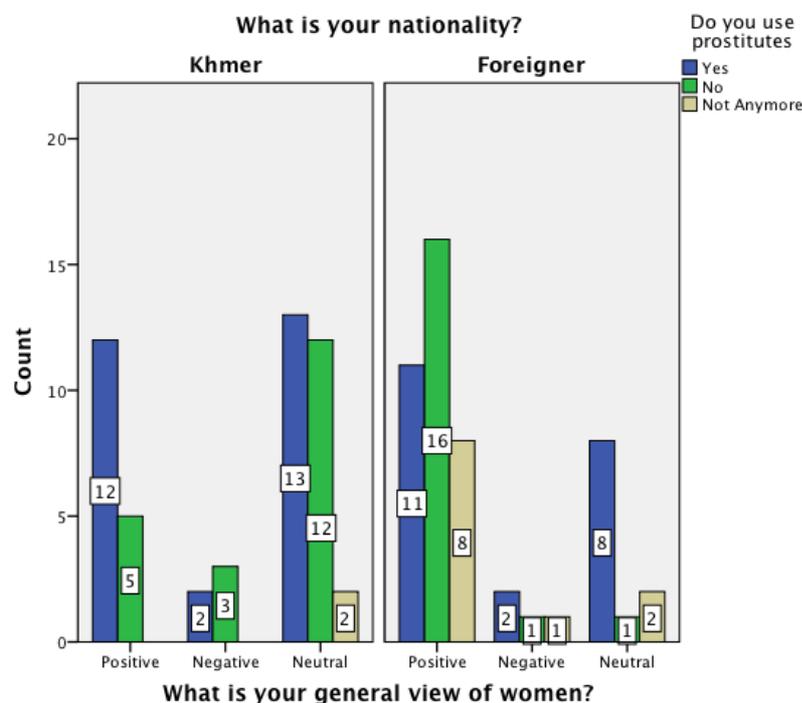
“sometimes” intoxicated when purchasing sex and the highest percentage of foreign men are “never” intoxicated.



The drug use was very low among the Khmer population interviewed with only two Cambodians responding that they used drugs other than tobacco. There was a significant rise in the number among foreign men, with 17 respondents saying they regularly use recreational drugs. When inquired which drugs that they use the vast majority responded that they mainly used marijuana, but there were several responses mentioning other drugs i.e. ecstasy, pain killers and methamphetamines. These other responses were uncommon for foreign men. When this data was analyzed, it appeared that there was no correlation between drug use and prostitution use. Among the foreign respondents, 16 men used prostitution services and did not take drugs, five men used both prostitutes and drugs, and ten respondents used drugs, but did not pay for sex with prostitutes. Both of the Khmer men who said that they use recreational drugs, also said that they paid for sex with prostitutes as well. However, the population interviewed is not a large enough number to make this a major finding within our research.

### General view of women and prostitution use

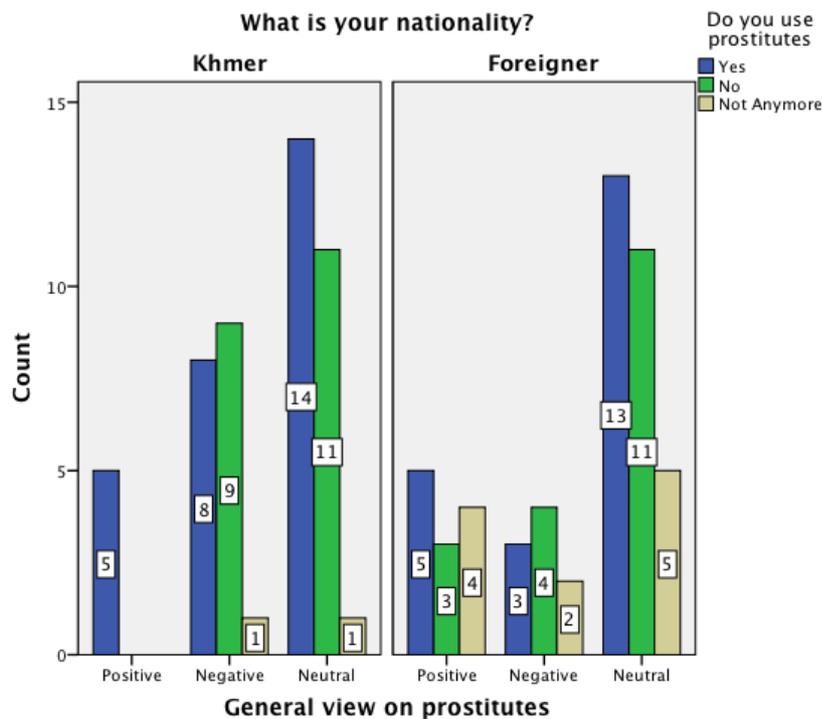
A common assumption is that men who have sex with prostitutes have a lower view of women, which gave rise to us exploring this stereotype. Close to 50% of the foreign men who were currently buying prostitutes had either a negative or neutral view of women. In contrast men who had never paid for sex or who didn't pay for sex anymore, rarely answered negative or neutral. Though these results appear to show some relevance of the aforementioned stereotype, it is recommended that further understanding of this relationship is researched.



As the graph above shows, the majority of the foreign men who answered “positive” when asked about their view on women, whereas a majority of the Khmer respondents answered “neutral”. The lack of a strong opinion on women by Khmer men can be seen as symptomatic of the cultural structures placed by traditional gender roles within Cambodian society. The rigidity of these structures appears to not allow for personal interpretation, but rather a collective understanding that being ‘Khmer’ means living within these norms. This leads us to believe that questions of this nature are therefore not expected to be answered by the individual, but provided by society (please refer to the gender role section within the literature review for more information, page 13). In contrast, Western society

has a culture of individuality, which allows for more divergent opinions to be formed through personal experience and not social norms.

### General view of prostitution and use

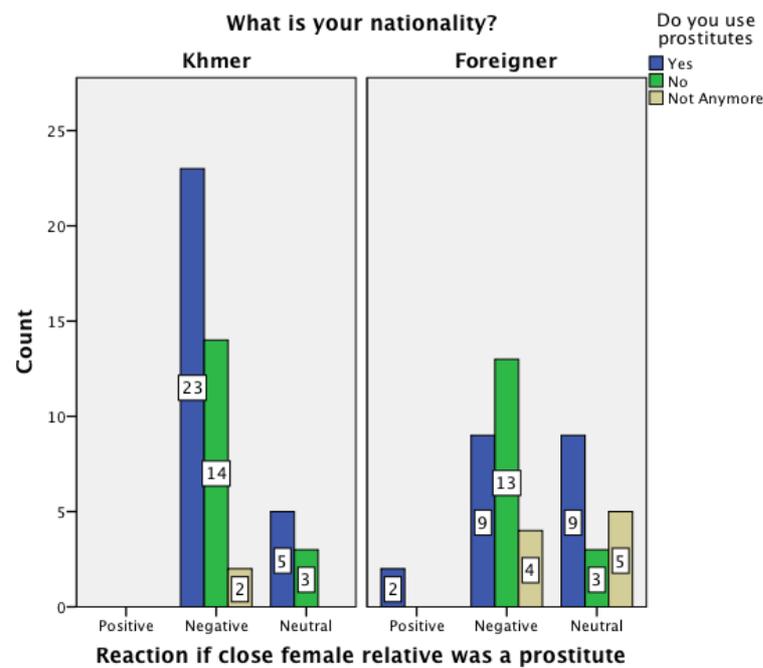


As shown in the graph above, the majority of the respondents had a neutral view of prostitution. They answered this question by saying that prostitution has its good qualities and its bad, balancing out their outlook on the issue. However, the reasons given by the Khmer respondents were of a different nature than those from the foreigners. While Khmer men focused more on intrinsic factors, the Western men were largely focused on extrinsic factors. This is discussed in further detail in the section entitled “Why do these men pay for sex with prostitutes?”

This graph offers insight into cultural views on prostitution. Among the Khmer respondents the only men with a positive view on prostitution were five who were currently paying for sex, appearing to show that there is a higher focus on the neutrality or negativity of prostitution among the Cambodian population. This raised the question as to why Khmer men, who answered as having a negative view on prostitution, actively perpetuated the industry. Common responses to the question as to “why” were that it’s a man’s right to have sex and that a man takes

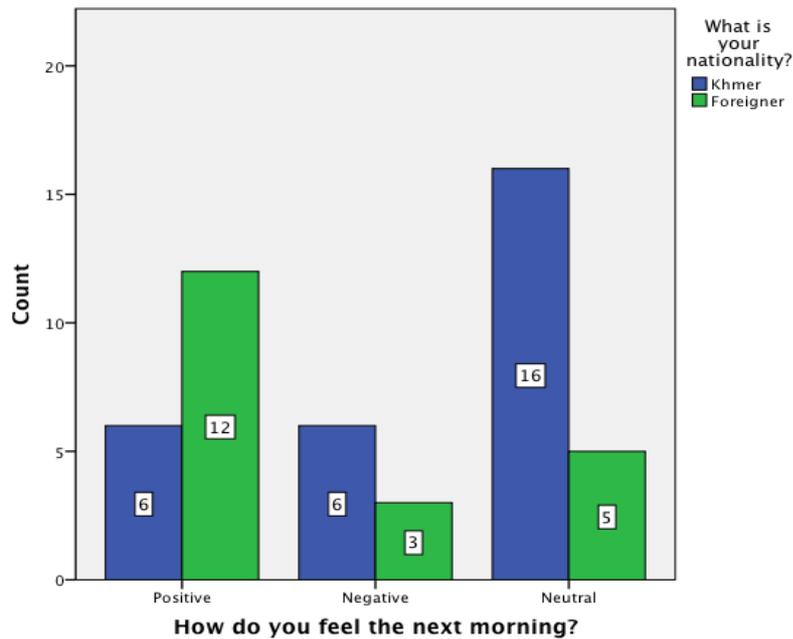
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 care of his sexual urges by sleeping with women as opposed to masturbation. In the cases where a man is either unmarried or his wife is unwilling to meet his needs, he seeks out a prostitute.

### Reaction to relative being prostitute



In comparing prostitution use with the reaction to finding out that a female relative was working as a prostitute, one can see that no Khmer participant would respond positively. In actuality, the largest count was Khmer men who were currently buying sex from prostitutes and would react negatively. This can be indicative of the stigma that prostitutes face in Cambodian society, due to their perceived deviation from the ideal character of a woman, as prescribed by traditional gender roles. These gender roles are seen as being a positive reinforcement of Cambodian society and therefore relevant to its structure. The few Khmer men who answered 'neutral' not only echoed the views on traditional gender roles, but also included similar reasons as the foreigner men. Their responses focused on being concerned while at the same time endeavoring to not judge or condone their relative's work.

### Feelings the next morning



In answering this question the most common response given by Khmer men was the Khmer word “thomada”, which translates to neutral or normal, indicating a sense of normalcy in paying for sexual release. This supports other research findings, such as “Let’s Go for a Walk” (Smith, 2007), which say seeking the services of a prostitute is often a part of a normal night out with a group of friends as a part of bonding as a group of friends. It is recommended that because paying for sex is ‘normal’ for Khmer men to do when hanging out with each other, there needs to be a focus and pressure from society and other authorities to provide alternative activities for these men.

The majority of the foreign men responded as feeling positive after having paid for sex, which could be based on the reason for seeking out a prostitute for pleasure or companionship instead of simply for sexual release. The negative responses by some Khmer and foreign men could be a sign of sexual addiction, indicated by repeating a practice, despite knowing it will result in negative feelings when they are done.

### **Why do these men pay for sex with prostitutes?**

As had been mentioned before, there were two large paradigms that separated the Khmer and foreigner participants and that was the reason why these men pay for sex with prostitutes. The Khmer respondents focused heavily on intrinsic factors, while the foreign respondents focused on the extrinsic. The most common response of Khmer respondents was that a release of sexual tension is 'needed' and 'normal' for men, justifying their need to have sex with a prostitute.

This can be a detrimental view of why to pay for sex. It is showing an objectification of the sex workers, a fundamental using of a service and nothing beyond that. One quote from a Khmer who had sex with prostitutes was:

"It's a release of sexual tension...after sleeping with a prostitute I don't feel that sexual desire anymore"

"I cannot buy love but I can buy sex!"

The respondent said that he was not able to pay money for having a relationship but he could pay money for having sex. It is interesting to note that nine of the Cambodian respondents found that prostitution is, "bad for the society". Out of these nine men, six of them currently pay for sexual services regularly. This appears to show that paying for sex is an industry and service deeply rooted into society and Cambodian men are willing to buy sex even though they believe it is harmful.

The most common response for foreign respondents was that through paying a prostitute; they support the family of the prostitute.

"It's is a win-win-situation for both, I have sex and so I help her [the prostitute's] family."

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This was a resounding response from the foreigners interviewed. When asked to give a pros/cons list of prostitution, foreigners gave reasons that prostitution in Cambodia is different than prostitution in the West, because Cambodian women have very little opportunity for good education. Also, there is no social security system in place in Cambodia, so these younger women have to find enough money to support a wide range of generations, from their grandparents down to their children, nieces, and nephews.

When asked how they view prostitution as a whole, negative views of prostitution were given by foreign men who said that prostitution, namely in SE Asia, is particularly violent because of weak or no laws for the protection of prostitutes and that many girls and women are forced into the sex industry. This reciprocated service ideology was reiterated by the foreign respondents and is one of the main justifications for paying for sex here in Cambodia among the expat community. Some of the men saw themselves as helping the women feel more secure and safe. This foreign respondent sought her services so that he could make sure that the woman had a safe place to sleep at night, as well as an income:

“I just give the prostitute a place to sleep”

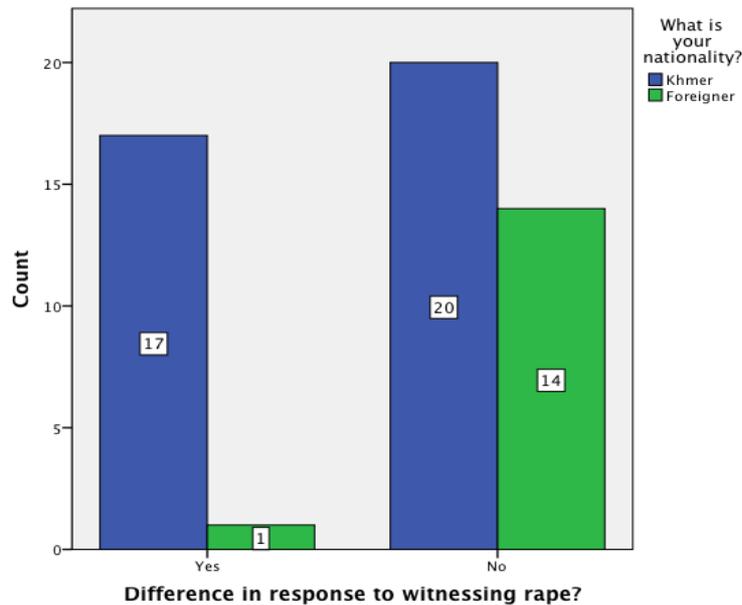
He seems to be suggesting that the prostitute would not have a place to sleep if she would not have a customer.

### **Reaction to Rape**

In the interview a more story-based question was asked:

*One night you are walking down a street and you pass an alley where there is a woman who you know is a prostitute being raped. Later, you are walking down the street and you see another woman who you know is not a prostitute being raped. Would your reaction be different, and if so, how?*

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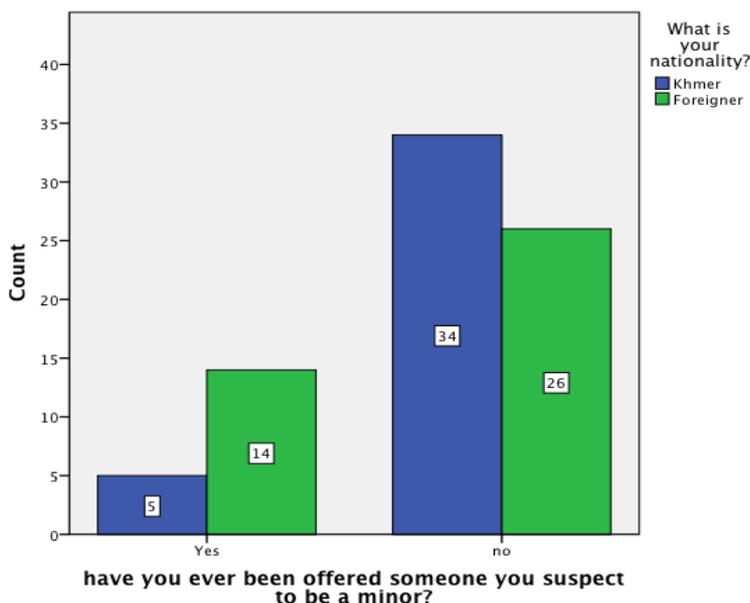
The graph shows the cultural differences between the Khmer and foreigner's views towards sex workers. Though this question was developed later in the interview process, resulting in a number of respondents not having been asked this question, a pattern can still be seen. There was only one foreigner who said that his reaction to seeing a prostitute and non-prostitute woman being raped would be different while, there was a resounding 'no difference' among the rest of the foreigners asked. There is a much smaller divide among the Cambodians who responded to this question. As shown, 17 of the Cambodian men said that their reaction would be different and the majority for the same reason:

"It's normal for a prostitute to be raped"

There appears to be some cultural understanding that prostitutes are less 'human' than a non-prostitute Cambodian person, and therefore deserve less respect in society.

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## Minors



With South East Asia being internationally reputed for having a sex industry where minors are sold and purchased, men were asked to answer several questions about the frequency and prevalence of minors being offered to them here in Phnom Penh. The data shows that the majority of the men who were offered minors for sex were foreigners. When the foreigners were asked where and by whom they were offered these children, the vast majority would reply:

“...from tuk-tuk drivers...” and,  
‘Haven’t you just taken a walk down[venue]?’

One foreigner told a story about how he was interested in a middle-aged waitress in Phnom Penh. The problem was, she did not want to date him at all, rather she was trying to get him to date and marry her 16 year-old daughter. This data might suggest that the sexual exploitation of minors is still present and a continuing problem within Cambodia.

## **Pornography**

### **Introduction**

It is estimated that every second “...\$3,075.64 is spent on pornography and 28,258 Internet users are viewing pornography”, with “... 68 million pornographic search engine requests... made every day” (Thompson, 2012, pp. 4-6). This illustrates the extent that pornography influences society today. Given these figures, it is interesting to see how pornography affects men’s sexual behavior. We wanted to see if with the men we interviewed there was a correlation between viewing pornography and buying sex.

### **Views on Pornography**

#### ***Why do you find pornography to be a negative?***

The highest percentage of Cambodian men 22/50 (44%) said that pornography was negative. Of this percentage 9/50 (18%) paid for sex and 13/50 (26%) had not. The most common responses were that it is bad for society, bad for young people, and leads to rape. A couple of people also answered that it’s too explicit.

Some typical responses included:

“It corrupts young minds and increases rape”

“It’s wrong for society. It [negatively] affects Cambodian women...”

Only 10/50 (20%) of foreign men said that pornography was negative. Of this percentage, 4/50 (8%) paid for sex, 2/50 (4%) had never, and 4/50 (8%) had stopped. The main reasons for saying negative had to do with the exploitation of women and questions about the violent nature of pornography. For example one respondent stated:

“On the surface it’s not morally wrong but if we find out more about labor and exploitation then it is different.”

Some also mentioned about pornography going too far and how it leads to obsessive behavior. Also that it is wrong when it involves children. An interesting quote was:

“... totally unacceptable, when it involves kids, when you start watching porn your own standards drop.”

In conclusion Cambodian and foreign men had different reasons for having a negative opinion on pornography. Foreign men focused more on the exploitation of women and the ‘dangers’ of more extreme pornography whereas Cambodian men emphasized the effect on young people and society. In Fordham’s report (May 2006), young Cambodian men were asked if a good man can watch pornography; 82.8% said no (Fordham, 2006, p. 73). They also asked whether pornography was ‘good’ or ‘bad’ for Cambodian society and 97.8% said ‘bad’. The reason given was that it “... is disgusting and causes young people to have sex.” (Fordham, 2006, p. 73) This illustrates the Cambodian moral view that pornography is ‘bad’ for society and youth.

#### ***Why do you find pornography to be neutral?***

As shown earlier, the majority 31/50 (62%) of foreign men had a neutral view on pornography. Of these, 14/50 (28%) paid for sex, 13/50 (26%) did not, and 4/50 (8%) had stopped paying for sex. The typical reason for foreigners saying ‘neutral’ was that it is “boring” or of “no interest” to them. An example of this is:

“If I can’t touch it, if I can’t feel it, it’s all bullshit to me.”

Another common reason cited by foreigners was that if pornography is consensual there is not a problem. Others answers included the right to watch porn in your own home. One interesting response was:

“If your goal is to meet a woman then [porn] is a detacher [because porn is stands in the way of relations], but porn is great when you’re single.”

This quote was interesting as it indicates that pornography stands in the way of healthy relationships.

Neutrality towards pornography was the second highest percentage 20/50 (40%) for Cambodian men. Of this 40%, 13/50 (26%) paid for the services of a prostitute, 5/50 (10%) had never, and 2/50 (4%) do not anymore. For Cambodian men, a common reason for saying ‘neutral’ was that pornography is a way of educating men about sex. As one man stated,

“It’s like a lesson and we learn from it. Then we know what to do when we do it.”

A few Cambodian respondents spoke about not being interested in pornography as it is only a video and not real. Others spoke about how it is normal. Several of the respondents spoke about age as an important factor when watching pornography. One man stated,

“... it’s not good for someone under 18, they can lose their concentration from their study.”

An interesting response from one Cambodian was seeing the link between pornography and prostitution use.

“... it can lead to finding prostitutes.”

When looking at why interviewees viewed pornography as neutral we can see the differences between Cambodian and foreign respondents. Some of these foreign respondents seemed bored or not interested in pornography and while several of the Cambodians also expressed this, the opinion was much more popular with the foreigners. Another major theme was the role of pornography as an educator for Cambodians, which did not appear to be the same with foreigners. This could suggest a lack of sex education in Cambodia. It can also be seen from these responses the foreigners appear to focus more on rights, for example speaking about consensual sex and the right of a man to watch what he wants in his own personal space. In contrast, work by Farley demonstrates that, even in the United States, a number of women are trafficked or exploited by the porn industry (Farley, 2007).

Farley argues in her book that some of the widespread coercion exercised, often by pimps, over women who are vulnerable is overlooked and that this extends to the pornographic industry (Farley, 2007). In addition, the website Pornography and Sex Trafficking uses testimonials from ex-porn actresses and other sources to conclude that “Fraud, deception, threat or use of force, coercion, and abuse of power or vulnerability frequently takes place during the filming of these performers” (“Performers are Sometimes”, n.d., para. 1). This would indicate that pornography may not be consensual but involve trafficking and exploitation of the vulnerable.

For Cambodian men age of access was important, but not mentioned by foreigners. The results within a 2013 report, “Does deviant porn use follow a Guttman-like progression?”<sup>11</sup> were interpreted to show that those who reported having started watching pornography at a younger age were more likely to watch deviant pornography, as compared to those who reported a later age of onset (Seigfried-Spellar & Rogers, 2013). This indicates why it may be a concern for younger people to watch pornography. Child Welfare Group (2005) also indicate a concern about

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<sup>11</sup> Guttman-like progression means a transition from watching non-deviant to deviant pornography. Deviant is defined as pornography involving animals or children.

access to pornography amongst children in 'A Preliminary Study into the Accessibility by Minors of Pornography in Cambodia', they state that 30% of children access pornography through public coffee shops.

***Why do you find pornography to be a positive?***

Slightly more foreigners were positive about pornography than Cambodians with 9/50 (18%) responding positively. Of these 18%, 3/50 (6%) had paid for sex, 3/50 (6%) had not, 3/50 (6%) no longer. Some foreign respondents saw pornography as not having ramifications. As some foreign respondents mentioned:

"There is no harm being done"

The main reason for foreigners seeing pornography as positive was that it is a way of releasing sexual tension without having sex with a person. One foreign respondent who paid for sex with prostitutes said:

"[Porn] means you don't have to inflict your desires upon a human being".

While one foreign respondent stated:

"Without porn there would be many rapes, so it's important."

Farley's research however supports an opposite viewpoint: "In Cambodia, pornography use can function as a precursor to abuse and sexual violence" (Farley, 2012, p. 10).

Of the Khmer men 8/50 (16%) spoke positively about pornography and of these, 6/50 (12%) used prostitutes and 2/50 (4%) did not. As with the 'neutral' answers

given earlier, a key reason for being 'positive' was that Cambodian men see pornography as an educator of sexual techniques. For example:

“[Porn is] Good for education.”

The other common Cambodian reason was that pornography is a way of releasing sexual tension, having fun and preparing for sexual encounters. For example:

“Helps me feel calm, helps me to process my feelings and get me ready for sex.”

The main difference between these two populations appears to be that foreigners see pornography as a way of releasing tension without going to a prostitute. In contrast, Cambodians focus more on pornography again being an educator. Both acknowledged that pornography is a way of releasing tension and in both cases there were individuals who stated it was fun.

This element of pornography as an educator could indicate a lack of sex education in Cambodia. As mentioned in the literature review, the Ministry of Education, state that only one in three schools in Cambodia teach about sex education (Baron, 2013). Because of this lack of education, Cambodians appear to be using pornography to learn about sex. Research by Phuong suggests that young people would prefer to learn about sex from their teachers but in fact learn about it from pornography (Phuong, 2013).

### ***What are the kinds of pornography you prefer to watch?***

One of the reasons for asking about violent pornography was that research showed that Cambodian men watch a variety of 'conventional' and 'deviant' genres (Farley, 2012 pp. 27-30). Farley writes, “Pornography is becoming increasingly available both in Cambodian cities as well as in rural areas... with extremely violent pornography accessible throughout the country” (Farley, 2012, p. 10). These findings are also supported by the research done by Fordham where it is stated that

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“[j]ust as globalization has constituted Cambodia as a significant supplier of clothing to world markets, it has also rendered the country and its young people (and, it must be stressed, adults too) vulnerable to hard-core pornography...” (Fordham, 2006, p. 91).

Vaginal, Oral, and Anal sex

Vaginal Sex pornography was the most popular with both sets of men as 100% of both Cambodians 46/46 and foreign men 35/35 said they prefer to watch this type. Oral sex pornography was much more popular with foreigners than Cambodians, with 31/35 (89%) of foreigners and only 12/46 (24%) of Cambodians saying this is one of their preferences. This was the second most popular type of pornography for foreigners. Anal sex pornography was asked to a smaller amount of Khmer and foreigners. For foreigners 9/21 (43%) and 5/46 (28%) of Cambodians chose this as a preference.

Gay and Lesbian Sex

None of the foreigners stated that gay pornography was a preference for them, whereas 4/46, (9%) of Cambodians said it was. This is especially interesting as only one Cambodian stated he was bisexual and the rest stated they were heterosexual. Perhaps this indicates a different understanding of sexuality in Cambodia. As ‘The Cambodian Centre for Human Rights’ states in their report “Coming out in the Kingdom: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in Cambodia”, “Even when Cambodians use the word ‘gay’, they are generally referring to men who outwardly look feminine... accordingly, individuals may describe themselves as ‘straight’ despite, their homosexual activities” (CCHR, 2010, p. 10).

Pornography involving lesbians was relatively popular with foreigners, with 20/35, (57%) stating it was a preference for them compared to only 9/46 (20%) of Cambodians.

Group Sex and Bondage, Discipline, and Sado-Masochism (BDSM)

More foreigners than Cambodians stated that group sex was a preference for them, with 16/35, (46%) of foreigners stating this and 11/46 (24%) of the Cambodians. BDSM is a variety of sexual practices that include dominance, submission and role

play. Slightly more Cambodians stated this was a preference, 10/46 (22%), compared to 7/35, (20%) of foreigners. More research is needed to understand whether the history of violence and genocide in Cambodia is influential on the level of violence in pornography and sexual behavior.

### Virgin and Minors

Virgin pornography is where one or more of the actors are portrayed as virgins. Only 2/35 (6%) of the foreigners liked to watch this, in clear contrast to the 22/46, (44%) of Cambodians who said they liked to watch this genre; which is the second highest percentage. This appears to illustrate a difference in cultural attitudes towards virgins. Isabelle Chan's "Addressing local demand for commercial sex with children in Cambodia" (2010) speaks about the importance of the virginity trade in Cambodia. It states that there are wide held beliefs that having sex with a virgin gives them special power and can even cure them from HIV/AIDS. Chan also found that 25% of the sex workers interviewed started by selling their virginity (Chan, 2010, p. 13).

Child pornography depicts sexual intercourse with someone under the age of 18. No foreigners indicated that they prefer to watch this, but this may have been because of a fear of legal repercussions. However, 9/46, (20%) of Cambodians said they preferred to watch this type of pornography, which may indicate a lack of understanding of legal repercussions. Chan's research indicates that although foreigners are usually associated with the demand for minors, the majority of this demand actually comes from locals (Chan, 2010, p. 15). The men who had sex with those under age were from a range of ages, from different social backgrounds, and family statuses (Chan, 2010, p. 16). In this report on 46 former female sex workers from the ages of 15-17, 97.7% stated that their usual customers were Cambodian (Chan, 2010, p. 17). A 2006 report "Who are the Child Sex Tourists in Cambodia?" says that Cambodian men who had sex with children was not limited to preferential sex buyers. Some buyers were pedophiles or virginity seekers but others were "situational buyers" or chose to do so because of availability in certain establishments (Thomas & Mathews, 2006, p. 5).

### Bestiality and Rape

No foreigners stated they preferred to watch pornography involving bestiality (depicting sex between humans and animals). In contrast, 10/46, (22%) of Cambodians said they preferred to watch this, which may indicate a lack of 'boundaries' of what is acceptable in sexual behavior among the Cambodian male population.

No foreigners admitted to preferring to watch rape pornography compared to Cambodians with 11/46, (24%) saying they preferred to watch it. This suggests a possibility of a 'normalization' of sexual violence that also lacks boundaries.

### **Summary of Preferences**

Cambodians appear to watch more 'deviant' pornography. This is especially evident with virgin pornography which is the second most popular for Khmer men. This trend is also visible in the between the one quarter and one fifth of Khmer men who answered that they prefer pornography involving minors, rape, and bestiality, compared with no foreigners mentioning to them as a preference.

Exposure to violent pornography can cause a number of problems as Allen (1995) states, there are, "...reliable associations between frequent pornography use and sexually aggressive behaviors, particularly for violent pornography and/or for men at high risk for sexual aggression" (Allen, 1995, p. 274). Furthermore, Fordham states "... exposure to violent pornography alters the attitudes and beliefs of men by increasing their violent rape fantasies, by lessening their sensitivity to rape and rape victims and by increasing their self-reported likelihood of committing rape" (Fordham, 2006, p. 47). According to a UN report, "Why do some men use violence against women and how can we prevent it?", 20.4% of men in Cambodia admitted to rape (Fulu et. al., 2013, p. 40). This indicates that violent pornography is an area that needs to be addressed among Cambodian men to prevent sexual violence.

### **Is the kind of porn you watch now different than what it was?**

A number of foreign men mentioned that pornography had become more accessible especially through the change in technology. A few foreign men also mentioned how their preference had become more 'hardcore'. As one respondent stated:

"It became more extreme, BDSM and group sex," "It is now more hardcore, used to be soft."

Another foreigner stated that his preference in ethnicity changed, which may be a reason why some men travel to the Far East because they are seeking the ethnicities that they see in pornography. Pornography also allows men to find on the internet their sexual fantasies:

"I'm into role play, if you think of something then you can find it."

A number of Cambodians mentioned that the type of pornography that they watch had become more extreme. Here are two examples:

"The style has [changed to] become [more] forced and group sex. Before most porn was vaginal and 'natural' sex."

"...now it is with children or group sex and I don't like it at all."

One person mentioned how now there is more Khmer porn available:

"Nowadays there is Khmer porn, before there was less".

This quote indicates that pornography is being produced more in Cambodia which is likely to be due to access, cost reduction, and ease of technology in filming and downloading but this also has implications for the way sex workers are more frequently used in pornography. More research is needed into the emerging pornographic industry in Cambodia, whether it is still mainly amateur pornographers.

### **Does pornography influence your prostitution habits?**

In Farley et. al's (2011) research with Western men in 'Comparing Sex Buyers with Men Who Don't Buy Sex', she writes: "sex buyers significantly more often imitated sex acts that they had seen in pornography...Sometimes the sex buyers directly incorporated pornography into their use of women in prostitution" (Farley et al., 2011, 31). Farley illustrated how the sexual behavior of Cambodian men with prostitutes changed after viewing pornography: "... seventy-one percent of the men interviewed reported that they copied sex acts seen in pornography with the women they bought for prostitution" (Farley et al., 2012, 26).

The most popular reason for Cambodians was that pornography gave them a stronger feeling to go and have sex. For example one Cambodian respondent stated:

"It gives me more feeling and sexual desire."

A couple of Cambodian respondents also mentioned that they wanted to try out what they saw in pornography. As one Cambodian man stated:

"Most girls won't let me try what I see on porn."

Another respondent said that porn:

“...makes him feel like wanting a prostitute, to understand more about sex and techniques.”

Foreigners gave similar reasons to Cambodians about trying out sexual practices they had seen in pornography. As one foreign respondent stated:

“It influenced what you did with a prostitute. Because you want to do with a woman what you see in porn.”

## **Self-Worth**

### **Introduction**

Previous research by Meeks and Miles (2013), on victims of sexual exploitation found they had low self-esteem, so the researchers felt that doing research on the self-esteem of clients would also be of interest. (Meeks & Miles, 2013, p. 26) This research was done to see if there was any link between paying for sex and self-worth, as well as to compare Cambodian and foreign sex buyers' views on their self-image.

### **How would you rate yourself on a scale of 1-10**

It is noticeable that no Cambodians viewed themselves as less than 5/10 compared to 2/49 (4.1%) of foreigners, who both rated themselves as 1/10. From looking at the graph above we can see that the majority of foreigners fell between six and eight compared to Cambodians who are mostly between eight and ten.

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Perhaps a reason for the higher scores for Khmer men is a need to save face in Cambodian culture. As Gourley (2009) states:

In Cambodia honor and ‘saving face’ are considered very important, as the degree to which an individual is accorded honor and respect can have a direct and significant impact on their position in the social hierarchy, and therefore their influence and autonomy.  
(Gourley, 2009, p. 15)

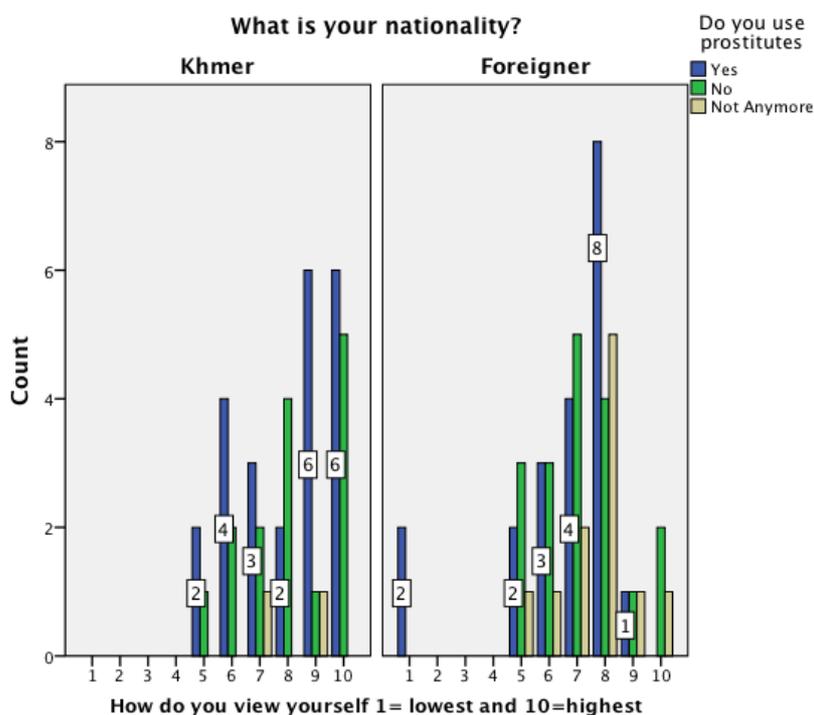
An example of the need to save face can be seen here:

“ I’m a man, I need to have very high value”.

This man himself said that he had had sexual intercourse with between 600-800 prostitutes and rated himself as ten out of ten.

**Self-worth and Prostitution**

\*\*The Data Labels on the graph on the next page represent the participants who currently pay for sex with prostitutes.



**Those who pay for sex**

This section was to see if there was a link between prostitution use and self-worth. The table below shows the number of men who paid for sex and how they viewed themselves from 1-10.

			How do you view yourself 1 = lowest and 10 = highest									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Khmer	Do you use prostitutes	Yes	0	0	0	0	2	4	3	2	6	6
Foreigner	Do you use prostitutes	Yes	2	0	0	0	2	3	4	8	1	0

Of those who paid for sex 23/50 (46%), the highest percentage among Cambodians answered 9 or 10 12/23, (52.2%). One respondent out of this group said:

“I’m more valuable than anything”

Some others spoke about how they were good because they “help” the prostitutes they have sex with.

“I don’t do anything bad. I always educate other people to do good, especially prostitutes to seek their future. ”

“I help vulnerable women, I see myself as good. ”

Of those who paid for sex, 20/50 (40%), the highest percentage of foreigners, 8/20 (40%) rated themselves ‘eight’. An interesting find here, is that both foreigners who gave themselves a ‘one’ were men who had sex with prostitutes. Of the foreigners who said ‘eight’, a typical answer was that they enjoyed life.

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“The older I get the better I feel about life.”

Of the foreigners who answered ‘one’ it was difficult to get a detailed answer from them; this is an example:

“I try to make myself feel better every day”

### Those who do not pay for sex

			How do you view yourself 1 = lowest and 10 = highest									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Khmer	Do you use prostitutes	No	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	4	1	5
Foreigner	Do you use prostitutes	No	0	0	0	0	3	3	5	4	1	2

For Cambodians, 15/50 (30%) do not pay for sex and the highest percentage of that group rated their self-worth ten out of ten with 5/15, (33.3%). A common response for those who said 10/10, was about how they treated women:

“I give value to women.”

“I don’t do bad things, I don’t go to prostitutes.”

Of the foreigners, those who did not pay for sex were 18/50, (36%). The highest percentage of foreigners rated their self-worth seven out of ten, with 5/18 (27.8%). Most of the men who answered ‘seven’ did so because they felt themselves to be average, neither especially good nor especially bad.

“I’m not bursting with ego, but I’m not depressed either.”

### Those who do not have sex with prostitutes anymore

			How do you view yourself 1 = lowest and 10 = highest									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Khmer	Do you use prostitutes	Not Anymore	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Foreigner	Do you use prostitutes	Not Anymore	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	5	1	1

Of the 2/50 (4%) of the Khmer men interviewed who no longer have sex with prostitutes, one person said his self-worth was 7/10 and one 9/10. The person who said 7/10 said:

“It’s about happiness in the family, money brings happiness.”

This particular individual had stopped having sex with prostitutes because he saw it as a waste of money and did not want to get diseases.

The person who said 9/10 said:

“Because I will not let this sex things lead me.”

The highest percentage of foreigners, who no longer purchase sex, 5/11, (45.5%), answered 8/10. They all expressed how they enjoyed life.

### Summary

The Khmer men, who were interviewed, appeared to view themselves more highly than the foreigners. The analysis of their answers does not appear to support a link between prostitution use and self-worth. It is interesting to note though, that both foreigners who responded one out of ten in the self-esteem scale, had sex with prostitutes. It also appeared that the need to save face may be a factor influencing the Cambodian responses. Furthermore, it was interesting that several of the

Cambodians said the reason that they were 10/10 was because they “help” the prostitutes they had sex with.

### **Deterrents**

The Khmer participants said they would be influenced to not purchase sex if there would be penalties involved. However, even though prostitution is illegal in Cambodia, as the law stands now, there are no legal repercussions against men, unless it involves paying for sex with a minor. Melissa Farley asked a similar question during a survey of 133 Cambodian men in 2007. Of these men, 86% reported that having greater criminal penalties would effectively deter men from purchasing sex (Farley, 2012). This data appears to be congruent with this research’s findings that 62% of the Khmer respondents would be deterred from purchasing prostitutes if it were criminalized.

The foreign respondents seemed to be not as easily deterred from purchasing sex when threatened with legal penalties. These men claimed that there was nothing that would stop men from purchasing sex, with some even waving their hands and dismissing the question before it was even asked in full. A common response given when asked this question was that, “prostitution is the oldest profession in the world”, implying a fatalistic worldview that it could never be stopped. One respondent likened the abolition of prostitution to the period of Prohibition in the United States during the 1920s. Prohibition was a nationwide ban on alcohol and resulted in the sale of alcohol being moved from legitimate vendors to a ‘black market’ controlled by the mafia, which resulted in a boom of the criminal activities in many cities. This is why, some respondents said, prostitution should not be illegal, but simply controlled. In many of the respondent’s opinions, by controlling and regulating the sale and purchase of sex, the illicit activities within the industry could possibly be curtailed and safety for both participants could perhaps be ensured as well.

Rachel Lloyd, Founder of Girls Educational and Mentoring Services (GEMS) in New York, NY, said in a 2012 New York Times article that legalization of prostitution

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does not stop trafficking, but instead actually increases trafficking rates as legalization increases the demand which pushes traffickers to recruit more women and children. She cites Amsterdam as an example, saying that the city is “recognizing rates of trafficking into the country have increased and is beginning to address the enormous hub of trafficking and exploitation that it's created” (Lloyd, 2012). This woman, once involved in the sex industry in Germany herself, believes that legal prostitution and sex trafficking have a direct correlation.

The US State Department agrees. According to the 2007 ‘Trafficking in Persons Report’, sex trafficking is considered the largest specific subcategory of transnational modern-day slavery (U.S. State Department, 2012). The U.S. Government adopted a strong position against prostitution in the December 2002, which states that “Prostitution is inherently harmful and dehumanizing and fuels trafficking in persons” (U.S. State Department, 2007 p. 27). Legal prostitution simply allows traffickers to operate behind a veneer of legality and the number of human trafficking incidences almost always increases due to the increased demand. “There cannot be one without the other. Where there is prostitution, there will be sex trafficking” (p. 27). The report goes on to say that, according to a 2003 study published in the *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 89% of women who are involved in prostitution are doing so out of absolute necessity with no other option or ability to escape (p. 27). Therefore, even though the majority of the respondents in this study believed the opinion of legalization would result in a reduction of sex trafficking, research shows the opposite.

As shown above, making prostitution legal is not the answer to solving the problem of sex trafficking. A different approach was chosen by Sweden. The report, “Targeting the Sex Buyer” (2010) by Kasja Claude of the Swedish Institute, details the Swedish policy and the logic behind it. In 1999, Sweden instituted a policy thus far untried by any country. It made the purchasing of prostitutes illegal with very high penalties, while making prostitution itself legal, thereby challenging the idea held that women’s bodies are commodities that can be bought or sold (Claude 2010, p. 6). Sweden saw prostitution and understood it for what it was: a business. Just like any business, they are selling a commodity of some sort; in this case it is

women. Following the basic economics principle of supply and demand, Sweden sought to eliminate the demand, and subsequently the supply. At the same time, they sought to eliminate the view of women as commodities, after all, “in a gender equal society, men do not regard women as merchandise” (Claude 2010, p. 6).

This is indeed a unique handling of prostitution, but it is unhelpful if it is ineffective at curbing prostitution and the sex trade. There was a study done in 1996 on the demand for prostitution in Sweden and a similar study done again in 2008. These studies found that the number of sex buyers had decreased from 13.6% to 7.9% from 1996 to 2008 (Claude 2010, p. 11). This means that the newly implemented law effectively cut the number of sex buyers nearly in half by 2008. Also, according to Kasja Wahlberg (Claude 2010, p. 13), who is a member of the Swedish National Police Board, “the law is a very good starting point for combating both prostitution and human trafficking, but in order to step up the international effort, more countries have to introduce sex purchase laws that criminalize the buyer” (Claude 2010, pg. 6). Also, the police and civil servants in Sweden believe that the law has pushed traffickers out of the country (p. 6). This policy has done and continues to do an excellent job fighting the exploitation of vulnerable people and from this example, other countries can learn and follow suit. However, is this a viable option for Cambodia?

Cambodia is not Sweden and faces many unique challenges that Sweden does not. For example, the political situation has been rather volatile. It is already evident due to the responses of the Khmer respondents to the query regarding deterrents that the police do not enforce the policies against prostitution that are already in place. An article written by Radio Free Asia in June of 2013, discusses how the US State Department downgraded the Cambodian Government to a Tier 2 Watch List in its 2013 Trafficking in Persons Report. The Report cited that most of the aftercare of trafficked persons within Cambodia is done through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and that “corruption ‘at all levels’ has blocked anti-trafficking efforts” within the country (Radio Free Asia, 2013).

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Though this research appears to show that the foreign respondents would not be deterred by the intensifying of punishments against the buyers of sex, if this law were actually enforced within Cambodia, it is possible that in the face of legal repercussion the foreign men may actually shy away from purchasing sex. Another variable that may help deter men from the high frequencies of purchasing sex in Phnom Penh, is that if this Swedish paradigm were to be enforced, it appears that it would curtail the largest demographic of the demand, the Khmer men. This would thus reduce the accessibility of the supply for sex, therefore making it more difficult to find someone to purchase sex from in this city. By cutting down on the accessibility, it may influence the men who would not go far out of their way to purchase sex to not go seeking it in the first place. Though this all speculation at this point and further understanding about the lengths men would go to find a prostitute is needed, it is a plausible trajectory for Cambodia that needs to be seriously considered by lawmakers.

## **Recommendations**

### **Recommendation to the Royal Government of Cambodia – Ministry of Education, Social Authorities and NGOs to Develop More Thorough Sex Education Curriculums:**

This and other past research on Khmer males appear to show that there are static cultural boundaries defining how a ‘real’ Cambodian man is to behave. Material needs to be developed within sex education courses specifically on gender identity. This material should not follow rigid stereotypes developed out of tradition, but rather adopt new cultural paradigms based on scientific and modern realities.

This sex education course also needs to highlight healthy sexual activities that encourage monogamy and safety. This course needs to use scientifically (social and biological) based information that provides a balance between what makes sex a romantic activity between two loving individuals and the emotional and physical risks involved when having many various sexual partners. As a part of healthy sexual activities and practices, it is encouraged that this curriculum includes discussion

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about masturbation as an alternative to paying for sex. As of now the paradigm held is that a man is not to masturbate because it makes him weak and less of what society believes to be a 'real' man.

Finally, it is recommended that sex education should challenge the belief that pornography is an effective sex educator. Pornography has a wide range of varieties from non-deviant to severely deviant that can lead individuals to desensitization when watching it. The availability of this deviant pornography, including but not limited to: pornography involving minors, and images depicting rape, murder and bestiality, needs to be eradicated for it perpetuates negative sexual behaviors and understandings. To an un-cautioned individual, pornography can also be a misleading media source that elevates and intensifies sex to a point beyond reality. This can lead to addiction and also sexual expectations that can only be met by paying someone to fulfill them. When teaching people about pornography there should be a discussion about how a person can refuse to view pornographic material that he or she is not comfortable with.

**Recommendation to the Royal Cambodian Government – Ministry of Culture to continue to suppress on the production and distribution of pornographic DVDs and materials and for internet cafés to regulate the accessibility of internet pornography.**

It is also recommended that there should be particular action taken to curb minor's ability to access pornographic material. As mentioned in previous research from World Vision and Child Welfare Group, there are concerns about the ease of accessibility to pornography among minors (Fordham, 2006 and Child Welfare Group, 2003). These research projects highlighted that pornographic materials were available to minors, especially pornographic films being shown in internet cafes. One of the common concerns from Khmer men in this report regarding pornography was that pornography was too easily accessible among minors. Therefore, there needs to be more effort to suppress pornographic production and accessibility to pornography in internet cafes. More research is needed on current ways in which youth access porn such as internet cafes, smartphones and video game venues.

**Recommendation to NGOs to strengthen the marriages of the Cambodian couples they serve:**

In this study, 67.1% of Khmer men who currently pay for sex are also married. NGOs can provide support to couples by creating a space for dialogue between the two parties that allows for openness of intimacy within marriage, and guidance about how to make that intimacy between the two partners stronger.

**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):**

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 for NGOs to develop programming that reaches out the foreign demand population to educate them about the impacts of prostitution on the individual sex worker's future:**

One of the most common answers respondents gave when asked about their view towards their prostitution habits was about how they are helping the women and in extension their families by giving them money in return for sex. While they may experience some financial recompense for a short time period, in a Cambodian woman's life, being a prostitute is not a sustainable career beyond their 20's. The older a prostitute is, the less likely a client will be willing to pay for sex with them. Being a prostitute in Cambodia also carries a social stigma, making familial and societal alienation a large problem among the sex working community (Meeks, 2013 pg. 42). This alienation creates a more difficult path for these women when they are trying to reintegrate themselves into a more 'conventional' working environment and societal atmosphere.

**Recommendation for NGOs who want to create outreach programs to address the demand, in a way that would be effective for both Cambodian and foreigner populations:**

This research appears to show that the reasons to pay and not pay for sex appear to be different among the foreigner and Cambodian populations. The Cambodian men interviewed tended to give intrinsic responses to these questions, whereas the foreign responses tended to be more extrinsic. This leads us to the recommendation that NGOs doing outreach need to approach these two populations with two different campaigns. A campaign to the foreign population may focus on the impacts of prostitution on the women themselves and their relationship with their families (See Appendix 4, "18 Myths about Prostitution"). A campaign to reach out to the Cambodian population needs to focus more on the impact of prostitution use on their own family and economic situations. See Appendix 6 for a poster Love 146 has developed to address the demand.

**Recommendation for businesses and organizations that employ expatriate men:**

Orientation of men should include an unbiased perspective on sexual exploitation of people, including vulnerable women and children, and the consequences this has on them, the exploited and the society at large. It is also recommended that businesses and organizations provide and promote activities outside of the office so that men who come to live/work in Phnom Penh can be deterred from seeking the company of a prostitute out of boredom or loneliness.

**Recommendation for the Ministry of Tourism and travel companies who provide information to tourists:**

Recommend to tourists the guidelines produced by Child Safe, [www.childsafe-international.org](http://www.childsafe-international.org). Also, see Appendix 5 for a complete list of guidelines provided by Child Safe.

Also, encourage hotels and guesthouses to adhere to recommendations made in 'The Code', [www.thecode.org](http://www.thecode.org).

**Recommendation for the Ministry of Interior prosecution of men who continue to have sex with children:**

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Nineteen of the respondents in this research said that they had been offered someone they suspected to be a minor for sex. Also, 20% of the Cambodian participants said that they preferred to watch pornography depicting minors. Although there appears to be fewer children available in entertainment venues, the police and investigative NGOs need to continue actively work to arrest and prosecute perpetrators who have sex with children under 18 years-old. This includes 16-18 year olds, not just 15 and under, as recommended by IJM in their report 'Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Cambodia' (Shaw, 2013, p.28).

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# Appendix I

## Survey\*\*

\*\*Questions with a ~~strike~~ through it were taken out of this report due to a loss in translation and understanding during the interview.

TeamMembers/សមាជិក រក្សា: \_\_\_\_\_

Date/កាលបរចេញ ្ងៈ: \_\_\_\_\_/2013 (dd/mm)

Survey Number/ចេលខចេញ្កង: \_\_\_\_\_

## Introduction/ការណែនាំ លន៖

Hi we're working for an NGO called Love146 and we are trying to understand more about views and use of prostitutes in Cambodia. We are surveying 50 Cambodian and 50 Foreign males who have participated in the sex industry's services. Our goal is to create a formal report that will be distributed to various NGOs and interested persons, so that the 'demand' of the sex industry in Cambodia is more understood.

អំរាបសួរ! ចេយងើ ច្វេកាទើ រជាមួយអងគការមួយច្វេ េ្រះអងគការចេស្ករងើ សឡាញ់ ១៤៦។ ចេយងើ កំពុងច្វេកាទើ រសកិ ្វាចេដងើ បើ ណាសវងយល់បណាចមច្វេទៀតអំរាតទើ សសន៖ នងី ការចេរបចេទើ សវាជួលវចេភទរបស់បុរសកុនងរបចេទសកមុតជា។ ចេយងើ ច្វេកាទើ រសំភាសន៍ បុរសជនជាតណិ ខមរ ៥០នក់ នងី បុរសបចេទស ៥០នក់។ ចេេាលចេេរបស់ចេយងើ គុី ង់សរចេសរបាយកាអី ជួលវការមយ្យ ចេដងើ បើ ណាចាយដល់អងគការនន នងី មនុសសមយ្យ ្វ្វា្វ្វា ្វ្វា ណាដលចាប់អារមមី ចេដងើ បើ ឲ្យមានការយល់ដងី ទូលំទូលាយ បណាចមច្វេទៀតអំរាតកាទើ រចេរបងី បាស់ចេសវាជួលវចេភទកុនងរបចេទសកមុតជា។

## Confidentiality and consent/ការលាក់ការសំងាត់ និងការអពមចេរៀង៖

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







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Not younger than/មិន ចេះកាមព័រើ \_\_\_\_\_

Sexual Activity/សកម្មភាពផ្លូវល ចេកទ័រ

- Age      Virginity      Lost/អាចបាត់បង់ពេ ចាម រយើ ៖ \_\_\_\_\_
- Who virginity was lost to?/ពេ ចាម រយើ បាត់បង់ជាមួយនរណ័ (i.e. girlfriend, friend, prostitute, etc.../មតិ តរសើ, មតិ ភត ័ក, ត អនករកសុរើ វល ចេកទ័, ...) \_\_\_\_\_
- Number of times per week/ប្តាំខ្លួនដង៖ \_\_\_\_\_/average week - កុងន ១សបាត ័ o How many people per week/ប្តាំ ម ននក័៖ \_\_\_\_\_/average week- កុងន ១សបាត ័

View of women/ទសសន័៖អាំពត្រសើ សត័រើ

- History of relationships with women/បវតទតិ ័នក់ទាំនងជាមួយស្រសត័រើ positive/វជី ជមាន      negative/អវជី ជមាន      neutral/្លមតា
- Why?/បញ្ជដក់មូលចេ ត្តិ៖
- How do you view women?/ទសសន័៖អាំពត្រសើសត័រើ positive/វជី មាជ ន      negative/អវជី មាជ ន      neutral/្លតាម
- Why?/បញ្ជដក់មូលចេ ត្តិ៖

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- What is the difference between a female acquaintance who is a prostitute and a female acquaintance who is not?/ ចេតស្រី សតី កសុដី លវចេកទណដលអកន ្ក លំ នី ្រស្រី មមតាណដលអនក លំ

ខុស្មាន យ៉ា ងណាណដរ?

- Would you treat these two differently?/ ចេតអី នកបរពតី តុំចេ ្រចេ ្រកចេតខុស្មាន ឬចេ?

- What would be your reaction if you found out that your sister or female relative was a prostitute?/ ចេតអី នកនី មានបតី មយម ំតា ងណា របសនិ ចេបអី នកដី ថ្ម បង/បូអនសើ ឬ ្រុំញាតិ

បសអនកណដលជាស្រសតី គជាី នរអី កសុដី លវចេកទ?

- Why?/ បញ្ជាក់មូលចេ តុ្រ



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- Have you been offered a Prostitute in your time here?

ចេតអី ឧកឆួល បំរើបានចេតយកស្រសតអី កសុដី លវចេកទមកឱ្យឬទេ? Yes/ឆួល បំ No/មិន ឆួល បំ

- Do you use Prostitutes?/ចេតអី ឧកចេរបចេរី សវាវកសុដី លវចេកទមកឱ្យឬទេ? Yes/ចេរី

No/មិន ចេរី

- Have you ever used a prostitute?/ចេតអី

- ឧកឆួលបំណសវាវកសុដី លវចេកទមកឱ្យឬទេ?

Yes/ឆួលបំ

No/មិន ឆួលបំ

Frequency/ញឹកញាប់ ្មី្មណាណា ៖ \_\_\_\_\_

- Typical Locations/កណនលងណាខណោះ៖

- How did you discover these locations? friends/family/guidebook/internet/ etc:

ចេតអីឧកកណនលងណាខណោះតាមរយៈអី? មតិភក្តី/តមគ្គុវ/ចេសៀវចេហាគយ/អុនីធើ្នេរី/ល-៖ 0





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- Were you/ ចេតអី នក.. Intoxicated/ រសវង្ស ? Sober/ មនិ រសវង្ស ?
- Do you Currently prefer to seek in.../ ចេតបើ បុគ្គល ឬ ក្រុម តណស្រី រកចេសវាផ្លូវចេតទេ.. Groups/ ជា ក្រុម ? Alone/ មាន កំរង? Explain/ សូមពន្យល់៖

- Currently, prefer to have sex in/ ចេតបើ បុគ្គល ឬ ក្រុម ចេតទេ... Groups/ ជា ក្រុម? Alone/ មាន កំរង? Explain/ សូមពន្យល់៖

- Have you ever formed a relationship with any prostitutes?/ ចេតអី នក ធ្លាប់ ប្រទេស ទាក់ទង ជាមួយអ្នករកស៊ី លក់ ចេតទេ? Yes/ ធ្លាប់ ប៉ No/ មនិ ធ្លាប់ ប៉

Explain/ ពន្យល់៖ (Romantic, Emotional, "Sweetheart"/ ទាក់ទង ចេស ហា/ សងា)

- Have you ever been offered someone you suspect to be a minor for sex?/ ចេតអី នក ធ្លាប់ ប៉ ត្រូវបាន ចេតយកអ្នករកស៊ី លក់ ចេត ណាស់ អ្នកសង្កេត ឃើញ ជំនួញ ទេ?





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Explain/ពន្យល់៖

- How do you feel the next morning?/ចេតអី នកមានអារម័យ យ៉ា ងណាចេរេពេក បនទ ប់? Explain/ពន្យល់៖
- Pros and cons list to using prostitutes គុំសមបតតិ ននី គុំសម តម្កី នការចេរបងី បាសថេ សវាផ្លូវល ចេភទ៖

Pros/គុំសមបតតិ

Cons/គុំសម តតិ

- Modify Sex Habits?/ចេតអី កន ផ្តល សំបូរត ទមាល បរ មូ ចេកទប្បចេទ?

Yes/ផ្តល សំ រត

No/មនិ ផ្តល សំបូរត

- Explain/ពន្យល់៖

**Porn/** ចេញអានសកាស

- Your views Toward Porn/ ទសសនៈរបស់អ្នក ទៅលើ

positive/ វិជ្ជមាន

negative/ អវិជ្ជមាន

neutral/ ទូទាម

Why?/ មូលហេតុ?

- Do you view porn?/ តើអ្នកមើល ចេញអានសកាសឬទេ?

Yes/ បាទ

No/ ទេ ទេ

- Age First Intentionally Viewed Porn?

តើអ្នកមើល ចេញអានសកាសចេញពី អាយុចំណាស់បំផុតប៉ុន្មាន?

- How often do you view Porn?/ តើអ្នកមើល ចេញអានសកាសញឹកញាប់ប៉ុន្មាន?

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- Preference\*\*\*\* (check all that apply)/ ្រូលី តចេមលើ សកមភាពផ្លូវចេភាទ (គូសអវណី ដលអនក្ខ្រូលី ត)

\_\_\_\_\_vaginal sex/ការរួ ចេភាទតាមចេយនើ

\_\_\_\_\_group sex/ការរួ ចេភាទជាមកុម

\_\_\_\_\_oral sex/ការរួ ចេភាទតាមតូទ

\_\_\_\_\_gay/បុរសចេខទេយើ

\_\_\_\_\_lesbian/ស្រសតចេរើ ខទេយើ

\_\_\_\_\_porn involving minors/ចេរឿងអាសអាភាសមាខកុមារសណមតង

\_\_\_\_\_bestiality/ការរួ ចេភាទរវាងមនុសសនី សតវ

\_\_\_\_\_rape/ការចាប់ចេ ៧០ ណភ

\_\_\_\_\_BDSM(S&M)/ការរួ ចេភាទណដលចេរបទើ ៃខកមម

\_\_\_\_\_virgin/ចេយនើ

Other?/ចេផសង្សៈ

\*\*\*\*Porn depicting anal sex was added into this survey list due to the high frequency of respondents specifically mentioning their preference to watching it

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- Is the kind of porn you watch now different than what it was?

ចេតចេះ រឿងអាសអាភាសណាដល់អ្នកចេះលើ ឥឡូវ ខុសពីមេ ុនឬទេ?

yes/ខុសពីមេ ុន      no/មិន ខុសពីមេ ុនទេ

Why?/មូលហេតុ?

- If said yes to prostitution as well, have your porn habits influenced your prostitution habits?/បើសិន ចេះឆ្លើយ ល ប៉ុន្តែបើចេះ ល វាផ្តល់ឱ្យអ្នក ចេះទើ លាប៉ ប៉ុន្តែលើ រឿងអាសអាភាសរបស់អ្នកមានឥទ្ធិពល

ល ប៉ុន្តែ ហេតុអ្វីបើចេះ ល វាផ្តល់ឱ្យអ្នកបស់អ្នក ឥឡូវទេ?

yes/មាន      no/មិន មាន

How?/ចេតវា មានឥទ្ធិពល លើអ្វីចេញមក?

- StripClub/កលបី រាត្រី

• Do you go to strip clubs in PP?/ចេតអី កន ចេតកលបី រាត្រី ក្នុងទីកន្លែងនោះឬទេ?

Yes/ចេត ចេត      No/មិន ចេត

- Do you see a difference between a stripper and a prostitute?/ចេតអី កន យល់ថា

មានភាពខុសគ្នា រវាងអ្នករាំ និង ស្រីលក់សេវា លើទេ?



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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Why?/មូលហេតុ?

Religion/ធួន៖

- Please explain your experience, views towards spirituality and/or religion:

សូមពន្យល់អំពី បើ ទេពច្រើនណា ទសសនៈរបស់អ្នក អំពី ព្រះឥន្ទ្រនាម / ធួន

- How do you practice?/ ទេពអើ កន របស់ គ្រូ ព្រះឥន្ទ្រនាម របស់អ្នក ចេញមកប្រើប្រាស់?

Deterrent Ideas/ ការបង្កាត់ កំសកម្មភាពផ្តល់សេវា?

- Would making the buying of sex illegal deter you from participating?

ទេពករណី រដ្ឋប្បវេណី យកមកប្រើ ទេសវាផ្តល់ សេវាទេពអើ ព្រះឥន្ទ្រនាម របស់អ្នក មិន ឱ្យអ្នកប្រើប្រាស់សេវាទេពអើ ផ្តល់សេវាទេពអើ?

yes/ បាទ

no/ មិន បាទ

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• ~~For you, what would be the biggest deterrent of purchasing a prostitute?~~

~~តើ អ្នក គិត ថា អ្វី ជា កត្តា ធំ បំផុត ដែល អាច ជៀស វា បាន ក្នុង ការ ទិញ សេវា ផ្ទេរ យុវជន?~~

• ~~Rank effectiveness 1-10/~~

~~public shaming/~~

~~jail time (In Cambodia and in own country)~~

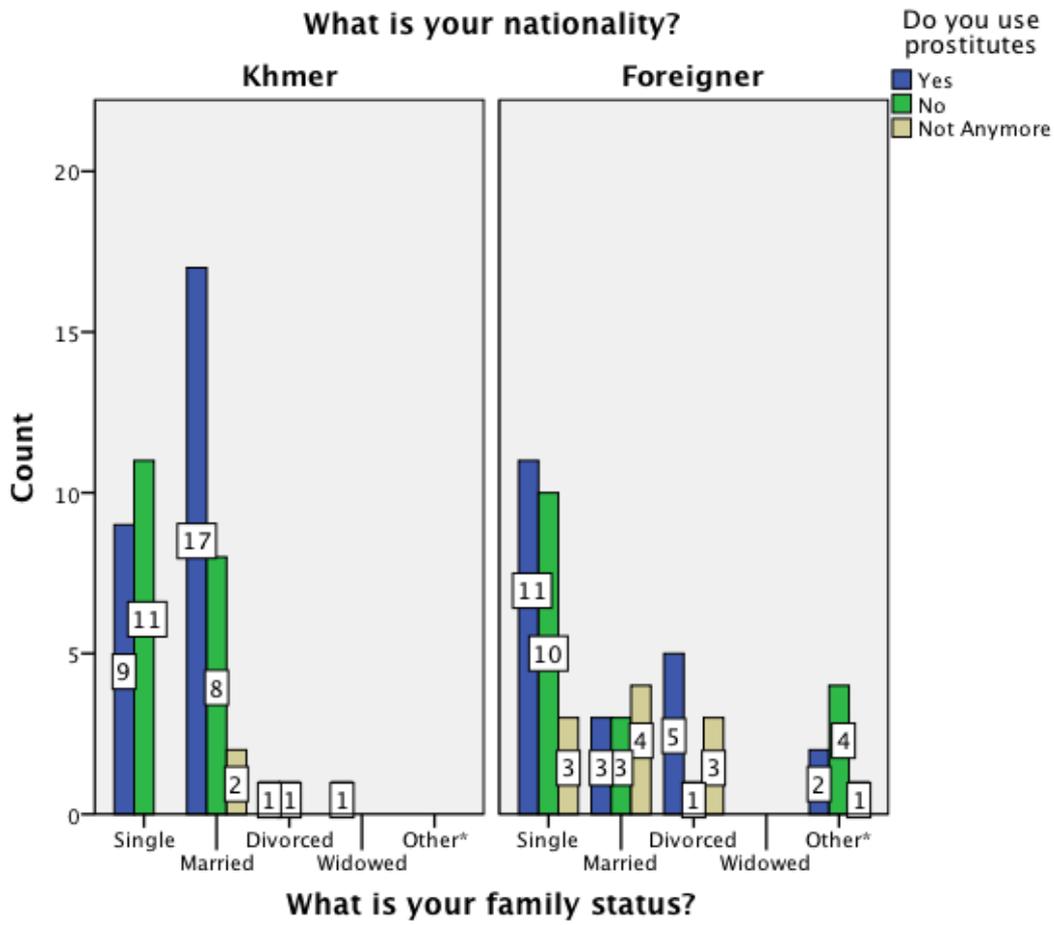
~~highfines/~~

~~\*\*\*\*\*These questions became less of a ranking system and more of a check-list if they would be effective deterrents or not.~~

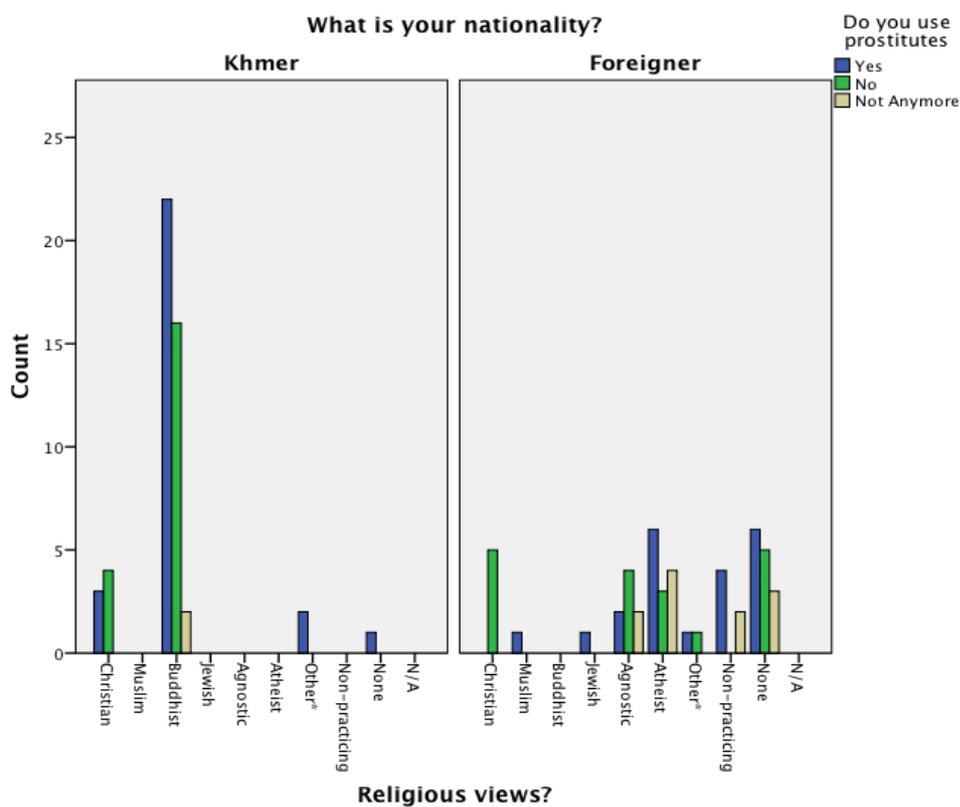
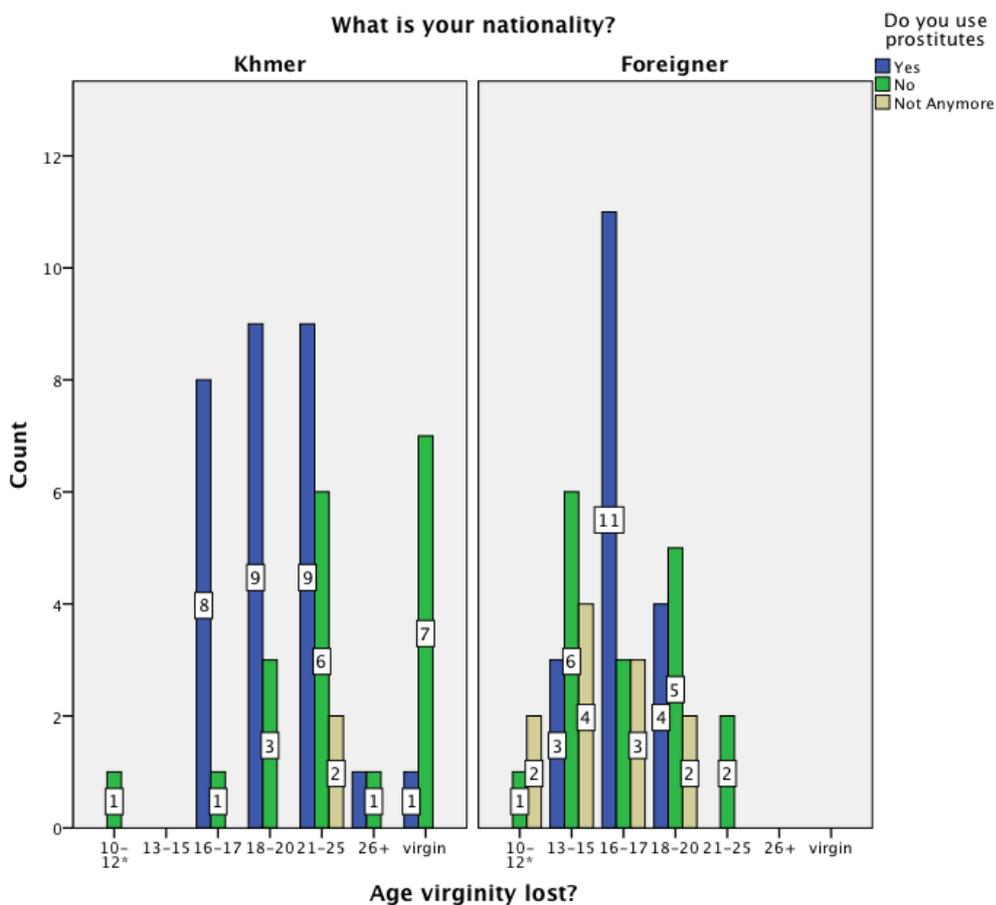
• ~~Other \_\_\_\_\_ ideas?/~~

• MISCELLANEOUS NOTES/

**Appendix II**



### Listening to the Demand: A Study of Men who Buy Sex from Female Prostitutes in Phnom Penh, Cambodia



### **Appendix III**

*Why do some men use violence against women and how can we prevent it?  
Quantitative Findings From the United Nations Multi-Country Study On Men and  
Violence In Asia and the Pacific*

By: Emma Fulu, Xian Warner, Stephanie Miedema, Rachel Jewkes, Tim Roselli  
and James Lang.

These are the seven recommendations from their report:

1. Change social norms related to the acceptability of violence and the subordination of women.
2. Promote non-violent masculinities orientated towards equality and respect.
3. Address child abuse and promote healthy families and nurturing, violence – free environments for children.
4. Work with young boys to address early stages of sexual violence perpetration.
5. Promote healthy sexuality for men and address male sexual entitlement.
6. End Impunity for men who rape.
7. Develop interventions that respond to the specific patterns of violence in each context.

## **Appendix IV**

18 myths of prostitution presented by the European Women's Lobby, "Together for a Europe free from prostitution". This list and more about the European Women's Lobby can be found at their website: [www.womenlobby.org](http://www.womenlobby.org)

1. "Prostitution is the oldest profession in the world."

Their response: "Let us change the perspective: pimping could indeed be considered the oldest profession in the world. In any case, just because something has existed for a long time does not mean that it should or cannot be changed. We do not say "murder has been around forever: we cannot do anything about it". Look at death penalty or slavery for example. "

2. "It is a job like any other."

Their response: "Do you know any other job where people face a mortality rate 10 to 40 times above the average? Where 60 to 80% of "workers" experience regular physical and sexual abuse? If this is a job like any other, how come so few women from Western Europe take the opportunity? How come the overwhelming majority are migrant women? Does this mean that this so called "job" is only for the foreign women in your country? For the sake of gender equality, should we campaign to promote this job for men? There are trade unions in Europe that do not see prostitution as a job as it is incompatible with the safety and the dignity, as well as the "career" progression, associated with a profession."

3. "Prostitution brings women economic independence, especially to migrant women."

Their response "In times of economic crisis, with high unemployment, with thriving racist attitudes, it would be very easy to say that prostitution is a solution for

women in general, and for migrant women in particular. It would even help to reduce unemployment rates! Real issues for migrant women are about: labour market access, qualification recognition and family reunification rights. Economic independence should not come at the cost of harm and abuse. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we have to do better.”

4. “It’s a choice.”

Their response: “If women had more economic choices in this society, they would not choose to be abused in prostitution”, says Fiona Broadfoot, survivor from the UK. Choice is always related to a context. Today in Europe, gender equality is not a reality: just look at the gender pay gap (16%), the prevalence of violence against women (1 in 5 women victim of domestic violence), sexist stereotypes, under-representation of women in business, academia and politics (24% of national parliamentarians)... In a context where many women face discrimination, poverty and violence, consent can be bought with money. Extensive research indicates that poverty, family loss, homelessness, drug addiction and a history of physical and sexual abuse combine to make young women vulnerable to entering prostitution. Moreover, the majority of women who enter prostitution first do so very young. Would you want your daughter or sister to choose prostitution? She could start tomorrow.”

5. “Prostitution brings [in] a lot of money.”

Their response : “To whom? According to Interpol in Europe, a pimp earns 110 000 euros per year and per woman in prostitution. If prostitution were such a good job, how come the majority of women in prostitution do not own a car, an apartment or save money for the future? The idea that prostitution brings a lot of money is a myth. Moreover, debating on the amount of money earned in prostitution is a dishonest strategy: whatever the amount, prostitution is about someone buying access to your body and sexuality. Human beings are priceless.”

## 6. "Prostitution is about sexual freedom, abolition is anti-sex."

Their response : "Let us be more precise: whose sexual freedom are we talking about? Everyone agrees that sexual freedom consists of enjoying sexual health and rights, based on equality and free from any discrimination, coercion or violence (definition of the World Health Organization). Prostitution is not about sex, it's about power: the purchase of sex is the denial of the other person's desire. Paying for sex is denying another person's right to sexual desire and consists of a profound disempowering of sexual agency in another human being. In other words, buying sex from someone can never be about sexual freedom. Abolitionists are pro-sex: they want genuine sexual freedom and equality between women and men, and this cannot be achieved as long as sexuality is placed within the scope of the market."

## 7. "Prostitution is part of women's historical struggle to control their body."

Their response: "In the 1970s in Europe, women indeed struggled for the recognition of their reproductive and sexual rights, in particular the right to safe abortion. They were denouncing structural gender inequality and therefore any authority imposing its views on women's human rights: religion, tradition... and the market. The commodification of sexuality and women's bodies cannot be considered part of a collective struggle for women's rights: prostitution is about men entitling themselves to buy sex, it is not about realising gender equality."

## 8. "Some women claim that it is their right to prostitute themselves."

Their response: "Some people freely accept to work for less than the minimum wage (especially undocumented migrants for example); some even agree to sell one organ. In both cases, our society has decided to protect the most vulnerable and guarantee decent life for all; in such cases, the law therefore condemns the employer, or the buyer of the organ. Similarly, the law should criminalise the sex buyer, not the person in prostitution. Some persons might indeed claim that they choose to be in prostitution; but a democratic society is not built on the basis of individual claims that don't reflect the situation of the overwhelming majority. At

stake is the future we are creating, the society we want to live in. In this day and age, we should be more concerned about women's and men's right not to be in prostitution."

9. "Only 'sex workers' should talk about prostitution, because they know best."

Their response: "Should only women who have been victim of domestic violence be entitled to denounce intimate partner violence? Domestic violence is recognised as a structural form of violence against women, that affects us all, women and men, because it is about societal values. Prostitution also affects us all: it conveys norms and representations to young people, it is trivialised and even glamorised by the media and the culture industry. No wonder the insult 'whore' is so widespread! Moreover, for every mediatised "sex worker", there are many survivors of prostitution, who very rarely speak out, because of the trauma linked to their experience. And millions of persons still in prostitution, who are invisible. It is time to listen to them."

10. "Prostitution is useful for society, especially for socially isolated and lonely men."

Their response : "Sex buyers do not fit this stereotype: international research shows that the majority of sex buyers are men married or in a relationship, and are more likely to have a larger number of sexual partners (not through prostitution) than the rest of the male population. By justifying prostitution as a social institution, one would imply that some women are to be sacrificed for the "needs" of these men. Luckily, you or your sister/wife/daughter/friend is not part of the sacrificed ones. Women in prostitution are first and foremost women; they should all enjoy the same equal rights and human dignity."

## 11. "Demand will never disappear."

Their response: "What a sad vision of men...: according to this assumption, men are driven by their so-called sexual "irrepressible needs", not by their brain. It is all the more surprising to believe, as the majority of men are not sex buyers. Demand is justified by a certain vision of masculinity, related to virility or strength, all stereotypes about men conveyed in our unequal societies. Demand can be reduced by education, prevention and legislation. It is as simple as that. Fatalism is used by people who do not want to change society."

## 12. "Abolishing prostitution would lead to more rapes."

Their response: "Actually, it is the other way round: studies have shown that men buy sex simply because it is possible. The normalisation of prostitution on the contrary fosters acts of violence against women, by sending the social signal that women are commodities. Nevada, where pimping has been decriminalised, sees the highest rate of rape compared to the other American states. In a study on men, 54% of prostitute-users recognised having had aggressive sexual behaviour towards their partner(s)."

## 13. "Legalising prostitution is the best way to guarantee access to basic rights for people in prostitution."

Their response: "Being in prostitution is "legal" everywhere in Europe (except Croatia where it is criminalised). The issue of accessing rights is not linked to the legal status of prostitution, it is linked to the migration status of each person: if you are legally staying in a country, you can have access to basic rights, including HIV-testing and health care. If you are undocumented, you will not have access to these rights, including in countries that legalise or decriminalise prostitution; it has nothing to do with being in prostitution or not. In Germany, only 44 persons have registered as "professional sex workers", out of the estimated 400 000 persons in

prostitution. Legalising prostitution (or decriminalising “sex work” and therefore pimping) does not change the stigma on persons in prostitution.

14. “We must combat trafficking, but prostitution has nothing to do with it.”

Their response: “Such claims contradict the reality: if prostitution has nothing to do with sex trafficking, what exactly are women trafficked for? According to EU data, 62% of trafficking in the EU is for sexual exploitation. Trafficking is profit-driven, and has a direct link with the prostitution markets, where the demand fuels the supply. It is estimated that the benefits from trafficking for sexual exploitation amount to US\$ 27.8 billion. And where does this money come from? From the buyers, like in any other business. This is why prostitution and trafficking are intrinsically linked.”

15. “With the Swedish model, persons in prostitution face more violence as prostitution goes underground.”

Their response: “If buyers can find and meet with women in prostitution, so can the police and social workers! By criminalising sex buyers, the Swedish model changes the relationship between women and buyers: buyers are the criminals. Women in prostitution, who have been to Germany before joining Sweden, said to the Stockholm police prostitution unit that there is much more violence in legal brothels as sex buyers are entitled to do what they want, as they are the “clients”. Social workers in Sweden see that persons in prostitution feel more confident to come forward for assistance. On the contrary, in countries where brothels are legal (like Australia or Germany), service providers and law enforcement say that they have limited access to women. Legalising prostitution will not change the reality: prostitution is a form of violence. 68% of women in prostitution suffer from the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, like victims of torture or veterans of war.”

16. We should not criminalize sex buyers because they can save women or identify victims of trafficking.”

Their response “Maybe you have watched “Pretty woman” too many times. A sex buyer who “saves” a woman, or reports a case of trafficking, is still a sex buyer. The existence of “nice sex buyers” does not reduce demand, it just comforts a romantic vision of prostitution that has nothing to do with reality. Moreover, the “nice sex buyers” are a very tiny minority among sex buyers: punters’ websites are very revealing in that perspective. Here are some quotes: “Reasonable blow job but just a bad attitude and making no effort to look interested or even pretend to enjoy”; “it was like fucking an attractive sack of spuds” (The invisible men Tumblr).

17. “Abolitionists want to prohibit prostitution.”

Their response: “There is a great difference between the prohibitionist approach, which criminalises all actors in the system of prostitution, including prostituted persons, and the abolitionist approach that targets only the buyers, pimps and traffickers, in other words those who hold the power of choice. Simply penalising everybody does not address the root causes and gendered nature of prostitution. Abolition is about qualifying the structural, economic, psychological and physical violence inherent to prostitution, and therefore protecting the persons affected, and criminalising the perpetrators, i.e. the sex buyers. Abolition is about proposing concrete alternatives to persons in prostitution and changing mentalities.”

18. “The abolition of prostitution is utopia.”

Their response: “Abolishing prostitution does not equal eradicating it. Rapes, murders or paedophilia are prohibited, but still exist. What is important is the social norm conveyed by legislation: it anchors amongst human rights the principle that the human body and sexuality are not for sale. It creates the conditions for a genuine equal society to be realised.”

## **Appendix V**

Child Safe network traveler tips. 7 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 VI**

The various Tiers of human trafficking on the TIP 2013 Report website

### **Tier Placement**

The Department places each country in the 2013 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 412), 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

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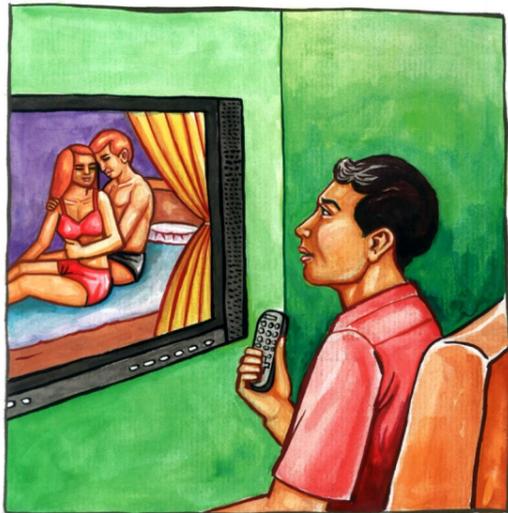
- a) the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing;
- b) there is a failure to provide evidence of *increasing efforts* to combat extreme forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecution, 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.

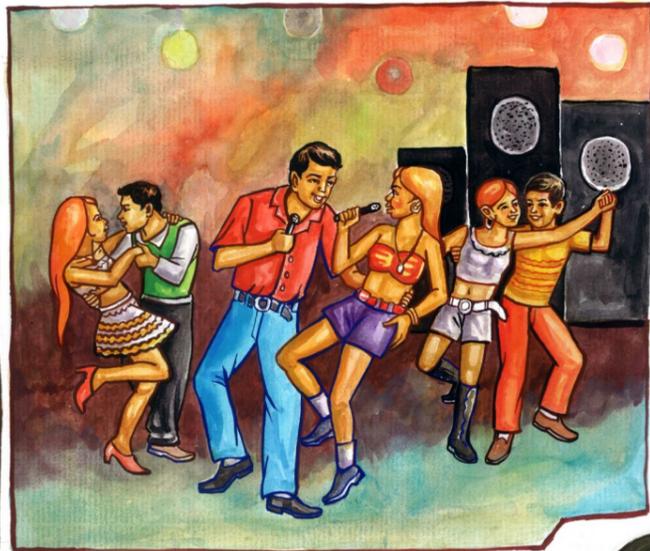
The TVPA lists additional factors to determine whether a country should be on Tier 2 (or Tier 2 Watch list) versus Tier 3. First, the extent to which the country is a country of origin, transit or destination for severe forms of trafficking. Second, the extent to which the country’s government does not 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. And third, 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.

# ទង្វើឆ្គងពិចារណា

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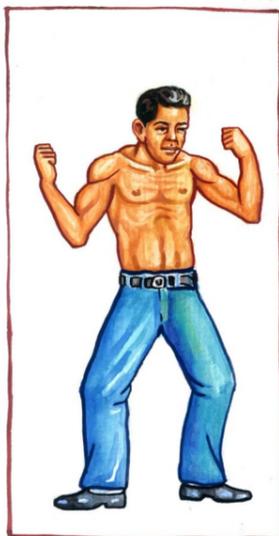
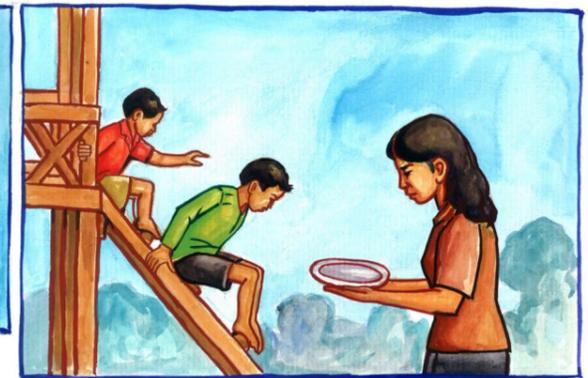
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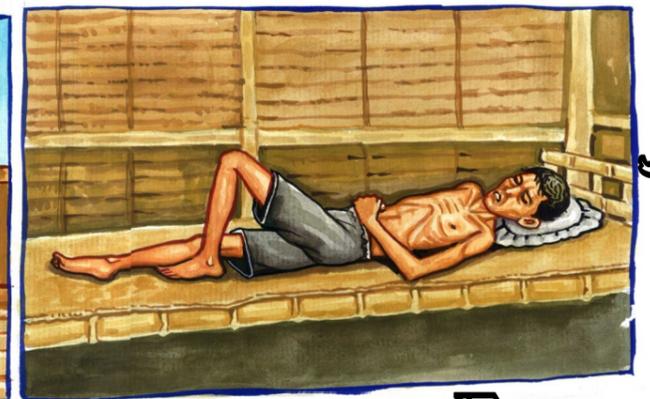


ខ្ញុំជាប្រុសពិត



ជួបកំសាន្ត

រោងទុក្ខ



ធ្លាក់ខ្លួនឈឺ



ឈឺចាប់ទាំងស្រុងខាង

