

# More<sup>than</sup> Gender

A Baseline Study of Transgender Persons  
in the Phnom Penh Sex Industry



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**LOVE146**  
END CHILD TRAFFICKING AND EXPLOITATION



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# Preface: ‘More than Gender’

Love146 is committed to seeking the eradication of sexual exploitation of children and vulnerable adults. It believes that exploitation can happen to any person irrespective of their gender, age, ethnicity or sexuality. However, the current abolition movement has tended to focus its energy on girls and young women. This study is part of a series of research projects conducted in Cambodia and the wider region that is looking at vulnerability of both cisgender<sup>1</sup> and transgender young men and boys.

Research by Love146 has been conducted with young men working in the massage and entertainment industry in Mumbai - India, Phnom Penh - Cambodia, Manila -Philippines and Chiang Mai-Thailand. To see other completed studies see [www.love146.org/research](http://www.love146.org/research). During research with boys/young men, it was understood that a number of young transgender people were also being sexually exploited, sometimes in the same contexts as boys and men. So it was decided to investigate this group as well. Although it was a challenge to access this group, when we did interview them what we found was disturbing. Sexual and other forms of violence seemed common. Stigma and discrimination were rife. Very little research had been conducted on them as whole people, beyond mere HIV and sexuality paradigms. We wanted to correct this by focusing our attention on wider vulnerabilities than sexual health and also looking at some aspects of perceived resilience and hopes for the future. This study is a result of that concern.

Although Love 146 is not a faith-based organization we are doing capacity building with a range of faith-based organizations, and appreciate that this sector plays a large part in the abolition movement. We are also aware that the faith-based community, unlike sex workers unions, has had very little—if any—contact with the transgender community. As we had a Christian theologian in the research team we decided to try to rectify this by inviting her to write some reflections on why the church and faith-based community should engage with this extremely marginalized group of people. The second part of the analysis therefore provides a theological reflection on the wider church engaging with transgender people.

Future studies are planned for research with transgender persons in Bangkok and younger street boys in Sihanoukville and Phnom Penh, Cambodia, Bangkok and Chiang Mai, Thailand and Manila, Philippines.

**Glenn Miles PhD**

*Asia Capacity Building Director*

Love146

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<sup>1</sup> The term ‘cisgender’ here refers to a person whose gender identity aligns with their biologically assigned gender. For example, a biological male who understands himself as a man or a biological female who understands herself as a woman. More information on this and other terminology can be found on page 18 of this report.

# Executive Summary

This study is the fifth in a series of studies conducted by Love146 in collaboration with partnering organizations that explores the little-known lives and experiences of sexually exploited males and male-to-female transgender persons (from here on referred to as “transgender persons”) in Southeast Asia. It is a part of a small, collaborative movement among interested organizations who have both recognized and acted upon the neglect of males and sexual minorities in discussions of sexual abuse and exploitation.

While the vulnerability of women and girls continues to be the subject of much research and a key concern among social service providers, few attempts have been made to understand the vulnerabilities and lived experiences of Cambodian transgender persons in the sex industry. Among the minimal studies that have been conducted, nearly all have solely focused on their sexual health and their likelihood to contract or spread HIV/AIDS, while often ignoring the existence of other potential vulnerabilities. This study attempts to provide a baseline of data to better understand the lives of Cambodian transgender persons in the sex trade industry, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies and merging careful fieldwork and extensive, one-on-one structured interviews. This baseline of data is intended to be used as a resource for social service providers and future researchers who hope to provide useful and informed intervention strategies for transgender persons desiring alternatives to sex work.

The research finds a particularly high vulnerability for physical abuse and sexual violence among transgendered sex workers in Phnom Penh, as well as strong stigma and discrimination coming from family members and peers. Seventy two percent of the interviewees reported migrating to Phnom Penh, 88% of them in search of work and 12% due to family issues. For nearly half of the respondents sex work was their primary source of income. Discrimination experienced by the respondents took on a number of forms: loss of employment (39%) and housing (20%), denial of education (12%) and health services (10%), and physical and sexual harassment (72%). Over half of those interviewed mentioned the police as primary source of stigma and discrimination.

Besides leading to a high rate of discrimination, their gender identity also lead to feelings of self-blame, shame, and guilt, as cited by around half of the respondents. In analysis of the gathered data, the study discusses a seemingly inherent fatalism that is observed within transgender social identity and the impact that this may have on their perception of alternative employment and options for the future. Additionally, the study attempts to unpack some of the ways in which exploitation can be derived from self-identity, and how the formation and adoption of exploitive self-identities can make transgender groups in this cultural context uniquely vulnerable.

The authors of this study aim to provide a broad baseline of data that is descriptive of the holistic needs and vulnerabilities of transgendered persons working in the sex industry in Phnom Penh. It is hoped that such a survey will allow for a deeper understanding of such groups, including their trajectory into the sex work and potential alternatives. Additionally, this study aims to aid in the development of programming and social services that meet the needs of such groups holistically, looking beyond gender expression and social identity to address human needs and vulnerabilities that may often go overlooked.

# Literature Review

Today, transgender is an evolving term first coined in the United States in the late 1980's (Carroll, Gilroy, & Ryan, 2002, p. 131). It is defined to include a range of behaviors, self-expressions, and personal identity that challenge and traverse boundaries traditionally imposed on gender. Within western societies, a binary gender system (two gender identities), female and male dominate culture and thinking. Behaviors and expressions are associated as either "masculine" or "feminine" and a person's gender identity or self-identification is categorized as a man or a woman. The third category, or transgender, is a pluralism of traditional male and female expressions and as such it encompasses a wide range of personal identity and self-expression (Carroll et al., 2002, p. 131).

## Understanding Transgender in a Cambodian Context

In Cambodia, as in other parts of Southeast Asia, the concept of gender is understood in less rigid terms than the western categories of "female" and "male" (Earth, 2006, p. 260). There are five terms used in the Khmer language to refer to one's sexual gender. The words "Srei" (ស្រី) and "Pros" (ប្រុស) are used only for human beings in the sense that, "she is a woman" or "I am a man". In addition to this, there are two words, "Gni/Chhmol" (ញី/ឈ្មោល), which are applied to animals and plants, or when one is talking about the biological gender of a person—not necessarily the person him/herself (Tan, 2008, p. 21). The fifth term used to refer to one's sexual gender is "Khteuy" (ខ្ចីយ្យ), which denotes a biological male, with a feminine personality who has sexual attractions to people of his own sex.

There are no indigenous terms in the Khmer language, which describe sexual orientation and behavior. Western concepts of heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, etcetera, people are not defined as such within the Khmer cultural understanding. Traditionally, Cambodians have derived their understanding of sexuality from concepts of gender, character and personality (Cambodian Center for Human Rights, 2010, p. 11). Thus, notions of gender identity and sexual orientation are often merged into an integrated concept of who a person is (Earth, 2006, p. 260). Men are understood in terms of their demonstration of a masculine character and females are understood in terms of their demonstration of a feminine character.

It is believed that males are born into two categories: "*rengpeng*" រឹងប៉ឹង - meaning "firm" or "tough") and "*tuonphluon*" (ទន់ភ្លន់ meaning "gentile" or "docile"). Men in the *rengpeng* category are masculine males who are understood to be firm, strong, and energetic and are often expected to perform heavy tasks (Tan, 2008, p. 24). If a man is believed to have been born in the more feminine *tuonphluon* category, this categorization is believed to be natural, and definitive of the male's personality. The word "*pros*" (ប្រុស) is not used of males who fall into the *tuonphluon* (ទន់ភ្លន់) category. Males in this category are said to identify themselves as women,

and are inevitably drawn to their opposite, the masculine male, or *rengpeng* (រឹងប៉ឹង) (2008, p. 27). These feminine males may categorize themselves as *khteuy* (ខ្ចីយ៉) or as members of the “third gender”. This person is not understood to be a male, but rather a kind of intermediary gender that is neither male nor female. He is thought of as a kind of woman-like person who has sex with men (2008, p. 26-27). For people in this group, romantic relationships are often perceived to be marked with disappointment (2008, p. 28). While *khteuy* (ខ្ចីយ៉) are understood to be attracted to *rengpeng* (រឹងប៉ឹង) males, males in the *rengpeng* (រឹងប៉ឹង) category are understood to solely be attracted to members of the biologically opposite sex and would not naturally find the *khteuy* (ខ្ចីយ៉) appealing. Thus, it is believed that the *khteuy* (ខ្ចីយ៉) needs to put forth extra effort in order to “trap” or “catch” a man—a process which is usually described euphemistically with allusions to hunting, eating or consumption (2008, p. 28).

## Research Approaches in Asia

In general, the vast majority of research regarding transgender persons is divided into two approaches. There are numerous ethnographic, qualitative studies and books documenting the culture and lives of transgender persons throughout Asia (Jackson & Cook, 1999; Totman, 2003; Winter, 2006; Peletz, 2009; Winter, 2009). In many instances these studies provide detailed interviews with small numbers of transgender people. Most studies are cross sectional although there are some longitudinal studies documenting life experiences of transgender individuals.

HIV funded studies are, in many ways, the catalyst for the majority of quantitative research regarding transgender persons in Asia. These studies focus on the “risk factors” ascribed to the transgender population such as awareness and physical health risks for sexually transmitted infections (STI) and HIV, “high risk” behaviors and occupations (such as condom use during sex and sex work), and health care services (Winter, 2012, p. 1-3). Studies are often designed to inform HIV policy and resource allocations in international health organizations, government ministries, and national healthcare systems.

As a result of efforts in HIV, research has now evolved and grown over the past decade to include other key questions regarding basic human rights, access to health care, and quality of life within transgender communities. Winter provides an exhaustive review of literature describing transgender human rights concerns and HIV vulnerability in the Asia-Pacific region (2012, p. 8-33). Sood (2009) provides a comprehensive evaluation of the laws and policies of twelve Asian countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam) in regards to access to sexual health services and basic human rights of transgender persons. Today a fairly broad scope of literature exists documenting the struggles among transgender persons for basic human rights and quality of life in Asia.

## Prejudice and Discrimination of Transgender Communities

The collective body of transgender research has been and continues to be instrumental in raising awareness and advocacy for transgender persons in countries throughout the world. Both qualitative and quantitative studies uncover the many issues and concerns transgender

persons face in Asian societies. Sadly, results from these studies are grim, revealing that transgender persons experience some of the highest overall rates of stigma, violence, prejudice, and discrimination in all facets of society (in schools, families, housing, healthcare systems, employment, police, and laws; Catalla, Sovanara, & Mourik, 2003, p. 27-28; Ho, 2006, p. 230; Sood, 2009, p. 11-16; Winter, 2011, p. 253; Käng, 2012; Winter, 2012, p. 37; Dey, 2013, p. 55; Salas, 2013, p. 9-12).

Consider the following research findings in Asia:

- Transgender persons are stigmatized and often considered the “lowest of the low” people groups in society. Sood quotes a human rights worker in Nepal, “The discrimination towards transgender people is so strong and permeates the LGBTI community” (2009, p. 20-21). Sadly, even within sexual minorities, transgender persons are stigmatized and discriminated against (Catalla et al., 2003, p. 5).
- Rejection and discrimination by family members negatively impacts the quality of life for many transgender persons. Few if any studies exist in Asia documenting the impact of family acceptance on the quality of life of transgender persons. The National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force conducted a broad study of mainly first-generation, Asian transgender persons living in the United States (Grant, Mottet, & Tanis, 2012, p. 101-102). Survey Results showed the following:

	<b>Family Acceptance</b>	<b>Family Rejection</b>
<b>Discrimination</b>	Much less likely	Much more likely
<b>Suicide Rate</b>	17%	35%
<b>Homelessness Rate</b>	9%	20%
<b>HIV Positive Rate</b>	2.78%	6.38%

- A 2011 study from Bangladesh and Papua New Guinea looking at gender-based violence among sexual minorities including transgender persons, found instances ranging from being teased by people on the street to being raped and murdered (Wong & Noriega, 2011, p. 4). Violence was attributed to a wide variety of sources, including members of the respondents’ communities and families. Violence in this study was purported to have been committed due to the stigma associated with individuals’ particular identities or exhibition of behaviors, which violated existing societal norms (2011, p. 5).
- The laws in many countries do not acknowledge transgender persons and are insufficient in protecting them in society. For instance, the rape of a transgender person is not a criminal offense in many countries in Asia. Sood (2009, p. 13) reported that apart from Thailand, rape laws in the other 11 countries did not afford protection or legal recourse for men or transgender people (including Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, and Vietnam).

- Rape and physical violence are serious concerns in transgender communities in Asia. A study in Thailand interviewed 2,049 men who had sex with men (MSM; Guadamuz, et al., 2011). In the study, 474 identified themselves as transgender persons. As a group, the transgender people had significantly higher history of forced sex (26.4%) as compared to MSM (19.4%) and male sex workers (MSW; 12.1%), respectively. A second study in Thailand showed similar results with transgender people reporting the highest history of forced sex (29%) among MSM and MSW (Chemnasiri, et al., 2010, p. 103). A study in Cambodia interviewing 70 transgender sex workers found 37.5% and 52.3% reported being gang raped by clients and gangsters, respectively, at least once over the past year (Jenkins, CPU, WNU, & Sainsbury, 2006, p. 14-28). The act of gang rape included an average number of six men.
- Police are often perpetrators of violence and discrimination toward transgender persons (Sood, 2009, p. 19-20; Nichols, 2010, p. 197; Winter, 2012, p. 21). In the Jenkins et al.'s study discussed above, the author reported 29.9% of transgender sex workers were beaten by Cambodian policemen, 41% were robbed, and 23.9% were raped. Gang rape by police was also alarmingly high at 18.2% of respondents. The study went on to interview 58 policemen and reported that “almost all” had witnessed physical abuse, robbery, and rape of sex workers by gangsters and other police officers (2006, p. 31-39).
- In Asia there are almost no studies focusing on transgender children and adolescence looking at stigma, violence, prejudice, and discrimination. This has significance because research suggests that the transitions in self and identity for transgender people occur at a much earlier life stage in Asia (through childhood and adolescence) as compared to North America and Europe (young adult and adult; Winter, 2009, p. 22). Further, research in western countries has shown that transgender youth experience substantial victimization (Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006, p. 235; Stieglitz, 2010). A study conducted in the United States by Grossman et al. (2006) showed verbal abuse and threats started at an average age of 13. Physical abuse, including rape, began on average at age 14. In this study, 77% of transgender youth experienced verbal harassment by parents, 48% by brothers or sisters, and 65% by police officers. Based on these results and the intensity of discrimination and violence toward transgender persons already discussed in Asia, it is likely that transgender youth in Asia experience multiple cycles of violence and discrimination starting as early as childhood.

## **Vulnerabilities and Resiliencies of Transgender Persons**

Transgender persons, along with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) people in general, are commonly excluded from national discussions on vulnerability in Cambodia and are currently not defined as a vulnerable people group within the 2011-2015 National Strategy for Social Protection (NSSP; Royal Government of Cambodia, 2011). The NSSP defines vulnerable people groups as: infants and children, girls and women of reproductive age, households vulnerable to food insecurity, and includes a list of other “special vulnerable groups” (Salas, 2013, p. 16). However, within Cambodian society, it is common for males (and females) who do not conform to expected gender norms (such as effeminate, homosexual males, masculine females, transgender persons, etc.) to be subject to various forms of exclusion, stigma and discrimination, which can result in higher levels of poverty and vulnerability. A 2010 report from

the Cambodian High Commission for Human Rights cites high levels of both physical and sexual abuse to be commonly experienced by transgender persons in Cambodia.

## **Vulnerabilities, Violence and Discrimination**

Literature available on transgender persons in Cambodia provides only a very limited cross sectional image of their vulnerability. Increased advocacy on HIV issues in the region have led to a wealth of new studies detailing key vulnerabilities in areas of sexual health, although in many of these studies information regarding health risks for transgender people are often grouped together with MSM (Girault, et al., 2002, p. 17-18; Catalla et al., 2003, p. 29-43; Girault et al., 2004; Salas, 2013, p. 2). A recent study on the life experiences and HIV risks of young entertainment workers, funded by FHI360, included a small sampling of transgender persons and also highlighted some significant risks. In addition to sex work, the report noted that all transgender respondents reported multiple, concurrent partners, high-levels of drug and alcohol use, and inconsistent condom use (Phlong, Weissman, Holden & Liu, 2012, p. 35-36).

In Cambodia, transgender persons face serious risks of violence and discrimination on a daily basis. As discussed previously, Jenkins (2006, p. 14-28) documented grave physical abuses and violence toward transgender sex workers. Stigma and discrimination was reported to be a common facet of their daily lives for transgender persons interviewed in four cities around Cambodia (Phlong et al., 2012). A recent exploratory study on the social exclusion of lesbian, gay, and transgender persons in Cambodia reveals high levels of stigma and discrimination on a variety of levels, including homes, schools, the workplace, health facilities, and public spaces (Salas, 2013).

Social exclusion, particularly by family members, has been found to be another key vulnerability among LGBT people in Cambodian society. Openly gay or transgender people often face ostracization from families and are often provided with no social or economic support system, leaving them even more vulnerable (Cambodian Center for Human Rights, 2010, p. 7; Phlong et al., 2012, p. 36). Salas described the widespread rejection of transgender persons by family members (2013, p. 9-13). The research showed that 87% of transgender persons experienced verbal insults from their family, 24% said their family tried to stop their school or work because they were transgender, and 79% indicated family members had told them they would now get AIDS because of their life decisions. These findings for transgender persons were substantially higher than other sexual minorities included in the report. The author also found that 66% of transgender persons experienced domestic violence, again the highest among sexual minorities and a result that was almost three times the national average reported for women in Cambodia in 2009 (Salas, 2013, p. 11).

Stigma and social exclusion are factors that can commonly lead to other key vulnerabilities such as sex work. A 2012 report from the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport indicates family discrimination and poverty as a primary factor contributing to the trajectory of transgender persons into sex work (Phlong et al., 2012, p. 36). A study conducted in 2002 surveyed both MSM and transgender persons in three cities in Cambodia. The survey in Phnom Penh (comprising 75 MSM and 76 transgender persons) showed 25% of the respondents' primary source of income was sex work and nearly 70% indicated they sold sex for money at least once in their lifetime. In a recent quantitative survey of 200 transgender persons in Phnom

Penh, only 2% of the respondents list sex work as their primary source of income; however, 52% indicate they sold sex for money in the past six months (Schneiders, 2013, p. 16). While many transgender persons do not consider sex work their primary source of income, a substantial number remain vulnerable.

The intersections of personal identity, social exclusion, and challenging life experiences can leave many transgender persons vulnerable to depression, anxiety, severe stress, and suicide. There was no information regarding transgender people's vulnerabilities to depression, anxiety, and suicide in Cambodia until this study. In fact this area of research is lacking throughout Asia. Studies in the United States show rates of depression and anxiety far surpass those of the general public (Budge & Adelson, 2013, p. 545). The attempted suicide rate among Asian transgender persons living in the United States is 43% as compared to the general population average of just 1.6% (Grant et al., 2012, p. 2). Other studies suggest various forms of abuse may have different impacts in victims' lives (Hoffman, 2014, p. 5). For instance, physical violence toward transgender persons is linked to increased suicide ideation and attempts while sexual partner violence is associated with increased depression in transgender persons. Unfortunately little is known regarding the struggles transgender persons have with depression, anxiety, and suicide in Cambodia.

## Transgender Resiliency

Resilience, in a psychological context, is the capacity of a person to withstand challenging life circumstances and persevere in the face of adversity (such as stress, violence, death of a loved one). Resilience is a learned set of traits or skill, behaviors, thoughts, and actions that grow and change as a person experiences life. Resiliency also comes from supportive relationships with family, friends, and other people who help a person cope with challenging circumstances.

The ability of humans to cope with and overcome adversity has a long history of research; however, there are very few studies that have look at resiliency in transgender persons. No known studies exist in Asia. Providing a better understanding of resiliency among transgender persons in Asia is a key recommendation by Winter (2012, p. 41). Farnsworth's (2014) review of literature for resiliency and transgender persons found a lack in broad scale studies highlighting strengths among transgender persons. The author suggested, "*As a marginalized population, transgender studies would be most effective if the interpersonal impact of protective factors, such as family cohesion and social resources, were examined*" (p. 25). Results from this type of study would offer greater understanding of protective factors used by transgender persons, as well as identify resiliency factors that could be taught and strengthened within transgender communities (Winter, 2012, p. 41).

## Study Scope and Objectives

There is an urgent and considerable gap in information regarding the lives of transgender persons in Cambodia. Studies have documented grave physical abuses toward transgender sex workers and shown that transgender persons have the highest rates of family discrimination among sexual minorities. No studies have gone beyond evaluating risk factors and little is known regarding mental health or suicide rates among transgender persons in Cambodia. Further, no studies in Cambodia have examined personal traits and other protective factors that contribute to the resiliency of transgender persons in the face of stigma, discrimination,

harassment, and social exclusion. More thorough research is needed, specifically focused on the life experiences and resiliencies of transgender persons in Cambodia.

This study attempts to provide a baseline of data to better understand the lives of Cambodian transgender persons in the sex trade industry. The study scope includes utilizing both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies and merging fieldwork and extensive one-on-one structured interviews. An objective of this research is to provide useful data as a resource for social service providers and researchers who hope to provide useful and informed intervention strategies including alternatives to sex work for transgender persons.

# Methodology

## Sampling

This study employed both purposive and “snowballing” data sampling methodologies. Prior to the collection of data for this study, observational field research was conducted in a variety of areas in the Phnom Penh area where transgender persons were known to engage in freelance sex work. Sites for data-gathering were primarily uncovered through interviews with a Love146 partner working with transgender populations, sexual health clinics, and from anecdotal conversations with field informants in various LGBTQ bars and entertainment establishments in Phnom Penh. This initial fieldwork defined five key areas within Phnom Penh in which transgender persons were known to be purchased for sex. After the data collection process had begun, respondents were asked if they were aware of other areas in Phnom Penh in which transgender persons were known to be purchased for sex. This uncovered a number of locales and housing areas in which transgender sex workers lived in community. Within these communities, some groups were found to have sex work as their primary source of income, while for others, sex work was a supplementary source of income.

A total of 50 interviews were conducted with self-identified transgender sex workers within or near these areas. Thirty-five interviews were collected from transgender sex workers in several public locales where they work, at the beginning of their work hours. Six of these interviews were collected from a local Khmer NGO that works with LGBT groups in Phnom Penh. Finally, nine interviews were collected within two residential communities in an area south of Phnom Penh where these respondents live and work. In order to be eligible for participation in this study, respondents were required to meet four basic criteria:

- Biologically male at birth
- Self-identifying as “female” or “third gender” (Khtuey/ladyboy)<sup>2</sup>
- Reporting to have been paid for sex within the past three months
- Able and willing to give informed consent to participate in the study

All field research and data gathering was conducted in January-February of 2013.

## Research Instrument

The research instrument used for the study was adapted from a similar study, originally developed by Jasmir Thakur of the Samabhavana Society in Mumbai India and Glenn Miles of Love146. This instrument was originally used to survey vulnerability among street-based male masseurs in Mumbai, and was adapted culturally for usage in similar studies with males in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, Cambodia. In adapting this survey to be used for the present context, questions were reviewed and scrutinized to ensure their relevance among transgender

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<sup>2</sup> While all of our respondents self-identified as either “female” or “third gender”, three of our respondents--after further questioning--stated that they still understood themselves to be male to some extent, even though they commonly self-identified as third gender (Khtuey or ladyboy). Because of this stated self-identity, these respondents were included in the sampling.

persons in Phnom Penh, and additional questions were added to create an expanded section on social stigma, exclusion, and discrimination. The final survey was a combination of multiple choice and open-ended questions covering areas including the following: demographics; relationships; personal and family finances; social exclusion, prejudice, stigma and discrimination; migration and entrance into the sex industry; sexual history and sexual health; personal sexual history; substance abuse; violence and sexual abuse; income generation; dignity and future planning; spirituality and existential well-being.

## Ethical Considerations

All interviewers and field researchers were trained prior to data collection and field research using UNIAP Ethical Guidelines for Human Trafficking Research (2008). All interviewers were familiarized with survey questions and we're trained using role-playing scenarios prior to conducting interviews. References for sexual health, counseling services, and legal aid were provided to respondents when relevant. Prior to beginning each interview, interviewers familiarized each respondent with the study's purpose and the kinds of questions that would be asked during the interview. Respondents were informed that they could choose to skip any question or stop the interview at any time. Each interview lasted about 45 minutes and following each interview, respondents were able to choose a phone card with a value of 5 USD or a handbag of equal value as a way of thanking them for participating in the study. As a precaution, all interviews for this study were conducted in public or semi-private areas within close proximity to other members of the research team so as to provide security and accountability. All interviews were conducted in the Khmer language by a team of three Khmer-national field researchers.

## Limitations

Data collected during interviews relied largely upon self-reporting. Thus, we are only able to report the data that respondents were willing to disclose, and through the particular socio-ideological lens by which they chose to disclose it. As we will discuss later in this report, it was common for a number of respondents to give seemingly contradictory answers to interview questions. For instance, a number cited that they like sex work, yet went on to describe graphic acts of physical and sexual violence committed against them regularly in their line of work, and admitted that they have no other choice but to do the work that they were currently doing (sex work). Similarly, others indicated, somewhat fatalistically, that they liked sex work because they are "lady boys" and they ought to like it. While we understand this data to be contradictory and perhaps somewhat confusing, we can only provide analysis on what some of these contradictions might imply and essentially present what the respondents said at face value.

While the data collection team attempted to gather a sampling of respondents that was representative of transgender sex workers in Phnom Penh, field researchers were limited to interviewing only those respondents who were readily accessible in areas of data collection, self-identifying as sex workers, and those who were willing to be interviewed. Within the past few decades, there has been increased vigilance and harsher legislation for child abuse and endangerment, which might drive younger sex workers to go underground or to give incorrect information about their ages. Given this, it should be noted that ages shown here are merely "reported ages" and it is understood that some respondents in this study may, in fact, be younger than what they have reported.

## Definition of Terms

To understand the diverse nature of gender, it is vital to unpack the many aspects of gender, which are so often conflated. The diagram below is entitled “The Genderbread Person 3.0” and depicts how gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation (sexual attraction and romantic attraction), and biological sex, are actually separate components within each human being (Killermann, 2013, p. 83). Each aspect is measured on its own scale. For many people, these components are in line with traditional gender binary. One example of this would be a person who is biologically female, identifies as a woman, expresses herself as feminine, and is sexually and romantically attracted to men. Any number of combinations of these components can and do exist. In this research, respondents do not fit within the traditional gender binary and have been labeled in this report as “transgender” persons. The term “transgender” can be used to refer to people whose gender identity differs from their biological sex, as well as a general term to encompass a range of gender identities and expressions which fall outside the traditional gender binary (i.e. those who are not in the cisgender majority). Terms such as “trans\*,” “trans-,” and “genderqueer” are similarly used to encompass a range of gender identities and expressions, however for the purposes of simplicity only the term “transgender” is employed in this report. An adapted glossary from the creator of The Genderbread Person, Sam Killerman, has been included to demonstrate the intended meanings behind phrases used such as “gender binary,” “cisgender,” “transgender,” etc. (Killermann, 2013, p. 226-237).

This report has chosen to use the term “transgender persons” to refer to respondents, instead of “trans-woman”. This is to recognize that not all respondents have clearly defined this identity for themselves. Thus, instead of subjecting them to a label, which we may perceive them to fit, we have chosen to retain a degree of ambiguity to reflect more accurately the respondents’ own variety of self-understandings. At times, the term “ladyboy” is employed throughout this report. We recognize this as a working term and cultural concept within the Cambodian context, and as an active social identity to which many of our respondents align. This report aims to sensitively explore this matter of gender and identity in a respectful and comprehensive manner, however the topic of gender and language surrounding it continuously evolves to encompass increasingly expansive understandings of gender. Therefore despite our best efforts, there may be flaws or slight inaccuracies in the terminology used in this report. Nevertheless, we hope that the thoughtful manner in which this was written and researched and the good intentions behind it will be clear to readers as we continuously strive to develop our understanding and strip back assumptions and misconceptions.

# The Genderbread Person v2.0

Gender is one of those things everyone thinks they understand, but most people don't. Like *Inception*. Gender isn't binary. It's not either/or. In many cases it's both/and. A bit of this, a dash of that. This tasty little guide is meant to be an appetizer for understanding. It's okay if you're hungry for more.

its pronounced **METRO**sexual

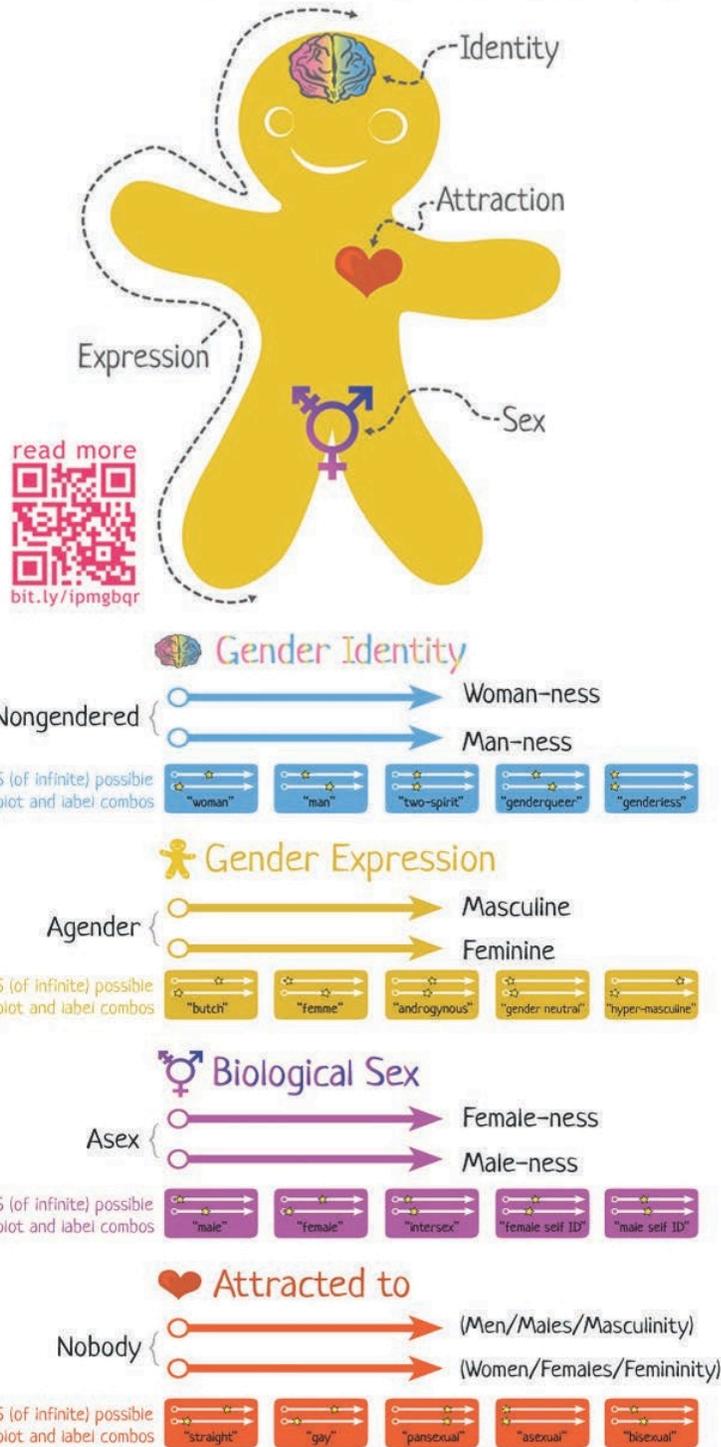


Diagram Reference: (Killermann, 2013, p. 83).

## Glossary of terms<sup>3</sup>

**Biological Sex:** the anatomy and hormones each person is born with that are usually described as “male” or “female”. “Intersex” people are born with anatomy/hormones that do not fit with male/female categories (used to be called hermaphrodites, however this term is outdated for a number of reasons).

**Gender Expression:** how a person chooses to show their gender, usually marked on a scale of masculinity and femininity, displayed through clothing, behavior, language, social behavior, and more. Cross-dressing means to wear clothes that conflict with the gender identity prescribed to their sex under the traditional gender binary, often those who partake in this are called transvestites; this is not to be confused with being transsexual.

**Gender Identity:** how a person perceives their own gender and subsequently labels himself or herself.

- **Cisgender:** description of someone whose gender identity, gender expression, and biological sex all matches up. Within this category is: cis-man: man, masculine and male, or cis-woman: woman, feminine and female.
- **Transgender:** umbrella term that is used to describe a range of non-cisgender people who fall outside the gender binary, including but not limited to:
  - **Bigender:** fluctuates between “woman” and “man” gender-based identities, identifying with both, and sometimes also with a third gender.
  - **Ladyboy:** term used in some countries, including Thailand and Cambodia, to refer to transgender women.
  - **Third-Gender:** term usually used in countries/cultures that recognize three or more genders, to describe people who neither identify as “man” or “woman”.
  - **Trans-man:** a person whose gender identity is male, but whose biologically assigned sex is female.
  - **Trans-woman:** a person whose gender identity is female, but whose biologically assigned sex is male.
  - **Two-Spirit:** a term that is used to recognize people that express or identify with both genders, originally coined by Native Americans.

**Sexual Orientation:** describes the kind of attraction (including, but not limited to sexual, romantic, physical, spiritual attractions) a person feels towards other, usually labeled according to the genders of that person and those whom they are attracted to.

- **Gay/lesbian (homosexual):** terms used to describe people who attracted to others of the same sex.
- **Straight (heterosexual):** describes someone who is attracted to people of the other sex.
- **Skoliosexual:** attracted to people who are not cisgender.
- **Bisexual:** describes a person that is attracted to both people of their own gender and people of another gender.
- **Pansexual:** term used to describe a person who experiences attraction to people of all gender identities/expressions.

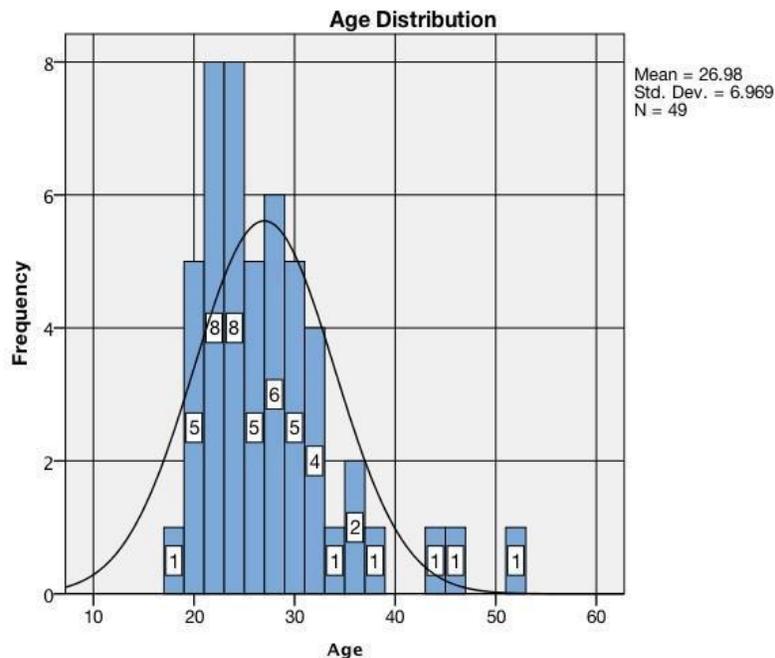
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<sup>3</sup>Adapated from: Killermann, 2013, p. 226-237.

# Results

## Demographics

**Age:** The ages of respondents spanned 34 years, the youngest reporting to be 18 and the oldest 52. While there were a few coming from a significantly higher age bracket, the mean age of respondents was 27 years. Forty-five percent of respondents fall within the UNICEF definition of youth (15-24 years old). Respondents indicated that they had entered the sex industry at a mean age of 20 years. The majority of respondents (84%) cited that they had first received payment for sexual services between the ages of 12 and 24. Approximately one-in-six respondents, or eight people, indicated that they began sex work before the age of 18. Seven of these started between the ages of 15 and 17, and one indicated that they had begun sex work at the age of 12.



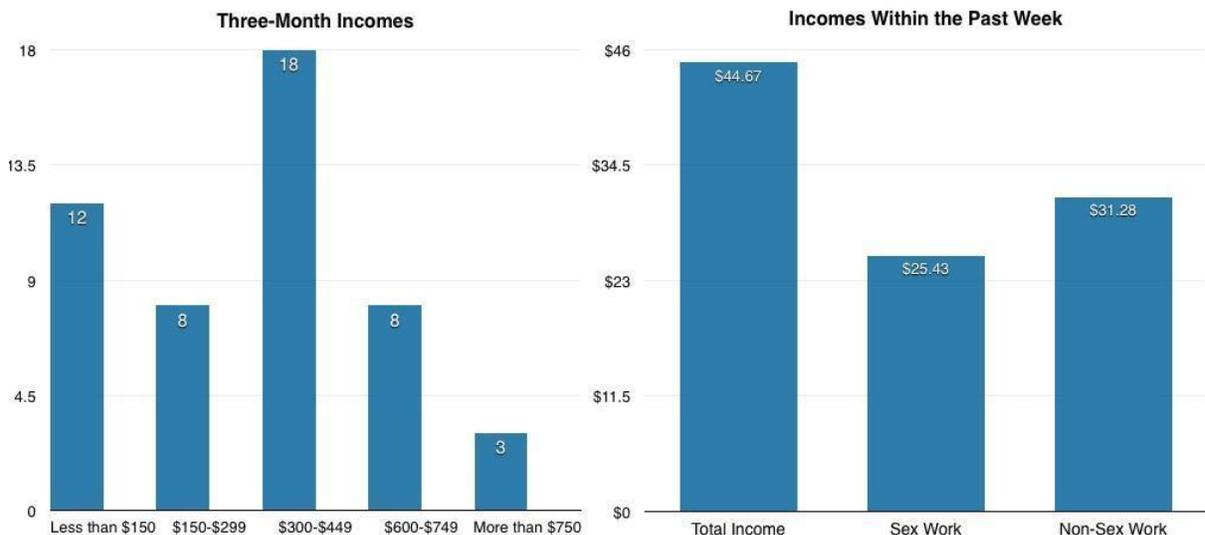
**Migration:** A large majority, or 72% of respondents had immigrated to Phnom Penh. Of those who indicated migrating, 88% stated that they had come to Phnom Penh in search of work, and four people, or 12% of migrants stated that they had left home due to family issues. Some respondents gave multiple and various reasons for migration. Two respondents mentioned they had moved to Phnom Penh for studies. And two others indicated migration for the purpose of finding greater freedom, one to find more freedom in doing sex work and the other to find more freedom in being transgender.

The predominant number of respondents (66%) had migrated to the Phnom Penh area within the past seven years. Nearly one quarter or 12 people had migrated to Phnom Penh within the past one to three years, and eight people (16%) had migrated within the past 12 months. Only two

migrants indicated living in Phnom Penh for more than seven years. The remaining 13 respondents had always lived in Phnom Penh.

**Education:** Respondents were asked about the last level of schooling that they had completed. Education levels ranged from no schooling at all to some attendance of college or university. The majority of respondents (50%) indicated that they had stopped attending school between the seventh and tenth grades. One fifth of respondents, or 10 people, indicated having a fifth to seventh grade education. Seven people (or 14%) cited that they were not able to complete any education beyond the primary level (two having no education, and five having left school after the fourth grade). Five respondents cited attending school until the 11 to 12th grades. Lastly, university or college attendance was reported by three respondents, but none of them had graduated.

## Financial Implications



**Work:** Nearly half (49%) of those interviewed or 21 people indicated that sex work is their primary means of income, and 14 people of this group stated that sex work is their only form of income and that they have no other form of employment. Slightly less than half of respondents (23 people) indicated having another primary source of income that is outside of sex work. Nearly one third of respondents stated “factory work” as their primary sources of income and had come from one particular industrial area outside of Phnom Penh. Outside of factory work, secondary sources of income indicated by respondents include many jobs such as hairdressing, makeup artistry, and laundry.

Respondents were asked about their incomes over the past three months. While three-month income figures varied greatly, ranging from \$0 to \$1000, a predominant number of respondents indicated having earned between \$300 and \$450 over the past three months, with a mean income of \$320 for all respondents. Twelve respondents indicated three-month incomes of

under \$150. A minority, or three respondents reported significantly higher incomes of over \$800 in a three-month period.

The mean overall income for respondents during the past week was \$44.67, including both sex work and non-sex work incomes. It may be significant to note that these week-to-week figures varied greatly with a range of \$300, \$0 being the lowest and \$300 being the highest. In a separate question, asked later in interviews, respondents were asked to estimate how much of their earnings within the past week were from sex work. Responses ranged from \$200, \$0 being the lowest and \$200 being the highest, with a mean income of \$22.43. Comparing this figure to total reported incomes, sex work makes up approximately 56% of the total income of respondents on average.

In addition to their incomes, respondents were asked to list the “top five” destinations<sup>4</sup> for the money that they had earned. Regarding all items listed (one through five), clothing and food are perceived listed 84% of the time among their top expenses, followed by cosmetics and rent, 62% of the time. Sending financial support for families was mentioned 17 times (or 34% of the time), followed by costs for utilities mentioned by 28%. The remaining perceived expenses are transportation costs, medicine, and perfume. A separate analysis was then done, taking into consideration only the first item on each of the respondent’s list of “top five” expenses. This was done in order to provide a more focused understanding of what respondents perceived to be their greatest financial burdens. In this analysis, 34% of respondents mentioned food as their greatest expense, 24% mentioned rent, 16% mentioned cosmetics, 14% mentioned clothes, and 8% mentioned financial support of their families as top expenses. One respondent mentioned medications as the top expense, and another mentioned costs for utilities.

## Social Relationships

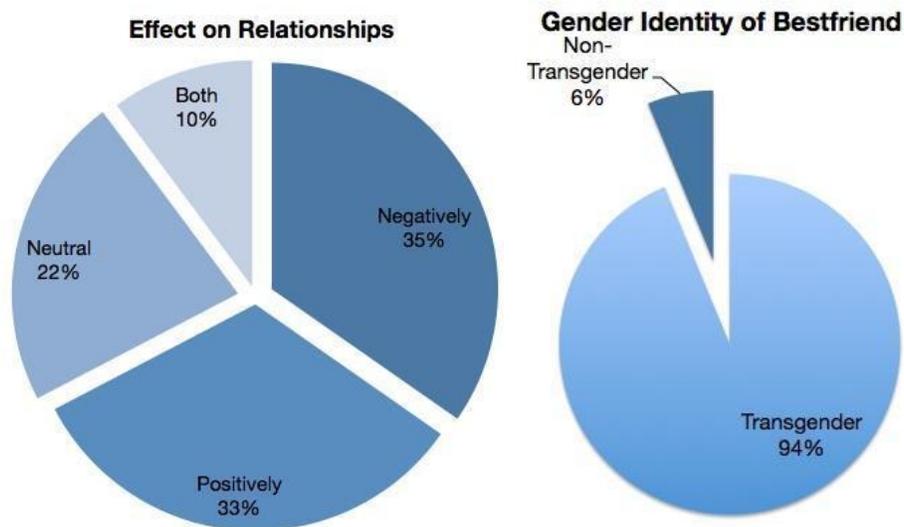
**Accommodation:** In order to understand more about the home-life of respondents and to infer more potential systems of support and identity, respondents were asked about their present living arrangements. One-third, or 32%, indicated that they were presently living with other transgender friends, and another third (32%) reported living with immediate family members. Outside of these majorities, nine people stated that they lived alone, three lived with non-transgendered friends, three lived with distant relatives, and two people lived with a mixed group of both transgender and non-transgender friends.

**Relationships:** Almost all our respondents (96%) said that they have a best friend and 90% of this group cited that this best friend is another transgender person. Respondents were then asked about the effect that being transgender had on their intimate, personal relationships. The majority of respondents (78%) reported that it had no effect. Thirty-three percent stated that being transgender had a positive effect on these relationships, some citing acceptance from females and transgender friends and support from families and others close to them. One respondent saw the positive effect rooted in the fact that he is “a good ‘lady-boy’”. Thirty-five percent of respondents stated that being transgender affects their intimate personal relationships in a negative way. Their description of what this looked like is more nuanced than of those who saw positive effects. Nine respondents reported that their families won’t accept

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<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that these are their greatest *perceived* destinations for the money they earned and may not reflect their actual expenses.

them and actively exclude them, one indicated being disowned by family members and has since lost contact with them. Three respondents cited that they would not want their families to know that they are transgender for fear of hatred and exclusion. Nineteen respondents, or 38%, cited friends, neighbors, coworkers or classmates, who verbally abused them, looked down on them, made fun of them, or refused to hang out with them because they feel ashamed or embarrassed of the respondent. Ten percent stated that the effect of being transgender on their relationships is a mix of positives and negatives even within the family. Lastly, one respondent mentioned having a father who refused to communicate with them whereas the rest of the respondents family still does communicate with them. Although 88% of respondents stated that their families are aware that they are transgender, further discussion with respondents revealed that this did not necessarily mean that their families accepted them.



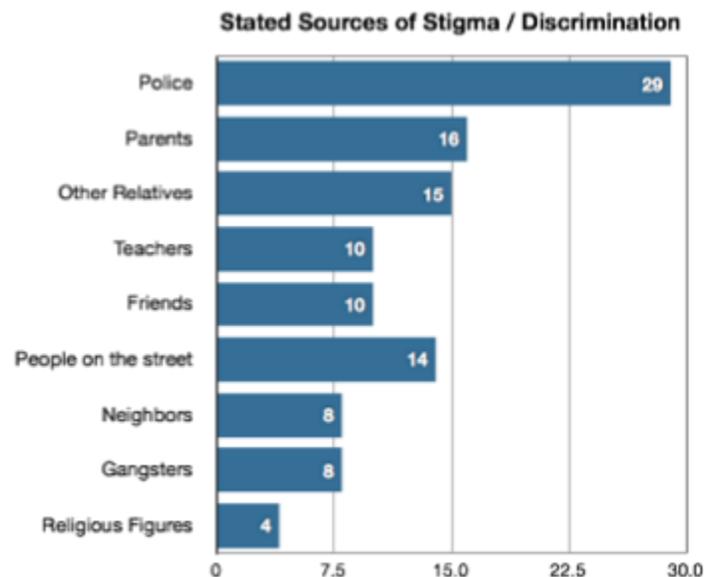
**Prejudice, stigma, and discrimination:** Respondents were asked, broadly, if they had experienced stigma or discrimination. Initially, there were a number of respondents who said, “no”. However, when asked more specifically, respondents shared numerous (and sometimes extreme) experiences of violence, exclusion, and other forms of stigma and discrimination, which happened on the basis of their gender identity.

Exclusion and discrimination were evident in areas of foundational human need. Within the past 12 months, a significant number of respondents reported that being transgender meant restricted access to basic human services: 39% of cited that they have been refused employment or lost a job, 20% cited instances in which they have been forced to change their place of residence or had not been able to rent accommodation, 12% had been prevented or dismissed from an educational institution, and 10% stated that they had been denied health services because they were transgender.

Beyond statistics gathered from interviews, the reality of discrimination toward respondents became apparent during times of data collection. In one instance, field researchers had been conducting interviews in a particular housing area where a small community of transgender had been living. Following the first evening of data collection, field researchers attempted to

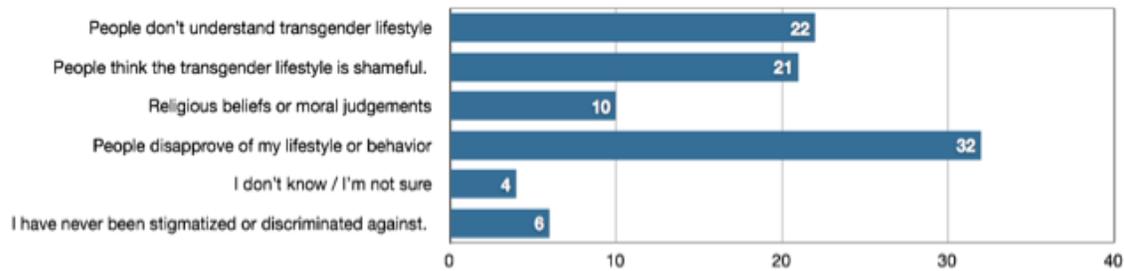
schedule the remaining interviews for the following day. One respondent expressed uncertainty that any of them would be still living at that location by the following day, citing an unpleasant conversation with the landlord earlier that day. When asked why they would have to leave, the respondent indicated that some transgender had been rumored to bring their clients to the housing complex. Thus all transgender tenants would have to be evicted. Indeed, as field researchers arrived at the site the following day, no transgender tenants remained.

Respondents were asked about stigma and discrimination occurring within family and social settings. Thirty-two percent of respondents reported that they had been excluded from social gatherings within the past 12 months such as weddings, funerals, parties or clubs, due to their gender identity. Eighteen percent mentioned exclusion from family activities such as cooking, eating together, or sleeping in the same room and 8% stated that they had been excluded from religious activities or places of worship.



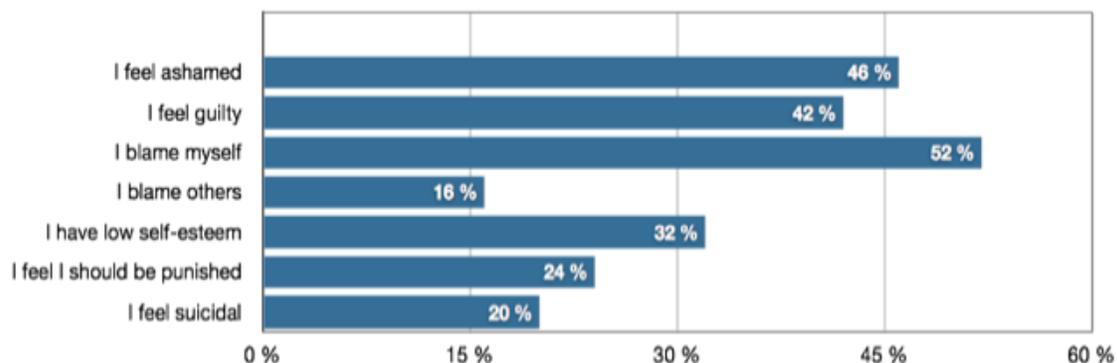
When asked to define the groups from whom their stigma and discrimination came, a vast majority of respondents mentioned various figures of authority. Well over half, or 29 respondents, mentioned the police as a primary source of stigma and discrimination. Following police, one-third of respondents, or 16 people, cited stigma and discrimination from parents and 15 cited discrimination from other people within the family. Beyond this, a significant number (14 people) indicated discrimination from strangers on the street. Other significant groups included “teachers” and “friends”, both mentioned by 10 respondents each. To a somewhat lesser extent, eight respondents each cited discrimination from “neighbors” and “gangsters” and four cited discrimination from “religious figures”.

### Perceived reasons for discrimination



Respondents gave a number of reasons why they felt they were discriminated against. The majority, or 32 respondents (80% of group), stated that they think the discrimination against them is rooted in people’s disapproval of their lifestyle or behavior. More than half of respondents (55% of group) believed that they are discriminated against because people don’t understand the transgender lifestyle and 21 respondents (another half 52% of group) stated that discrimination comes from people’s perception that transgender lifestyle is shameful and consequently they wouldn’t want to be associated with transgender people. Ten respondents (25% of the group) cited religious beliefs or moral judgments as reasons for discrimination. Lastly, six respondents (15% of group) said they never had been stigmatized or discriminated against and four respondents (10% of group) stated that they didn’t know or weren’t sure why people would discriminate or stigmatize transgender.

### Feelings (past 12 months)



**Feelings about themselves:** Respondents were asked about their emotional well-being and what kind of feelings they have experienced on the basis of their gender identity within the past 12 months. Fifty-two percent reported feelings of self-blame versus 16% who indicated that they have blamed others, 46% stated that they felt ashamed followed by 42% who mentioned feelings of guilt. Thirty-two percent indicate that they have low self-esteem, 24% report feelings that they should be punished. Finally, one-in-five respondents, or 20% of the group, indicate having suicidal feelings within the past 12 months.

## Sexual Identity

**Gender identity:** Nearly half of respondents, or 48%, self-identified as “transgender” (ladyboy/Khteuy). A similar amount, 46%, self-identified as female and 6% stated they still understood themselves to be male. This differs from a recent Transgender Size Estimation Study, which found that 65% of transgender people they interviewed saw themselves as a third

gender, 3% saw themselves as male, and 31% saw themselves as female (USAID, 2013: 18). Respondents were asked at what age they began dressing as a female. This was done to assess a potentially important transition in respondents' gender expression. In asking this question, it is important to note that the researchers were not conflating the concept of being a transgender person with being a transvestite (a person whose gender expression is the opposite to their gender identity). However, choosing to dress in clothing that is "trans" one's biological gender can mark a very tangible and meaningful shift in one's gender expression. For many, this may have been their most public way of 'coming out' as transgender, and is potentially a significant marker of the development of their own gender expression. The ages at which respondents first began dressing as a female ranged from one year old to 26 years old, the mean age being 15. The transition from a masculine gender expression to a feminine gender expression (in terms of clothing worn) was not uniform, but seemed to occur most commonly during two spans of time: between 5-8 years of age and between 12-16 years of age. Anecdotally, many respondents seemed to indicate that this was a choice that proceeded from their understanding of their own gender. One respondent, after answering this question, commented: "I can't fight nature. I'm pretty and I love myself." However, in a few instances, respondents cited experiences in which parents began dressing them as females. One respondent reported that his mother dressed him as a girl for as long as he<sup>5</sup> could remember, citing: "My mother dressed me as girl because she wanted a girl. I was the first child." More analysis on these ideas can be found in the discussion section of this report.

**First sexual experience:** All of our respondents indicated that their first sexual partner was male. One in five respondents, or 20% of the group, indicated that their first sexual experience was forced or coerced. However, there seemed to be some confusion about what constituted force or coercion. This will be discussed further in the discussion section of this report.

When asked about their first sexual partner, "friend" and "stranger" were mentioned the most. Thirty-two percent report that their first sexual experience had been with a friend; another 32% stated that this was with a stranger. For 18%, the first sex partner was a neighbor. A relative, client or teacher was each mentioned by 4% of respondents.

**Sex work:**The mean age when respondents cited first receiving payment for sex was 20 years of age. The youngest reported to have been 12 and the oldest reported to have been 31 years of age upon first receiving payment for sex. The number of clients seen per week varied. Twenty-six respondents estimated that they saw one to three clients per week, eight respondents estimated seeing four to six clients, three respondents estimated seeing six to nine clients and 13 respondents estimated seeing more than 10 clients per week. On average, respondents estimated that 75% of their clients were Khmer and 25% are foreigners from various countries around the world.

When asked about the sexual services clients required of them, respondents estimated that, on average, seven out of 10 clients required masturbation, seven out of 10 required the respondent

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<sup>5</sup>The masculine pronouns "he", "his" and "him" are used in this instance. This is to both denote the biological gender of the respondent at the time what he was first dressed in female clothing, as well as the fact that this respondent cites that he still understands himself to be male, although he self-identifies as transgender.

to perform oral sex and three out of 10 required the respondent to receive oral sex, eight out of 10 require the respondent to received anal sex and four out of 10 required respondents to perform anal sex.

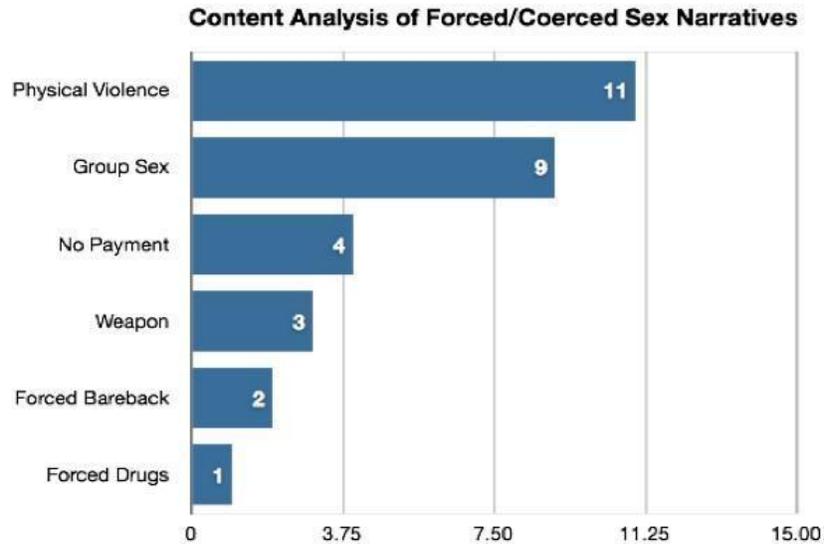
## Violence and Sexual Abuse

**Physical harassment:** Nearly three-fourths, or 72%, of respondents indicated experiences of physical, sexual harassment because of their gender expression. This is defined as unsolicited touching, fondling, etc., within the past 12 months. Nearly one-third, or 32%, stated that this happened often, 30% mentioned that this has happened a few times, 6% stated it always happened and 4% (two people) stated one incident within the past 12 months.

**Physical assault:** Forty-six percent reported that they have experienced physical assault in the past 12 months because of their gender expression. Thirteen percent mentioned one incident of assault, 26% mentioned that it happened a few times, 4% mentioned it happened often and 2% mentioned it happened ‘always’. Thirty-nine percent of assaults were reported to have been committed by the police, nearly half, or 45% of assaults were reported to have come from people unknown to the respondents, and 13% of assaults were said to have come from people (outside of the household) that were known by the respondents. Lastly, 3% (or one respondent) mentioned assaults committed by an intimate partner.

**Forced sex:** Over half of respondents (55%) indicated instances of forced or coercive sex. Nearly the same amount (54%) indicated that they are aware of other transgender persons who are forced to have sex against their wishes. Out of these, 51% stated that this has happened one to five times. Twenty percent reported five to 10 instances, 13% mentioned 10-20 instances, and one person (3%) mentioned 50 instances. Other responses (10%) include three non-quantifiable responses. Of these, two cited that this happens ‘sometimes’ and one cited that this happens “a lot”.

As a limitation to these figures, further discussion with respondents on the nature of these experiences of forced/coercive sex revealed some significant confusion and/or ambiguity among respondents as to what constitutes force and consent in their sexual relationships. It was found that numerous instances of coercive sex were labeled as “consensual” in the minds of the respondents either because there was not the presence of a physical struggle or because surrounding circumstances lead the respondents to agree to sexual advances.



Respondents were asked to recount key experiences of forced or coercive sex. A content analysis of this data showed that within 74% of these cases respondents were forced to have sex without a condom. Thirty-nine percent had experienced physical violence, 32% had experienced gang rape, and 14% had been refused or had not receiving payment for the sexual services provided. Eleven percent of respondents cite that weapons were involved in the experience and 4% cite that they had been forced to take drugs.

## Health and Substance Abuse

Respondents were assessed as to their past and present sexual health practices and physical well being, and asked a series of questions pertaining to substance abuse during sex with clients. These questions were asked given the understanding that substance abuse may increase the likelihood of respondents engaging in high-risk sexual behavior. Within the past six months, 20% of respondents (or 10 people) stated that they have experienced lumps, rashes, and/or ulcerations in their genital area. Over one-third of respondents, or 17 people, indicated experiencing urethral discharge, difficulty passing urine, and/or pain in their testicles within the past six months. Lastly, well over half, or 56% of respondents (28 people) indicated experiencing other various illnesses within the past six months. These illnesses/symptoms include: colds, sore throats, headaches, fevers, stomach pain and exhaustion.

In order to better understand respondents' experiences of sexual health education and its effectiveness, interviewers asked if respondents had received sexual health education, followed by a series of questions on condom usage, and sexual health knowledge including HIV awareness. A large majority of respondents, 82% or 41 people, indicated having prior sexual health education. Of this group, two had been sexually active in the last week and had not used a condom. Of the nine people who had no sexual health education, two-thirds (or six people) indicated that they had not used a condom within the past week. Additionally, three respondents indicated that they had never before used a condom in their lives. When asked about the means through which HIV is passed from one person to another, 92% of respondents identified "sex" as the primary means of transmission (80% specifically mentioning "sex without a condom").

Regarding substance abuse, 10% of respondents indicated using illegal drugs (predominantly crystal methamphetamines), and over three-fourths indicated alcohol consumption during sex with their clients. More specifically, 30% indicated that they “sometimes” had alcohol during sex with their clients, 8% indicated “often”, 26% stated that they did this “very often” and 12% indicated doing this “always”. Illegal drugs were less commonly reported to be used during sex with their clients, 12% indicated that this happens “sometimes” and one stated doing this “often”. Similarly, performance-enhancing drugs, such as Viagra™ and Cialis™ were also less common, two respondents indicated that they used these enhancers “sometimes” and one indicated doing this “often”.

In addition to substance abuse during sex with clients, anecdotal conversation revealed a number of other drugs, which seem to be common among transgender persons in this line of work. Namely, frequent (and sometimes excessive) usage of estrogen supplements was mentioned by nearly one-fourth of respondents. Anecdotally, health workers who have worked with this client group have said that such supplements are often taken too frequently and in too high of doses, which can lead to unhealthy side effects. In addition to this, there were numerous signs of other invasive procedures used to make one have a more feminine appearance. In particular, this was seen in the form of subcutaneous injections used to make a person's cheeks appear more rounded. Other anecdotal conversation during field research and observation indicated that these procedures were often done crudely and were known to result in infection and even deformation of the face.

## Alternative Employment

Respondents were asked their motivations for beginning sex work. Motives varied greatly and many respondents gave more than one reason for starting. The majority of respondents cited economic reasons. Twenty-eight stated that they did it to earn money or to generate extra income. Nine stated that they were poor and had no one else to support them. Another 12 stated that their families were poor and they had to support them. Seven reported that job opportunities for transgender persons in Cambodia are limited and five stated that doing sex work was an “easy” way to earn money. A significant number (22 people) reported that they chose to do sex work for ‘pleasure’. Of this group, 12 cited that it made them happy and they liked the work. Ten indicated that they did this work because they wanted to have sex with men.

Almost two thirds of the respondents (64%) indicated that they would take an alternative job to sex work that paid \$80 or more per month, if they could find one. In order to understand the respondents’ perceptions of possibilities for income generation and potential job alternatives, interviewers asked a series of questions regarding what might help them in income generation. Nearly all respondents (98%) indicated that learning another language would help them to generate income. When asked which language they would choose to learn, the vast majority (82%) said they would learn English. Other languages mentioned were Chinese (4%), Thai (4%), Korean (4%) and Japanese (2%). Four percent of respondents indicated that they did not know. When asked what other skills respondents would like to learn if given the opportunity, 41% mentioned hairdressing, 27% stated that they would like to become a beautician, 14% indicated wanting to learn clothes design, and 5% cited interest in cooking.

Respondents were asked what work is available for transgender persons in Cambodia. Their answers suggest that the range of perceived possibilities for transgender persons is rather limited. Twenty-eight percent cited that they perceived hairdressing as a possibility and 26% perceived work as a beautician, 20% perceived factory work to be an option and 12% perceived restaurant work would as a possibility. To a lesser extent, 4% cited sex work or show business and 4% cited that they do not know what work is available for them.

## Dignity and Self-Identity

When asked what they hoped to be when they were reincarnated, more than half of respondents (57%) expressed their wish to be (cis-woman) female, six percent stated they wanted to be (cis-man) male in their next life, and another 6% said that they didn't care. Nearly one-third (31%) cited that they didn't care if they were a man or a woman, as long as they were reincarnated as something definite (cisgender). Most respondents used the word "real" when formulating their responses, such as wanting to be a "real woman/girl" or a "real man". One respondent even stated, "I want to be a real person, like a man or a woman."

Respondents were asked what the word "respect" meant to them. Some of their answers suggested that the concept of respect wasn't fully understood. Twenty percent said that they felt respected when people used kind words when they spoke to them. Eighteen percent simply reiterated that it means "to respect each other". Sixteen percent felt valued and another 16% felt happy when they were respected. For 14%, politeness was understood as an expression of respect and 8% felt respected when they weren't being discriminated against.

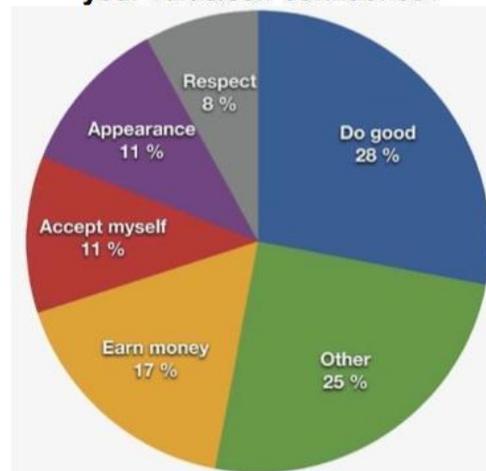
*"I try to be a good person even though I'm a ladyboy."*  
\*\*

*"Getting rich. If I'm rich I won't do this type of job."*  
\*\*

*"I can't really have complete confidence because I'm in between."*  
\*\*

*"Respect others, work hard, don't party too much."*

**What can you do to increase your value/self-confidence?**



Towards the end of each interview, interviewers asked how much value/confidence the respondents felt that they had as a person. More than half indicated that their value/confidence was higher than that of the average person, 24% saw themselves as above average and 34% said that they had "very much" value/confidence in themselves as a person. Forty percent indicated having "average" value/confidence and only 2% rated themselves "below average".

To get a better idea of what might be seen as factors that constitute to (?) or increase self-confidence, respondents were asked what they could do to increase their value/self-confidence. More than one-fourth, or 28%, mentioned doing good or being good people, 17% cited earning money and working hard and 11% indicated that accepting themselves would increase their self-confidence. Another 11% stated that they could increase their self-confidence by changing their appearance and 8% mentioned “respect” as a factor.

The question “what causes someone to be transgender” was mostly answered by stating that it is “nature” (54%). Fourteen percent saw it as a personal preference, 12% mentioned Karma,<sup>6</sup> 8% indicated a combination of nature and society, 4% saw society as the cause and 2% said that it was a combination of nature and preference. 6% said they didn’t know the answer.

In terms of future plans we asked the respondents where they see themselves in two years time. Half of them indicated that they wanted to open their own business. One in five (20%) said that they didn’t know. Ten percent wanted to work as a beautician and another 10% expressed the desire to learn a new profession. Four percent mentioned they wanted to undergo sex change surgery, 4% intended to stop being a lady-boy and 2% said they wanted to stay in sex work.

Following this, respondents were asked how they planned to reach their goals. More than one third (36%) stated that they want to save money. Nearly one-fourth, or 24%, indicated that they intended to work hard, 4% wanted to seek help from an NGO and 4% wanted to study. Ten percent mentioned other plans or indicated that they didn’t know how to reach their goals.

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<sup>6</sup>In Buddhist and Hindu cultures, Karma is understood to be the accumulation of one’s good or bad deeds in life which results in their according fate or destiny.

# Discussion

## A Word About Exploitation

Among respondents in this study, exploitation seems to happen on a variety of levels. There are clear and demonstrable instances of direct exploitation where force or threat is used to violate and abuse respondents through acts such as forced sex, gang rape, physical assault, or verbal harassment. We understand these instances to be directly exploitive, in which a perpetrator uses power to force someone without power to do something that this person would not otherwise have chosen to do. There also seems to be a strong indication of exploitation, which is structural in nature. We understand these instances to include those in which poverty or human need drives an individual to make choices that they would not otherwise do if alternative options were made available. Instances such as this are often accompanied with stories of children, or other family members who are in need of financial support and/or debts, which need to be paid.

Beyond these structural instances of exploitation, there also seems to be indication of exploitative factors that are implicit within the social identity that an individual assumes as a transgender (lady-boy or third gender) person within Cambodian society. Data in this study shows that transgender persons occupy a very limited space within Cambodian society and are often offered a very small range of income generation “choices”. More central to this discussion, is the transgender person’s own identity that they hold for themselves as a person. Who do they understand themselves to be? What shapes their understanding of who they are? Is it possible that degradation and exploitation are implicit within the social identities that they assume? These are a few of the questions and themes that we have explored in the following section. They are not exhaustive or conclusive, but arise from our analysis of data collected from a limited sampling of individuals.

## Stigma / Discrimination

Over a third of respondents cite that coming out as transgender has had a “negative” effect on their relationships. Much of this seems to be due to stigma and discrimination from cisgender family members, neighbors, and peers.

One third of respondents cite stigmatization by parents on the basis of their gender identity. Similarly, among those who cite that being transgender has negative effects on their intimate, personal relationships, over half mention family members as a source of discrimination. This includes stigma and exclusion from family activities such as cooking and sharing meals together and extends to being disowned or experiencing early separation from their families on the basis of this stigmatization. A few case-examples of this include:

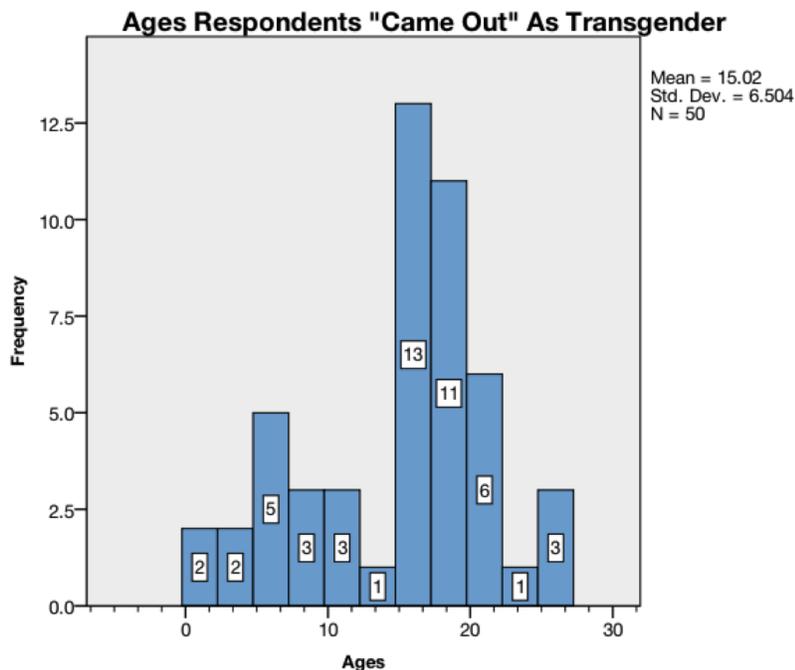
*“If my family knew that I am a lady-boy I'm sure they would cut me off from the family and my brother and sister would look down on me.”*

*“My family doesn't like it. I left home when I was 17 and have never returned. My family has disowned me.”*

*“My family cut me off... because I'm a ladyboy. They do not like me.”*

*“My parents do not want me to dress as a girl, if I do they will not allow me to travel or walk with them.”*

Additionally, high levels of discrimination and violence were reported to come from societal structures that are intended to provide safety. Respondents cited police officers to be the primary source of discrimination in their lives and a significant source of the physical violence that they experienced on a regular basis. At the time of writing this report, we were not aware of any instances in which police or other legal professionals have been reprimanded for their discriminatory and abusive treatment of transgender persons. Training of police on non-discrimination and fair treatment for such groups would be useful.



Respondents were asked at what age they first began dressing as a woman<sup>7</sup>. Statistical results for this question showed a double bell-curve, indicating what seemed to be two distinct groups within the sampling. A comparison of these two groups shows some significant differences in terms of the stigma and discrimination that they face. One group indicates that they came out below the age of 16 and the second group indicates that they came out at the age of 16 and beyond--peaking at 16. Interestingly, higher rates of stigma and/or discrimination from teachers, relatives, parents and police were found among those who came out at the age of 16 and beyond, compared to those who came out younger than 16. Most significantly, the highest rates of stigma and discrimination had come from relatives and police. Forty-five percent of those who came out as transgender at age 16 and beyond, cite losing employment within the

<sup>7</sup>While we understand that dressing as a woman is not indicative of the onset of one's gender identity (which is likely to have been present prior to this), it does indicate a significant shift in gender expression.

past 12 months due to being transgender, compared to 28% of those who came out prior to the age of 16. This would seem to imply that coming out as transgender later in life potentially incites a greater, negative societal response of stigma and discrimination compared with those who come out earlier in their lives.

## Positive societal responses

Despite 35% of respondents indicating that being a transgender person had a “negative” effect on their relationships, 33% of respondents cited that being transgender had a “positive” effect on their relationships.<sup>8</sup>

Respondents who cite that it has a “positive” effect tend to have come out below the age of 16, whereas those who came out at the age of 16 and beyond were more likely to cite it as having a “negative” effect on their intimate personal relationships. This is implied in the previous Stigma/Discrimination discussion section, as this older group is more likely to cite experiencing stigma and discrimination from family, friends, and neighbors. This may relate to those who ‘came out’ younger being better able to integrate into their communities, however it may conversely be due to the fact that they have been “out” as transgender persons for longer (on average), and therefore have found means of coping with negative reactions, for example through becoming part of transgender communities. Notably, those who indicate a “positive” effect on their relationships tend to cite feelings of a closer bond or greater association with their other transgender friends, as opposed to their cis-gender family and peers. This is exemplified by the quote from a respondent:

*“It’s fine with close relationships. (The trouble) is more with neighbors.”*

While alienation seems to be common from cisgender families, neighbors, and peers, there is simultaneously an indication of a strong affiliation and self-identification with other transgender peers. Ninety percent of respondents state that their closest relationships are with another peer who is also transgender. Such cohesiveness among in-group peer relationships could play a vital part in forming and/or strengthening a positive and sustainable self-identification as a transgender minority within the cisgender majority. This is a well-known concept within Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1978), which holds that in-group cohesion can be vital among such groups as a means of strengthening self-identity and bringing about a sense of self-esteem. In future studies, it would be useful to further explore this particular social identity of transgendered persons in Cambodia.

In spite of citing that being transgender tends to have more “positive” effects on intimate personal relationships, respondents who cite coming out as transgender below the age of 16 tend to have also cited higher instances of negative internal feelings and emotions within the past 12 months. While the respondent’s feelings of shame, guilt, and self-blame seem to be largely unaffected by the ages at which they came out, there are notable differences in instances (of / in?) low self-esteem and feelings that they should be punished. Significantly, 56% of those who came out as transgender before the age of 16 cited having low self esteem within the past 12 months compared to only 19% among those who came out at the age of 16 and beyond.

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<sup>8</sup>Other responses included 22% that stated that the effect was neutral, while five respondents or 10% stated that it was both negative and positive.

Similarly, 44% of those who came out as transgender before the age of 16 cite feeling that they deserve punishment, in comparison to only 13% among those who came out as transgender at the age of 16 and beyond. Of those who came out prior to the age of 16, 61% cite feelings of self-blame over the past 12 months, compared to 47% among those who came out as transgender at the age of 16 and beyond. While more data is needed to fully understand this apparent phenomenon, this could imply that those who have “come out” later in life were more likely to project a stronger self-identity or self-image as a transgender person and are thus less likely to report instances of low self-esteem or other negative emotions associated with being transgender. Thus, the experiences of transgender persons seem to be significantly impacted by the age at which they came out: those who came out older tend to experience higher levels of stigma and discrimination, but have stronger self-identity/image, and those who came out younger seem to experience less stigma and form stronger ties with other transgender peers, but have higher instances of negative internal feelings and emotions.

## Gender-based Violence

In addition to stigma and discrimination in terms of verbal abuse, social exclusion, and etcetera, respondents also reported that they experience gender-based violence, including physical and sexual violence. It was found that action as simple as even going outside might expose them to either physical or verbal abuse by people on the street. Qualitative data and anecdotal conversations with transgender persons during data gathering indicated the existence of street gangs that commonly chase, beat, and otherwise exploit transgender people on the streets. During late-night field research, groups of young Khmer men were observed verbally harassing transgender and chasing respondents both on foot and on motorcycle through a well-known public area within Phnom Penh. While direct physical abuse was not observed during field research, numerous respondents indicate that physical and sexual abuse, including rape, is very common. Hilton’s study, “I Never Thought it Could Happen to Boys,” similarly found that a significantly high proportion of the boys they interviewed experienced violence at the hands of street gangs (2008, p. 9).

To give context to the rates of sexual violence committed against transgender sex workers in Phnom Penh, comparisons were made with respondents from previous studies conducted by Love146 among cis-men respondents in Cambodia and the Philippines. In making this comparison, rates of sexual violence committed against transgender respondents in Phnom Penh were found to be significantly higher than those found among cis-men respondents in Cambodia and the Philippines. Fifty-five percent of transgender respondents in Phnom Penh indicated instances of being forced to have sex against their wishes. This is 56% higher than the average instances of forced sex reported among cis-men respondents in Cambodia and the Philippines. Among these groups of cis-men respondents, the highest rates of forced sex were found in Siem Reap where 43% of respondents indicated instances in which they were forced to have sex against their wishes (Miles & Davis, 2012). In Manila, more than one-third of respondents (38%) indicated instances of forced sex (Davis & Miles, 2013). The lowest reported rates of forced sex among cis-men respondents was 13%, which was found in Phnom Penh (Miles & Blanch, 2011).

Significantly higher rates of physical violence from law enforcement officials were found among transgender persons in Phnom Penh compared to cis-men respondents in Cambodia and the

Philippines. While 39% of transgender respondents indicate recent experiences of violence from police, only 4% of respondents in similar studies with cis-men sex workers in Phnom Penh indicated experiences of violence from police (Miles & Blanch, 2011). Similarly, only one respondent, or 2%, of cis-men respondents in Siem Reap indicate violence from police (Miles & Davis, 2012). Among these three studies, the highest rates of violence from police were found in the Philippines where 12% of respondents indicate experiences of violence from such groups. However, this is still comparably lower than rates experienced by transgender respondents in our study.

Responses in this study, coupled with qualitative data gathered during fieldwork, indicate a significant level of confusion among respondents regarding the difference between forced/coercive sex and consensual sex. Two variables in the research instrument focused on the subject of coercive and consensual sex. The first variable dealt with coercion at the time of the respondents' first sexual experience and the second dealt with coercion during the respondents' time as a sex worker. Looking at the first of these variables, we see that one-in-five of their first sexual experiences were cited to have been "forced or coerced". After further discussion, some experiences that respondents had labeled as "consensual" were actually found to have been very coercive in nature. In one instance, a respondent cited being attacked by a group of people and left on the side of the road with injuries. The respondent was then found by a man while lying on the side of the road, being taken to the man's house to deal with the injuries. After this, the 25-year-old man asked the respondent – who was 12 years old at the time – to have sex with him. The respondent agreed to the request due to the fact that the man had rescued him. This was the respondent's first sexual experience.

Regarding sexual experiences with clients, narratives of non-consensual sex seem to be more of force and violence rather than coercion. In a content analysis of 15 narratives of forced/coercive sex, physical violence (punching, hitting, being beat up) is a strong theme in 11 of these narratives. Nine of these narratives (60%) include instances of group sex, three narratives (20%) describe weapons being used, two narratives describe instances in which the respondents were forced to have sex without a condom, and in one narrative, the respondent describes being drugged before being raped. While these instances were identified as "forced or coercive" sexual experiences, it seems that a number of respondents are unable to identify force or coercion outside of extreme examples such as these. In future studies, when respondents cite cases of "consensual sex" it would be useful to follow up such responses with additional questions such as "how did this experience make you feel" or "what sorts of words would you use to describe this experience?" By allowing respondents to further describe their understanding of a consensual sexual experience, this could potentially lessen some of the ambiguity between the concepts of coercion and consent.

## **Social Identity and Reasons for Sex Work**

A number of common factors which may push people into sex work and situations where they are at heightened risk of sexual exploitation have been identified in Cambodia, including low economic status and lack of education/skills (Brammer & Smith-Brake, 2013, p. 30). While these do apply to some extent to respondents in this study, there are also a number of vulnerability factors, which seem to be quite unique to transgender persons. In particular, there seems to be

a strong connection between the respondents' self-identification as a transgender person and their participation in sex work.

Respondents cited economic need to be a strong force that drives them into sex work. While this is also a very common reason for cisgender males and females to enter the sex industry, stigma and social exclusion seem to interplay with economic reasons in a distinct way for transgender persons, significantly increasing their likelihood to enter into sex work. Respondents indicate consistent difficulty in obtaining and maintaining employment as transgender persons in Phnom Penh. Thirty-eight percent of respondents cite that they have been fired or refused employment within the past 12 months due to their gender identity. Numerous respondents indicate that they had entered the sex industry due to lack of employment options for transgender persons in Cambodia. Respondents often indicated that sex work was an easy way for them to earn money to meet their basic needs. One respondent notes,

*"I entered (the sex industry) because I didn't have money and I have no choice for another job."*

Lack of education or skills may additionally narrow the options of potential employment of transgender persons, pushing them into sex work. While half of respondents (50%) were only able to achieve between the seventh and 10<sup>th</sup> grades, and 4% had no education at all, still 14% of respondents had been able to finish a high school education. Three respondents even attended university/college. While, as a whole, these figures for education are low, it is of note that they are actually markedly higher than what has been found among cisgender sex workers in two Love146 studies assessing the vulnerabilities of cisgender people in KTV and Massage Establishments in Phnom Penh. These studies found that only 6% of KTV females had achieved over 11th grade, and of the massage parlor females that were interviewed, 24% had no schooling at all, and 87% did not achieve past even the 9th grade. Therefore, compared to cisgender women, it may be possible that lack of education/skills are less of a key vulnerability factor for transgender persons, as it seems that they enter sex work regardless of their educational achievements.

Experience of stigma and discrimination based on their gender and/or gender expression seem to be key vulnerability factors for transgender persons to enter into sex work. Gender discrimination has also been found to be a significant cause for cis-women to enter into sex work, and sexual exploitation of women was "found to rely and exploit gender-based norms that blame and stigmatize women and girls for involvement in the commercial sexual exploitation industry, regardless of the patterns of force and violence that have led to their presence there" (Brown, 2007, p. 10). Gender discrimination against sex workers therefore is a key holding factor for sex workers once they have entered the sex industry. Transgender persons similarly experience gender discrimination; however, this seems to be a markedly stronger force in pushing them into sex work, as numerous respondents implied that being a transgender person (khtey/ladyboy) in Phnom Penh was associated with sex work, seemingly at a very base level.

A common aspect of gender discrimination for cis-women in Khmer culture is loss of virginity (Brown, 2007, p. 9), which often results in a stigmatization of cis-women as sex workers. Could it be said, then, that for trans-women, this form of gender discrimination [pushing a person into

sex work] does not begin with loss of virginity, but is intrinsically a part of their social identity, as sexual promiscuity seems to be communicated (by respondents) as a forefront aspect of both their social identity, as well as their own self-identification as transgender.

Numerous statements by respondents seem to confirm this link between social identity and sex work, as evidenced below:

*"I don't like it but I have no choice. But I like it because it gives me opportunity to have sex with men easily. It is my fantasy." (R17)*

*"I like sex work because it's easy to get sex with men as I'm a ladyboy and I can earn extra money to support my life." (R22)*

*"Factory work allows me to support my family. Sex work should come naturally because it's a part of me." (R49)*

These are significant statements, because as part of their social identity, it is assumed that transgender persons are attracted to "rengpeng" (firm, tough) cisgender, straight males who are labeled to be "real men" (UNESCO, 2008, p. 27). In reference to personal sexual histories, all 50 respondents cite that they had their first sexual experiences with a cis-man--- with numerous respondents stressing that it had been with a 'straight' cis-man, a fact with respondents again stressed when asked about their preferred sexual partners. All but one respondent cited that they prefer to have sex with 'straight' cis-men. Over half (58%) mentioned homosexual cis-men as an alternative but their first choice would be a 'straight [cisgender] man'. Cis-women or other transgender persons as sexual partners were not mentioned at all. There is a difficulty here, however, in that "real men" are understood to solely be attracted to cisgender straight women and would not naturally find a transgender person appealing. Despite this, it is often the case within transgender culture in Cambodia that there is a demand to find a "real man" who is able to make the transgender person feel like a "real woman".

These findings highlights some major dichotomies: firstly, despite the self and societal labeling of "rengpeng" men being straight, cis-gender and the height of masculinity, some "rengpeng" men do occasionally (at least) have sex with other cis-men, and/or transgender people. This may reflect a lack of clear gender binary in Cambodia, and suggests a lack of applicability of English-language terms of "gay," "straight," "bisexual," and etcetera, when looking at gender and sexuality in Cambodia. Secondly, despite respondents expressing the importance of establishing firm self-identity as transgender females, they also express the need for affirmation through having sex with cis-men to feel like "real women." Does this need for fulfillment on the basis that their clients believe they are "real women" contradict the fact that they are trying for form strong self-identities as transgender persons in their own communities? One respondent in particular proudly cited that her clients do not recognize that she was not biologically assigned male at birth. More specific qualitative research is required in order to gain a deeper and more accurate understanding of the self-concept of this group. But the presented results at least indicate that sex work might provide them with more than just an income. It seems to serve as a platform on which they can live out their assumed social identity.

## Contradiction and Disconnect

There seems to be a disconnect between respondents reported satisfaction with their work, the violence and exploitation that they experience, and the future they see for themselves. Twenty-nine respondents (58%) stated that they like their job, many giving reasons that it is easy, fun, gives them pleasure, they have the talent for it and/or that it comes naturally to them. However, of these who “like” their work, over half indicate numerous, violent instances of being forced to have sex against their wishes. Many of these narratives include traumatizing instances of physical violence, gang rape, strangling, being thrown out of moving vehicles, forced drug usage, being forced have sex without a condom, and refusal of payment.

To add to this contradiction of ‘liking’ their work, only one respondent cites that they see themselves remaining in the sex industry in two-years times, while an overwhelming majority (97%) cite dreams of alternative careers (largely in the beauty and fashion industries) with four specifically stating a desire to get out of sex work. Further research is needed to provide a deeper exploration of this disconnect, the possibility of trauma, the nature of coping strategies employed, and the development of self-identity among transgender persons involved in sex work in Phnom Penh.

As seen above, the vast majority of respondents do not see themselves in sex work within two years time and have alternative ideas for their future (limited as they may be). Thirty respondents (60%) perceive that working hard and saving money would get them where they want to be. Five respondents (10%) mention that they intend to learn new skills and receive training and four respondents (8%) indicate that they would seek help from others, either NGOs, family or undefined contacts. In other words, working more and harder in their current jobs in order to earn more money is perceived as the way that is most likely to bring about change. With this approach even their future hopes and dreams seem to become holding factors in the sex industry.

# Theological Considerations: “From Hostility to Hospitality”

A Theological Reflection for Christian Ministries and Faith-Based NGOs Desiring to Work with Transgender Persons

**By Hieke Lippmann**

This report shows that transgender seek and express their identity within a context that excludes and discriminates them. The issues related to identity formation are complex. When we ask the question, "Who am I?" we mostly answer it in relation to people, place, purpose and possessions. These relations are somewhat corrupted even to the point of exploitation being accepted as a part of an assumed social identity, as we have seen in the report.

Unfortunately the concept of sin has often been misused and misinterpreted. It was reduced to certain 'sinful' deeds and used like a label that excludes people from community. However, it is helpful to look at it as a condition that affects all human beings and the reality we live in. A better understanding of it can contribute to a more welcoming attitude towards those who are excluded from society and, sadly, from church life.

## The Human Dilemma

Human beings were created in God's image (Gen 1:27) with the purpose to be in relationship with God and with each other. But being God's human counterpart didn't seem to be enough for them. They wanted to be more and that resulted in being less of what they were supposed to be. Sin corrupted their relationship with God and with each other. Pannenberg, a German theologian, describes what this meant: "In their remoteness from God they are also robbed of their own identity" (Pannenberg, 1991: 207).

Scripture describes the first attack on the first humans in Genesis 3. The Catholic Theologian GisbertGreshake wrote about the consequences of this attack and the following thoughts are based on his interpretation (Greshake, 2007: 326-328). The aim of the attack was to destroy Adam and Eve's trust in God's goodness. After their creation they were placed in a garden that was supposed to be their home where they could find life to the full as a gift from God. They were told that they shouldn't eat from one particular tree. With this request God was saying, "You can put your mind at rest. Trust me." But this is exactly where mistrust began. "Maybe God isn't good. Maybe we won't find life to the full and real happiness when we are faithful to him. Maybe he denies us what is best for us. Maybe he only wants to keep us down." Fear entered their lives that they would miss out if they received their lives solely out of their relationship with God. God became a rival who restricts them and who they had to stand up against.

Scripture says that the sinner desires to be like God, which means he wants to be like the 'rival God' that was introduced by the tempter. This reveals a corrupt understanding of who God is.

Adam and Eve didn't see themselves placed before a trinitarian God who gives himself to his creatures in love. They see a God who is selfish. Against him or without him they had to acquire as much life as possible. The consequence is that men took the place that belonged to the relational God and what was promised them as gain led into the exact opposite.

God - as Trinity - is community and being created in his image means to be made for relationship with him and with each other. By it's nature sin turns this into it's opposite: self-isolation and self-centeredness. It's the refusal to find life in community with God and with each other. God-given freedom is turned into autonomy that aims to find happiness, satisfaction and identity without 'the other'. Ironically, striving for autonomy is an attempt on one's own life because we can only be fully human in community with God and with one another. The kind of life that's acquired otherwise turns out to be "not enough" because something finite (career, relationship, possession etc.) cannot fulfill the deepest longing for love, life and happiness. Therefore, sin is ultimately a lie. Instead of life the sinner puts himself into the sphere of death. Death in Scripture is more than just physical death. Death is the realm of futility, hopelessness, emptiness and nothingness with physical death as the obvious sign that in the end striving for life without 'the other' was for nothing.

## **Relationships Gone Bad**

Sin leads to isolation and the destruction and/or loss of relationship. This means it's not only a private matter but affects the way people live together in society. Slander, betrayal, disloyalty, rivalry, corruption and exploitation are a few obvious symptoms of this. The intensification of negative behaviors and attitudes lead to societies where true community is unattainable. Mistrust and the fear that "there won't be enough for me" and that "I miss out if I don't fight for myself and only myself" aren't ingredients for a society where people can thrive.

As previously mentioned, transgender person's social identity was at least partly formed by the shaping forces of exclusion and discrimination. Their difference from others was heightened by the reaction of family and society reinforcing the sense of difference and separateness from society as a whole. This is a reflection of the 'communal' structures of sin at work. It seems that transgender and the rest of society effectively chime the same note - that difference must lead to exclusion. In other words, society says, "You are different which means you are separate from us." By living out their difference transgender say, "We are different which means we are separate from you." This seems to be the nature of how their social identity is shaped. It's almost like a double-declaration of exclusion. This doesn't mean that both sides suffer the same. Transgender are the ones who are exposed to violence and discrimination because it suits society for transgender to be separate whereas transgender have to live with their identity no matter how it is formed.

## **A Different Kind of Love**

Jesus' ministry as it is portrayed in the New Testament was a ministry of hospitality. He was sent to extend God's unconditioned and unconditional grace and love to all people, no matter what their background or social status was. There is no story about Jesus and transgender people. However, there are many stories, especially in Luke's Gospel, that present him interacting with the "untouchables" of his time who were pushed to the margins of society and the effect it had on their lives.

The Gospel of Luke even allows us a glimpse into the heart of Jesus' mission: the love and grace of God, the father. To emphasize this Luke provides three parables: the lost sheep (15:3-7), the lost coin (15:8-10) and the return of the prodigal son (15:11-32). When Jesus was criticized for welcoming sinners and eating with them (15:2) he responded with these stories. The focus here will be on the third story since it reflects the divide that's evident within Jesus' audience at the time. Furthermore it reveals that the Father doesn't simply bridge the gap between them but offers a new foundation for their relationship with him and with one another. In "Exclusion and Embrace" Miroslav Volf worked on a "theology of embrace" (Volf, 1996) and his reading of the story at the social level provides helpful insights in this regard. He sees both sons as governed by the same kind of logic, which is in sharp contrast to their Father's.

## The Sons' Logic

When the younger son, who had run away from home, considers his return to the father he realizes the damage he had done. He states twice that he is no longer worthy to be called a son (15:18,21); "he has been shaped by the history of the departure, which cannot be erased" (Volf, 1996: 159). Therefore his request is to be made like a hired man. In his opinion "the history of betrayal will have changed his identity and reconfigured obligations and expectations" (Volf, 1996).

The older son distanced himself when he heard about the return of his brother (15:28). After his brother had left he excluded him and did not keep him in his heart. Now, after his return, he was not willing to welcome him back. In his opinion some basic rules had been broken:

"The one who works (v.29) deserves more recognition than the one who squanders; celebrating the squanderer is squandering. The one who obeys where obedience is due (v.29) deserves more honor than the one who irresponsibly breaks commands; honoring the irresponsible is irresponsible. The one who remains faithful should be treated better than the one who excludes the others; preference for the excluding one is tacit exclusion of the faithful one" (Volf, 1996: 162).

According to this it would pervert justice to receive the younger brother back as a son and not just as a hired hand. And here the two brothers reach the same conclusion. The older one demands what the younger one expected.

## The Father's Logic

What distinguishes the father's from the sons' logic is that it is not built around "either strict adherence to the rules or disorder and disintegration; either you are 'in' or you are 'out,' depending on whether you have or have not broken a rule. He rejected this alternative because his behavior was governed by the one fundamental 'rule': relationship has priority over all rules. Before any rule can apply, he is the father to his sons and his sons are brothers to one another" (Volf, 1996: 164).

This does not mean that moral performance and the quality of behavior are irrelevant. Although they might affect the relationship, relationship is not rooted in them. Repentance, confession and consequences for one's actions have their place in the relationship, but are not prerequisites for

it. The father's will to embrace both of his sons is grounded in his indestructible love and his commitment to his sons and not in rules.

Jesus embodied this unconditioned and unconditional love and grace of God towards all people. His words and actions were guided by the same indestructible love that flows from the heart of the father. He is a father to all people and his love and acceptance create a new foundation for their relationships to one another. In his household everybody is welcome. Just like the father's embrace in the story is not rooted in the moral performance of his sons, Jesus' loving engagement with the ostracized of his time is not rooted in their status in society or their past actions. Jesus' mission is fueled by this indestructible love.

### **What does this leave us with?**

We touched briefly on the destructive nature of sin and contrasted it with God's love that has the power to restore what is broken. As Followers of Jesus we've tasted this love, depend on it and are called to extend it to others.

However, welcoming people into our communities that are different might ultimately mean the loss of the community as we knew it or at least of some aspects that were dear to its members. Every new member brings something that changes and challenges existing community structures and relationships. We form a new community with them. This means gain and loss at the same time for all involved. Being hospitable comes with a cost.

There is a need for people who are free and humble enough to make space in their hearts for what is other, for people who extend God's hospitality by engaging in other people's lives, for people who are willing to journey with others and in doing so learn to become accepting and welcoming. A loving community that embraces what is 'other' might even have the potential to transform society. The presence of such a community within society is a prophetic presence, an expression of God's hospitality towards his creation. Jesus leaves us with no alternative but to love with an unrestrained creative love.

# Recommendations

Sexual Exploitation research and social programs within the anti-trafficking in persons movement has almost exclusively focused on cisgender young girls and some women. Young cisgender men and transgender persons need a higher profile in this conversation. While cisgender males and transgender persons are not commonly seen as vulnerable or objects of sexual abuse and violence, data in this study has revealed high levels of physical, verbal and sexual abuse, including gang rape and other forms of dehumanizing violence. It is important that greater efforts be made to underscore the vulnerability of all persons regardless of what gender or social group they may fall into.

## General Recommendations

### Development of policy and programs:

- It is important that NGOs and the Royal Cambodian Government work towards the development of policy and programs that recognize and affirm the holistic needs and vulnerabilities of transgender persons, beyond merely addressing sexual health. This should include the creation of legal, social, and health services that address human need rather than the needs of only cis-women and children.
- The Cambodian government should include LGBT people, especially transgender, within their definitions of vulnerable people groups in the 2016-2020 National Strategy for Social Protection (NSSP).
- It is important that MSM and Transgender people are not grouped into the same category, but are defined as separate people groups with unique needs and vulnerabilities. Non-government organizations should work to create community centers that can be safe places LGBT people--especially transgender people.
- While it is important that social service groups continue to provide sexual health education and services to LGBT people in Cambodia, it may be equally important to ensure that such groups are being addressed in terms of and by means that reach beyond gender identity and sexual orientation, but are careful to address such groups as whole persons that are more than just sexuality and gender. By solely addressing their sexual identity we may be reinforcing a kind of hyper-sexualized identity that is holding them in the industry. Because their self-esteem is tied to maintaining that identity, it may be that they are willing to embrace abuse and exploitation as a facet of that identity. It may be important to consider the possibility that an environment, which focuses on them solely in terms of sex and sexuality may, in fact, keep such groups in a kind of sexualized 'ghetto'.

### NGO / Police Training:

- It is important that NGOs receive education and support in how to treat transgender persons with dignity and respect. Sex workers unions and legal support organizations also need to consider how they can help provide legal help when transgender persons experience violence and discrimination. Police, legal, health and social workers need education as to the needs of transgender persons so that they can better understand

such groups and ensure that they acting in supportive ways, rather than a discriminatory ways.

- Faith-based groups have often been key in advocating for the needs and vulnerabilities of cis-women sex workers, but it is also important they recognize the needs and vulnerabilities of cis-men and transgender persons as well and work towards a healthy and non-discriminatory way of addressing the developmental needs of such groups.

#### **Alternative Job Options:**

- The hopes and dreams expressed by respondents would suggest that they have not given in to the apparent fatalism that is often seen within marginalized subgroups in Cambodia. However, the common approach to these goals seems to carry a strong implication that “if I do more of the same (in my current job), it will eventually get me into something new”. Such a thought might prove as a dead end instead of a road to the desired transformation of their lives. Thus, there may be a strong need for intervention programs to place a greater focus on identity development, allowing individuals to perceive a greater range of alternative life options.
- It should also be considered to what extent this fatalism is actually realism, due to the possible fact that transgender persons in Cambodia actually do have significantly reduced opportunities for employment in Cambodia. Thus, education, skills training and the creation of alternative employment opportunities should be key priorities for the NGO and Government sectors.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

This study provides only a surface level exploration of the needs and vulnerabilities that are present among transgender sex workers in Cambodia.

- Further qualitative research on the formation of identity and the effects that stigma and discrimination play within the psychosocial development of these groups may be a vital part of holistically understanding the complexities of marginalized people groups such as these.
- Further research would be useful to explore the existence of trauma and other coping strategies employed by transgender sex workers, particularly looking at the high levels of stigma, discrimination, violence, and sexual abuse that has been found among such groups.
- Studies on identity development could be useful to better understand what lies behind the presentation of a confident exterior that seems to betray the actual feelings, self-concepts, and experiences of violence reported by members of this group.
- While a portion of this study explored stigma, discrimination and social exclusion, it may be helpful for future studies to include questions that explore social *inclusion*--asking respondents to define into which groups the do feel included.
- Among present studies, little research exists that explores the needs and vulnerabilities of transgender persons beyond issues of sexual health, particularly HIV. While continued research on STIs and the growing epidemic of HIV and AIDS in the southeast Asia region is important, it is also of great importance that researchers explore the holistic range of social and emotional needs and vulnerabilities that may contribute to the high-risk activities that are commonly exhibited among transgendered persons in Southeast Asia.

## Conclusion

This research has sought to provide a basis for understanding the needs and vulnerabilities of transgender sex workers in Phnom Penh in hopes to make such groups more visible, and their perception among service providers more multifaceted so as to address their needs more appropriately. LGBT and human rights organizations have done significant work in providing such groups with condoms and sexual health education. However, sex and sexuality is often the primary basis upon which transgender and such groups interface, while stigma, discrimination, violence and other forms of abuse often prevent these groups from positively integrating into Cambodian society at-large. In such a climate, it is vital that civil society, including faith based organizations and the Royal Cambodian government adopt a holistic and balanced understanding of transgender persons, and the vulnerabilities that exist in groups such as these. It is important to develop an understanding of transgender persons that is holistic in nature as individuals with equal hopes, dreams, vulnerabilities, and needs that go beyond social identity and beyond gender. This will require sensitive dialogue where their voices are heard, their input is valued, and their participation is encouraged.

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# Appendix A: Research Instrument

# QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRANSGENDERED MALES

## Phnom Penh

Introduction: "Our names are \_\_\_\_\_. We're working for Love146. We are interviewing people who are transgender. This study will help us to plan programs for other people like you in the future.

ការរក្សាការសំងាត់ និងការព្រមព្រៀង: យើងនឹងសួរសំនួរផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនមួយចំនួនដែលអាចពិបាកឆ្លើយ។ ចំពោះលើយរបស់អ្នកនឹងត្រូវរក្សាជាការសំងាត់។ ឈ្មោះរបស់អ្នកនឹងមិនត្រូវបានសរសេរលើបែបបទនេះ ហើយនឹងមិនយកមកប្រើក្នុងព័ត៌មានដែលអ្នកប្រាប់ពួកយើងទេ។ ប្រសិនបើមានសំណួរណាដែលអ្នកមិនចង់ឆ្លើយ អ្នកមិនចាប់ឆ្លើយទេ។ យ៉ាងណាមិញ ចំពោះលើយស្មោះត្រង់របស់អ្នកចំពោះសំនួរទាំងនេះ នឹងជួយឱ្យយើងយល់អំពីបទពិសោធន៍ស្រីស្រស់ភេទ ទីបី។ យើងពិតជាថ្លែងអំណរគុណដែលអ្នកជួយឆ្លើយសំនួរទាំងនេះ។ ប្រសិនបើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍ មិនស្រួលណាមួយ អ្នកអាចរំលង ឬបញ្ឈប់ការសំភាសន៍នេះបាន។ ការសំភាសន៍នឹងចំណាយពេល ៣០នាទី។ តើអ្នករីករាយនឹងចូលរួមឬទេ?

Yes / បាទ      No / អត់មានទេ

City/Site: \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Accompanied by: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Interview (DD/MM/YY): \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_ Back-checked by: \_\_\_\_\_

Back-checked       Scrutinized       Coded       Data Entered

Survey began: ____:____ AM/PM	Break began (if any): ____:____ AM/PM
Break ended (if any): ____:____ AM/PM	Survey ended: ____:____ AM/PM



**B ENTRANCE INTO THE INDUSTRY / ឬហេតុដែលនាំអោយចូលដល់ការរកស៊ីផ្លូវភេទ**

3 Do you have any other work? What is it?

តើអ្នកមានក្របកម្មខ្លះអ្វីផ្សេងទៀតទេ?

បើសិនជាមានតើការងារនោះជាការងារអ្វី?

**C FAMILY BACKGROUND (GENERAL) & INCOME / ប្រវត្តិគ្រួសារ និង ប្រាក់ចំណូល**

1 How much was your income in the past 3 months, including tips? (USD) / តើអ្នកទទួលបានប្រាក់កំរៃប៉ុន្មានក្នុងកំឡុងពេល៣ខែចុងក្រោយរួមទាំងលុយពីប? (ជាដុល្លារ)

2 How much was your income in the past week, including tips? (USD) / តើអ្នកទទួលបានប្រាក់កំរៃប៉ុន្មានក្នុងកំឡុងពេល៧ថ្ងៃចុងក្រោយរួមទាំងលុយពីប? (ជាដុល្លារ)

3 What are your 5 greatest areas of expense?

តើការចំណាយទៅលើ៥ផ្នែកដ៏ខ្លាំងបំផុតគឺអ្វី?

4 If you save money, where do you save it? (Multiple answers) / បើសិនជាអ្នកសន្សំលុយតើអ្នកសន្សំនៅឯណា? (អាចឆ្លើយបានច្រើនយ៉ាង)

- 1 Keep it with peers / សន្សំជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិ
- Keep it with family members
- 2 សន្សំជាមួយសមាជិកគ្រួសារ
- 3 Keep it in the bank / សន្សំក្នុងធនាគារ
- 4 Any other / ជាមួយអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត
- 5 Don't save / មិនបានសន្សំ

5 What is your father's educational level?

តើឪពុករបស់អ្នករៀនបានថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?

- 1 No schooling / មិនបានរៀន
- 2 Up to 4th grade / រៀនបានត្រឹមថ្នាក់ទី៤
- 3 5th to 7th grade / រៀនបានចាប់ពីថ្នាក់ទី ៥ ដល់ ទី ៧
- 4 7th to 10th grade / រៀនបានត្រឹមថ្នាក់ទី ៧ ដល់ទី១០
- 5 11th grade and above / រៀនបានត្រឹមថ្នាក់ទី ១១ និង ទី១២
- 6 College / រៀនបានត្រឹមមហាវិទ្យាល័យ
- 7 Vocational Training  
ទទួលបានការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលមុខវិជ្ជាជីវៈផ្សេងៗ
- 8 Don't know / អត់ដឹង

**C FAMILY BACKGROUND (GENERAL) & INCOME / ប្រវត្តិគ្រួសារ និង ប្រាក់ចំណូល**

- 6 What financial obligations do you have to your family?  
តើអ្នកផ្តល់លុយជួយទៅគ្រួសាររបស់អ្នកលើផ្នែកអ្វីខ្លះ?
- 7 If your family owes any debts, what is the amount of the debt needed to be paid back?  
បើសិនជាគ្រួសារអ្នកមានបំណុលជំពាក់គេ  
តើបំណុលនោះត្រូវសងវិញប៉ុន្មានដែរ?

**D PREJUDICE, STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION / ភាពរើសអើង និង ការមើលងាយ**

1 What age did you first start dressing in female clothing? /  
យើងអ្នកចាប់ផ្តើមស្លៀកពាក់ជាមនុស្សស្រីចាប់តាំង ពីអាយុប៉ុន្មាន?

2 Is your family aware that you are transgender? /  
តើគ្រួសារអ្នកដឹងថាអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ដែរ រឺទេ?

1. Yes / បាទ 2. No / អត់មានទេ

2b If not, why are they not aware? / ប្រសិនបើមិនដឹងទេ ហេតុអ្វី?

3 In the last 12 months, how often have you been excluded from social gatherings (eg. weddings, funerals, parties, clubs) because you were transgender? /  
ក្នុងរយៈពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកខុស្ស្សាហ៍ត្រូវបានគេបដិសេធមិនអោយចូលរួមកម្មវិធីសង្គមផ្សេងៗ ដូច ពិធីមង្គលការ បុណ្យសព ជប់លៀង ក្លិប ដោយសារអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?

- a Never / មិនធ្លាប់សោះ
- b Once / ម្តងគត
- c A few times / ២-៣ដង
- d Often / ជារៀងៗ
- e Always / រាល់ពេល

3b In the past 12 months, have you been excluded from religious activities or places of worship because you are transgender? /  
ក្នុងរយៈពេល១ឆ្នាំកន្លងមកនេះតើអ្នកត្រូវបានគេបដិសេធមិនអោយចូលបន់ស្រន់ក្នុងវត្ត វិហារ វិហារដោយសារតែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?

- a Never / មិនធ្លាប់សោះ
- b Once / ម្តងគត
- c A few times / ២-៣ដង
- d Often / ជារៀងៗ
- e Always / រាល់ពេល

3c In the past 12 months, how often have you been excluded from family activities (eg. cooking, eating together, sleeping in the same room) because you are transgender? /  
ក្នុងរយៈពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងមកនេះតើអ្នកត្រូវបានហាមឃាត់ពីគ្រួសារមិនអោយចូលរួមសកម្មភាពផ្សេងៗដូចជា: មិនអោយគេងនៅបន្ទប់តែមួយ ញាំបាយរួម ដោយសារតែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?

- a Never / មិនធ្លាប់សោះ
- b Once / ម្តងគត
- c A few times / ២-៣ដង
- d Often / ជារៀងៗ
- e Always / រាល់ពេល

4 Does being a transgender affect your intimate personal relationships? / តើភាពជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ វាប៉ះពាល់ទំនាក់ទំនងផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនរបស់អ្នកដែរ រឺទេ?

- a positively / ប៉ះពាល់ជាវិជ្ជមាន
- b negatively / ប៉ះពាល់ជាអវិជ្ជមាន
- c neutral / ប៉ះពាល់តែវាដូចធម្មតា

**D PREJUDICE, STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION / ភាពរើសអើង និង ការមើលងាយ**

**4b** If it does, please explain how it effects your relationships. /  
ប្រសិនបើប៉ះពាល់តើវាប៉ះពាល់យ៉ាងដូចម្តេចទៅលើទំនាក់  
ទំនងរបស់អ្នក?

**5** Have you got a best friend? / តើអ្នកមានមិត្តភក្តិជិតស្និទ្ធបំផុតដែររឺទេ

1. Yes / **បាទ** 2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**5b** If yes, who is your best friend? /  
បើសិនជាមានតើនរណាជាមិត្តភក្តិជិតស្និទ្ធបំផុតរបស់អ្នក?

- a Another Transgender / មិត្តភក្តិស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣
- b Boy/Girl in Village / អ្នកនៅក្នុងភូមិប្រុស-ស្រី
- c Someone else / អ្នកផ្សេងទៀត

**6** At what age to you think a transgender person **SHOULD** start  
dressing as a female? /  
តើអ្នកគិតថាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣គួរតែចាប់ស្លៀកពាក់ជាមនុស្ស  
ស្រីនៅអាយុប៉ុន្មាន?

**6b** Why do you think that? / ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតដូច្នោះ?

**7** Have you experienced stigma or discrimination because you are  
transgender? / តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទទួលរងនូវការអាម៉ាសិភាពរើសអើងដោយសារ  
តែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ដែររឺទេ?

1. Yes / **បាទ** 2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**7b** From whom do you experience stigma or discrimination?  
តើអ្នកទទួលរងនូវការអាម៉ាសិភាពរើសអើងដោយសារ  
តែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ពីអ្នកណាខ្លះ?

- a Parents / ឪពុកម្តាយ
- b Other Relatives / សាច់ញាតិ
- c Friends / ?មិត្តភក្តិ
- d Police / ប៉ូលីស
- e Teachers / គ្រូ
- f Religious Figures / អ្នកកាន់សាសនា —  
Someone else (Who?) / អ្នកផ្សេងទៀត.
- g នរណា?

**D PREJUDICE, STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION / ភាពរើសអើង និង ការមើលងាយ**

**9** If you have experienced some form of stigma and/or discrimination in the past 12 months, why do you think this is? / បើសិនជាអ្នកបានជួបប្រទះនូវការមើលងាយរឺការរើសអើងពីអ្នកដទៃក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះ តើមូលហេតុនេះបណ្តាលមកពីអ្វី?

- a People don't understand transgender
- b People think the transgender lifestyle is shameful and they should not be associated with me. / អ្នកដទៃគិតថាការរស់នៅជាភេទទី៣ប្រកបដោយភាពអាម៉ាសដូចេ្នះហើយពួកគេមិនគួររាប់អានជាមួយខ្ញុំ។
- c Religious beliefs or moral judgements / ខុសពីក្រឹតក្រមសាសនា និង អសីលធម៌
- d People disapprove of my lifestyle or behavior / អ្នកដទៃមិនយល់ស្របជាមួយនិងការរស់នៅរបស់ខ្ញុំរឺអត្តចរិតរបស់ខ្ញុំ
- e I'm not sure / មិនច្បាស់
- f I have never been stigmatized or discriminated against. / ខ្ញុំមិនដែលរងការមើលងាយរឺរើសអើងពីអ្នកដទៃឡើយ

**10** In the past 12 months, have you had to change your place of residence or been unable to rent accommodation because of being transgender? / តើក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកមានត្រូវបានផ្លូវកន្លែងស្នាក់នៅរឺមិនអាចជួលកន្លែងស្នាក់នៅ ដោយសារតែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?

- 1. Yes / បាទ
- 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**10b** In the past 12 months, have you been refused employment or lost a job or another source of income because of being transgender? / តើក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកមានត្រូវបានគេបដិសេធមិនអោយធ្វើការរឺបាត់បង់ការងារ រឺបាត់បង់ប្រភពនៃប្រាក់ចំណូលផ្សេងទៀតដោយសារតែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?

- 1. Yes / បាទ
- 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**10c** In the past 12 months, have you been prevented or dismissed from attending an educational institution because of being transgender? / ក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកមានត្រូវបានគេបដិសេធរឺបញ្ឈប់ពីការចូលរៀននៅវិទ្យាស្ថានអប់រំ រឺណាយមួយដោយសារតែអ្នកជាភេទទី៣?

- 1. Yes / បាទ
- 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**10d** In the last 12 months, have you been denied health services (including sexual health services) because of being transgender? / ក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកមានត្រូវបានគេបដិសេធមិនអោយទទួលសេវាកម្មសុខភាពរួមមានសេវាកម្មភាពសុខភាពផ្លូវភេទ ដោយសារតែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ ដែររឺទេ?

- 1. Yes / បាទ
- 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**D PREJUDICE, STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION / ភាពរើសអើង និង ការមើលងាយ**

**11** In the past 12 months, have you experienced any of the following feelings because of being transgender? /

ក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកធ្លាប់មានអារម្មណ៍អ្វីដ

មានទាំងនេះដោយសារអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ ភេទទី៣?

- a I feel ashamed / មានអារម្មណ៍អាម៉ាស
- b I feel guilty / មានអារម្មណ៍ថាខ្លួនឯងធ្វើខុស
- c I blame myself / អ្នកបន្ទោសខ្លួនឯង
- d I blame others / អ្នកបន្ទោសអ្នកដទៃ
- e I have low self-esteem / អោយដំលៃខ្លួនឯងទាប
- f I feel I should be punished / មានអារម្មណ៍ថាខ្លួនឯងគួរតែទទួលទោស
- g I feel suicidal / មានអារម្មណ៍ចង់សម្លាប់ខ្លួន

- a. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ
- b. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ
- c. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ
- d. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ
- e. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ
- f. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ
- g. Yes / បាទ No / អត់មានទេ

**12** In the past 12 months, have you confronted, challenged or educated someone who is stigmatizing and/or discriminating against you? /

ក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកធ្លាប់បានប្រឈមមុខដោយភ្លាហាន ពន្យល់ រឺក៏ អប់រំអ្នកណាម្នាក់ដែលមើលងាយរើសអើងអ្នកដែររឺទេ?

- 1. Yes / បាទ 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**13** Do you know organizations that can help you if you experience stigma or discrimination? /

តើអ្នកមានស្គាល់អង្គការណាមួយដែលអាចជួយអ្នកបានបើសិនជាអ្នកជួបប្រទះនឹងការមើលងាយរឺ ការរើសអើងពីអ្នកដទៃដែររឺទេ?

- 1. Yes / បាទ 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**E SEXUAL IDENTITY & PERSONAL SEXUAL HISTORY / អត្តសញ្ញាណផ្លូវភេទ និងប្រវត្តិផ្លូវភេទផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន**

**1** How do you understand your gender?

តើអ្នកគិតថាខ្លួនអ្នកជាភេទអ្វី?

- a I am a man / ខ្ញុំជាមនុស្សប្រុស
- b I am a woman / ខ្ញុំជាមនុស្សស្រី
- c I am a transgender / ខ្ញុំជាស្រីស្រស់ ភេទទី៣
- d I don't know / ខ្ញុំអត់ដឹងទេ

**2** Who do you prefer to have sex with? /

? តើអ្នកមានចំនូលចិត្តរួមភេទជាមួយអ្នកណាជាង?  
(Please rank in order of preference)

- a Homosexual Men / បុរសស្រលាញ់បុរស
- b Straight Men / បុរសសុទ្ធ
- c Other Transgender / ? ស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ដូចគ្នា
- d Women / ? មនុស្សស្រី
- e Other (please specify) / ផ្សេងៗទៀត. សូមព្យាករណ៍អោយច្បាស់

**3** At what age did you have your first sexual experience?

? តើអ្នករួមភេទដំបូងនៅអាយុប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំ?

**E SEXUAL IDENTITY & PERSONAL SEXUAL HISTORY / អត្តសញ្ញាណផ្លូវភេទ និងប្រវត្តិផ្លូវភេទផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន**

**3b** What was the age of the person who first had sex with you? / តើវ័យរបស់អ្នកដំបូងមានអាយុប៉ុន្មាន?

**3c** What was the gender of your first sexual partner? / តើវ័យរបស់អ្នកដំបូងមានភេទអ្វី?

- a Male / ប្រុស
- b Female / ស្រី
- c Transgender / ស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី ៣

**4a** If male, was he:  
បើសិនជាភេទប្រុស តើគាត់ជា.....

- a Relative / សាច់ញាតិ
- b Neighbor / សាច់ញាតិ
- c Friend / មិត្តភក្តិ
- d Client / ភ្ញៀវ
- e Stranger / អ្នកមិនស្គាល់សោះ

**4b** If female, was she:  
បើសិនជាភេទស្រី តើគាត់ជា.....

- a Relative / សាច់ញាតិ
- b Neighbor / សាច់ញាតិ
- c Friend / មិត្តភក្តិ
- d Client / ភ្ញៀវ
- e Stranger / អ្នកមិនស្គាល់សោះ

**4c** If transgender, was he/she:  
បើសិនជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ តើគាត់ជា.....

- a Relative / សាច់ញាតិ
- b Neighbor / សាច់ញាតិ
- c Friend / មិត្តភក្តិ
- d Client / ភ្ញៀវ
- e Stranger / អ្នកមិនស្គាល់សោះ

**5** The first time you had sexual intercourse, was it:  
៖តើការរួមភេទលើកទីមួយរបស់អ្នកជាការ...

- a Forced / បង្ខំ
- b Consensual / ស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត

**5b** Do you watch pornography? /  
តើអ្នកមើលភាពយន្តអាសអាភាសដែររឺទេ?

- 1. Yes / បាទ
- 2. No / អត់មានទេ

**5c** About how many times in a week do you watch pornography? /  
បើសិនជាមើលតើប្រហែលជាប៉ុន្មានដងដែរក្នុង ១អាទិត្យ?

**F CLIENTELE, FREQUENCY & TYPE OF SEXUAL EXPERIENCES / លំហូរភ្ញៀវ និង បទពិសោធន៍ផ្លូវភេទ**

<p><b>1</b> Do you meet clients for sex?          ៖ តើអ្នកទៅជួបភ្ញៀវដើម្បីរួមភេទមែនរឺទេ?</p>	<p>1. Yes / បាទ                      2. No / អត់មានទេ</p>
<p><b>1b</b> What caused you to begin this kind of work?          តើអ្វីបណ្តាលឱ្យអ្នកប្រកបរបរនេះ?</p>	
<p><b>1c</b> How old were you when you first received payment sexual services? /          តើអ្នកបានទទួលប្រាក់ពីភ្ញៀវសំរាប់សេវាកម្មផ្លូវភេទដំបូងនៅអាយុប៉ុន្មាន?</p>	
<p><b>2</b> About how many clients do you have in a week?          តើមួយអាទិត្យអ្នកមានភ្ញៀវប្រហែលប៉ុន្មានអ្នកដែរ?</p>	
<p><b>3</b> What is the age range of your clients?          ៖ តើភ្ញៀវរបស់អ្នកមានអាយុចន្លោះចាប់ពីប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំដែរ?</p>	
<p><b>4</b> About how many of these clients are males?          តើភ្ញៀវប្រហែលជាប៉ុន្មានអ្នកដែលជាមនុស្សប្រុស?</p>	
<p><b>4b</b> About how many of these clients are females?          តើភ្ញៀវប្រហែលជាប៉ុន្មានអ្នកដែលជាមនុស្សស្រី?</p>	
<p><b>4c</b> About how many of these clients are transgendered?          តើភ្ញៀវប្រហែលជាប៉ុន្មានអ្នកដែលជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?</p>	
<p><b>5</b> Out of ten <b>MALE CLIENTS</b>, how many would require:          ក្នុងចំណោមភ្ញៀវជាបុរស១០នាក់ តើភ្ញៀវប៉ុន្មានអ្នកតម្រូវអោយអ្នក....</p>	<p>a Masturbation / អោយអ្នកសាបដោយដៃលើប្រដាប់ភេទ          b You to give oral sex / រួមភេទដោយមាត់          c You to receive oral sex / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយមាត់ទៅលើអ្នក          d Sex with you as top / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយអោយអ្នកនៅពីលើ          e Sex with you as bottom / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយអោយអ្នកនៅពីក្រោម</p>
<p><b>5b</b> Out of ten <b>TRANSGENDER</b> clients, how many would require: / ក្នុងចំណោមភ្ញៀវជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣១០នាក់ តើភ្ញៀវប៉ុន្មានអ្នកតម្រូវអោយអ្នក....</p>	<p>a Masturbation / អោយអ្នកសាបដោយដៃលើប្រដាប់ភេទ          b You to give oral sex / រួមភេទដោយមាត់          c You to receive oral sex / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយមាត់ទៅលើអ្នក          d Sex with you as top / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយអោយអ្នកនៅពីលើ          e Sex with you as bottom / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយអោយអ្នកនៅពីក្រោម</p>
<p><b>6</b> In the past week, how many people have you had sex with who are non-clients?          នៅក្នុងអាទិត្យចុងក្រោយតើមានមនុស្សប៉ុន្មានអ្នកដែលមិនមែនជាភ្ញៀវដែលអ្នកបានរួមភេទជាមួយ?</p>	
<p><b>7</b> In the past week, which of these have you done with non-clients:          នៅក្នុងអាទិត្យចុងក្រោយតើសកម្មភាពរួមផ្លូវភេទណាមួយដែលអ្នកបានប្រព្រឹត្តជាមួយដៃគូដែលមិនមែនជាភ្ញៀវ?</p>	<p>a Masturbation / អោយអ្នកសាបដោយដៃលើប្រដាប់ភេទ          b You to give oral sex / រួមភេទដោយមាត់          c You to receive oral sex / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយមាត់ទៅលើអ្នក          d Sex with you as top / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយអោយអ្នកនៅពីលើ          e Sex with you as bottom / ភ្ញៀវរួមភេទដោយអោយអ្នកនៅពីក្រោម</p>

**F CLIENTELE, FREQUENCY & TYPE OF SEXUAL EXPERIENCES / លំហូរភ្ញៀវ និង បទពិសោធន៍ផ្លូវភេទ**

**8** Within the past three months, how many times have you had group sex with clients?

នៅពេលចុងក្រោយតើអ្នកបានរួមភេទជាលក្ខណៈក្រុមជាមួយភ្ញៀវប៉ុន្មានដង?

**9** Of the clients with whom you have had sexual intercourse, what % of them are foreigners?

ក្នុងចំណោមភ្ញៀវដែលអ្នកបានរួមភេទជាមួយតើមានជនបរទេសប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?

**9b** From what countries do they come?

តើជនបរទេសទាំងនេះមកពីប្រទេសណាខ្លះ?

**10** Have you been filmed for pornographic films?

តើអ្នកធ្លាប់បានថតកុំព្រីយ៉ាសអាសាសដែររឺទេ?

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**10b** If yes, what have you been asked to do for these films?

ប្រសិនបើអ្នកធ្លាប់ តើគេតម្រូវអោយអ្នកធ្វើសកម្មភាពរួមភេទអ្វីខ្លះ?

**11** Have you paid for sex within the past three months?

? តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ជូលគេដើម្បីរួមភេទដែររឺទេក្នុងកំឡុងពេល៣ខែចុងក្រោយ?

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**G SEXUAL HEALTH / សុខភាពផ្លូវភេទ**

**1** Have you had any sexual health education (instruction)?

តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទទួលបានការអប់រំផ្នែកសុខភាពផ្លូវភេទដែររឺទេ?

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**1b** From whom have you received sexual health education?

តើអ្នកទទួលបានការអប់រំផ្នែកសុខភាពផ្លូវភេទពីអ្នកណា?

**2** Have you received any sexual health services (condoms, other services)?

តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទទួលបានសេវាកម្មផ្នែកសុខភាពផ្លូវភេទដែររឺទេ? ដូចជាស្រោមអនាម័យ វីសេវាកម្មផ្សេងៗទៀត

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**2b** From whom have you received sexual health services?

តើអ្នកទទួលបានសេវាកម្មផ្នែកសុខភាពផ្លូវភេទពីនរណា?

**3** Have you ever used a condom?

តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ប្រើស្រោមអនាម័យដែររឺទេ?

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**3b** Have you used a condom within the past week?

តើអ្នកបានប្រើស្រោមអនាម័យទេក្នុងកំឡុងអាទិត្យកន្លងទៅ?

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**3c** Do you have one with you right now?

តើអ្នកមានស្រោមអនាម័យនៅជាប់ខ្លួនទេអឺឡូវនឹង?

1. Yes / បាទ

2. No / អត់មានទេ

**G SEXUAL HEALTH / សុខភាពផ្លូវភេទ**

**4** In the past 6 months, did you have any rashes, ulcerations or lump in your genital area / anus / mouth?  
 ក្នុងកំឡុងពេល៦ខែនេះតើអ្នកធ្លាប់មានរោគសញ្ញាដូចជា រមាស់ ពងបែក វិជុំពកផ្សេងៗនៅម្តុំប្រដាប់ភេទ រន្ធកូន វិមាត់ដែររឺទេ  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**4b** In the past 6 months, have you had any urethral discharge, difficulty passing urine, pain in your testicles?  
 ក្នុងកំឡុងពេល៦ខែនេះតើអ្នកធ្លាប់មានរោគសញ្ញាជម្ងឺកាមរោគ វិវល់វិបាកក្នុងការបទដឹងតូច វិលីចាប់ក្នុងពងស្វាសដែរទេ?  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**4c** In the past three months, have you been sick in any other way?  
 ក្នុងពេល៣ខែចុងក្រោយតើអ្នកធ្លាប់ឈឺដែររឺទេ?  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**4c** If yes, in what other way have you been sick?  
 ? បើសិនជាធ្លាប់តើអ្នកមានអាការៈបែបណា?  
 សូមជួយរៀបរាប់ពីអាការៈទាំងនោះ

**5** How is HIV/AIDS passed from one person to another?  
 ធ្លាប់តើដំណើរការដល់អ្នកដទៃត្រូវតែស្របទៅតាមរបៀបណា

**5b** Do you know anyone with HIV/AIDS?  
 មិ តើអ្នកមានស្គាល់អ្នកណាដែលផ្ទុកមេរោគអេដស៍ដែររឺទេ?  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**5c** How many times have you been tested for HIV/AIDS in the past 6 months?  
 មិន ធ្លាប់ក្នុងកំឡុងពេល៦ខែចុងក្រោយនេះតើអ្នកបានធ្វើតេស្តឈាមរកមេរោគអេដស៍បានប៉ុន្មានដង?

**5d** Have you ever tested positive for HIV/AIDS?  
 ធ្លាប់តើអ្នកធ្លាប់រកឃើញមេរោគអេដស៍ទេក្រោយពេលធ្វើការ តេស្តឈាម  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**5e** If yes, are you receiving any treatment?  
 ធ្លាប់បើសិនជាមានតើអ្នកកំពុងទទួលបានការព្យាបាលដែររឺទេ?  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**5f** If yes, from whom are you receiving treatment?  
 បើសិនជាបាន តើអ្នកទទួលបានការព្យាបាលនោះពីអ្នកណាទេ?

**H SUBSTANCE ABUSE / ការប្រើរបស់សារជាតិញៀន**

**1** Do you use illegal drugs?  
 តើអ្នកប្រើថ្នាំញៀនដែររឺទេ?  
 1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**2** Which drugs have you used in the past 3 months?  
 តើអ្នកបានប្រើថ្នាំញៀនប្រភេទអ្វីក្នុងរយៈពេល៣ ខែចុងក្រោយនេះ

**3** How much drugs have you used in the past week?  
 មិក្នុងអាទិត្យចុងក្រោយតើអ្នកប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងញៀនអស់ប៉ុន្មានដែរ?

**H SUBSTANCE ABUSE / ការប្រើរបស់សារជាតិញៀន**

**4** Do you use alcohol during sex with clients?  
តើអ្នកឧស្សាហ៍ញ៉ាំស្រាប៊ុនណាក្នុងអំឡុងពេលរួមភេទជាមួយ ភ្ញៀវ?

- a Never / មិនដែល
- b Sometimes / ពេលខ្លះ
- c Often / ជាញឹកញយ
- d Very Often / ឧស្សាហ៍
- e Always / តែងតែ

**4b** Do you use any drugs during sex with clients?  
តើអ្នកប្រើថ្នាំដែរទេក្នុងអំឡុងពេលរួមភេទជាមួយភ្ញៀវ?

- a Never / មិនដែល
- b Sometimes / ពេលខ្លះ
- c Often / ជាញឹកញយ
- d Very Often / ឧស្សាហ៍
- e Always / តែងតែ

**4c** Do you use performance enhancing drugs during sex with clients? /  
តើអ្នកប្រើថ្នាំសម្រេចក្នុងអំឡុងពេលរួមភេទជាមួយភ្ញៀវ?

- a Never / មិនដែល
- b Sometimes / ពេលខ្លះ
- c Often / ជាញឹកញយ
- d Very Often / ឧស្សាហ៍
- e Always / តែងតែ

**I VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL ABUSE / អំពើហិង្សា និងការរំលោភបំពានផ្លូវភេទ**

**1** Are you aware of other transgender being forced to have sex against their wishes? /  
តើអ្នកបានដឹងពីស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣ផ្សេងទៀតដែលត្រូវបានគេបង្ខំអោយរួមភេទដែររឺទេ?

1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**2** Have you ever been forced to have sex against your wishes? /  
តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ត្រូវបានគេបង្ខំអោយរួមភេទដែររឺទេ?

1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**2b** How many times has this happened? /  
តើអ្នកត្រូវបានគេបង្ខំអោយរួមភេទបានប៉ុន្មានដង?

**2c** Would you mind sharing about these experiences? /  
តើអាចប្រាប់ពីបទពិសោធន៍ទាំងនេះបានទេ?

1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**2d** Can you please tell us what happened? /  
តើអាចប្រាប់បានទេពីអ្វីដែលបានកើតឡើងនៅពេលដែលអ្នកត្រូវបានគេបង្ខំ?

**3** In the last 12 months, have you been physically harassed and/or threatened because of being transgender? /  
ក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកធ្លាប់បានទទួលការយាយី និង គំរោមកំហែងដោយសារតែអ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣?

1. Yes / **បាទ**      2. No / **អត់មានទេ**

**I VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL ABUSE / អំពើហិង្សា និងការរំលោភបំពានផ្លូវភេទ**

<p><b>3b</b> How often has this happened? / តើហេតុការណ៍ខាងលើខុស្ស្សាហ៍កើតឡើងយ៉ាងណា?</p>	<p>a Never / មិនធ្លាប់សោះ                  b Once / ម្តងគត                  c A few times / ២រំពងដង                  d Often / ជារៀងៗ                  e Always / រាល់ពេល</p>
<p><b>4</b> In the last 12 months, have you been physically assaulted because of being transgender? / ក្នុងពេលមួយឆ្នាំកន្លងទៅនេះតើអ្នកធ្លាប់ត្រូវបានគេប្រើកម្លាំងកាយធ្វើជាបដោយសារតែអ្នកជាភេទទី៣ ដែររឺទេ?</p>	<p>1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>    2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b></p>
<p><b>4b</b> How offer has this happened? / តើហេតុការណ៍ខាងលើខុស្ស្សាហ៍កើតឡើងយ៉ាងណា?</p>	<p>a Never / មិនធ្លាប់សោះ                  b Once / ម្តងគត                  c A few times / ២រំពងដង                  d Often / ជារៀងៗ                  e Always / រាល់ពេល</p>
<p><b>4c</b> If so, who assaulted you? / បើសិនជាវាកើតជាតើអ្នកឡើងមែនតើអ្នកណាធ្វើជាបដោយអ្នក?</p>	<p>a Intimate partner / ដៃគូរូបិកស្និក                  Other members of the household / សមាជិកផ្សេងទៀតនៅក្នុងគ្រួសារ                  b Person(s) outside the household who is / អ្នកដទៃទៀតដែលខ្ញុំស្គាល់                  c are known to me / អ្នកដែលខ្ញុំមិនស្គាល់                  d Unknown person(s) / អ្នកដែលខ្ញុំមិនស្គាល់                  e Police / ប៉ូលីស</p>

**J INCOME GENERATION / ការរកប្រាក់ចំណូល**

<p><b>1</b> What were your earnings from sex work within the past week? / តើអ្នកទទួលបានប្រាក់ចំណូលប៉ុន្មានពីការងាររកស៊ីផ្លូវភេទក្នុងអាទិត្យចុងក្រោយ?</p>	
<p><b>1b</b> What were your earnings from non-sex work within the past week? / តើអ្នករកប្រាក់ចំណូលបានប៉ុន្មានពីការងារដែលមិនជាការរកស៊ីផ្លូវភេទ?</p>	
<p><b>2</b> What work is available in Cambodia for transgender? / តើមានការងារអ្វីខ្លះដែលស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣អាចរកធ្វើបាននៅកម្ពុជាយើង?</p>	
<p><b>3</b> Do you like your present job? / តើអ្នកចូលចិត្តការងារដែលអ្នកមានសព្វនេះដែររឺទេ?</p>	<p>1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>    2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b></p>

<b>J INCOME GENERATION / ការរកប្រាក់ចំណូល</b>		
<b>3b</b> Why do you like it? ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកចូលចិត្តវា?		
<b>3c</b> If no, what would you prefer to be doing? បើសិនជាអ្នកមិនចូលចិត្តតើអ្នកចង់ធ្វើអ្វីវិញ?		
<b>4</b> If you were offered an alternative job to your sex work, which paid 80USD a month, would you take it? បើសិនជាគេផ្តល់ការងារផ្សេងដែលទទួលបានប្រាក់ចំណូល៨០ ដុល្លាក្នុងមួយខែជំនួសអោយការងាររកស៊ីផ្លូវភេទ តើអ្នកយល់ព្រមដែររឺទេ?	1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>	2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b>
<b>5</b> Would it help your income generation if you learned a foreign language? តើប្រាក់ចំណូលរបស់អ្នកអាចកើនដែររឺទេបើសិនជាអ្នករៀន ភាសាបរទេស?	1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>	2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b>
<b>5b</b> Which one? តើភាសាមួយណាអ្នកចង់រៀន?		
<b>6</b> Are there other skills you would like to learn if you had the opportunity? បើសិនជាអ្នកមានឱកាសតើអ្នកចង់រៀនមុខជំនាញផ្សេងទៀតដែរ រឺទេ	1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>	2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b>
<b>6b</b> Which ones? មុខជំនាញអ្វី?		

<b>K SPIRITUALITY / ផ្នែកព្រលឹងវិញ្ញាណ</b>		
<b>1</b> Do you have a faith? តើអ្នកមានជំនឿលើសាសនាដែររឺទេ?	1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>	2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b>
<b>1b</b> Which one? តើសាសនាមួយណា?		
<b>2</b> Do you pray / worship daily? តើអ្នកបន់ស្រន់ រឺគោរពបូជាជាប្រចាំដែររឺទេ?	1. Yes / <b>បាទ</b>	2. No / <b>អត់មានទេ</b>
<b>3</b> How often do you visit a Temple / Mosque / Church? តើអ្នកទស្សនាទៅវត្តរឺព្រះវិហារប៉ុណ្ណាដែរ?		
<b>4</b> How do you feel after you have prayed or visited a temple / mosque / church? តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍បែបណាបន្ទាប់ពីអ្នកបានបន់ស្រន់រឺទៅលេង វត្ត រឺព្រះវិហារ?		
<b>5</b> What do you believe about life after death? / តើអ្នកជឿលើការចាប់ជាតិដែររឺទេ?		
<b>5b</b> If you believe in reincarnation, what do you hope to be when you are reincarnated? / បើសិនជាអ្នកជឿមែន តើអ្នកប្រាថ្នាចង់កើត ជាអ្វីនៅជាតិក្រោយ?		

**M DIGNITY / សេចក្តីថ្លៃថ្នូរ**

<p>1 What is the meaning of the word “respect” for you? ៖តើពាក្យគោរពមានន័យយ៉ាងណាចំពោះអ្នក?</p>	
<p>2 How much value/confidence do you have as a person? តើអ្នកអោយតំលៃនិងមានទំនុកចិត្តលើខ្លួនឯង ប៉ុណ្ណាក្នុងនាមជាមនុស្សម្នាក់?</p>	<p>a. not very much / តិចតួច b. Below average / ក្រោមមធ្យម c. Average / មធ្យម d. Above average / បង្អួរ e. Very much / ខ្លាំងណាស់</p>
<p>3 What can you do to increase your value/confidence? តើអ្នកអាចធ្វើអ្វីបានខ្លះក្នុងការបង្កើនតំលៃនិងទំនុកចិត្តខ្លួនឯង?</p>	
<p>4 Why do you think someone becomes transgendered? (ie. What causes them to be transgendered?) / ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថាអ្នកខ្លះក្លាយជាស្រីស្រស់ ភេទទី៣? តើកត្តាអ្វីដែលជំរុញអោយពួកគេធ្វើបែបនេះ?</p>	

**N FUTURE PLANNING / ពមគម្រោងទៅថ្ងៃអនាគត**

<p>1 Where do you see yourself in two years time? តើអ្នកគិតថាខ្លួនអ្នកនឹងធ្វើអ្វីនៅ២ឆ្នាំខាងមុខទៀត?</p>	
<p>2 How do you plan to reach that goal? តើអ្នកមានគំរោងដើម្បីសំរេចនូវគោលដៅនោះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?</p>	
<p>3 Is there anything else that you would like to tell us? តើមានអ្វីថែមទៀតទេដែលអ្នកចង់ប្រាប់យើង?</p>	

សូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណសំរាប់ការចំណាយពេលវេលារបស់អ្នកក្នុងការធ្វើបទសំភាសន៍ជាមួយយើង។ ការផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានរបស់អ្នកពិតជាមាន  
តំលៃណាស់សម្រាប់យើង។  
យើងសូមធានាថាល្មោះរបស់អ្នកនឹងមិនត្រូវបានបង្ហាញហើយទិន្នន័យនិងត្រូវបានប្រើប្រាស់ក្នុងការបង្កើតនូវអន្តរាគមន៍ជាក់លាក់ផ្សេងៗក្នុងគោលបំណងធ្វើអោយជីវិតរបស់  
អ្នកជាស្រីស្រស់ភេទទី៣កាន់តែប្រសើរឡើង។  
តើអ្នកមានសំនួរអ្វីដែររឺទេ?  
សូមអរគុណច្រើន

## Appendix B: Quotes from Interviews

Conversations with respondents brought about more insights, perspectives and social commentary than what could be adequately be discussed within a mere exploratory study. Many statements were contradictory, but represent the spectrum of self-identities and perceived social roles among transgender sex workers in Phnom Penh. We understand that the voices of this group of people, are very seldom heard. We felt that having a collection of such rich statements from such a group of individuals demanded that they be represented as much as possible. Thus, we have included, below, a number of quotes that were excerpted from our interviews. They are arranged according to the respondent. Only the respondent's coded number and age is given in order to protect their identities and the confidentiality promised during interviews. In parenthesis are the codes of the questions in reference to which the quotes were given.

### **R4, 26**

*"I really hate police. They chase us like dogs." (D8b)*

*"What does it feel like to be confused about gender? There is the eternal battle with discrimination and the internal battle with gender confusion. No straight man really loves us. When they break up with us we cry. Then, there is the inner battle and no real love." (N3)*

### **R5, 22**

*"My Mum is rich, she sold gold in Vietnam. I ran away from home because I didn't want my family to know. I have been here 15 years. I've had no contact with them at all, only with my Aunt." (C6)*

*"Because I'm feminine, no one really knows I'm a transgender." (D3)*

*"I can't fight nature, I'm pretty and I love myself." (D11)*

*"They just hit me out of the blue. I don't know why. Probably other transgender people have mistreated them (gangsters)." (I4c)*

*"I keep God in my heart. All religions are good." (K3,4)*

**R6, 21**

*"People stop me from going to pagoda because they're afraid I will go to have sex with the monks." (D3b)*

*"The doctors refused to examine me when I had a problem with my anus, because they found out that I'm a ladyboy." (D10d)*

*"The client forced me to take drugs but I didn't want to." (H4b)*

**R9, 31**

*"People discriminate/stigmatize because of their low education." (D9)*

*"I worked at a factory for two days. They kicked me out after they saw my ID." (D10b)*

*"I feel very ashamed because people make fun of me. I regret that I was born like this. I blame myself, 'Why am I not born as a girl?' I feel suicidal because I broke up with my boyfriend." (D11)*

*"I'm transgender, but I behave like real girl." (E1)*

*"Transgenders can't find a good job." (F1b)*

*"The police are good at threatening. Sometimes I become the scapegoat. Once I was arrested by police without a reason and I had to pay a 20\$ fine." (I4c)*

**R10, 23**

*"Some Khteuy act dumb." (D9)*

*"Some clients never had sex with a ladyboy. They want to try it out. Some don't even know that I'm a ladyboy." (F5)*

*"I'm careful with police, though they never assaulted me. Some policemen come to inspect us and put drugs in our pockets. When they inspect us and find the drugs we get arrested." (I4c)*

*"There are good men and bad men. There are good women and bad women. Likewise there are good transgender and bad transgender. Not all transgender are bad. I hope transgender will have the same rights than everybody else." (N3)*

**R11, 20**

*"Most people think that ladyboys are not normal and that they are unnatural strange people." (D9)*

*"If I cut my hair short and dress up as a man they will let me study or work, but if I dress up as a girl with long hair I will not be allowed to go to school or work." (D10b,c)*

*"I feel angry with people who always look down on ladyboys." (D11)*

**R16, 25**

*"I tried to cut my hair a couple of times to be a man, but I failed. I need to follow my feelings not others." (D11)*

*They drove here, cursed at me, I cursed back and they slapped my face." (I4b)*

**R18, 22**

*"People let me participate because they don't know I am a ladyboy." (D3)*

*"When I was 12 a group of people took me far from home to beat me & leave me there. One guy (25 years old) rescued me and took me home. He asked if he could have sex with me, I said yes because he had rescued me." (E3)*

**R19, 21**

*"There's a rule at school that forbids boys to wear girls clothes." (D7b)*

*"I'm doing what is right, It's not stealing." (D11)*

*"I won't be able to get clients when I am old." (F1b)*

*"My Mum's relatives are always judgemental towards me." (I3)*

**R21, 20**

*"I'm Khmer like you. Why do you discriminate against me?" (D12)*

*"They kicked me and my friends. No one helped us. There were only onlookers." (I4)*

**R27, 28**

*"My grandma dressed me as a girl very early in my life." (D6)*

**R28, 29**

“I have been a ladyboy since I was really young.” (D4)

“People fully accept me because I was born that way.” (D9)

**R32, 28**

“My neighbors in my hometown make fun of me.” (D4)

“Somehow I changed my feelings from loving girls to boys. I was born a full man. But when I turned 18, I started to have feelings for men because a girl had broken my heart. First, I simply dressed as a girl for fun but now I’m fully in. I have tried to cut my hair short to be a man but it didn’t work.” (D6)

“I am angry with myself sometimes. But I told myself that I am not the only one.” (D11)

**R38, 30**

“My Mum dressed me as a girl because she wanted a girl. I was the first child.” (D1)

“I’m angry with myself. Why am I in-between?” (D11)

“I blame my parents.” (D11)

**R40, 21**

“My villagers spit when they see me.” (D3)

“I don’t feel ashamed when I am dressed up nicely.” (D11A)

“I feel suicidal because wherever I go, people reject me and some try to beat me up.” (D11g)

“But police here pointed a gun at my head threatening me to have sex with him.” (I4B)

**R47, 52**

“I’m not ashamed that I’m a ladyboy but I’m ashamed that my family rejects me.” (D11)

“I feel disappointed that I was born like this.” (D11)

**R49, 30**

“I feel disappointed with myself that I’m born like this.” (D11)

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