

A Thorn in the Heart: Cambodian Men who Buy Sex

**Melissa Farley, Wendy Freed,
Kien Serey Phal, Jaqueline Golding**



**Presented at a Conference co-hosted by
Cambodian Women's Crisis Center and Prostitution Research & Education
Focus on Men who Buy Sex:
Discourage Men's Demand for Prostitution, Stop Sex Trafficking
July 17 2012, Phnom Penh, Cambodia**

A Thorn in the Heart: Cambodian Men who Buy Sex

by

Melissa Farley, Wendy Freed,
Kien Serey Phal, Jacqueline Golding

Presented at:

**Focus on Men who Buy Sex:
Discourage Men's Demand for Prostitution, Stop Sex Trafficking**

A conference co-hosted by:

**Cambodian Women's Crisis Center
and
Prostitution Research & Education**

July 17, 2012
Himawari Hotel
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Available online at www.prostitutionresearch.com and www.cwcc.org.kh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	01
<i>Table 1. Quotes from Cambodian Sex Buyers</i>	03
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	04
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	06
INTRODUCTION	07
Traditional Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Cambodia	08
Rape	08
Domestic Violence	09
Violence in Prostitution	09
Gang Rape (<i>Bauk</i>)	09
Pornography	10
Child Pornography in Cambodia	11
Recent History of Prostitution and the Sex Industry in Cambodia	12
Legal Response to Sexual Violence Including Trafficking for Prostitution	12
METHODS	13
Interviewer Training and Support	14
RESULTS	14
Demographic Characteristics of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex	14
<i>Table 2. Age of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex</i>	14
<i>Table 3. Family Income of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex</i>	15
<i>Table 4. Educational Level of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex</i>	15
Ethnicity	15
Sex Partners	15
<i>Table 5. Lifetime number of Sex Partners of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex</i>	15
EXPERIENCES UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE	15
PROSTITUTION BEHAVIORS OF CAMBODIAN SEX BUYERS	16
First Use of Women in Prostitution	16
Ethnic and Age Selection of Women in Prostitution	16
Frequency of Buying Sex	17
Where Do Men in Cambodia Locate Women for the Purpose of Buying Sex?	17
<i>Table 6. Indoor Locations Where Cambodian Men Purchased Sex</i>	18
Travel to Buy Sex Within and Outside of Cambodia	18
Drug and Alcohol Use of Cambodian Sex Buyers	18
Military History of Cambodian Sex Buyers	18
Paying for Sex with Drugs, Shelter, Food and Clothes	19
Why Cambodian Men Say They Buy Sex	19
Self-Reported Sexual Violence	19

ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS OF CAMBODIAN SEX BUYERS	19
Dehumanization of Women in Prostitution	19
Belief that Prostitution Prevents Rape	20
Hostile Masculine Identity, Prostitution Myth Acceptance, and Rape Myth Acceptance	21
Awareness of Pimping, Coercion and Trafficking	21
Myths About Sexuality Held by Cambodian Sex Buyers	23
Lack of Empathy for Women in Prostitution	23
<i>Table 7. Words Used by Sex Buyers and Prostituted Women to Describe Feelings of</i>	
<i>Women During Prostitution</i>	24
Lack of Emotional Relationships with Women in Prostitution	24
Internal Conflicts of Sex Buyers	25
PORNOGRAPHY USE	25
Oral Sex Pornography	27
Vaginal Sex Pornography	27
Anal Sex Pornography	27
Oral Sex with Gagging Pornography	27
Group Sex Pornography	27
Group Sex Pornography with More Than One Man Penetrating the Woman or Girl's	
Vagina, Anus, and/or Mouth	27
Pornography of Women or Girls Smiling	28
Pornography of Women or Girls Not Smiling	28
Pornography of Women or Girls Crying	28
Pornography of Adults Having Sex with Children	28
Pornography of Women or Girls Having Sex with Animals	28
Gang Rape or <i>Bauk</i> Pornography	29
Bukkake Pornography (Men Ejaculating on a Woman's Face)	29
Anus-to-Mouth Pornography	29
Pornography of Women or Girls Tied Up or Restrained	29
Choking Pornography	29
Strangling Pornography	29
Torture Pornography	29
Murder Pornography	30
Gang Rape (<i>Bauk</i>) Prostitution and Gang Rape (<i>Bauk</i>) Pornography	30
Deterrents to prostitution	32
<i>Table 8. 133 Cambodian Men's Responses to "What Would Deter You from Buying Sex?"</i>	32
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS	33
REFERENCES	36
APPENDIX A. Rank Order of Frequency of Ethnicities of Women and Children in	
Pornography Described by 133 Sex Buyers in Cambodia	43

Table 1. Quotes from Cambodian Sex Buyers

"Prostitution is the man's heaven but it is also those girls' hell."

"My friend took a woman to rape, then shared her with his friends."

"[Buying sex] is no problem because we are not raping someone's daughter"

"They were so-called leftover girls, who were hopeless and no longer cared about their lives."

"If we observe closely, we see that brothel owners treat the prostitutes very bad, as having less value than animals such as dogs and cats."

"When we were at a brothel we negotiated with the brothel owner. It was like buying a baby pig,"

"Seeing gang rape in the movies, the girl always agreed to it; but in Cambodia, the girl taken for gang rape was always beaten."

"I think she agreed [to prostitution] because she is scared of someone or she needs money."

"All the power is in the hands of the brothel owners, while prostitutes were just the machines following orders"

"Some men, when they are jealous with their girlfriend or spouse, mostly curse or compare their girlfriend/spouse to sex workers. That's because the sex worker is devalued in the society."

"I accompanied my aunt to Vietnam for treatment of a her kidney disease and during my free time I went to a brothel."

"We men are the buyer, sex workers are goods, and the brothel owner is a vendor."

"If there is any prostitution we cannot stop ourselves...because women are hooks to catch men to have sex."

"As long as the gap between the rich and the poor still exists, as long as women and men still have unequal social status, I think that this kind of business will still happen in the society."

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We interviewed 133 Cambodian men who had bought sex from adult women in prostitution, with 37% also acknowledging having bought sex from minor girls. Almost all (95%) of the men interviewed for this study stated that children were available for paid sexual abuse in brothels, bars, and massage parlors in Phnom Penh. In order to measure the men's attitudes and behavior, we used previously validated and standardized questionnaires, and a structured interview, yielding both quantitative and qualitative data. Conducted by a specially trained team of 8 interviewers, the interviews each lasted about 2-3 hours. Most of the men said that they had a wife or girlfriend when they used a woman in prostitution. They reported having many sex partners throughout their lifetime (21% had 21-50 sex partners and 35% had 50 or more sex partners). Prostitution was the first sexual experience of most interviewees, many of them having responded to peer pressure and the need to prove their manhood by using a woman in prostitution. Almost all of the men bought sex once a month or more often. Like men in other countries, they bought sex both indoors and on the street. Almost all the men bought women in brothels where they reported observing extreme violence, coercion and threats - evidence that may indicate sex trafficking. Thirty-nine percent of the interviewees described having seen trafficking of women and children. Almost all had bought sex from a woman who was controlled by a pimp. Most frequently the pimps were women but sometimes they were men.

In these interviews, the men dehumanized women in prostitution, seeing them as inferior to other women. They tended to blame prostituted women for the spread of HIV. The sex buyers believe that prostitution prevents rape, although there is no empirical evidence for that. In fact the opposite is more likely to be true: men's prostitution activity is associated with an increased incidence of rape.¹ The men who most strongly supported the institution of prostitution were also those men who had a hostile masculine self-identity. Such men think that dominance is important in love relationships and see relationships with women in adversarial terms. Those men with hostile masculine identities also tended to believe rape myths (for example they believed that women say no to sex when they mean yes, and women who dress provocatively are seeking to be raped).

The study found that men who bought women for sex generally lacked empathy for the women, failing to grasp the extremely negative feelings that the women say that they feel during prostitution. Most of the men in the study told us that in addition to acts of violence against the women they bought for use in prostitution, they had also committed sexually aggressive acts against their non-prostituted partners.

Pornography was used by almost all sex buyers. The men who watched the most pornography bought sex most often. The men who watched more violent pornography reported more frequent incidences of sexually coercive behaviors against both prostituted women and non-prostituted women. Most of the men explained that they copied what they saw in pornography with the prostituted women they bought.

An important component of this research study was the development of a greater understanding of gang rape/*bauk* prostitution, assumed by some to be a uniquely Cambodian form of gender based violence. From the men's narrative responses to the structured interview and also from statistical analyses, it is clear that viewing gang rape pornography from other cultures (especially western/Caucasian, Japanese, Chinese, and Thai) has a strong effect on some men's decision to perpetrate

¹ There is no evidence that prostitution prevents rape. On the contrary, legal prostitution seems to be associated with higher rates of rape in the general population of women.

gang rape against women in prostitution. Many Khmer men reported that they watched gang rape pornography from other cultures and imitated what they saw when they perpetrated *bauk* against prostituted and non-prostituted women.

The sex buyers indicated that effective deterrents to prostitution would include greater criminal penalty and public exposure. Recommendations based on this research include enforcement of existing laws on prostitution and trafficking against buyers while at the same time decriminalizing women in prostitution, educational programs about the toxic influence of pornography in Khmer culture, and education and prevention programs for youth that challenge the notion that buying sex enhances masculinity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Paola Brigneti designed and produced the cover of this report. Kien Serey Phal provided the concept for the cover.

Interviewers were Tith Ratha; Sopheak Rattanak, Heak Morina, Mak Chamrong, Ten Chandara, Him Sary, Ly Thiden, Por Sarin

Dalin Meng, Director of Department of Social Work at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, helped to translate the first version of the questionnaires.

Mr. Chun Bora, Keo Savang, and Pum Reaksa were Khmer-to-English data interpreters

James Pond, Director of Transitions Global, provided three social work staff to work as interviewers for the duration of the study

Ellen Minotti, Director, Social Services of Cambodia provided SSC's training center for a week to conduct training of our research team. She also offered feedback about the research and provided support to our team. The staff at SSC helped keep the training running smoothly.

Kristin Buller, Social Work Advisor for Social Services of Cambodia, provided consultation regarding secondary trauma.

U.S. based volunteer and intern team included Angel Daniels, PRE staff member and research data coordinator; Emily Inouye, PRE staff member, literature review and writing; Sister John Paul, PRE volunteer, narrative summaries; Jo Wang, PRE volunteer, narrative summaries; Sergio Ruano, Palo Alto University, narrative summaries; Hannah Neumann, Palo Alto University, narrative summaries; Katie Kristaan, Palo Alto University, narrative summaries.

Robert Jensen and Catharine A. MacKinnon helped to develop the pornography questions.

Catharine A. MacKinnon and Graham Fordham provided valuable editorial suggestions.

We are grateful to the following funders who supported this research: World Vision, Love146, Butler Family Foundation, and an anonymous donor.

INTRODUCTION

While there have been many efforts to decrease the vulnerability of Khmer girls and women to sexual exploitation and trafficking, little focus has been devoted to addressing the issue of men's demand for paid sex. Most of the work with men in this field has focused on HIV prevention, with men having interpreted the message that, if they use a condom, they can do whatever they want. This study attempts to bring some new information about sex buyers to bear on attempts to reduce trafficking.

Twenty years ago, Perkins (1991) estimated that only 1% of all research on prostitution addressed the sex buyer. Today, research about men who buy sex is increasingly if slowly emerging. At the same time the online proselytizing of johns (punternet, johns' voice, erotic review) is increasing rapidly. Online communities of sex buyers normalize and facilitate sex buying, conferring higher social status on sex buyers who share their knowledge of prostitution with other buyers (Blevins and Holt, 2009). In many cultures, prostitution, trafficking, and other violent behaviors against women have been associated with cultural attitudes that promote men's beliefs that they are superior to women, entitled to sexual access to women, and have license to commit sexual aggression. Men who buy sex commit other forms of gender-based violence including physical and sexual violence against intimate partners (Decker et al., 2009; Raj et al., 2008), and rape against partners and non-partners (Jewkes et al., 2009). Women in prostitution are subject to physical and sexual violence (Choi et al., 2008; Farley et al., 2003; Farley & Barkan, 1998; Sarkar et al., 2008). Sex buyers are often aware that many women face severe violence and control from pimps, and are often prostituted as a result of deception or coercion (Farley 2009; Anderson & O'Connell Davidson 2003; Durchslag & Goswami, 2008). Yet this awareness does not inhibit their behavior.

In order to develop meaningful efforts to prevent sex trafficking, Prostitution Research & Education (PRE), a United States-based nongovernmental nonprofit organization, has begun an international study of men who buy sex. This study was designed to assess the attitudes men who buy sex have toward women in prostitution and toward non-prostituting sexual partners and the ways in which their attitudes influence their behaviors in order to understand what factors promote demand for and use of women in prostitution. To date, with partners in Boston, Chicago, Glasgow, Kolkata, London, Madrid, and Phnom Penh, PRE has interviewed more than 700 men who buy sex. This study was undertaken with the knowledge that high levels of violence against women in Cambodian prostitution have already been documented (Jenkins, 2006, Bearup, 2003a, 2003b, Soprach, 2004; Smith, 2007, Wilkinson, Fletcher, Hawkins & Price, 2002), as well as an increasing concern about the influence of pornography on men's violence against women and children (O'Shea 2003, Fordham, 2005, 2006, Cambodia Daily, 2005)

In this study, we investigated several of the variables found by Malamuth, Addison, and Koss (2000) to be associated with sexual aggression: pornography use, hostile masculine identification, promiscuity or lifetime number of sex partners, and self-reported sexual coercion. Malamuth and Pitpitan (2007) summarized evidence for a number of factors that contributed to men's sexual aggression against women such as pornography use, promiscuity/impersonal sex, hostile masculine identification, a history of family violence, delinquency in adolescence, and attitudes supportive of aggression.

Understanding the Cambodian cultural context of sex buying required, in addition to the standard questionnaires, questioning in several specific areas: men's participation in gang rape or *bauk*, their use of pornography and its influence on their behavior with women they bought, and their and their families' experiences under the Khmer Rouge regime. In developing very detailed questions about men's use of pornography and the ages and ethnicities of the women and children pictured in the pornography, we hypothesized that the influx of Western and other foreign pornography to Cambodia since the mid 1990's would influence men's treatment of women in prostitution.

Traditional Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Cambodia

Patriarchal social norms coupled with rigid sex roles for men and women are associated with sexual violence - rape, domestic violence, and vulnerability to prostitution and sex trafficking (Duvvury & Knoess, 2005). Women and children are at high risk for trafficking because of sex inequality and the commodification of children (Walsh, 2007). Violence is often perpetrated against women in their homes with relative impunity (Zimmerman, 1994). Prostituted women are additionally victimized by gangs and by police (Bearup, 2003a; Grant, 2003; Jenkins et al., 2006; Surtees, 2007; O'Connell, 2001; Dyna, Sichan, & Cockroft, 2010). None of these are unique to Cambodia.

Traditional attitudes perpetuate the belief that men have a higher social status than women, both within Cambodian society and within the family. The *Chhap Srey*, the traditional folk laws, or code of conduct for women, shape expectations for both men and women regarding women's role and expected behavior. It teaches women to serve and respect their husbands at all times (Zimmerman, 1994; Walsh, 2007). Men have ultimate authority within their families, and women and children are expected to show deference, respect, and obedience (Zimmerman, 1994; Walsh 2007).

Traditional attitudes about sexuality for both men and women continue to exert a powerful influence in Cambodian society. The Khmer proverb "Ten rivers cannot fill one ocean" expresses the belief that men have insatiable sexual urges (Zimmerman, 1994). The proverb "Men are gold, women are cloth" refers to traditional Khmer attitudes that men are free to satisfy their sexual urges without consequences but women's virtue is like a white cloth, once stained, it can never become clean again (Phan & Paterson, 1994; Walsh, 2007). A woman is expected to remain a virgin until marriage and to be faithful to her husband even as her husband is entitled to seek sex outside of marriage. These attitudes combine with others to justify and perpetuate the institution of prostitution in which a separate and denigrated class of women is available to men for sexual use, while the 'good' women are allegedly protected. In Cambodia as in other cultures, after a woman has been raped or prostituted, she struggles with social stigma as well as her own sense of shame and worthlessness (Phan & Patterson, 1994; Freed, 2003; Walsh, 2007). Once her honor is damaged, many Khmer women see no future for themselves outside of prostitution (Putheavy, 1997).

Rape

Women and girls in Cambodia are commonly raped by family members, relatives, acquaintances, gangs, military, and others (O'Connell, 2001; Amnesty International, 2010). This assault is often unreported because of shame and social stigma, a lack of trust in the legal system, and fear of the perpetrators (Amnesty International, 2010; Collins & Naren, 2004). O'Connell (2001) investigated 108 rape and indecent assault cases that had come before the Children's Rights and Investigation Departments of the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights between January 1999 and March 2000 and found that only 17% had been convicted—the other cases were either still pending, the charges had been dropped, the accused had escaped, compensation had been paid to the victim, or the result was unknown (O'Connell, 2001).

A rape survivor interviewed by Amnesty International (2010) said, "The perpetrator told me he would kill me if I told anyone, so I only told my father six months later, by which time the police said that it had happened so long ago that there was no evidence." According to Yan Sam, Deputy Police Chief of Kompong Thom province's Stung Sen district, "most of the victims' families feel embarrassed to report their daughters' rapes to police because they are scared that villagers would criticize their families and no man will marry a girl who lost her virginity" (Collins & Naren, 2004). A young woman who sought help at the Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre said her mother blamed her for being raped and urged her to accept the compensation offered by the rapist (Galvin & Seangly, 2010).

Domestic Violence

As elsewhere, domestic violence is widely tolerated in Cambodia (Urashima et al., 2008; Zimmerman, 1994; Yount & Carrera, 2006). The *Chhap Srey* states, “Follow the command of the husband like a slave; dread your husband’s heart for fear of otherwise being insulted or beaten; cook well and never dare to eat until your husband returns home; suppress your emotions to avoid the risk of having your husband insult you; even if your husband has a terrible temper, you must never dare to reply” (Surtees, 2007, p. 58; Grant, 2003; Walsh, 2007). Domestic violence is viewed as a private family matter (Walsh, 2007). Women tend to minimize their husbands’ violence (Urashima et al., 2008; Zimmerman, 1994). For example, husbands are seen as justified in beating their wives if the children are neglected, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him or if the food is late or poorly prepared (Yount & Carrera, 2006; Surtees, 2007). Women’s increased participation in the labor force of Cambodia has exacerbated tensions within marriages, leading to increased domestic violence (Brickell, 2008).

Violence in Prostitution

Violence is regularly perpetrated against Cambodian women in prostitution by sex buyers, brothel owners or pimps, and also by police officers (Grant, 2003; Jenkins et al., 2006). Ninety percent of a sample of 1000 women in prostitution had been raped in the previous year and 75% had been gang raped (Jenkins et al., 2006). Of those gang-raped, approximately one third were gang-raped by police; slightly more than one third were gang-raped by gangsters and about one third were raped by sex buyers (who can include gang members and police). Jenkins and colleagues (2006) explained that the violence against prostituted women in Cambodia resulted from a culture of male dominance in which women are devalued and in which prostituted women are treated as less than human. Abuse against prostituted persons by police and government officials was documented in another report which noted that these harms included arbitrary arrest and detention, beatings, rapes, sexual harassment, extortion, and theft of money and valuables (Pearson, Robertson & Colm, 2010). Women in prostitution are at highest risk for violence from partners, sex buyers, brothel owners, police and government officials (Pearson, Robertson & Colm 2010; Dyna et al., 2010).

A number of authors cite excessive alcohol use among Cambodian men as a disinhibitory precursor to buying sex (Ramage, 2002; Hayden, 2007) and as a risk factor for violence against women (Macan-Markar, 2010; Brickell, 2008; Fordham, 2006; Smith, 2007).

Gang Rape (*Bauk*)

Gang rape (*bauk*) emphasizes the primacy of men’s relationships with each other and their collective domination over whoever is perceived as weak by violating them sexually and denigrating them (Brownmiller, 1978). Gang rape of women by men occurs worldwide most frequently among all- male communities such as the army, adolescent gangs, prisons, college fraternities, and competitive sports teams. In Cambodia, studies of gang rape of prostituted and non-prostituted women report its relatively common occurrence, the lack of empathy by the rapists for their victims (Bearup, 2003a, 2003b, Soprach, 2004; Smith, 2007, Wilkinson et al., 2002). Gang rape is viewed as sport for men (Urashima et al., 2008) with men expressing little guilt for perpetrating gang rape (Smith, 2007; Bearup, 2003a; Wilkinson et al., 2002). Of the 580 university students interviewed by Bearup (2003a) 60% knew others who had participated in *bauk*. Few considered it to be dangerous or wrong (Bearup, 2003a).

Gang members in Phnom Penh gave detailed descriptions of perpetration of gang rape both of women in prostitution and of any girl or woman who they defined as sexually available (Bearup 2003a, 2003b). A young man in Phnom Penh described the abduction of a young woman because she was assumed to be a virgin, justifying their non-use of condoms during the gang rape (Bearup, 2003a). Another interviewee said that he and his friends had gang raped several young women as a means of

ending their relationships (Bearup, 2003a, 2003b). Some young men in another study threatened their girlfriends with ending their relationship if the young women did not permit gang rape. They also used physical violence, beating girlfriends until they acceded to the gang rape (Wilkinson et al., 2002).

Pornography

Women and children are known to be sexually exploited, raped, and tortured in the production of and as a result of the consumption of pornography (Bowcott, 2001; Graham, 2010; Chamroeun, 2009a; Chamroeun, 2009b). Pornography use has been linked to rape of women and children, domestic violence, buying sex, and HIV risk in Cambodia (Fordham, 2006; Urashima et al., 2008). In Cambodia, pornography use can function as a precursor to abuse and sexual violence (Storer, 2007; Kunthear, 2008; Samath & Koam, 2011; Macan-Markar, 2010). Investigating the links between pornography, alcohol, drugs, and sexual violence in Cambodia, Storer (2007) reported that acting out on women what was seen in pornography has been normalized as an aspect of masculinity.

Pornography is becoming increasingly available both in Cambodian cities as well as in rural areas (O'Shea, 2003; Fordham, 2006, 2005) with extremely violent pornography accessible throughout the country (Urashima et al., 2008). A United States citizen was arrested in 1999 for his website "Welcome to the Rape Camp" which featured "Asian sex slaves" used for filmed prostitution of bondage, torture, and humiliation. The website also offered live sex shows (which viewers paid for by the minute) at which sex buyers could request specific forms of torture that they wanted to see perpetrated on the women (Hughes, 2000).

Studies conducted over the past few decades indicate that pornography is both a form of violence against women and children and a precursor to sexual violence (Malamuth, Addison, & Koss, 2000; Malamuth & Pitpitan, 2007; Monto & McRee, 2005; Hald, Malamuth & Yuen, 2010). Fordham (2005, 2006) and O'Shea (2003) have noted the link between pornography and sexual violence. Cambodian women and children are abused in the creation of pornography and later when the pornography is consumed women are again harmed as sex buyers view pornography and perpetrate the same acts they see in it against other women and children. Fordham (2006) described the pervasive cultural impact of pornography in Cambodia, implicating its use in violence against women, prostitution, and rapes of children.

Both adults and children in Cambodia have been found to imitate what they see in pornography (Ramage, 2002; O'Shea, 2003; Fordham, 2005). Pornography exposure has harmful effects on children (Flood, 2009). For example a 15 year-old boy raped a five-year-old girl but said that he was not aware that he had committed rape because he "copied such activities of sexual intercourse from pornographic movies he had seen in a coffee shop" (Cambodia Daily, 2005). Boys interviewed in peer groups wanted to imitate pornography and said they believed that women are sexually aroused when hit (O'Shea, 2003). In a similar incident a seven year-old girl was gang raped by three boys aged 12 and 13 who also reported that they had copied the actions from recently viewed pornography (O'Shea, 2003). Because their wives would not agree to sex acts seen in pornography, military personnel and police officers used women in prostitution for those sex acts (Ramage, 2002). Sex buyers in the United States all watched pornography, and often perpetrated the sex acts seen in pornography against women and children (Farley, Schuckman, et al., 2011). Reports of criminal acts often find that perpetrators were imitating acts seen in pornography (MacKinnon & Dworkin, 1997).

As a result, law enforcement and non-profit organizations target pornography as a factor in all forms of sexual violence against women including incest (Kunthear, 2008). Anti-human trafficking police officer Bith Kim Hong noted that incest has worsened because of the ease of access to violent

pornography in Cambodia (Kunthea, 2008). Similarly, Chea Vannath, former president of Phnom Penh's Centre for Social Development said that sexual violence is driven by “drinking alcohol, pornography which is widespread, drugs and even poverty.”

Cambodian children like children elsewhere have easy access to violent pornography (Fordham, 1995; Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009). Eighty-six percent of Cambodian children in 2005 had seen pornography with the average age at first viewing pornography between 10-13 years of age (Fordham, 2005). As families and shop owners were able to purchase battery-operated video players children were increasingly able to watch pornography in homes rather than in coffee shops (Fordham, 2006). The children saw pornography of violent rapes, gang rapes, bestiality, and murder pornography in which sex was “an arena in which male sexual aggression is directed against female bodies. None of the normal human emotions that characterize sex, such as love...are depicted” (Fordham, 2006). In a study of 4 provinces in Cambodia, 62% of boys and 39% of girls had seen pornography in coffee shops and homes (O'Shea, 2003). Of 236 Phnom Penh vendors, 70% sold pornography (O'Shea, 2003)². Narin (2011) linked the increase in Cambodian pornography exposure to an increase in verbal sexual harassment of girls and sexualization of children. Cell phone sexual harassment via “sexting” is an increasingly common form of home-made pornography (Narin, 2011).

Child Pornography in Cambodia

Child pornography including films of children being tortured is widely available in Phnom Penh (Chan Thul & Welsh, 2007; Tan, 2006; Kongkea, 2011; Graham, 2010; Burgmann, 2010; Bowcott, 2001; Chamrouen, 2009a; 2009b). Both locally produced and internationally produced pornography has been found being sold by street vendors and in shops.³ Khmer videos included titles such as “70-Year-Old Grandfather Rapes 9-Year-Old Girl” and “Old Grandfather Forced Underage Child to Have Sex” (Chan Thul & Welsh, 2007). Pornographers have produced videos in Svay Pak, near Phnom Penh, which included footage of Western men torturing Vietnamese children. A Khmer vendor justified the sale of pornography because the children who were raped in the films were Vietnamese and not Cambodian (Chan Thul & Welsh, 2007). Pornography vendors in one study said that their customers were both Cambodians and foreigners (Chan Thul & Welsh, 2007).

Sexually predatory tourists produce pornographic films documenting their sexual abuse of local children. Foreign pedophiles may import child pornography for the purpose of grooming children for sexual abuse as well as for distribution in Cambodia. Canadian, US, French, German, Japanese, Dutch, UK, and Russian men are increasingly being arrested by Cambodian police, and some are being prosecuted as sex tourists in their home countries if their countries have laws against buying sex with children in other countries (McCarthy, 2011; Kongkea, 2011; Graham, 2010; Aday et al., 2008; Burgmann, 2010; Bowcott, 2001; Chamrouen, 2009a; 2009b; Fraser, 2010).

² Vendors included newsstands, coffee houses, video sales shops, stalls in the large markets, and underground businesses.

³ In 2007 child pornography was widely available in Phnom Penh. Video pornography of bondage and torture of children was sold for 50 cents. Khmer titles included “Luring Underage Child” and “70 Year Old Grandfather Rapes 9 Year Old Girl.” Where pornography videos of Thai and Chinese children were sold vendors commented, “They are not our nationality” and “They are not Khmer children, they are Vietnamese.” (Child Porn Market is Thriving in Phnom Penh, *Cambodia Daily*, 10 January 2007).

Recent History of Prostitution and the Sex Industry in Cambodia

Cambodia suffered 30 years of armed conflict with profound disruptions of the country's social fabric. The Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) sought to control every aspect of people's lives, including their relationships and sexual behavior. "Committing immorality" included pre-marital sex, adultery, rape, and prostitution and was punishable by death (Pearson, Robertson & Colm 2010). This has led people to believe that sexual violence rarely happened under the Khmer Rouge. Yet growing evidence shows that many women survived rape and sexual violence under the Khmer Rouge. Survivors report rape, gang rape, threats of rape and sexual torture, forced nudity, prostitution by offering starving women food in exchange for sex and forced marriages (Toy-Cronin 2006).

Under the Vietnamese occupation (1979 to 1989) prostitution continued to be suppressed by the government. In this era, women were detained and arrested for prostituting and taken to a former Khmer Rouge detention center for "rehabilitation." In 1991 approximately 20,000 United Nations peacekeepers arrived under the authority of the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC). The sex industry exploded in order to meet these men's demand for sex (UNICEF, 1995; Pearson, Robertson & Colm, 2010). When UNTAC departed in 1993, the number of women and girls in prostitution dropped precipitously then returned to its UNTAC level, suggesting that the sex industry was being supported by local demand for prostitution that was fueled in part by economic liberalization and new wealth that followed decades of authoritarian rule (UNICEF, 1995).

In the early 1990's the HIV epidemic hit Cambodia resulting in demand for younger girls in prostitution who were believed to be free of sexually transmitted diseases. Prostituted women were seen as the vectors of disease. Trafficking of both children and adult women increased by exploiting families' extreme economic vulnerability via deceptive offers of work, betrayal by family members, boyfriends or acquaintances. (Cambodian Women's Development Association, 1994; Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia, 1995). Traditional sex roles, sex inequality, tolerance of domestic violence, and stigmatizing attitudes towards female sexuality continue to place women and girls at risk for prostitution and sex trafficking (Walsh, 2007).

Legal Response to Sexual Violence Including Trafficking for Prostitution

Understanding the connection between the unequal status of women and trafficking, the Cambodian government's National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010 expressed a commitment to "directly tackle issues of trafficking of women and children and cultural norms that tacitly sustain gender inequality" (Royal Government of Cambodia. (2006). *National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010* (Unofficial translation). Phnom Penh: Kingdom of Cambodia. p.75). Reducing men's use of women in prostitution has been recommended based on an awareness of the interconnectedness of men's demand for prostitution and sex trafficking (Raymond, 2004; US Department of State, 2005).

The Ministry of Justice in 2007 drafted the Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (UNICEF, 2008) to replicate the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, which Cambodia has signed. Exploitation includes prostitution, pornography, commercial sex, forced labor, slavery or slavery-like practices, debt bondage, child labor, and organ removal. The law focuses on the prostitution or trafficking of minors, but also notes that the crime of trafficking occurs when these offenses are committed by a public official who abuses his/her authority or when the offense is committed by an organized group (Kingdom of Cambodia, 2007). Men who bought sex from adult women in prostitution were not criminalized under this law. Child prostitution under the 2007 Law is defined as prostitution of a person under 18 years of age. Adults who sell sex can be arrested for solicitation and punished with 1-6 days in jail and a fine. Minors (under age 18) cannot be charged with soliciting. (UNICEF, 2008).

Courts have prosecuted sex tourists who come from Western countries but little has been done to challenge local sex buyers who make up the majority of the demand for prostitution in Cambodia (Hawkins, 2008; Chan, 2010). "Most of the sex industry in Cambodia is supported by local customers," said Mu Sochua, former Minister for the Ministry of Women's Affairs, who also noted that local sex buyers include military, police, civil servants and wealthy businessmen (Hawkins, 2008).

Worldwide, public concern about the harms sex buyers perpetrate against women in prostitution is increasing. Sex buyers are increasingly recognized as drivers of the sex trafficking industry. In sharp contrast to the vast literature devoted to women in prostitution, relatively little has been known about sex buyers. Evidence suggests sex trafficking decreases when prostitution decreases (Raymond, 2004; US Department of State, 2007; Farley, 2009; Cho, Dreher, & Neumayer, 2012). Research about sex buyers is needed to inform the development of prevention efforts and policy change. This report aims to learn more about sex buyers in order to develop effective strategies to reduce trafficking.

METHODS

Previous research by Prostitution Research & Education and colleagues in Kolkata (Sanjog), Chicago (Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation) (Durschlag and Goswami, 2008), Glasgow (Women's Support Project) (Farley, Mcleod, Anderson & Golding, 2011), London (POPPY Project of Eaves, Inc.) (Farley, Bindel & Golding, 2009) and Boston (Farley, Schuckman et al., 2011) investigated attitudes and behaviors of men who buy sex. In each location, samples of 100 or more sex buyers were interviewed. The same questionnaires were used with questions specific to each local context. For the Cambodia study, based on existing research and local reports, 40 additional questions on pornography use were included along with 28 questions about men's experiences with gang rape (*bauk*), and questions about their and their families' experiences under the Khmer Rouge.

Sex buyers were defined as men who in response to a question from a phone screener acknowledged that they have bought sex from a woman or man in prostitution, a sex worker, karaoke or massage parlor worker or have exchanged something of value (such as food, drugs, or shelter) for a sex act within the past year. Research Coordinator Kien Serey Phal screened phone calls.

The questionnaires were designed to learn about men's perceptions of women generally and their attitudes and behaviors toward prostituted women in particular. Standardized and validated questionnaires yielded both quantitative and qualitative data. Questionnaires included a 100-item self-administered questionnaire that asked about buyers' attitudes toward prostitution (Farley, Becker, Cotton et al., 1998), acceptance of rape myths (Burt, 1980), sexual behaviors, condom use, pornography use, likelihood to rape (Briere & Malamuth, 1983), demographic characteristics, and the Sexual Experiences Scale (Koss & Oros, 1982) a measure of sexual aggression. Another measure inquired about hostile male identity based on adversarial sexual beliefs, negative masculinity and dominance as central to love relationships (Malamuth & Thornhill, 1994). The questionnaires enabled researchers to obtain extensive information about the men's history of using women in prostitution, what they looked for when they bought sex, their evaluations and perceptions of women in prostitution and pimp-prostitute relationships, awareness of coercion and trafficking, first use of women in prostitution, how they discussed prostitution with their friends, experiences with gang rape, and deterrents to prostitution. Approximately 40 questions were included which asked about the type of pornography used (based on the activity shown in it), the age of the person being acted upon in the materials, and the ethnicity of those in the pornography. The specific sex acts in pornography were based on common types of pornography found worldwide.

A Khmer social worker translated the four questionnaires into Khmer and the Research Coordinator made linguistic adjustments. After the research interviews were completed, a translator who was supervised by the Research Coordinator translated the responses back to English. The Research Coordinator supervised three data entry specialists who entered and verified questionnaire data obtained by interviewers.

Interviewees were recruited using a snowball sampling technique. The interviewers recruited the first group of men by asking their neighbors and acquaintances if they would like to participate in a survey about sexual attitudes. The Research Coordinator then screened the men over the phone to ascertain that they had used women in prostitution. Informed consent was provided and interviewees' questions about the research were answered. Interviewees were anonymous and no identifying information was collected. Research participants were paid \$5 in partial compensation for their time and transportation. They were provided contact information for a Khmer mental health professional who was available for counseling in the event that any part of the research interview caused distress. Interviewees were informed that they could choose to not answer any questions and that they were free to stop the interviews at any point. None of the interviewees stopped the interviews. None requested meeting with a mental health professional. The research protocol was reviewed by Prostitution Research & Education Ethics Review Committee.

Interviewer Training and Support

Interviewers were hired based on recommendations of colleagues and local NGOs. Our interview team consisted of four men and four women who spent one week in intensive training to understand the purpose of the research, develop interviewing skills, and develop familiarity with the questionnaires. Training on research methodology, note-taking, and ethics was included. The training included observed interviews, practice interviews, and feedback on how to ask open-ended questions. Interviewers became more comfortable speaking about sexual behavior and pornography. The interviewers were encouraged to process their emotional reactions to the research material, learned about common reactions to hearing disturbing material and learned about strategies for self-care.

During the training, a collaborative work process developed which continued throughout the data collection and data entry process of the research. The research coordinator closely supervised the interviewers individually and in groups and was available by phone during actual interviews and as needed. These group supervisions served as troubleshooting sessions for interviewers and also provided them with emotional support since researching sexual violence is known to be stressful (Mattley, 1997; Zurbriggen, 2002).

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of 133 Cambodian men who bought sex

The average age of the men was 34 years, ranging from 19 to 57.

Table 2. Age of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex

Age	Percentage of Men (n)
18 - 29	44% (59)
30 - 40	24% (32)
41 - 70	32% (42)

Table 3. Family Income of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex

Income in US Dollars (Riel)	Percentage of Men (n)
Less than \$1,000 (4,000,000 Riel)	33% (43)
\$1,001 to \$5,000 (4,000,001 Riel to 20,000,000 Riel)	58% (77)
\$5,001 or more (more than 20,000,000 Riel)	9% (12)

Table 4. Educational Level of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex

Level of Education	Percentage of Men (n)
Primary school	16% (21)
Some high school	25% (33)
High school diploma	36% (48)
Some university education	22% (29)
Graduate or professional degree	1% (01)

Ethnicity

Almost all (131) of the men we interviewed identified as Khmer. Ninety-five percent of the men identified as heterosexual; 5% identified as bisexual.

Sex Partners

Eighty-three percent of sex buyers currently had a wife or girlfriend. More than half (56%) of the men had 26 or more sexual partners during their lifetimes. Ninety-four percent of the sex buyers interviewed in this research said they needed a variety of sex partners. A related study found that men who paid for sex in the UK were likely to report ten or more sex partners in the past five years. Only a minority of these men's lifetime sex partners (19%) were women in prostitution (Ward et al., 2005).

Table 5. Lifetime Number of Sex Partners of 133 Cambodian Men Who Bought Sex

Number of Sex Partners	Percentage of Men (n)
10 or fewer	15% (20)
11 to 25	29% (38)
26 to 50	21% (28)
51 to 100	20% (27)
More than 100	15% (20)

EXPERIENCES UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE

Of 117 men who responded to questions about their experiences under the Khmer Rouge, 44% were born after 1979 and 15% were too young to remember. Like most Cambodians, the interviewees and their families had suffered starvation, forced labor, forced separation from their families and extreme fear

of the violence of the KR regime. As adults, 13% of the interviewees themselves had suffered forced labor and starvation during the KR regime. "In that regime, I was starved and overworked," explained one man. "I was not allowed to see my relatives. I had to show no feeling...I slept only two hours a night." Six of the men had been in KR mobile youth brigades. Three had been beaten and two were brutally punished for stealing food. Twenty one percent of the men were in the KR children's unit separated from their families. They reported starvation and constant fear. The men described witnessing executions. "When liberated in 1979, I saw Pol Pot's men tying up and forcing inhabitants from Svay Rieng to walk, and beating them into a hole because they [Pol Pot's men] hated the Vietnamese."

Two men reported that their parents were forced to marry each other in a mass ceremony during the Khmer Rouge regime. "My mother told me that many couples were forced to marry at one time. The couples did not know each other or were not aware of the event to come. After marriage, each couple was allowed to sleep together for a week (only at night and during day time they worked as usual). All couples were investigated as to whether they slept together. After that, they were separated and asked to live far away from each other. Listening to the story, I felt like they were forced to have sex like they were animals." Another man described how one of his brothers was killed for "bad morality" which meant that the Khmer Rouge regime had not approved of his sexual relationship.

PROSTITUTION BEHAVIORS OF CAMBODIAN SEX BUYERS

First Use of Women in Prostitution

The 133 men interviewed here first purchased sex at ages ranging from 15 to 40 years. On average the men were slightly younger than 21 years when they first bought sex. Eighty-three percent were with friends when they first bought sex, 14% were alone when they first bought sex, and 9% were with relatives the first time they bought sex. Some men were with both friends and relatives. Most of the men (86%) used women in a brothel for their first experience with a woman in prostitution. For a large majority (80%) of these men, prostitution was their first sexual experience. Researchers in other cultures have also noted that prostitution is often men's first sexual experience (Sharma & Sharma, 1996; Kanbargi & Kanbargi 1996; Thuy et al., 1999).

The sex buyers told us that they were subjected to intense peer pressure prior to their first experience with prostitution. This peer pressure often took the form of blatant challenges to masculinity. *"My friends said 'At your age, if you do not have sex, you are different from others. Come on! Don't you want to feel the heaven like us'"* Another man said, *"I wanted to boast to my friends about my braveness."* And another, *"So I went to try [prostitution] once so that my friends do not say that I am mediocre."* *"Friends told me that being born as a man, if we do not know [about prostitution] we are not called a man."*

Ethnic and Age Selection of Women in Prostitution

Forty-six percent of these sex buyers selected the women on the basis of ethnicity, using race stereotypes. Nearly all of the men (99%) told us that they sought women who were ethnically similar to themselves, that is, Khmer. However, a majority of the men also sought Vietnamese women (84%). They also sought Chinese (39%), Thai (33%), Cham (33%), or Korean (27%) women. Khmer girls were regarded as more virtuous, sometimes described as more shy than other women used for sex. One man said, *"I slept with Vietnamese and Khmer women but not African and the Cham because African has black skin and not pretty while the Cham I feel scared of their witchcraft."* Ethnic Vietnamese constitute Cambodia's largest minority. Approximately 30% of prostituted persons in Cambodia are ethnic Vietnamese (Reimer 2006; Brown, 2007). There is a historical animosity between the two peoples going

back hundreds of years.⁴ Stating that pornography influenced his ethnic preferences for women in prostitution one man said, *“I want to try other ethnicities to see whether they are as talented as shown on sex videos.”* The racial stereotypes reflected in the attitudes of Cambodian men toward the women they buy for sex is consistent with what other country studies have found (Farley, Bindel and Golding 2009; Farley, Mcleod, Anderson, Golding, 2011).

Ninety-one percent of the men we interviewed told us that age of the woman they bought was a factor in choosing a particular woman in prostitution. Although the vast majority of the men (98%) said that they sought women over 18 to buy for sex, a majority (64%) also said that they looked for women 17 or 18 years old. A substantial minority (19%) told us they preferred to buy girls who were 15 or 16 years old. Thirty-seven percent acknowledged having bought minor girls for sex. This is likely to be an underestimate of the total number of men who bought sex from children, given the large numbers of children prostituted in Cambodia.

Frequency of Buying Sex

Almost all of the men (91%) bought sex at least once a month or more often. About one-fourth (27%) bought sex at least once a week. The sex buyers had each bought an average of 55 women in prostitution. Their total number of visits to women in prostitution ranged from 2 to 500 times (mean = 84, SD = 98, median = 50, mode = 100).

The Khmer men's frequency of purchasing sex differs from that reported in two U.S. studies. Monto (1999) interviewed 1342 men attending diversion programs for men arrested for solicitation of prostitution in the US and found that only 10% reported buying sex more than once a month. In a US study using the same questionnaires as were used in this research, Farley, Schuckman et al. (2011) found that 40% of sex buyers reported that they used women in prostitution once a month or more often.⁵

Where Do Men in Cambodia Locate Women for the Purpose of Buying Sex?

Sex buyers located women for prostitution both indoors and outdoors. All of the men used women in indoor locations (for example brothels, karaoke bars, massage parlors). Forty-four percent met women outdoors (street and parks). Only 3% said that they located women in prostitution on the Internet. Four other studies have also noted that sex buyers use multiple locations for purchasing women in prostitution (Atchison et al., 1998; Farley, Macleod, Anderson & Golding, 2011; Kramer, 2003; Farley, Schuckman, et al., 2011).

Nearly all of the men (98%) bought women in brothels. Regarding brothels, one man said, *“so if they [male sex buyers] have never been visiting sex workers they better not go there, because most of the women there are forced to receive clients or they force themselves because of many different reasons. Some women were tortured by the brothel owners. It is difficult to see those activities.”* Other indoor locations where men used women in prostitution included karaoke clubs, hotels, bars, massage parlors, private parties, strip clubs, and saunas (see Table 6).

⁴ During the Khmer Rouge regime, ethnic Vietnamese, even those residing for generations in Cambodia, were considered as “the enemy” and targeted for mass extermination. Cham and ethnic Chinese were also targeted (Kiernan, 2008).

⁵ Although the questionnaires were the same, the recruitment methods for the Cambodian and the U.S. study differed, which may have contributed to the differences here.

Table 6. Indoor Locations Where Cambodian Men Purchased Sex

Indoor Location	Percentage of Men (n)
Brothel	98% (130)
Karaoke Bar	73% (97)
Hotel or Guesthouse	68% (90)
Bar	59% (79)
Massage Parlor	55% (73)
Private Party	35% (47)
Strip Club/Lap Dance Club	23% (30)
Sauna	11% (14)
Other*	10% (13)
Drug House	7% (9)

* "Other" responses included: schools, friend's house, street, floating house entertainment, cafe, and parks.

Travel to Buy Sex Within and Outside of Cambodia

Forty-nine percent of the men had traveled to another city or province in Cambodia where they used women in prostitution. These locations most often included Kampong Som, Battambang, Kampong Cham, and Siem Riep. Twenty-three percent of the men had traveled to another country to use women in prostitution. The most commonly visited countries for this purpose were Vietnam (mentioned 17 times), Thailand (mentioned 16 times), Malaysia (mentioned twice), and Myanmar, Hong Kong, Laos, and Singapore (each mentioned one time). The men who traveled outside of Cambodia were usually traveling for business but sometimes they went with friends or family as tourists. One man who traveled to Thailand described the objectification of women there, *"In Bangkok we saw many sex workers, some of them hang around in the shop displaying for customers to choose as if they were clothes to display."* Expressing the normalization of buying sex, another man said, *"I accompanied my aunt to Vietnam for treatment of her kidney disease and during my free time I went to a brothel."*

Drug and Alcohol Use of Cambodian Sex Buyers

About half the men (52%) were intoxicated at least half the time while buying sex. While some of the men acknowledged their anxiety before they first used women in prostitution, alcohol often covered up those negative feelings. *"I was drunk, I felt courageous, and scared of nothing."* Very few men were never intoxicated (11%). The opposite was true for the women, many of whom (47%) did not appear intoxicated to the men. A similar pattern of intoxication prior to use of women in brothels has been noted by Fordham (1995) and Ramage (2002).

Military History of Cambodian Sex Buyers

About one-third (35%) of the sex buyers had been in the military. Of these, 70% had used a woman in prostitution while in the military. This finding is consistent with other research reporting that men who had served in the military were three times as likely as other men to have used women in prostitution (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994).

Some brothels in Cambodia appear to have been constructed to serve the military. One man described his experience of prostitution in the military in which he had access to a locked brothel where women were captive. He coerced or "negotiated" as he put it, free sex for himself. The next day the

women were moved to another location. We understand these women to be trafficking victims under military control.

Paying for Sex with Drugs, Shelter, Food and Clothes

In addition to paying cash for sex, 23% of the men exchanged food for sex, 9% exchanged clothes for sex, 7% exchanged shelter for sex, and 2% exchanged drugs for sex.

Why Cambodian Men Say They Buy Sex

Interviewees were asked why they bought sex. As in other cultures, the most common response (44%) to this question was "in order to satisfy an immediate sexual urge." The assumption that men's sexual desires must be met is a reflection of their dominant social position, according to McLeod (1982) who conducted interviews with sex buyers in UK. Next - but much less frequently - the men interviewed in this study said that they bought sex because they were intoxicated, were responding to peer pressure, or were bonding with male friends. The men also stated that they bought sex because they wanted to learn about sex, were frustrated in their current relationship, were seeking variety, or lived a long way from their wives.

Some of the men we interviewed blamed the women for luring them into prostitution: *"If there is any prostitution we cannot stop ourselves...because women are hooks to catch men to have sex."* In another form of victim blaming found in most cultures, 66% of our interviewees blamed women in prostitution for spreading HIV. *"If there are no prostitutes, there would be no men who need this service and besides there would never be any betrayal among husband and wife, no AIDS, no human trafficking and no violence."*

Self-Reported Sexual Violence

We asked the men about their sexually coercive and aggressive behaviors (Koss & Oros, 1982). A large majority of the sex buyers (89%) had engaged in sexually aggressive behavior with their partners. The 133 sex buyers had committed an average of 2.3 sexually aggressive behaviors at least once (SD = 2.0, range 0-11) with non-prostituting women.

ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS OF CAMBODIAN SEX BUYERS

Dehumanization of Women in Prostitution

Sex buyers in this study seemed to justify their involvement in the sex industry by stating their belief in the deeply prejudicial notion that women in prostitution were intrinsically different from non-prostituting women. Nearly nine out of ten of these sex buyers (89%) viewed prostitutes as fundamentally different from other women. Almost all of our interviewees (98%) made harsh negative judgments about women in prostitution. Women in prostitution were described as shameless, flirtatious, too direct, too sexual, vulgar, and emotionally detached. The men demand these behaviors from prostituted women and simultaneously denigrate them for it. *"They have sex with men only for money, no feelings or emotional involvement at all."* *"Prostitutes are spiritually weak, they do whatever they are asked to do for money."* *"Prostitutes don't value themselves and are always punishing themselves by cutting their hands or body with razor blades."* "Good" Khmer girls in contrast are described as quiet, shy, with downcast eyes, sexually unresponsive, and subordinate to men. *"Most people think that sex workers spoil the honor and dignity of other women in society."*

Men were socialized by friends to dehumanize prostituted women. *"My friends told me that there is a lot of fun having sex with sex workers. And there is no problem, because we are not raping someone's*

daughter.” “When we were at a brothel we negotiated with the brothel owner. It was like buying a baby pig,” said another man. Men described prostitution as the purchase of a part of a woman's body. “Prostitution is where we can enjoy sex by buying the women's time for a short period in order to use their sexual organ.” “Having sex with sex workers is a process of exchange like eating someone's cake and you pay the money for the cake.” Noting the economic vulnerability of the women one man said, “Sex service means that those who are in need of money, make an exchange of their sex organ service for our money.” “Prostitution is the man's heaven,” one man said, “but it is also those girls' hell.”

Public opinion about prostitution as a job choice contributes to the dehumanization of the women. The general public (erroneously) assumes that most women in prostitution choose it, knowing about the psychological and physical abuse described in this report. In reality almost all women in prostitution are there because of a lack of alternatives and they usually do *not* know how bad it is until they're caught up in it. If you're a woman or girl, global forces that *choose you* for prostitution are lack of education, a job that does not pay a living wage, sex discrimination, race discrimination, poverty, abandonment, and debilitating sexual and verbal abuse. Women seek to avoid or escape prostitution but are unable to find economically sustainable alternatives (Farley et al., 2003). Survivors of prostitution have described it as “volunteer slavery” (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994) and as “the choice made by those who have no choice” (Wisterich, 2000).

Some words in current usage make the harm of prostitution invisible, contributing to the dehumanization of women in it. The term *sex work* defines prostitution as a job rather than an act of violence against women. The term leads to confusion about what prostitution really is. In Cambodia, as elsewhere, women who are in prostitution because of poverty and hunger (but not kidnapping and physical force) are described as *voluntary sex workers*. If a woman has another job in addition to prostitution, she is called an *indirect sex worker* and is assumed to have even more “choice.” Sometimes well-intentioned people use these words in attempts to provide women in prostitution with some shred of dignity. But there's no way to dignify the experience of prostitution just as there's no way to dignify the experience of slavery. The purpose of rejecting these words is not to remove women's inherent dignity and worth, but to expose the brutal institution that harms them. The expression *sex worker* implies that prostitution is an acceptable type of work. We do not refer to battered women as “battering workers.” And just as we would not turn a woman into the harm done to her - we don't refer to a woman who has been battered as a “batteree” - we should not call a woman who has been prostituted, a “prostitute.” We suggest retaining her humanity by referring to her as a woman who is *in prostitution*, a woman who was *prostituted* or who is *prostituting*. She remains a woman just like those of us who are not prostituted.

Belief that Prostitution Prevents Rape

Reflecting the devalued status of women in Cambodia, 40% of the sex buyers in this study stated that they would rape a woman if they could be assured that they would not be caught. Seventy-two percent of the interviewees believed that prostitution reduces the likelihood of rape. “If there were no prostitutes, men would commit crimes such as rape or other cruel acts,” said a Cambodian sex buyer. Holding a similar opinion about prostitution as rape prevention another man said, “The society would face more problems especially rape on young girls, should we eliminate this kind of business.” “A young boy under 18 years old is at an age when they must stay pure,” stated another interviewee, “If they are addicted to sex and if they do not have money to pay for visiting sex workers, they may rape other girls, or someone's wife.”

Linked to this concept is the idea that women in prostitution are “unrapeable.” Seventy-nine percent of these Cambodian sex buyers said that the concept of rape simply does not apply to women in prostitution. Eighty-one per cent of our interviewees explained that once he pays, the sex buyer is entitled

to engage in any sex act he chooses with the woman he buys. Much of the time the interviewees felt that women had no rights during prostitution. Seventy-four percent of the Cambodian sex buyers think that after they pay for sex, women are obligated to do whatever he wants. Similar beliefs among UK sex buyers have been noted. The UK men believed that paying “gave them the right to inflict any kind of assault they chose (Kinnell, 2008). *“Most men think that women are objects for them to enjoy with, because of gender bias in the society,”* said one of our interviewees, *“however, sex entertainment can help reduce rape because if a man wants to have sex to release his stress, he can go to visit sex workers for release.”*

Hostile Masculine Identity, Prostitution Myth Acceptance, and Rape Myth Acceptance

We assessed the men's acceptance of a hostile masculine self-identity using a 34-item scale that inquired about the men's adversarial sexual beliefs, negative masculinity, and dominance as central to love relationships (Malamuth et al., 1991, Malamuth and Thornhill, 1994). We also asked the interviewees 46 questions about acceptance of and justification for prostitution (Farley, Becker, Cotton, Sawyer, Fitzgerald, & Jensen, 1998) and also about their acceptance of myths about rape such as “Women say no but they really mean yes” or “A woman who dresses provocatively is asking to be raped” (Burt, 1980).

We found that the men who were most accepting of prostitution were those who had the strongest hostile masculine identification ($r = .31$, $p = .0003$). The men expressed their misogyny via an endorsement of rape: those with the highest scores on the hostile masculinity scale tended to be those who most strongly endorsed rape myths ($r = 0.43$, $p < 0.0001$). An adversarial stance toward women was evident in many of these men's responses. Thirty-nine percent of our interviewees felt that “A lot of women seem to get pleasure in putting men down.”

The connection between these men's acceptance of myths about prostitution and their acceptance of myths about rape was statistically significant ($r = 0.49$, $p = .0001$). We found comparable results in Scotland on the same measures (Farley, McLeod, Anderson, & Golding, 2011). The Scottish men who had higher rape myth acceptance scores were more likely to accept the idea that prostitution prevents rape, $r = -.31$, $p < .002$. In Cambodia it is widely accepted that men's sex drive is not controllable and that a man's sexual needs must be satisfied. Articulating this, one of our interviewees said, *“I frequently went out for sex with prostitutes because of my uncontrollable passion.”* Ninety percent of the Cambodian men who bought sex thought that the reason that rape occurs is because men's sex drive gets out of control.

Awareness of Pimping, Coercion, and Trafficking

Some of the men we interviewed had extensive knowledge about the coercive exploitation used by pimps against women and children in prostitution. Nearly all of the sex buyers (98%) had used a woman in prostitution who they said they knew was controlled by a pimp. The pimp was usually female and less frequently male according to the men ((98% of the interviewees had seen women pimps and 60% had seen female pimps). There were no descriptions of street-based pimps or pimps in karaoke bars. Most of our interviewees described pimp control of women in brothel prostitution. Eighty-five percent of the 124 men who responded to a question about pimping and trafficking described physical violence, verbal abuse and threats by pimps as well as coerced subordination of the women by their pimps. This resulted in fear and terror on the women's part - fear and terror that the men saw and described. *“If the women did not come out, the gangs will go in and beat them, lock them in a room without food until they accept and agreed to receive clients.”* Another interviewee observed, *“I saw a brothel owner beating a sex worker because she had refused to accept clients; she went into the room crying alone.”* Said another man, *“Those who dared argue with the brothel owner would be slapped, beaten and cursed by the brothel owner.”*

From the men's reports, brothel owners/pimps attempted to hide the violent nature of their relationships with prostitutes in front of sex buyers, faking a pleasant relationship. Nonetheless, the violence and degradation was obvious to the men we interviewed. *"In front of the clients,"* one man said, *"oh it's really so sweet while it's so cruel behind the clients' backs. They insult, threaten, and beat the prostitutes without pity."* Another man observed, *"[The pimps] showed us that they have good relationships with the women in the brothel. But if we observe closely we see that brothel owners treat the prostitutes very badly - worse than animals such as dogs or cats. They insulted or sometimes they beat prostitutes or threatened them in many different ways."* Brothel owners were observed blaming, insulting, and threatening the women. One man explained, *"Whatever the brothel owner told the prostitutes to do with clients, the prostitutes never argued, but followed orders regardless of whether they liked it or not. All the power was in the hands of the brothel owners while prostitutes were just the machines to follow orders. The majority of prostitutes dared not talk or argue with the brothel owners."* Some men stated that they could tell by looking at a woman's face if she had been coerced. *"Her face showed that she does not look like receiving client or sometimes I heard she said she is not well but the brothel owner still forces her to receive clients."* *"I made an assumption basing on her behavior that she did not agree to accept clients. She was not outgoing to clients, sad, dislike clients, fearful and unhappy expression."*

Other men described violence between sex buyers and pimps in the brothels, often involving weapons. One man described an incident where, while in a brothel he and his friends *"were frightened and ran away due to a conflict between one of the clients and the brothel owner. The client was asked to pay for the services but he refused arguing that he did not get the complete service. He shot one shot in the air and called his friends, at which time the gangs in the brothel closed the door in order to force him to pay."* Many men described pimps who verbally abused, cursed, and beat women in the brothels. These confrontations happened when women resisted sexual use by high numbers of sex buyers. The women, according to our interviewees, often cried, appeared depressed, frightened, or blank-eyed. Another man said that *"Prostitution is a cesspool of sexually transmitted diseases and sometimes murder happens there."*

More than one-third of the sex buyers (39%) noted in their own words that most women are lured, tricked or trafficked into prostitution. Their estimates were conservative since much of the pimp violence and coercive control described by our interviewees meets international legal definitions of trafficking (United Nations, 2000). Ninety-five percent of these sex buyers stated that children were available for prostitution in brothels, bars, massage parlors and other forms of prostitution in Phnom Penh. Many interviewees described women who were tricked by boyfriends or family members into applying for jobs or who were offered jobs that turned out to be prostitution. At that point, the women were physically controlled and beaten if they tried to escape from brothels. Organized criminal gangs backed up the brothel owner/pimps if they women objected to the high numbers of sex buyers they were required to service.

Many of our interviewees told us about the extreme poverty and lack of alternative sources of income that led women into prostitution. While some men accurately described debt bondage, which was common, others incorrectly described that as signing a contract and then working to pay off a debt. One man said that three quarters of the women in the brothels started out cleaning the brothel or offering non-sexual massage. Soon after, they observed, the pimps coerced the women into servicing sex buyers. A similar scenario has also been described by pimps in the United States who offer women bartending or cleaning jobs in strip clubs and later pressure the women into stripping and then prostituting.

While the men thought about rescuing or helping the women, only a small minority actually followed up with actual help. A few men paid off women's debts so that they could escape prostitution. *"I*

asked her to write briefly about her story, and then I took the paper to the police asking for help. The police said that it's difficult because he had little power and no one will listen to him, besides [the police officer said] almost all prostitutes have that same story. After that...I approached LICADHO to rescue her, and she then stayed with World Vision after she was rescued." An interviewee reported a trafficker to the police and stated that the brothel was subsequently shut down. Another man gave phone numbers of antitrafficking NGOs to women who wanted to escape prostitution. Some men told us that they considered helping the women but worried that they themselves would get in trouble or that the women's families' would be harassed. Others noted police corruption. *"I have never informed policemen to help them because I think it is useless because of the very bad corruption in the society today. Those who run brothels always have a powerful person to back them up."*

The men we interviewed often recognized the poverty and desperation that coerce women into prostitution. While the sex buyers noted physical and verbal coercion used against women in the brothels, they did not recognize coercion against women in "entertainment venues" (such as karaoke clubs or beer gardens). At these locations, women are subjected to physical and verbal sexual harassment including threats of violence. The women "entertainers" are fined if a buyer is unhappy with them in any way (Brown, E. 2007). Similar sexual harassment occurs against women "bevertainers" in Las Vegas (U.S.A.) casinos (Farley, 2007).

Myths About Sexuality Held by Cambodian Sex Buyers

Sex buyers were asked whether they thought that women in prostitution were sexually satisfied while prostituting. Although the traumatic and destructive effects of prostitution on the autonomous sexuality of the person in prostitution are well known (Perkins & Bennett, 1985; Williams, 1991; Miller, 1986; Silbert & Pines, 1983; Giobbe, 1991), almost half (44%) of the sex buyers nonetheless believed that much of the time (70% of the time or more) women were sexually satisfied during prostitution. In a related query, almost all of the men believed (96%) that having sex with a prostitute made a man a better lover.

Lack of Empathy for Women in Prostitution

A key element in empathy is the cognitive ability to identify what someone else is thinking or feeling. After an accurate *identification* of another person's emotional state has occurred, the second phase of empathy involves an appropriate *response* to that person's emotional state. Baron-Cohen (2011) suggested that people who lack empathy see others as mere objects. Objectification is a core element of the sex buyer's attitude toward women in prostitution. Empathy has been shown to be an important variable in the study of sexual aggression. For example Lisak and Ivan (1995) found empathy deficits in sexually aggressive men. Abbey and colleagues (2006) found that men who were in other respects at high risk for sexual aggression were unlikely to aggress if they were "sensitive to others' feelings" (empathetic) rather than self-centered.

We asked the Cambodian sex buyers to estimate how women in prostitution felt during prostitution, and then compared their responses to two U.S. studies of prostituted women in which the women were asked to describe how they felt during prostitution (Kramer, 2003; Farley, Mathews, et al., 2011). We asked the women we interviewed to list five words that described their feelings during prostitution. The word "dirty" was used by more than a third of the women (36%) to indicate how they felt during prostitution. This word sadly reflects the women's internalization of sex buyers' vicious and humiliating judgments of the women they buy for sexual use. Other frequently used words were sad, lonely, scared, disgusted, angry, numb, ashamed, guilty, nasty, ugly, depressed, and used. Many of these words are the same words used by incest survivors and rape survivors to describe their feelings about themselves (Herman, 1992).

For this study, we ranked the men's positive, negative, and neutral estimates of how the women felt.

Table 7. Words Used by Sex Buyers and Prostituted Women to Describe Feelings of Women during Prostitution (n)

Study	Positive Feeling Words	Neutral Feeling Words	Negative Feeling Words	Total Words
Cambodian Sex Buyers (current study)	70% (276)	9% (35)	21% (84)	395
Scotland Sex Buyers (Macleod, Farley, Anderson, Golding)	45% (132)	11% (33)	44% (33)	292
Women in U.S. Prostitution (Kramer, 2003)	9% (41)	14% (64)	77% (127)	232
Indigenous U.S. Women in Prostitution (Farley, Mathews, Deer, et al., 2011)	7% (32)	3% (12)	90% (412)	456

Clearly, some of the men *did* have empathy for the women and understood the inequality of prostitution. Some men commented, *"I feel pity for those women. How will their lives be in the future? If those women were our friends or relatives, how would we feel? How would their relatives feel?"* Several interviewees noted the low status and economic vulnerability of women. One man said, *"Prostitution is related to the low status of women in the society and it is also related to the rich-poor relationship in the society. As long as the gap between the rich and the poor still exists, as long as women and men still have unequal social status, I think that this kind of business [prostitution] will still happen in the society and can not be eliminated."* Another man said: *"Speaking of human rights, although it is said that in the society women and men have equal rights - in reality men always want to value themselves higher than women."* Along these lines, an interviewee said that prostitution *"makes the man feel that he can take advantage of the woman because as long as he has money he can have a girl anytime (like a goods)."* A number of sex buyers described women in prostitution as being treated *"like slaves or very subordinate to the boss."*

Lack of Emotional Relationships with Women in Prostitution

About one-fourth (23%) of the men described no emotional connection whatsoever with the women they used in prostitution. Some interviewees said that they pretended to like the women in order to manipulate them into doing whatever the buyers asked them to do. *"When she falls in love with me, she serves me the best,"* explained a sex buyer. *"Not the real emotion but I just use sweet words in order to have them do whatever I want them to do for me."* *"I just regarded them as a passion entertainment tool only."* Most men described a fleeting experience of closeness based on the woman's ability to sexually satisfy him. *"She can read my mind, she never refused what I want."* One man said that his emotional connection disappeared after the prostitution transaction, *"This kind of love appeared only at the time I was with her and having sex with her. After sex, no such feeling continued."* A lack of emotional involvement was one of the key attractions of commercial sex for 59% of sex buyers in a separate research study (Xantidis & McCabe, 2000).

Internal Conflicts of Sex Buyers

More than 90% of our 133 interviewees considered prostitution to be normal male behavior. *"It is safe if we use condoms all the times. There's no guilt in it. On the contrary, we will feel at ease [using women in prostitution]. Prostitution is the place where we can enjoy sex by buying the women's time for a short period in order to use their sexual organ."* *"Sex services can help us relax stress and let go of our anger...It is sexual entertainment available when we feel like it at an acceptable price."* The men we interviewed reported nervousness and anxiety about using women in prostitution. Some of them had misgivings about the extreme violence of gang rape prostitution. *"I heard that bauk was risky to the woman, she might die if she was not hospitalized afterward because she was too weak to resist against many men at the same time. She was bullied to accept them otherwise she would be beaten."* Some men said that they were especially nervous about disease transmission during *bauk*. They were concerned that their men friends had sexually transmitted infections which they would transmit via the women they raped together.

Seventy-one percent of these sex buyers said that prostitution is consenting sex. Fifty-nine percent of the men expressed the opinion that prostitution should be legalized, and 80% said it should be decriminalized. Sixty-six percent of the sex buyers felt that arresting men who patronize prostitutes causes more problems than it solves. Ninety-three percent of the sex buyers opined that "most men go to prostitutes once in a while," normalizing their own use of women in prostitution by suggesting that most men do it. We asked how comfortable the men would be with their children's involvement in prostitution. Eleven percent thought that it would be acceptable for their daughters to work in strip clubs or to become prostitutes whereas 53% felt that it was acceptable for their sons to go to brothels.

Yet 84% of the men we interviewed also believed that prostitution lowered Khmer community morals. For example, one man said: *"Prostitution has a strong impact on Khmer culture. All men should understand: if they love anyone, get married to her, and are faithful to her, they should avoid going out to use prostitutes. Otherwise, they lose their values and honour as human beings in the society."* Another man said: *"I think that it [prostitution] simply pleased us and allowed us to enjoy ourselves and feel good for a short period of time. But then our honor and reputation remain unhealthy."* Sawyer (1998) found that all of 37 men who had been arrested for prostitution solicitation and who participated in a post-sentencing educational program for sex buyers had "mild to severe opposition to their own behavior." We also noted conflicted attitudes among the sex buyers in our study toward their own sex buying. Eighty-nine percent of these Cambodian sex buyers viewed prostitution as sexual exploitation. Some of these sex buyers expressed their awareness that women in prostitution do not make a real choice but instead are coerced into prostitution by histories of abuse, neglect, violence in relationships and as a result of the culture's tolerance for sex discrimination, race discrimination and economic discrimination. For example, 56% said that prostitution exists because of the subordination of women in most societies, and 48% indicated that women enter prostitution because of economic necessity. This same ambivalence about prostitution has been reported by sex buyers in United Kingdom and United States (Farley, Bindel, Golding, 2009; Farley, Schuckman et al., 2011).

PORNOGRAPHY USE

All of the men we interviewed acknowledged using pornography. Nearly all the interviewees in this research used pornographic videos (99%), 85% used cell phone pornography, three-fourths (75%) used pornographic magazines, 26% used Internet pornography, and 7% used pornography in other formats. On average the men used pornography in 3 different media. Nearly one-fourth of the men (22%) acknowledged viewing children between 6 and 12 years old in pornography, and 79% viewed 13- to 17-

year-olds in pornography. Investigating the effect of pornography on young men in rural Cambodia, Fordham (2006) noted that pornography was associated with the HIV epidemic, rapes of children, prostitution, and trafficking. Importantly, pornography likely had an extremely adverse impact on the sexual development of youth.

Men in this study who used pornography more frequently also used women in prostitution more frequently, $r = .39$, $p < .0001$. Similar results were found in a U.S. study of sex buyers (Farley, Schuckman, et al, 2011).⁶ In related findings, Monto & McRee (2005) also found that sex buyers in the USA more often used pornography when compared with non-sex buyers.

Seventy-nine percent of the men we interviewed said that their sex acts with women in prostitution had changed over time. Most of the changes, they told us, came from viewing pornography and to a lesser extent the changes were a result of what they learned from friends. One sex buyer said, *"Whenever I went for sex, I'd like to try new styles I had seen in sex movies.. ."* Seventy-one percent of the men interviewed reported that they copied sex acts seen in pornography with the women they bought for prostitution. *"We want to try to follow what we see in the pornographic movies."* *"If there is any new sex act that is shown on the video, I copied that"* *"If there were new popular styles that came in sex movies, I would copy and act those styles too."* *"The sex styles I used were following the popularity of sex movies."* *"I copied those styles from sex movies and tried them all."* *"All the styles I used were copied from sex movies."* Describing a gang rape perpetrated by several men, an interviewee said, *"We took turns to have sex. We used different styles that we saw in the movie"*. This is consistent with research reports by Ramage (2002), O'Shea (2003), and Fordham (2005, 2006). Fifty-two percent of U.S. sex buyers acknowledged that they imitated sex acts seen in pornography (Farley, Schuckman, et al., 2011).

We asked about the ethnicity of those filmed in the pornography used by the 133 sex buyers. Western/Caucasian women were the most frequently described. Next most frequently described were Japanese, Chinese, or Thai women in pornography. Less often, the interviewees told us, women in pornography they used were Korean, Vietnamese or Indian. The men least frequently described seeing pornography of Khmer women. There were important exceptions to this general trend of ethnicities. For example, Chinese women were most frequently seen by our interviewees in pornography of women crying and in murder pornography. Japanese women were almost as frequently seen in all types of pornography as were Western/Caucasian women. These ethnicities may reflect the sites of production, the globalization of the sex industry, and the pornography that was accessible to Cambodian sex buyers. See Appendix A for a summary of ethnicity and sex acts in pornography that was seen by the sex buyers in this research study.

We asked about the ages of those in pornography viewed by the 133 sex buyers. About half of the 133 sex buyers (52%) acknowledged having seen adults having sex with children in pornography. Of the 93 men who responded to a question about seeing pornography of adults having sex with girls, 73% acknowledged that they had. Of that 73%, 34% had seen 6-12 year old girls in pornography and 85% had seen 13-17 year old girls in pornography. Of the 99 men who responded to a question about seeing pornography of adults having sex with boys, 19% acknowledged that they had. Of that 19%, 5% had seen boys under age 5, 36% had seen boys age 6-12, and 85% had seen boys aged 13-17.

We also asked detailed questions about the type of activity depicted in various types of pornography used by the men. This information is reported below. It summarizes the types of

⁶ Sex buyers in Boston MA who used pornography more frequently also used women in prostitution more frequently, $r = .29$, $p = .004$, $N=97$.

pornography, much of it extremely violent, viewed by Cambodian sex buyers.

Oral Sex Pornography

Ninety-nine percent of the men had seen pornography of oral sex (fellatio) with 1% of the men reporting that they viewed children 5 years of age or younger in that type of pornography; 3% had seen children aged 6-12 years; 41% had seen children aged 13-17 years. Ninety-nine percent of the men had seen pornography of oral sex with women or men older than age 18. 98% of men had seen oral sex pornography depicting Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 90% Chinese; 89% Thai; 87% Japanese; 58% Korean; 52% Vietnamese; 38% Indian; 25% Khmer.

Vaginal Sex Pornography

One hundred percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of vaginal sex. One percent of the men reported having seen that type of pornography depicting children 5 years of age or younger; 2% had seen pornography showing vaginal sex with children aged 6-12 years; 44% had seen children aged 13-17 years in this genre of pornography. Ninety-nine percent of the men had seen pornography of vaginal sex with women or men older than age 18. Ninety-seven percent of the men had seen oral sex pornography of Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 94% Chinese; 92% Thai; 90% Japanese; 63% Vietnamese; 61% Korean; 42% Indian; 36% Khmer.

Anal Sex Pornography

Ninety-eight percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of anal sex. Two percent of the men had seen that type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 32% had seen children aged 13-17 years in that genre. All of the interviewees who had seen anal sex pornography had seen pornography of anal sex with women or men older than age 18. Ninety-nine percent of men had seen anal sex pornography of Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 79% Japanese; 76% Thai; 72% Chinese; 50% Korean; 38% Vietnamese; 34% Indian; 16% Khmer. Reflecting on his imitation of pornography, a sex buyer said, *"I fucked her asshole like it was in the sex movies."*

Oral Sex with Gagging Pornography

Seventy percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of oral sex with gagging. One percent of these men had seen that type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 43% had seen this genre depicting children aged 13-17 years; 97% of the men had seen pornography of oral sex with gagging using women or men older than age 18. Eighty-five percent of the men had seen oral sex with gagging pornography that used Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 73% Japanese; 69% Thai; 60% Chinese; 41% Korean; 29% Vietnamese; 27% Indian; 14% Khmer.

Group Sex Pornography

Ninety-nine percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of group sex. One percent of the men had seen this type of pornography using children aged 6-12 years; 31% had seen children aged 13-17 years in group sex pornography; 100% of the men had seen pornography of group sex using women or men older than age 18. Ninety-eight percent of the men had seen group sex that included Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 75% Japanese; 73% Thai; 68% Chinese; 45% Korean; 34% Vietnamese; 31% Indian; 17% Khmer.

Group Sex Pornography with More Than One Man Penetrating the Woman or Girl's Vagina, Anus, and/or Mouth

Ninety-eight percent of our interviewees had seen group sex pornography with more than one man penetrating the woman or girl's vagina, anus, and/or mouth. One percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 32% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 99% of the

men had seen pornography of group sex with more than one man penetrating the woman or girl's vagina, anus, and/or mouth using women or men older than age 18. Ninety-seven percent of the men had seen group sex pornography with more than one man penetrating a woman or girl of Caucasian/western descent in prostitution; 73% Japanese; 72% Thai; 64% Chinese; 46% Korean; 32% Vietnamese; 29% Indian; 8% Khmer.

Pornography of Women or Girls Smiling

Eighty-two percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography with women or girls smiling. Two percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 40% had seen children aged 13-17 years. Ninety-seven percent of the men had seen this type of pornography with women or men older than age 18. Ninety-five percent of the men had seen pornography with women or girls smiling that depicted Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 85% Japanese; 83% Chinese; 80% Thai; 54% Korean; 42% Vietnamese; 32% Indian; 20% Khmer.

Pornography of Women or Girls Not Smiling

Eighty-three percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography with women or girls who were not smiling. Two percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 43% had seen children aged 13-17 years not smiling in pornography. Ninety-eight percent of the men had seen that type of pornography with women or girls older than age 18. Seventy-nine percent of the men had seen pornography with women or girls of Caucasian/western women not smiling; 86% Chinese; 84% Japanese; 81% Thai; 64% Korean; 50% Vietnamese; 35% Indian; 23% Khmer.

Pornography of Women or Girls Crying

Fifty-three percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography with women or girls who were crying. Four percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 57% had seen children aged 13-17 years crying in pornography. Eighty-six percent of the men had seen this type of pornography with women or girls older than age 18. Seventy-two percent of the men had seen pornography with Chinese women or girls crying; 68% Japanese; 58% Thai; 49% Western/Caucasian; 42% Vietnamese; 41% Korean; 26% Khmer; 24% Indian.

Pornography of Adults Having Sex with Children

Fifty-two percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of adults having sex with children. All of these men reported that they had seen pornography of adults having sex with girls; 19% said they had seen pornography of adults having sex with boys. Thirty-four percent of the men had seen pornography depicting girls aged 6-12 years; 85% had seen girls aged 13-17 years in pornography. Sixty-five percent of the pornography of adults having sex with girls was of Western/Caucasian girls; 62% Japanese girls; 56% Thai girls; 54% Chinese girls; 41% Korean girls; 38% Vietnamese girls; 25% Khmer girls; 21% Indian girls.

Of the men who had seen pornography of men having sex with boys, 5% had seen pornography of boys less than 5 years of age; 36% had seen boys aged 6-12 years; 68% had seen boys aged 13-17 years. Sixty-eight percent of the pornography of adults having sex with boys was of Western/Caucasian boys; 50% Khmer boys; 50% Thai boys; 41% Chinese boys; 36% Japanese boys; 32% Korean boys; 27% Vietnamese boys; 23% Indian boys.

Pornography of Women or Girls Having Sex with Animals

Eighty-three percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of women or girls having sex with animals. Two percent of these men had seen girls aged 6-12 years; 15% had seen girls aged 13-17 years; 100% had seen women or over the age of 18 who were having sex with animals. Ninety-eight percent of

the men had seen pornography of women or girls who were Caucasian/western women or girls having sex with animals in prostitution; 32% Japanese; 27% Chinese; 23% Thai; 18% Korean; 7% Vietnamese; 13% Indian; 2% Khmer.

Gang Rape or *Bauk* Pornography

Ninety-three percent of the sex buyers had seen gang rape pornography. Of these men, 1% had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 32% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 100% had seen women over the age of 18 who were being gang raped. Ninety-eight percent of the men had seen pornography of Caucasian/western women or girls being gang raped; 73% Japanese; 73% Thai; 65% Chinese; 47% Korean; 35% Vietnamese; 31% Indian; 19% Khmer.

Bukkake Pornography (Men Ejaculating on a Woman's Face)

Ninety-seven percent of the sex buyers had seen bukkake pornography. Two percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 34% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 100% had seen women over the age of 18 who were subjected to bukkake. Ninety-seven percent of the men had seen pornography of Caucasian/western women and girls subjected to bukkake; 74% Japanese; 72% Thai; 71% Chinese; 50% Korean; 36% Vietnamese; 29% Indian; 13% Khmer.

Anus-to Mouth Pornography

Eighty-one percent of the sex buyers had seen anus-to-mouth pornography. One percent of these men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 35% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 100% had seen women over the age of 18 who were in anus-to-mouth pornography. Ninety-nine percent of the men had seen pornography of Caucasian/western women or girls in anus-to-mouth prostitution; 82% Japanese; 77% Thai; 74% Chinese; 52% Korean; 30% Vietnamese; 28% Indian; 8% Khmer.

Pornography of Women or Girls Tied up or Restrained

Fifty percent of the sex buyers had seen bondage pornography. Four percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 38% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 92% had seen women 18 or older in bondage pornography. Sixty-five percent of the men had seen pornography of Caucasian/western women or girls in bondage pornography; 63% Japanese; 54% Chinese; 39% Thai; 30% Korean; 13% Vietnamese; 15% Indian; 8% Khmer.

Choking Pornography

Twenty-nine percent of the sex buyers had seen choking pornography. Four percent of the men had seen this type of pornography depicting children aged 6-12 years; 20% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 83% had seen women 18 or older who were in choking pornography. Sixty-seven percent of the men had seen choking pornography depicting Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 61% Japanese; 54% Chinese; 43% Thai; 37% Korean; 20% Vietnamese; 15% Indian; 7% Khmer.

Strangling Pornography

Twenty-nine percent of the sex buyers had seen women or girls being strangled in pornography. Of these men, 4% had seen children 6-12 years old being strangled, 31% had seen children 13-17 years old being strangled, and 84% had seen women 18 or older being strangled. Fifty-six percent of the men had seen strangling pornography depicting Caucasian/western women; 51% Chinese; 49% Thai; 44% Japanese; 29% Korean; 22% Vietnamese; 20% Indian; 18% Khmer.

Torture Pornography

Forty-four percent of the sex buyers had seen torture pornography. Two percent of the men who

had seen this type of pornography had seen children aged 6-12 years in it; 35% had seen children aged 13-17 years; 94% had seen women 18 or older who were being tortured in pornography. Sixty-eight percent of men had seen torture pornography depicting Caucasian/western women in prostitution; 66% Japanese; 58% Chinese; 52% Thai; 32% Korean; 16% Vietnamese; 15% Indian; 13% Khmer.

Murder Pornography

Eight percent of the sex buyers had seen pornography of women or children being murdered. Five percent of these men had seen pornography depicting the murders of children aged 5 or younger; 5% had seen pornographic murders of children aged 6-12 years; 21% had seen murders of children aged 13-17 years; 42% had seen women 18 or older being murdered in pornography. Twenty-six percent of the men who had seen murders in pornography had seen pornographic murders of Chinese women and/or children; 21% Thai women and children; 16% was of Caucasian/western women; 11% Vietnamese; 5% Indian; 5% Japanese; 5% Khmer; 5% Korean.

Gang Rape (*Bauk*) Prostitution and Gang Rape (*Bauk*) Pornography

The word “bauk” means “add” or “plus” in Khmer. We asked interviewees a series of questions about their involvement with gang rape prostitution (*bauk*). Forty-one percent of these sex buyers had committed *bauk*. Although gang rapes of women in prostitution occur in other cultures, a number of researchers have described *bauk* as an increasingly normalized human rights violation in Cambodia (Bearup, 2003a, 2003b; Soprach, 2004; Wilkinson, Fletcher et al., 2002; Jenkins, 2006; Hayden, 2007). Gang rape prostitution is perpetrated by sex buyers, police, and gangsters (Jenkins et al., 2006).

Forty-one percent of the men acknowledged their participation in gang rape prostitution (*bauk*). Of the men who acknowledged committing gang rape, 28% said they had perpetrated it once, 42% said they had done it two to five times, 19% said they had done it six to ten times, and 17% said they had done it more than 10 times. Of these men, 2% were under 15 years old when they had first committed gang rape, 22% were between 15 and 18, 27% were between 18 and 21, 33% were between 22 and 25, and 35% were older than 25. The men reported that they located women on whom to commit gang rape primarily at brothels (84%), but also in parks (56%), karaoke bars (60%), nightclubs or discos (47%), and beer gardens (36%). Many of the men said they grabbed women from the street (56%) or moto taxis (40%) to commit gang rape. Some men also said that these women were their friends (33%) or girlfriends (24%). When targeting a woman for gang rape, the men chose women who they perceived as especially vulnerable. One man told the interviewer that he sought out drug-addicted women to rape with his friends. Another interviewee told us that he chose girls to have *bauk* with who were “*leftover girls who were hopeless and no longer cared about their lives.*” A third interviewee said that he and his friends did *bauk* in pairs, using the woman's mouth, vagina and anus.

The vast majority of the men we interviewed said that they believe that gang rape is more common now than during (95%) or before (89%) the Khmer Rouge. All of the men who had committed gang rape told us that neither their fathers nor their grandfathers had engaged in this behavior. The younger men in our sample were more likely to have committed *bauk* than the older men ($r = -.20$, $p = .018$, $N=133$)⁷

Most accounts of gang rape highlight the deception and non-consent (Beaurup, 2003a; 2003b; Hayden, 2007, Smith, 2007). The sex buyers in our study described the women's lack of consent and their own use of trickery and deception. An interviewee said, “*At the beginning, the women disagreed but they could do nothing, so they kept silent.*” One man described how “*Some women dislike the behavior but take the risk because they need money,*” said another. “*Sometimes the woman changes her mind when she*

⁷ age was used as a continuous, log-transformed variable in this analysis

sees how many people are waiting at the place. If that happens, my friends threaten and force her, sometimes beating her.” Most men do not make the distinction between gang rape and gang rape that is paid for in which the payment to a prostituting woman is the means of coercion. Firmly stating that the woman has no right to refuse after the men have paid for her, one man said, *“After we paid the pimp in order to take the prostitute out, we told her that we were going to have the gang rape whether she agreed or not”* Describing a similar scenario another man said, *“When she arrived, although she saw many people in the room, she could not refuse because we already paid for her. Once she is in the room, we would not tolerate her refusal; we would fuck her.”* Another man, referring to a woman who ‘consented’ to gang rape, said: *“When I observed her carefully, I think she seemed disappointed in life, but for money she just accepts and lets everything go on, including violence.”*

Not surprisingly, the men who committed gang rape prostitution were those who were more likely to also have committed sexually coercive acts against their non-prostituting partners ($r = .23, p = .01$). When our interviewees discussed *bauk* there was constant reference to force and coercion. More than half (54%) of the men who had committed gang rape/*bauk* said that power and violence over the woman who was being raped was important to them. Not only do they ignore the woman's suffering, they take pleasure in deliberately inflicting harm. Bearup (2003a; 2003b) described the “horrific lack of empathy” towards the women and the shared perception of these women as less than fully human. One man described a friend's account of gang rape prostitution, *“The girl screamed loudly because she was probably hurt a lot, yet none heard because the field was far away from the village. He said that he felt happy.”* Several interviewees described men's enjoyment of women's suffering, for example *“they wanted to harm that girl so that she would be frightened; they joined hands to harm the girl.”* Another described the following, *“Three of my friends committed bauk with a girl. One was catching her while another two were acting. She tried to move but they beat her until they all reached a climax.”*

Resistance on the part of the victim provided the men with an excuse for even greater violence. A sex buyer we interviewed stated, *“She refused, so we beat her in order to force her to do what each of us wanted.”* Another said, *“My friend beat her because she complained against his wishes,”* and *“My friends beat her and forced her to do all that they wanted; sometimes my friends threatened her with death should she not follow what they say.”* Another man told how, *“At the end she was in so much pain I was afraid she had died.”* Describing a group of four men, the interviewee said, *“after each of us had sex with her once, she told us that she wanted a break so that she could get drugs.”*

The sex buyers we interviewed described gang rape as an opportunity to relax with their friends and blandly minimized the violence of gang rape. One man said, *“A friend took a woman to rape, then share with his friends.”* Another man described *bauk* as a playful competition, *“We took turns to have sex, and we bet on who was strong enough to prolong the sex. Anyone who could not prolong would be called the loser.”* They used drunkenness, friendship, saving money, and bowing to peer pressure as reasons for having participated in gang rape. The homoerotic pleasure in watching each other have sex was a part of the experience. One man explained, *“they were friends eating and drinking together everyday; they wanted to have pleasure together.”* Almost nine out of every 10 men who had committed gang rape/*bauk* (87%) indicated that it was important to them, at least to some extent, that they observe other men committing this act. Most (93%) of these sex buyers found it at least somewhat sexually arousing to watch other men committing *bauk*. *“I was very passionate seeing my friend... fucking.”*

Most of the men said that gang rape does not reflect Cambodian values and is not a part of the Khmer tradition. One man explained, *“bauk makes men as obscene and bad as animals; it is worse than even dogs or cats.”* More than a third (38%) of our interviewees blamed Western sex videos for Cambodian gang rape/*bauk*. For example, *“I think that foreigners have gang rape/bauk more than in our*

country because I have seen the videos" and "I think the foreigners know more than us about gang rape. Cambodia did not have *bauk* in the past;" "Gang rape/*bauk* happened as a result of foreign cultures coming to Cambodia like sex movies or sex books from Western countries that have been copied by Khmer people," and "Cambodians copied gang rape/*bauk* from foreigners because of the inflow of sex movies into Cambodia which is staining Khmer traditions."

Ninety-three percent of our interviewees acknowledged that they had seen gang rape pornography (*bauk*). Men who committed gang rape often said that they had learned about it through pornography and wanted to imitate what they saw. "I was drunk and wanted to try *bauk* like in the movie," said one man. Another interviewee when asked whose idea it was to do *bauk*, answered, "We all collectively want to try, after watching a sex movie that shows gang rape/*bauk*." "We had watched Thai sex movies about gang rape/*bauk*", said a third man, "we wanted to follow their style." Another man described gang rape/*bauk* pornography as "the foreigners' wonderful game." We found strong statistical associations between use of pornography and perpetrating gang rape/*bauk* prostitution. The more often the men used pornography the more likely it was that they had ever perpetrated gang rape/*bauk* prostitution. Of the 82 men who used pornography weekly or more often, 50% (41) had ever committed gang rape/*bauk* whereas of the 51 men (38%) who used pornography less frequently, 27% had ever committed gang rape/*bauk*, $\chi^2(1, N=133) = 6.592$, $p = .010$. The more often the men used pornography the more likely they were to say that they continued to perpetrate gang rape/*bauk*. Of the 81 (61%) men who use pornography weekly or more often, 22% (18) continue to perpetrate gang rape/*bauk* whereas of the 51 men (39%) who use pornography less frequently, 6% (3) continue to perpetrate gang rape/*bauk*, $\chi^2(1, N=132) = 6.246$, $p = .0124$. One man commented, "In the movies, the girl always agreed [to *bauk*], never rejected it. But in Cambodia, the girl who was taken for *bauk* sex was likely to be beaten unless she agreed to it."

Deterrents to Prostitution

The Cambodian sex buyers indicated that the most effective deterrents to buying sex would be greater criminal penalties (88%) or monetary fines (86%) or having their photo or name in a local newspaper (87%) or on the Internet (86%). A fine of \$300 would deter them from buying sex. Being placed on a list of men described as sex offenders (83%) was also an effective deterrent, according to these interviewees. Educational programs were seen as likely to be effective by 75% of these Cambodian sex buyers.

**Table 8. 133 Cambodian Men's Responses to:
"What Would Deter You From Buying Sex?"**

Deterrent	Percentage of Men
Greater criminal penalty	88%
Photo or name in local newspaper	87%
Greater monetary fine	86%
Photo or name on a billboard/poster	84%
Added to a sex offender registry	83%
Time in prison	81%
Letter sent to family members	81%
Car impounded	75%
Attend educational program	75%
Suspension of driver's license	71%
Community service	65%

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has described Cambodian sex buyers' extensive knowledge about the sex industry, about trafficking, about the effects of pornography on their use of women in prostitution, and about possible deterrents to buying sex. We have summarized the findings of a number of quantitative and qualitative measures of these men's attitudes toward women. The men were remarkably open and frank with the interviewers. They sometimes spoke for the first time ever about their experiences with women in prostitution, never having shared that information with anyone else. At the end of his interview, one man said, *"I feel as though a thorn has been taken out of my heart."* We share the sentiments of another interviewee who commented, *"I hope this research is successful so that victimized women can be upgraded away from such a business; and help remind men not to go out for sex services because some girls did not want to, but they were cheated."* Below are some of the highlights of the report.

1. Sex buyers justify their purchase of women for sexual use by treating women in prostitution as if they are not human beings, insulting them, and blaming the women for their own victimization (one man described the women as "spiritually weak"). Most men saw women in prostitution as essentially different from other people. The men justified prostitution by stating that it reduces rape of women who are not prostituted, even though there is no evidence for that belief. They did not think that it was possible for women in prostitution to be raped. One way that we can change these extremely negative attitudes toward women in prostitution is to shift the focus from the women themselves to the men who buy them. At this time, the burning question is not "What factors drive a woman to trade sex for money?" We already know the answer to that question - she enters prostitution not because of moral defects but because she has no other options for survival. The question to be asked is, "What factors drive a man to buy sex?"
2. Almost all (98%) of the men had used women in prostitution who were under the control of pimps. Pimping involves third-party control of women which meets most legal definitions of trafficking. Most (85%) of the men had seen physical violence, verbal threats, and coerced subordination perpetrated against women in prostitution. In Cambodia, as in other countries, it is difficult to separate what people think of as "ordinary prostitution" from sex trafficking. It is not possible for trafficking to occur without the existence of a place to traffic women to. Trafficking destinations are the locations where prostitution occurs.
3. Most (83%) of the 133 Khmer men we interviewed had wives or girlfriends. Their reason for using women in prostitution most often was simply to satisfy a sexual urge. Other reasons they gave for using women in prostituting included: for variety, or to imitate something that they had seen in pornography.
4. Most of the men bought sex for the first time when they were about 20 years of age. They usually went to a brothel, both the first time and thereafter, although the men also bought sex in karaoke clubs, hotels, bars, massage parlors, and strip clubs.
5. The men we interviewed used women in prostitution frequently. Almost all (91%) of the men used women in prostitution at least once a month. While they used women in a range of locations, the men most frequently (98%) used women in brothel prostitution. This suggests that prostitution is widely socially tolerated in Phnom Penh.
6. About half of the men were intoxicated most of the time when buying sex. The links between alcohol or drug use, peer pressure to prove oneself a man by buying sex, and pornography used as evidence of

the "normalcy" of prostitution including gang rape, should be addressed in educational campaigns. Many of the men spoke to us about the need for education about the harms of prostitution. While they were aware of risks of sexually transmitted disease, they were not educated about the emotional damage to the women caused by prostitution. Furthermore, they were not aware of the damage that use of women in prostitution causes to their relationships with wives or girlfriends.

7. About a third of the sex buyers had been in the military. A large percentage (70%) of those men had used women in prostitution during their military service. As in other countries, there is widespread tolerance of prostitution in the Cambodian military forces.
8. Ninety-nine percent of the sex buyers in this study used pornography, mostly cell phone and video pornography. Frequent use of pornography is one of the factors that have been associated with men's buying sex. In this study, the men who used pornography most frequently were those who also used women in prostitution most frequently. Over time, the men told us, their sex acts become more like the sex acts that they viewed in the pornography. The women in the pornography seen by these men were most often western/Caucasian, Japanese, Chinese, and Thai. This study strengthens the observation that there are strong links between pornography, prostitution, and sexual violence. It is likely that non-Cambodian pornography contributes to and supports the sexual violence against women and children that exists in Cambodia. When there is a lack of culturally appropriate sex education, pornography functions as sex education.

Pornography is itself a form of violence against women and children who are harmed in the making of pornography. Pornography has been linked to other sexual violence (Malamuth & Pitpitan, 2007; Monto & McRee, 2005; Hald, Malamuth & Yuen, 2010). Other studies have found links between pornography and sexual aggression (Malamuth, Addison, & Koss, 2000; Malamuth & Pitpitan, 2007; Monto & McRee, 2005; Hald, Malamuth & Yuen, 2010). Busch et al. (2002) found men who had been arrested for soliciting prostitution in the U.S. had regularly used pornography. The pervasive negative effects of pornography saturation on users are still understudied. New research suggests that delayed ejaculation, impotence, a need to fantasize about pornography in order to sustain an erection, and a gradual detachment from one's partner are associated with men's pornography use (Rothbart, 2011).

9. Forty-one percent of our interviewees had committed gang rape or *bauk*. While some of the sex buyers acknowledged a homoerotic aspect to this practice, most men emphasized the bonding with their friends that occurred during gang rape. They minimized the extreme violence of *bauk* that many reported having participated in or observed. Gang rape, according to these men, did not exist historically in Cambodia. It is not clear to the authors when the ritualized gang rape of Cambodian *bauk* originated. Whether learned from pornography or not, *bauk* is strongly supported by men's viewing of gang rape pornography from other cultures. In prostitution, when women cannot avoid violence, they accede to what they perceive as unavoidable harm and attempt to reduce the harm if they possibly can. Clarifying the powerlessness of the woman in gang rape prostitution, one man explained, "*After we paid to the pimp in order to take the prostitute out, we told her that we were to have bauk whether she agreed or not. She said that she agreed, so we had her.*"
10. As in other cultures, Cambodian men expressed ambivalence about buying sex. This provides an opportunity for intervention and change. On the one hand, the interviewees normalized the sex industry but on the other hand, 89% of them considered prostitution to be sexual exploitation. The men in this study described guilt, a loss of honor, and a decline in Khmer cultural values as a consequence of their prostitution activities. An interviewee requested the development of educational

programs about the adverse effects of pornography for youth in rural provinces. While the men were aware of the violence in prostitution and the desperate poverty of the women they buy, with most having observed violence by pimps against women in prostitution, this knowledge alone is not sufficient to cause them to change their behavior.

11. According to the men we interviewed effective deterrents to buying sex included greater criminal penalties or having their names publicized. Although it was low on the list of deterrents, three quarters of the men said that educational programs would also help to deter men from buying sex. In most countries laws on trafficking and prostitution are erratically enforced. We favor decriminalization of women in prostitution since, based on the information in this report and from much other research, women are profoundly victimized and harmed by prostitution which should be considered a human rights violation. Since buying sex is a cause of these harms of prostitution we therefore support criminalization of sex buyers.

Discussing a response to the pervasive human rights abuses in brothel prostitution, an NGO worker from LICADHO said, "...what I would like to see, at the highest level, is the breaking down of this network structure. We are not just talking about parents selling children, pimps selling children... we are talking about people who benefit and allow these establishments to operate. The latter is at the very highest level of government" (Unmacht, 2003).

A number of sex buyers in this study avoided reporting violence or abuse to authorities because they feared retaliation. Prime Minister Hun Sen has directly addressed allegations of misconduct by senior officials in antitrafficking efforts stating, "I am regretful of the misconduct of some leaders who have interfered with the court and law enforcement officials... The culture of impunity is not acceptable" (Vong & Khouth, 2010). *"Those who visit sex workers,"* said a sex buyer interviewed for this research, *"should be found, charged, imprisoned and make sure no one will pay a bribe to be discharged."*

12. Buying sex in Cambodia, as elsewhere, is considered a rite of passage and an expression of masculinity. Shifting social attitudes about manhood and sexuality occurs by public education campaigns and also by increased enforcement of existing laws against violence against women. Increased enforcement of laws against buying sex is a straightforward means of decreasing sex trafficking. United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Aspects of the Victims of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children Sigma Huda observed that "the issue of demand is of crucial importance in addressing trafficking," noting that, "By engaging in the act of commercial sex, the prostitute-user is ... directly inflicting an additional and substantial harm upon the trafficking victim, tantamount to rape, above and beyond the harmful means used by others to achieve her entry or maintenance in prostitution."⁸

⁸ United Nations Committee on Human Rights (2006) *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Aspects of the Victims of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, 9 U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/2006/62 (Feb. 20, 2006). The Special Rapporteur also noted that "the terms 'sex work,' 'sex worker,' and 'client,' wrongly suggests that prostitution as currently practiced does not typically fall within the category of trafficking."

REFERENCES

- Abbey, A., Parkhill, M. R., BeShears, R., Clinton-Sherrod, A. M., & Zawacki, T. (2006). Cross-sectional predictors of sexual assault perpetration in a community sample of single African American and Caucasian men. *Aggressive Behavior*, 32, 54-67.
- Adae, A., Bauer Anderson, E., Schrock Donnelly, J., Chan-Downer, C., Dyson, D., Faraj, S., . . . Zeitlin, V. (2008). Trafficking in Persons Report 2008. Washington, DC: U.S. State Department. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/105656.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (2010). Breaking the silence: Sexual violence in Cambodia. United Kingdom: Amnesty International Publications.
- Anderson, B., & O'Connell Davidson, J. (2003). *Is trafficking in human beings demand driven? A multi-country pilot study*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Atchison, C., Fraser, L., & Lowman, J. (1998). Men who buy sex: Preliminary findings of an exploratory study. In J. Elias, V. Bullough, V. Elias, & G. Brewer (Eds.), *Prostitution: On whores, hustlers and johns* (pp. 172-203). Amherst: Prometheus Books.
- Baron-Cohen, S. (2011). *The science of evil: Empathy and the origins of cruelty*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bearup, L. S. (2003a). Paupers and princelings: Youth attitudes toward gangs, violence, rape, drugs, and theft. Phnom Penh: Gender and Development for Cambodia, Asia Foundation, Australian Embassy and World Vision.
- Bearup, L. S. (2003b). *'We feel happy and need sex and we are Brave: ' Male Khmer youth gangs, Cambodia*. Paper submitted in partial completion of Bachelor of Letters in Sociology. Australia: Deakin University.
- Blevins, K. R., & Holt, T. (2009). Examining the virtual subculture of johns. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 38 (5), 619-648.
- Bowcott, O. (2001, June 18). Prison for Briton who went abroad for child sex. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/jun/19/childprotection.society>
- Brady, B. (2010, November 16). No longer a pedophile's haven. *Newsweek*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2010/11/16/no-longer-a-pedophile-s-haven.html>
- Braun-Courville, D., and Rojas, M. (2009). Exposure to Sexually Explicit Web Sites and Adolescent Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors. *Journal of Adolescent Health* 45: 156-162.
- Brickell, K. (2008). 'Fire in the house': Gendered experiences of drunkenness and violence in Siem Reap, Cambodia. *Geoforum*, 39, 1667-1675. Retrieved from http://www.engagingmen.net/files/resources/2010/sysop/fire_in_the_house.pdf
- Briere, J., & Malamuth, N. M. (1983). Self-reported likelihood of sexually aggressive behavior: Attitudinal versus sexual explanations. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 17, 315-323.
- Brinkley, J. (2009). Cambodia's curse. *Foreign Affairs*, 88 (2), 111-122.
- Brown, E. (2007). *Ties that bind: Migration and trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation in Cambodia*. International Organization for Migration and US Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. Retrieved from <http://www.humantrafficking.org/publications/599>
- Brownmiller, S. (1978). Pornography and the First Amendment. *New York University Review of Law & Social Change*, 8 (2), 255-257.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 38, 217-230.

Burgmann, T. (2010, July 28). Cdn sex tourist gets 11 years for sex with young girls in Colombia, Cambodia. *The Canadian Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.news1130.com/news/national/article/82793--cdn-sex-tourist-gets-11-years-for-sex-with-young-girls-in-colombia-cambodia>

Busch, N. B., Bell, H., Hotaling, N., & Monto, M. A. (2002). Male customers of prostituted women: Exploring perceptions of entitlement to power and control and implications for violent behavior toward women. *Violence Against Women*, 8 (9), 1093–1112.

Cambodia Daily (2005, August 9) “Teen Charged With Rape of 5-Year-Old Girl.” *Cambodia Daily*.

Cambodian Women’s Development Association. (1994). Prostitution Survey Result. In *The trafficking and prostitution of children in Cambodia: A situation report* (Appendix 2). Phnom Penh: UNICEF Cambodia 1995.

Chamroeun, C. (2009a, August 24). Frenchmen accused in paedophilia cases. *Phnom Penh Post*.

Chamrouen, C. (2009b, July 17). Man sentenced over child porn. *Phnom Penh Post*.

Chamroeun, C. (2010, September 6). Brit held over child-sex claims. *Phnom Penh Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php/2010090641818/Online-Edition/brit-held-over-child-sex-claims.html>

Chan, I. (2010). Addressing local demand for commercial sex with children in Cambodia: A recommended strategy for ECPAT-Cambodia. John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Chan Thul, P. & Welsh, J. (2007, January 10). Child porn market is thriving in Phnom Penh. *The Cambodia Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.camnet.com.kh/cambodia.daily/selected_features/cd-Jan-10-2007.htm

Cho, S.-Y., Dreher, A., and Neumayer, E. Does Legalized Prostitution Increase Human Trafficking? (January 16, 2012). World Development (Forthcoming). Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1986065> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1986065>

Channyda, C. (2008, July 25). EU officials urge change of attitude to prostitution. *Phnom Penh Post*. Retrieved from http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php?option=com_jcs&view=jcs&layout=form&Itemid=0

Chan Thul, P. & Welsh, J. (2007, January 10). Child porn market is thriving in Phnom Penh. *The Cambodia Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.camnet.com.kh/cambodia.daily/selected_features/cd-Jan-10-2007.htm

Choi, S. Y., Chen, K. L., & Jiang, Z. Q. (2008). Client-perpetuated violence and condom failure among female sex workers in southwestern China. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 36, 141-146.

Collins, J. & Naren, K. (2004, May 13-14). Two unsolved rapes and killings belong to a larger trend as more Cambodians report sexual assaults. *The Cambodia Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.camnet.com.kh/cambodia.daily/selected_features/cd-13-05-04.htm

Decker, M. R., Seage, G. R., III, Hemenway, D., Gupta, J., Raj, A., & Silverman, J. G. (2009). Intimate partner violence perpetration, standard and gendered STI/HIV risk behaviour, and STI/HIV diagnosis among a clinic-based sample of men. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 85, 555-560.

Duvvury, N. and Knoess, J. (2005). Gender based violence and HIV/AIDS in Cambodia: Links, Opportunities, and Potential Responses. Report for Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). Eschborn, Germany.

Durschlag, R. & Goswami, S. (2008). *Deconstructing the demand for prostitution: Preliminary insights from interviews with Chicago men who purchase sex*. Chicago: Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation. Retrieved from <http://www.sapromise.org/pdfs/deconstruction.pdf>

Dyna, C., Sichan, K., & Cockroft, M. (2010). ‘It’s normal for a husband to beat his wife’: Sex workers and domestic violence in Cambodia. *Research for Sex Work*, 12, 27-28.

- Eisenbruch, M. (2007). The uses and abuses of culture: Cultural competence in post mass-crime peace-building in Cambodia. In *After Mass Crime: Rebuilding states and communities*. Editors Pouligny, Beatrice; Chesterman, Simon; and Schnabel, Albrecht). United Nations University Press.
- Farley, M. (2007) *Prostitution and Trafficking in Nevada: Making the Connections*. San Francisco: Prostitution Research and Education.
- Farley, M.(2009) Theory versus reality: Commentary on four articles about trafficking for prostitution. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 32 (4):311-315.
- Farley, M., & Barkan, H. (1998). Prostitution, violence against women, and posttraumatic stress disorder. *Women & Health*, 27, 37-49.
- Farley, M., Becker, T., Cotton, A., Sawyer, S, Fitzgerald, L. Jensen, R.(1998) *Attitudes toward prostitution scale: College students' responses compared to responses of arrested johns*. Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Traumatic Stress Studies, Washington, D.C.
- Farley, M., Bindel, J., and Golding, J.M. (2009) Men who buy sex: who they buy and what they know. Eaves: London and Prostitution Research & Education: San Francisco. <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/c-prostitution-research.html>
- Farley, M., Cotton, A., Lynne, J., Zumbeck, S., Spivak, F., Reyes, M. E.,...Sezgin, U. (2003). Prostitution and trafficking in nine countries: An update on violence and posttraumatic stress disorder. *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2, 33-74.
- Farley, M., Bindel, J. and Golding, J.M. (2009) Men who buy sex: who they buy and what they know. Eaves: London and Prostitution Research & Education: San Francisco. Retrieved from <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/c-prostitution-research.html>
- Farley, M., Mcleod, J., Anderson, L., & Golding, J. M. (2011). Attitudes and social characteristics of men who buy sex in Scotland. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*. doi: 10.1037/a0022645.
- Farley, M., Schuckman, E., Golding, J. M., Houser, K., Jarrett, L., Qualliotine, P., & Decker, M. (2011). *Comparing Sex Buyers with Men Who Don't Buy Sex: "You can have a good time with the servitude" vs. "You're supporting a system of degradation"*. Presented at Psychologists for Social Responsibility Annual Meeting, Boston. Retrieved from <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/c-prostitution-men-who-buy-sex.html>
- Flood, M. (2009). The harms of pornography exposure among children and young people. *Child Abuse Review*, 18, 384-400.
- Fordham, G. (1995) Whiskey, Women, and Song: Men, Alcohol, and AIDS in Northern Thailand. *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 6, 154-176.
- Fordham, G. (2005). *"Wise" before their time: Young people, gender-based violence and pornography in Kandal Stung District*. Phnom Penh: World Vision Cambodia. Retrieved from http://www.worldvision.org.kh/pdf/RGBV_Report.pdf
- Fordham, G. (2006). *"As if they were watching my body:" Pornography and the development of attitudes toward sex and sexual behavior among Cambodian youth*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: World Vision.
- Fraser, K. (2010, July 29). B.C. sex tourist Kenneth Robert Klassen handed 11 years in jail. *The Province*. Retrieved from <http://www.theprovince.com/news/tourist+Kenneth+Robert+Klassen+handed+years+jail/3332578/story.html>
- Freed, W. (2003). From duty to despair: Brothel prostitution in Cambodia. In M. Farley (Ed.), *Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress* (133-146). New York: Routledge.
- Galvin, J. & Seangly, P. (2010, April 30). Helping Cambodian women take back their lives. *Phnom Penh Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php/2010043038438/Special-Reports/helping-cambodian-women-take-back-their-lives.html>
- Giobbe, E. (1991). Prostitution: Buying the right to rape, In A. W. Burgess (Ed.), *Rape and sexual assault III: A research handbook* (pp. 143-160). New York: Garland Press.

- Graham, M. (2010, January 18). Authorities: NY man drugged child, took nude photos. *WPix.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.wpix.com/news/local/wpix-ny-man-child-porn-charge,0,4764934.story>
- Grant, L. (2003). *From cotton to precious gems: The use and abuse of commercial sex-workers in the context of the police, law and society in Cambodia*. CARE Cambodia.
- Hald, G. M., Malamuth, N. M., & Yuen, C. (2010). Pornography and attitudes supporting violence against women: Revisiting the relationship in nonexperimental studies. *Aggressive Behavior*, 36 (1), 14 –20.
- Hawkins, D. (2008, October 21). Local demand fuels Cambodian child prostitution. *Al Jazeera Asia-Pacific*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2008/10/2008102110195471467.html>
- Hayden, R. (2007). “Young men like us”: *Experiences and changes in sex, relationships and reproductive health among young, urban Cambodian men*. Retrieved from <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/Young+Men+Like+Us-+CARE+Cambodia.pdf>
- Herman, J. (1992). *Trauma and recovery*. NY: Basic Books.
- Hughes, D. M. (2000). “Welcome to the rape camp”: Sexual exploitation and the internet in Cambodia. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 6 (1-2). Retrieved from https://usclickads.com/HEART/081004/rape_camp.pdf
- Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia (1995). Rapid Appraisal on Child Prostitution and Trafficking. In *The Trafficking and Prostitution of Children in Cambodia: A Situation Report*, Appendix 2, pp. 9-22. Phnom Penh: UNICEF Cambodia 1995.
- Jenkins, C., Cambodian Prostitutes’ Union, Women’s Network for Unity, & Sainsbury, C. (2006). *Violence and exposure to HIV among sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia*. Washington, DC: POLICY Project of USAID.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2009). Understanding men’s health and use of violence: Interface of rape and HIV in South Africa. (Medical Research Council Policy Brief). Retrieved from http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/violence_hiv.pdf
- Kanbargi, R. & Kanbargi, S. (1996). Sexually transmitted diseases in Bangalore City: some findings from an exploratory study. *The Journal of Family Welfare*, 42 (1), 30-37.
- Kiernan, B. (2008) *The Pol Pot Regime. Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979*. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Kingdom of Cambodia (2007) Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation. Deputy General Director of the Royal Government, Phnom Penh. Unofficial translation by UNICEF March 2008. Retrieved from http://www.no-trafficking.org/cambodia_laws.html
- Kinnell, H. (2008). *Violence and sex work in Britain*. Cullompton, UK: Willan.
- Kongkea, B. R. (2011, June 14). Expat admits to child porn pictures. Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from <http://wap.com.kh/Detail.aspx?ArticleID=4007>
- Koss, M. P., & Oros, C. J. (1982). Sexual Experiences Survey: A research instrument investigating sexual aggression and victimization. *Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology*, 50, 455-457.
- Kramer, L. (2003). Emotional experiences of performing prostitution. *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2, 187-198.
- Kunthea, M. (2008, June 20). Families wracked by rape, sexual abuse. Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=7028
- Macan-Markar, M. (2010, March 9). Rape victims need better protection from new penal code. Inter Press Services News. Retrieved from <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=50602>

- MacKinnon, C.A. & Dworkin, A. (1997) *In Harm's Way: The Pornography Civil Rights Hearings*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Malamuth, N. M., Addison, T., & Koss, M. (2000). Pornography and sexual aggression: Are there reliable effects and can we understand them? *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 11, 75–81.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Pitpitan, E. V. (2007). The effects of pornography are moderated by men's sexual aggression risk. In D. Guinn & J. DiCaro (Eds.), *Pornography: Driving the demand in international sex trafficking* (pp.125–143). Chicago: International Human Rights Law Institute and Captive Daughters Media.
- Malamuth, N. M., Sockloskie, R. J., Koss, M. P., & Tanaka, J. S. (1991). Characteristics of aggressors against women: Testing a model using a national sample of college students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 59: 670-681.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Thornhill, N. W. (1994). Hostile masculinity, sexual aggression, and gender-biased domineeringness in conversations. *Aggressive Behavior* 20: 185-193.
- Mattley, C. (1997). Field research with phone sex workers: Managing the researcher's emotions. In M. D. Schwartz (Ed.), *Researching sexual violence against women: Methodological and personal perspectives*. London: Sage.
- McCarthy, J. (2011, March 12). Paedophile who ran Cambodian orphanage jailed for abusing children. Wales Online. Retrieved from <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2011/03/12/orphanage-man-jailed-91466-28322774/>
- McLeod, E. (1982). *Women working: Prostitution now*. London: Groom Helm.
- Michael, R. T., Gagnon, J. H., Laumann, E. O., & Kolata, G. (1994). *Sex in America: A definitive survey*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Monto, M. A., & McRee, N. (2005). A comparison of the male customers of female street prostitutes with national samples of men. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 49, 505–529.
- Narin, S. (2011, July 6). Constructive Cambodians: Social morality and new technology. Phnom Penh Post: LIFT. Retrieved from <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php/2011070650217/LIFT/constructive-cambodians-social-morality-and-new-technology.html>
- O'Connell, D. (2001). Rape and indecent assault: Crimes in the community. Phnom Penh: Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights. Retrieved from <http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/reports/files/25Rape%20report%202001.pdf>
- O'Shea, D. (2003). A preliminary study into the accessibility by minors of pornography in Cambodia: Briefing paper No. 1. Phnom Penh: Child Welfare Group. Retrieved from <http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/reports/files/38Pornography%20Report%20Final%20English1.pdf>
- Pearson, E., Robertson, P., & Colm, S. (2010). Off the streets: Arbitrary detention and other abuses against sex workers in Cambodia. New York: Human Rights Watch. Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/cambodia0710webwcover_2.pdf
- Perkins, D. L. (1991) *Working girls: Prostitutes, their life and social control*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Phan, H. & Patterson, L. (1994). Men are gold, women are cloth: A report on the potential for HIV/AIDS spread in Cambodia and implications for HIV/AIDS education. Phnom Penh: Care International.
- Putheavy, P. (1997). Strategies and services to address gender violence. Paper presented at the Global NGOs Initiative International Workshop, Manila.
- Raj, A., Reed, E., Welles, S. L., Santana, M. C., & Silverman, J. G. (2008). Intimate partner violence perpetration, risky sexual behavior, and STI/HIV diagnosis among heterosexual African American men. *American Journal of Men's Health*, 2, 291-295.

- Ramage, I. (2002). Strong fighting: Sexual behavior and HIV/AIDS in the Cambodian uniformed services. Phnom Penh: FHI, IMPACT Cambodia. Retrieved from http://aidsdatahub.org/dmdocuments/FHI_2002_Cambodia_Sexual_Behavior_and_HIV_AIDS_in_the_Cambodian_Uniformed_Services.pdf
- Raymond, J. G. (2004). Prostitution on demand: Legalizing the buyers as sexual consumers. *Violence Against Women*, 10, 1156-1186.
- Reimer, J.K. (2006) *"At what price honour?" Research into domestic trafficking of Vietnamese (girl) children for sexual exploitation from urban slums in Phnom Penh, Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Chab Dai.
- Rothbart, D. (2011, January). He's just not that into anyone: Even, and perhaps especially, when his girlfriend is acting like the women he can't stop watching online. *New York Magazine*. January 30, 2011. Retrieved from <http://nymag.com/news/features/70976/>
- Royal Government of Cambodia. (2006). *National Strategic Development Plan, 2006-2010* (Unofficial translation). Phnom Penh: Kingdom of Cambodia. P. 75.
- Royal Kram. (2005). Law on the prevention of domestic violence and the protection of victims. (No. 1005/031) (Unofficial translation by the GTZ-Promotion of Women's Rights). Phnom Penh: Royal Kram.
- Samath, K. & Koam, T. (2011, May 18). Why rape happens. Phnom Penh Post: LIFT. Retrieved from <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php/2011051849212/LIFT/why-rape-happens.html>
- Sarkar, K., Bal, B., Mukherjee, R., Chakraborty, S., Saha, S., Ghosh, A., & Parsons, S. (2008). Sex-trafficking, violence, negotiating skill, and HIV infection in brothel-based sex workers of eastern India, adjoining Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh. *Journal of Health, Population & Nutrition*, 26, 223-231.
- Sawyer, S., Rosser, B. R. S., & Schroeder, A. (1998). A brief psycho educational program for men who patronize prostitutes. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 26, 111-125.
- Silbert, M. H., & Pines, A. M. (1983). Early sexual exploitation as an influence in prostitution. *Social Work*, 28, 285-289.
- Sharma, V., Sharma, A., Dave, S., Chauhan, P. (1996). Sexual behavior of adolescent boys - a cause for concern. *Sex and Marital Therapy* 11(2): 147-151.
- Smith, R. (2007). Let's go for a walk: Sexual decision-making among clients of female entertainment service workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Phnom Penh: Population Services International & Family Health International.
- Soprach, T. (2004). Gang rape: The perspective of moto-taxi drivers across Cambodia. Phnom Penh: Playing Safe Project, CARE Cambodia, EU/UNFPA.
- Storer, G. (2007). Sexual and reproductive health programming for young urban males. Cambodia: CARE International in Cambodia. Retrieved from <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/CARE+CMB+young+urban+males+final+0710.pdf/176609351/CARE+CMB+young+urban+males+final+07-04-10.pdf>
- Surtees, R. (2007). Negotiating violence and non-violence in Cambodian marriages. In G. Terry & J. Hoare (Eds.), *Gender-Based Violence* (56-69). Oxford: Oxfam. Retrieved from http://www.preventgbvafrica.org/sites/default/files/resources/WIGAD-GBV_book.pdf#page=80
- Thuy, N. T., Lindan, C. P., Phong, T. H., Dat, V. T., Nhung, V. T., Barclay, J., & Khiem, H. B. (1999). Predictors of visits to commercial sex workers by male attendees at sexually transmitted disease clinics in southern Vietnam. *AIDS*, 16, 719-725.
- Toy-Cronin (2006). *'I Want to Tell You:' Stories of Sexual Violence during Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)* Phnom Penh Cambodian Defenders Project.
- UNICEF (1995). The trafficking and prostitution of children in Cambodia: A situation report. Phnom Penh: UNICEF Appendix 3.

UNICEF (2008). Unofficial translation of law on suppression of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Retrieved from <http://www.protectionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/CAMBODIA.pdf>

United Nations (2000). Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations convention against transnational organized crime. Retrieved from http://www.upr.bh/un_treaty/Palermo%20Protocol.pdf

United Nations Committee on Human Rights (2006, February 20) Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Aspects of the Victims of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 9 U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/2006/62.

Unmacht, E. (2003, May 7). Cambodia brothels under threat. BBC's East Asia Today. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3007761.stm>

Urashima, C., FitzGerald, I., Mueller, S., Levisay, A., Catalla, T., & Shroff, R. (2008). *A fair share for women: Cambodia gender assessment*. Phnom Penh: Ministry of Women's Affairs.

Vanwesenbeeck, I. (1994) *Prostitutes' Well-Being and Risk*. Amsterdam: VU Press.

Walsh, M. (2007). Report on status of Cambodian women: Domestic violence, sexual assaults and trafficking for sexual exploitation. Montreal: UQAM. Retrieved from http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/IMG/pdf/Walsh_Cambodia_women-2.pdf

Ward, H., Mercer, C. H., & Wellings, K., Fenton, K., Erens, B., Copas, A., & Johnson, A. M. (2005). Who pays for sex? An analysis of the increasing prevalence of female commercial sex contacts among men in Britain. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 81, 467-471.

Wilkinson, D. J., Fletcher, G., Hawkins, K. & Price, N. (2002). Sex talk: Peer ethnographic research with male students and waitresses in Phnom Penh. Phnom Penh: PSI.

Williams, J. L. (1991). Sold out: A recovery guide for prostitutes. Anonymous. 11225 Magnolia Blvd, #181 No Hollywood Blvd CA.

Wisterich, C. (2000) *The Globalized Woman: Reports from a Future of Inequality*. North Melbourne: Spinifex.

Xantidis, L., & McCabe, M. P. (2000). Personality characteristics of male clients of female commercial sex workers in Australia. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 29, 165-176.

Yount, K. M. & Carrera, J. S. (2006). Domestic violence against married women in Cambodia. *Social Forces*, 85 (1), 355-387.

Zimmerman, C. (1994). *Plates in a basket will rattle: Domestic violence in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: The Asia Foundation, USAID.

Zurbriggen, E. (2002). Sexual objectification by research participants: Recent experiences and strategies for coping. *Feminism & Psychology*, 12, 261-268.

APPENDIX A.

Rank Order of Frequency of Ethnicities of Women in Pornography Described by Sex Buyers in Cambodia

Activity in Pornography	Ethnicity of Actors in Pornography							
	<u>Caucasian/Western</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Thai</u>	<u>Korean</u>	<u>Vietnamese</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Khmer</u>
Oral sex	1	4	2	3	5	6	7	8
Vaginal sex	1	4	2	3	6	5	7	8
Anal sex	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8
Oral sex with gagging	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8
Group sex	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8
Group sex with more than one man penetrating the woman or girl's vagina, anus, and/or mouth	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8
With women or girls smiling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
With women or girls not smiling	4	2	1	3	5	6	7	8
With women or girls crying	4	2	1	3	6	5	8	7
Adults having sex with girls	1	2	4	3	5	6	8	7
Adults having sex with boys	1	5	4	2	6	7	8	2
Women or girls having sex with animals	1	2	3	4	5	7	6	8
Gang rape or bauk	1	2	4	2	5	6	7	8
Bukkake (men ejaculating on a woman's face)	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8
Anus-to-mouth	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8
Women or girls tied up or restrained	1	2	3	4	5	7	6	8
Choking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Torture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Murder	3	5	1	2	5	4	5	5
Mean Rank Order of Frequency of Ethnicity of Actors Seen:	1.42	2.53	3.05	3.11	5.16	5.95	6.95	7.42

