More than Gender: Looking at the Vulnerabilities and Resiliencies of Transgender Sex Workers in the Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Jarrett Davis
Love 146, jarrett@love146.org

Glenn Miles
Love146, glenn@love146.org

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/humtrafcon6
More than Gender

Looking at the Vulnerabilities and Resiliencies of Transgender Sex Workers in the Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Jarrett Davis, MA
Glenn Miles, PhD
The current, prevailing understanding of **Trafficking & Exploitation**

- Hinges on stereotypical constructions of the social roles of men and women.
- Male Resilience vs. Female Vulnerability
- Sex is a male right and entitlement;
- Women and girls are sexualized commodities functional to that male right.
Objectives

• **To explore** the vulnerabilities of transgender people (ladyboys) are involved in sexual exploitation in Cambodia.

• **To dispel** some of the myths surrounding sexual exploitation of transgender people and consider possible interventions.

• **To build** a better understanding of the cultural construction on gender and sexuality in Cambodia and its relationship with exploitation.

• **To consider** the roles of secular and faith-based NGO communities in this discussion.
Sampling

PHNOM PENH:

• **50 sex workers** self-identifying as “ladyboy” or “third-gender” within or near the Phnom Penh area.
  - **35 interviews** collected through data gathering in public areas in Phnom Penh which are known for transgender sex work.
  - **6 interviews** collected from Men's Health Cambodia, a Local Khmer NGO working with LGBT Groups.
  - **9 interviews** collected in residential areas where transgender groups live.
  - Interviews conducted in Khmer by native Cambodians.
  - **Data gathered:** February – April 2013
Eligibility Criteria

- Biological Male at Birth
- Self-Identified as female or third gender
- Reporting to have had been paid to have sex within the past 1 month.
- Able and willing to give informed consent to participate in the study.
Ethical Considerations

- Interviewer/Field Researchers training using UNIAP Ethical Guidelines for Human Trafficking Research
- References for Sexual Health, Counseling Services, and Legal Aid provided.
- Respondents could choose to skip any question or stop the interview at any time.
Demographics

Mean Age: 27

**Nearly half** of respondents fall within UNICEF's definition of youth (15-24 years)

16% began sex work before the age of 18

88% began before the age of 24
Demographics

14% were unable to complete a primary level education.

Half ended their schooling between the 7th and 10th grades.

Less than 15% have finished a high-school education.
"[I do sex work] to earn and save money: to support myself and to send money to my family. Transgenders can't find a good job."
"I am doing this [sex work] to help my family pay our debt. I'd rather get hurt as long as my family is happy. I cry often after I go out with clients."
"I want to be with men and have sex with them."
Financial Implications

Calculated average income:
~$106/month

- **28%** state that sex work was their *only employment*
- **49%** state that sex work was their *primary employment*
- **78%** indicate having to regularly support their families
- **60%** cite that their families are in debt.
- **1 in 5** indicate family debt of **1,000 USD** or more.
“If I cut my hair short and dress up as a man they will let me study or work, but if I dress up as a girl with long hair I will not be allowed to go to school or work.”

**

“People stop me from going to the pagoda because they're afraid I will go to have sex with the monks.”
39% have been refused employment or lost a job because of being transgender

20% have had to change place residence or were unable to rent accommodation.

12% have been prevented or dismissed from an educational institution.

10% have been denied health services.
Thailand is often seen as ‘open and accepting’ of ladyboys by Thais and foreigners alike.

**Within the Past 12 Months:**

- **Changed/Refused Residence**
  - Bar-based: 3%  
  - Freelance: 0%
- **Lost/Refused Employment**
  - Bar-based: 9%  
  - Freelance: 11%
- **Dismissed/prevented from Education**
  - Bar-based: 0%  
  - Freelance: 0%
- **Denied Health Services**
  - Bar-based: 9%  
  - Freelance: 3%

- 90% report feelings of guilt associated with their work
- 80% report feelings of shame associated with their work
- 11% report feeling suicidal within the past 12 months.
"Men make fun me but they don't know that I get hurt by those comments. I can't sleep because of those comments. Everyday, I desire PEACE."

**

"I feel angry with people who look down on ladyboys."
"I feel very ashamed because people make fun of me. I regret that I was born like this. I blame myself. Why was I not born as a girl? I feel suicidal when I think about my boyfriend breaking up with me."
Relationships

Family awareness:
88% of respondents indicate that their families are aware that they are transgender
12% of families are unaware

Presence of Best Friend
96% have a best friend
90% of their best friends are another transgender
"[My friends] love me, I have friends that are bi-sexuals, girls, transgender. My family does not accept me - I'm the only son."
Sexual / Gender Identity

Understanding of Own Gender

I am a transgender: 48%
I am a man: 6%
I am a woman: 46%

Hopes for Reincarnation

Female: 57%
Something Definite: 31%
Male: 6%
Doesn't Care/Know: 6%

Sexual Preference:
Straight Men: 98%
Gay Men: 58%

Gender Role Dichotomies:
"Real" Man
"Real" Woman
"I want to be a real person, like a man or a woman."
“My Mum dressed me as a girl because she wanted a girl. I was the first child.”

***

“I can't fight nature. I'm pretty and I love myself.”
WHEN DID YOU "BECOME" a ladyboy?

Mean = 10.20  
Std. Dev. = 4.991  
N = 57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Age 10</td>
<td>26 or (46%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 10-20</td>
<td>31 or (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>2-20 Years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Are these two distinct bell curves indicative of the nature/nurture debate?
All stated that their first sexual partners were male.

For 1 in 5, their first sexual experience was 'forced or coerced'.
"When I was 12 a group of people took me far away from home, beat me up and left me there. One guy (25) rescued me and took me home. He asked if he could have sex with me. I said yes because he rescued me."
Sex Work

75% of clients are Khmer

36% indicate group sex (orgies) with clients within the past 3 months

Average = 7; Minimum = 1; Maximum = 35.
Sex Work

Sexual Services Provided

- Masturbation: 74.00%
- Active Oral Sex: 74.00%
- Receptive Oral Sex: 25.00%
- Insertive Anal Sex: 35.00%
- Receptive Anal Sex: 79.00%
Violence and Sexual Abuse

74% indicate physical harassment (unsolicited touching, fondling, etc) within the past 12 months.

40% state that they have experienced physical assault within the past 12 months.
Violence and Sexual Abuse

Nearly 40% of assaults are reported to be committed by the police.
"I really hate the police. They chase us like dogs."
"Some policemen come to inspect us and put drugs in our pockets. When they inspect us and find the drugs, they arrest us."
"Police here pointed a gun at my head, threatening me to have sex with him."
Violence and Sexual Abuse

Over half (55%) indicate instances of forced or coerced sex.

54% indicate an awareness of other transgendered persons who are forced to have sex against their wishes.

* Other responses include 3 non-quantifiable responses: 2 - “sometimes” and 1 - “a lot”
“A group of people forced me to have sex with them at the same time. They held me down and had sex with me. When I tried to move, they pointed a knife at me. They would kill me if I didn't (do it).”

***

“While I was hanging out with (clients) they enticed me to go to the forest and forced me to have sex. When I refused, they strangled me, so I gave in. It was a group of 6 or 7 guys.”

***

“If I didn't 'do it well' [oral sex and masturbation] they would beat me up. They asked for money but I didn't give it to them and then they beat me up.”
Health

STI Symptoms within the past 6 months:
- **20%** rashes, lumps, ulcerations in genital area
- **34%** urethral discharge, difficulty urinating, pain in testicles
- **56%** indicate other sicknesses (including: cough, fever, flu-like symptoms)

Sexual Health Education/Services:
- **92%** correctly identify “Sex” as how HIV/AIDS is transmitted (80% specifically mentioning “sex without a condom”)
- **6%** have never used a condom.
- **32%** have not used a condom within the past week.
Health

- 10% indicate using illegal drugs (predominantly Crystal Methamphetamines)

- **High** Alcohol Consumption during sex with clients.

- Many used other appearance-altering drugs/procedures
  - 22% mentioned estrogen supplements
  - Crude facial injections

### Substance Abuse During Sex with Clients

- **Alcohol**
  - Sometimes: 1
  - Often: 4
  - Very Often: 13
  - Always: 6

- **Illegal Drugs**
  - Sometimes: 6
  - Often: 1

- **Viagra, other PED**
  - Sometimes: 2
  - Often: 1
"What sorts of jobs are available for Transgendered People in Cambodia?"
**Alternative Employment**

64% would take an alternate job to sex work paying $80USD a month

98% said learning another language would help their income generation and 82% of these would like this language to be English
"Karma: the elders have told me that [we] are ladyboys because in our previous lives we have taken other women's husbands."
Dignity and Self Identity

**Plans to Reach Goal**

- Save: 36%
- Work hard: 24%
- Other: 10%
- Get help from NGO: 4%
- Study: 4%

**Where they see themselves in 2 years time**

- Open a business: 50%
- Work as a beautician: 10%
- Learn a new profession: 10%
- Stop being a ladyboy: 4%
- Stay in sex work: 2%
- Don't know: 20%
- Sex change: 4%
"I try to be a good person even though I'm a ladyboy."

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

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

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

**

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

- Do good: 28%
- Other: 25%
- Earn money: 17%
- Accept myself: 11%
- Appearance: 11%
- Respect: 8%
Discussion

• High Vulnerability for Physical Abuse/Sexual Violence
• Seemingly inherent fatalism within Transgender Social Identity, Narrow perception of options for the future.
• Significant isolation from key identity-shaping structures in society.
  § Common estrangement from Families
  § High-identification with other transgender
  § Little community integration
Discussion

• Significant indication that sex work may proceed from their social identity

“I don't like sex work, but I have no choice. But I like it b/c it gives me opportunity to have sex with men easily. It is my fantasy.” (R17)

**

“I like sex work because it’s easy to get sex with men because I’m a ladyboy and I can earn extra money to support my life.” (R22)

**

“Factory work allows me to support my family. Sex work should come naturally because it’s a part of me.” (R49)
Recommendations

• Sexual Exploitation has almost exclusively focused on young girls and some women. Young men and transgender need a higher profile by the anti-trafficking movement.

• Alternative job opportunities need to be provided to transgender people who are seeking to leave the sex industry.

• Free or low-cost vocational and life skills training programs provided by NGO’s or local churches would be greatly beneficial for young men working in this industry.

• Creation of social services and "safe spaces" which cater to the development of whole, integrated persons.

• Continued careful research that recognizes and affirms holistic human need/vulnerability.
CONTACT:

Jarrett Davis
Jarrett@love146.org

Glenn Miles
glenn@love146.org

Research / Resources available at:
www.love146.org/research