

The Impact of Premarital Sex amongst Young People in Cambodia¹

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This Comprehensive Research Paper was summarized to a semi-research paper with 20 pages to summit to the University of Cambodia and MOEYS in partial fulfillment of the requirements for my master degree in Public Health, February 2008, Phnom Penh.

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the gender disparity premarital sex drive in Cambodia in relation to the Khmer culture context of sexual behavior among young people, sexual relationships, gang rape and sexual violence amongst young people, as well as social stress amongst students at university, and interviewing expatriates for information on Western cultures. This study focuses on young people who are involved in sex before marriage, but not commercial sex workers.

This paper asks whether it is Cambodian or western cultural impacts, perceptions of masculinity, peer pressure, drug and alcohol use; in addition, gender stratification, economic pressures, or opportunity that accounts for men's passion for sex before marriage.

The paper focuses on the premarital sexual practices and the impacts of these practices in relation to the sexual and reproductive health of youth; including STIs and HIV/AIDS, the social consequences of unwanted pregnancy, incidence of gender based violence including the previously documented phenomenon of *bauk* (gang rape) and the trafficking of girlfriends to brothels.

In addition, this paper presents some recommendations for the design of education and advocacy interventions for youth sexual and reproductive health including the introduction of gender and human rights issues into STIs/HIV/AIDS and other sexual reproductive health initiatives, thereby encouraging safe and responsible sex among young men, and promoting the empowerment of youth.

*ಕ್ಷ*ಬಣಿಆಕುಣ್ಣಕ

គោលបំណងនៃការសិក្សានេះ ដើម្បីពិនិត្យមើលអោយ កាន់តែច្បាស់នូវប្រភពផ្សេងៗគ្នា ដូចការសិក្សា សំខាន់ៗកន្លងទៅថ្មីនេះនៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ដូចជា បរិបទ វប្បធម៌ខ្មែរ នៃឥរិយាបទផ្លូវភេទ ក្នុងចំណោម យុវវ័យ ទំនាក់ទំនងផ្លូវភេទ ការចាប់រំលោភដោយក្រុមបងធំ និងអំពើហឹង្សាផ្លូវភេទ ក្នុងចំណោម យុវវ័យ ហើយនិង ភាពតានតឹងដោយសង្គម ក្នុងចំណោមនិស្សិតសាកលវិទ្យាល័យផងដែរ ។ និង សំភាសន៍ជនបរទេស សំរាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមអំពីវប្បធម៌លោកខាងលិច ក្នុងបរិបទឥរិយាបទសង្គម និង សំភាសន៍អ្នកឯកទេស វិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ ជីវិសាស្ត្រម្នាក់ ។ វិធីសាស្ត្រនៃការសិក្សានេះ គឺផ្ដោតទៅលើ យុវវ័យ ដែលទាក់ទិននឹងការរួមភេទមុនពេលរៀបការ ប៉ុន្តែមិនមែនស្ត្រី ដែលមានមុរបរជាស្ត្រីរកស៊ីផ្លូវភេទទេ។

ការសិក្សានេះ ក៏សួរផងដែរថាតើវាជាផលប៉ះពាល់វប្បធម៌ខ្មែរ រីវប្បធម៌បរទេសលោកខាងលិច ការយល់ ដឹងពីភាពជាបុរស តាមមិត្តភ័ក្រ ការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងញ្ឃេន និងគ្រឿងស្រវឹង ការបែងចែកយេនឌ័រ សំពាធសេដ្ឋកិច្ច រីក៏ឱ្យកាសដែលផ្ដល់សំរាប់តណ្ហារបស់បុរស សំរាប់ការរួមភេទមុនពេលរៀបការ ។

អត្ថបទនេះនឹងផ្ដោតលើកការប្រព្រឹត្តផ្លូវភេទមុនពេលរ្យេការ និងផលប៉ះពាល់ការប្រព្រឹត្តទាំងនេះ ដែល ទាក់ទងទៅនឹងសុខភាពផ្លូវភេទ និងបន្តពូជរបស់យុវវ័យ រួមទាំងជំងឺកាមរោគ និង មេរោគអេដស៍ ជំងឺអេដស៍ ផលវិបាកសង្គមនៃការមានផ្ទៃពោះដោយថៃដន្យ និងការកើតមានអំពើហឹង្សាយេនឌ័រ រួមទាំងការកើតមានការប្រព្រឹត្តអំពើ *បូក* (ការចាប់រំលោភដោយក្រុមបងធំ) ដែលមាននៅក្នុងឯកសារ ថ្មីនេះ និងការជួញដូរសង្សាទៅអោយផ្ទះបន។

លើសពីនេះទៅទៀតការសិក្សានេះ ផ្តល់ជាអនុសាសន៍ សំរាប់ការរៀបចំគំរោង អន្តាគមន៍ តាមរយៈ ការអប់រំ និងការតស៊ូមតិសំរាប់សុខភាពផ្លូវភេទ និងសុខភាពបន្តពូជ របស់យុវវ័យ រូមទាំងការណែនាំ ពន្យល់អំពីបញ្ហយេនឌ័រ និងសិទ្ធិមនុស្ស ទៅក្នុងមេវៀន ជំងឺកាមរោគ និង មេរោគអេដស៍ ជំងឺអេដស៍ និងគំនិតផ្តួចផ្តើម សុខភាពផ្លូវភេទ និងបន្តពូជដ៏ទៃទៀត តាមរយៈការលើកទឹកចិត្តផ្នែកសុវត្ថិភាព និងការទទួលខុសត្រូវផ្លូវភេទ ក្នុងចំណោមយុវវ័យជាបុរស និងលើកស្ទួយការផ្តល់អំណាចទៅយុវវ័យ។

Statement of Authorship

I, Tong Soprach, certify that the present paper is all my own work unless otherwise indicated in the text.

Signature

February 2008

<u>Date</u>

Research Committee Approval

The present paper has been examined by the Research Paper committee and has been found to be an adequate reflection of the candidate's academic performance.

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List of Abbreviations

ADHOC: The Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

Chbab prohs/srey: [literal] laws or rules for men/women

CSW: Commercial Sex Worker

GAD/C: Gender and Development for Cambodia

EU: European Unions

FHI: Family Health International

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

Khmer: Cambodian people and language

Khmer Rouge: Democratic Kampuchea regime during 1975-79

MOEYS Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports

Mormearchs: Kind of insect usually found on the heads or backs of cattle.

Mormearchs Prolèng Nung Pleung: Moths which often play in the fire.

NCHADS: National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology, and STDs.

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

PER: Peer Ethnographic Research

Psar Thmei: "New market" but often referred to as the Central Market in

Phnom Penh

PSI: Population Services International

RHIYA: EU/UNFPA coordinated Reproductive Health Initiative for

Youth in Asia.

STIs: Sexual Transmitted Infections

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organisation

UNFPA: United Nation Population Funds

UNICEF: United Nation Children's Funds

WAC: Womyn's Agenda for Change

Wat Botum: A pagoda located south of the Royal Palace

Wat Phnom: The name of a hill in Phnom Penh

WHO: World Health Organization

Yama or yaba: Methamphetamine

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'Pros Chear Meas Teuk Dob, Er Satry Douch Kornat Sor.' Men are gold, Women are white cloth.' Khmer proverb

I. Introduction

1.1. Background of the research

From a scientific, biological perspective, males and females have an equal need for sex as part of their human nature. In practice however, men seem to have a much higher drive toward premarital sex than women. In the context of modern Cambodia, where 42.8% of the total population is below 15 years of age and 18.3% is between 15-24 years old, the realities of premarital sex need to be closely examined (National Census, 1998). The purpose of this paper is to focus on premarital sexual practices of young people and the impact of these practices.

The majority of the world's population is under 25 years of age; roughly one billion people are between 15 and 25 years old.⁴ According to the population census from 1998, 68.9% of the Cambodian population is under 30 years of age, 26.1% between 14 and 30⁵ and 18.3% between 15-24 years old.⁶ WHO/UNICEF(1998) define adolescents as 10-19 years old, young people as 10-24 years old and youth as 15-24 years old,⁷ whereas the Youth Department of Ministry of Education, Youth and

² Tarr, C.M. (1996d). Study of Contextual Factor Affecting Risk-Related to sexualBehavior among Young Cambodia. Phnom Penh. p. 10.

³ Phan, H., & Paterson, 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 in Cambodia. Title of report.

⁴ Wallquist, L. (2002). *Youth in Cambodia: Organizations, Activities and Policies.* Phnom Penh: Forum Syd. p. 7.

⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶ Grant, L. (2004). From Cotton to Precious Gems: The Use and Abuse of Commercial Sex Workers in The Context of the Police, Law, and Society in Cambodia. Phnom Penh: Playing Safe Project, CARE International in Cambodia, WAC, EU/UNFPA. p. 4.

⁷Ramage, I. (2004). Cambodia Baseline Survey. Phnom Penh: RHIYA Project, EU/UNFPA. p.5.

Sports of Cambodia defines youth as people between 14 and 30 years of age.⁸ In certain aspects, some of the legal standards do draw a line between child and adults, but 'legal marriage is allowed at the age 18 for women and 20 for men.'⁹ And 'for under-aged 14 juveniles whether sex is consensual or non-consensual, to have sex, that is rape.'¹⁰

1. 2. Statement of the Problem

Despite Cambodia's successful ongoing fight against HIV/AIDS, so that its estimated prevalence rate among adults, aged 15 to 49 years, declined from 1.2% in 2003 to 0.9% in 2006, 11 reproductive health among young people is still a concern, who are still at risk, for example when they are involved in the phenomenon of *bauk* (refers to practice of gang rape). Whereas unsafe abortion in Cambodia remains one of the most common causes of maternal death (20-29%), 12 young people generally want to know about sex, to test the boundaries, to show off, and be independent, but sometimes they do not clearly understand the consequences of their actions. The relationship of young people and sex may be characterized by 'Momearchs Prolèng Nung Pleung': moths which often play in the fire. Joblessness creates stress through concerns for political stability and their future for the 200,000 young people who are capable to work per

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⁸ Wallquist, L., Op. cit., p. 7.

⁹ ក្រិត្យក្រុមប្រឹក្សារដ្ឋនៃរដ្ឋកម្ពុជា (ឆ្នាំ១៩៨៩) ច្បាប់ស្តីពីអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ មាត្រាទី៥ ជំពូក២ ត្រូវបានដកស្រង់ចេញពីស្យេវភោកម្រង ឯកសារច្បាប់ បោះពុម្ភលើកទី ៣ (ឆ្នាំ២០០១) នៃការិយាល័យឧត្តមស្នងការ អង្គការសហប្រជាជាតិ ទទួលបន្ទុកសិទ្ធិមនុស្សប្រចាំ កម្ពុជា ធ្វើនៅភ្នំពេញ។ ទំព័រទី ៦៤៤។

Degree of State Councils of Cambodian State (1989). *Marital Law, Article 5, Chapter 2*. Cited by 3rd edition Legal Document Braid. (2001), United Nations Cambodia Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Phnom Penh. p. 644.

¹⁰ រដ្ឋសភាជាតិ បានអនុម័ត ឆ្នាំ២០០១: បទាំលោកសេពសន្ថារ: មាត្រាទី៥ ច្បាប់ស្តីពីស្ថានទម្ងន់ទោសនៃបទឧក្រិដ្ឋ ។ បទបញ្ញាត្តិស្តីពីប្រព័ន្ធ តុលាការ ច្បាប់ព្រហ្មទណ្ឌ និងនីតិវិធីព្រហ្មទណ្ឌ សំរាប់អនុវត្ត នៅកម្ពុជា ក្នុងសម័យអន្តរកាល និង ច្បាប់ស្តីពីស្ថានទម្ងន់ទោសនៃ បទឧក្រិដ្ឋ ។ ធ្វើនៅភ្នំពេញ។ ទំព័រទី ៥៦ ។

National Assembly. (2001). Rape, Article 5, Law on the Aggravating Circumstances for Felonies, Provisions Relating to the Judiciary and Criminal Law and Procedure Applicable in Cambodia During the Transitional Period and Law on the Aggravating Circumstance for Felonies. Phnom Penh. p. 56.

¹¹ NCHADS. (2007, June 28). *Press release: Government announces official HIV prevalence rate.* Retrieved November 2, 2007 from http://www.nchads.org/pressreleases.php

WHO. (2004). Unsafe abortion: Global and Regional Estimated of the Incidence of Unsafe Abortion and Associated Mortality in 2000. Geneva. Cited by MoH. (2006). National Strategic for Reproductive and Sexual Health in Cambodia (2006-2010). p. 7-8. Phnom Penh.

year, a potential result being the seeking of commercial sex services to 'reduce stress'. This study seeks to answer the research question:

What were young people experienced involving loved and sexual relationship and its impact?

1. 3. Objective of the Study

The secondary research contained is qualitative in nature; analyzing previous studies which objectively examine the sources of the generated disparity in sexual behavior in modern Cambodian society.

This paper will identify the influence of traditional Cambodian cultural characteristics such as men's domination in the gender hierarchy as demonstrated by the common proverb: "Men look like gold, women look like white cotton". This proverb indicates social lenience when men do 'wrong' things, which can be seen as a source of the differentials in opportunity that account for men's apparent passion for buying sex before marriage. Western cultural impacts are also an influence. Concepts of masculinity, and their role in explaining the peer pressure to gain sexual experience, will also be considered. The effect of alcohol use is also recognized as a factor impacting on males' engagement in premarital sex; previous studies clearly identify drinking as a catalyst for young men to visit commercial sex workers. Similarly, illicit drug use affects sexual behaviors, including perception of risk. The impact of these factors as well as the impacts of stress on young men's sexual behavior will be discussed. This issue closely links with the wider economic factors of the boyfriend or girlfriend relationship in which young males can feel pressures to provide 'precious things' to their partners to obtain sex. Finally, wide access to pornography encourages adolescent men about sex; often forming the majority of their exposure to sexuality.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This paper will present some recommendations for the design of education and advocacy interventions for youth sexual and reproductive health including the introduction of gender and human rights issues into STIs/HIV/AIDS and other sexual

reproductive health initiatives, thereby encouraging safe and responsible sex among young men, and promoting the empowerment of youth.

1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study

Some may argue that secondary data has its limitations because its not fresh or current data obtained directly from in-depth interviews. However, I do believe that due to time and budget constraints that in-depth interviews will not be conducive to this study. I feel, however, that I will be able to obtain successful and effective results through analysis of good quality secondary data.

In the future, I do plan on conducting further qualitative research method using focus group discussion and in-depth interview with semi-structured among young people age 15 to 24 years in Cambodia in order to update their sexual behaviors. And the study also interview old generation to share their perspectives on new young generation.

1.6. Definitions of Key terms

Bauk/bowk/baowk (Gang rape) – known colloquially as bauk (Khmer for 'plus').

Bauk in a slang terms:

- 1. *Bauk* generally occurs after one (or two) youth(s) negotiate a price with a commercial sex worker, or solicit a woman's affection and arra nge a proposed destination for sexual intercourse.
- 2. Then the woman is taken to a hotel or guest-house, where numerous other young men are waiting (or will soon arrive).
- 3. The youths coerce the woman into having sex with them all without permission, often accompanied by violence.

Ktey: Man or women who practice same sex – if a man is

homosexual and a woman is a lesbian.

Mahop-del-ker: It is like food which has already been eaten. Eaten refers to a

young man mocking woman who lost her virginity and was

abandoned and was teased by his friend.

Prean neary: "Woman hunting" refers to a man who has sex with

his girlfriends and then abandoned them, and finds another.

Sangsar: [literal] 'sweetheart'; used to describe "non-commercial,

non-marital sexual relationships that possess a certain degree of affection and trust from at least one partner" and might

consider to be their long-term lovers.

Srey rom bar Woman looking for income by dancing in bars when a man

needs her to dance.

Steav: Slang word for young men age around 18-23 years and not yet

married assumed to be no good punk.

II. Literature Review of Previous Studies of Sexual Behavior in Cambodia

A recent national study indicated that men marry at a median age of 22.1 and initiate sex slightly before marriage, at a median age of 21.5; women generally begin having sexual intercourse at about the same time as their first marriage, at the median age of 20.4. In addition, peer ethnographic research amongst young men identified the age of debut for first sex from age 13 or 14, the more common responses occurred around 18 years of age. In addition, peer ethnographic research amongst young men identified the age of debut for first sex from age 13 or 14, the more common responses occurred around 18 years of age. In addition, peer ethnographic research amongst young men identified the age of debut for first sex from age 13 or 14, the more common responses occurred around 18 years of age.

Previous quantitative studies related to premarital sex of young people aged between 15 and 24 years (1846 respondents agreed to answer questions related to sexual behaviour). This showed 34.3% of them had had sexual intercourse, while 28.5% of single men reported that they have had sex compare to only 1.0% of unmarried women. This study also reported that 12.2% of respondents knew that bowk (= bauk) meant gang rape, with urban youth more likely to say that bowk was gang rape (30.0%) than young rural people were (5.7%).' A Cambodian National Youth Risk Behavior Survey (11-18 years & n = 9,388) indicated that 148 young people had had sex and 32.4% of them never used condoms, and a third personally knew young men involved in gang rape baowk (bauk). '¹⁶ Males can seek sexual pleasure without being

¹³ National Institute of Public Health and National Institute of Statistics. (2006). *Cambodia Demographic and Health Survey (CDHS)* 2005. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. p. 101.

¹⁴ Hayden, R. (2006). Young Men Like Us: Experiences and Changes in Sex, Relationships and Reproductive Health among Young, Urban Cambodian Men. Phnom Penh: Peer Ethnographic Research on Urban Male Sexual Behaviour. Playing Safe Project, CARE Cambodia, KYA, EU/UNFPA. p. 30.

¹⁵ Ramage, I. (2004), Op. cit., pp. 70-78.

¹⁶Sunran, K. (2004). *Cambodia National: Youth Risk (11-18 years) Behaviour Survey*. Phnom Penh: MoEYS, UNICEF & UNESCO. pp. 5-7.

subject to a wide range of social sanctions. Females are also thought of being able to seek sexual pleasure, but they do not have the opportunity to hang out and they cannot find sexual services. In a survey of moto-taxi drivers, ¹⁷ 72.6% had heard of *bauk* incidents, and knew of *steav* who were involved in *bauk*. This study interviewed 192 moto-taxi drivers who worked at night time in the front of bars, karaoke clubs and brothels, and early morning in the front of hotels and hotels and guest houses in each of 20 provinces and 4 cities other than Phnom Penh.

III. Methodology of Analysis

My methodology involved textual analysis of various reports, policies, and laws related to reproductive rights, gender, and sexuality. This paper analyzed secondary qualitative research in the main from previous studies of Khmer culture context of sexual behavior among young people in Cambodia, sexual relationships in Cambodia, gang rape (bauk) and sexual violence amongst young people, and social-stress amongst students at university. Is I also interviewed expatriates for more information on Western cultures in term of social behaviour context and a biological science specialist. Analysis of the data revealed consistent patterns in each study. The study looks closely at themes: sexual and reproductive health including unwanted pregnancy, STIs/HIV/AIDS, gender based violence, rape and trafficking of young people. This study focuses on young people who are involved in sex before marriage but not commercial sex workers.

¹⁷ Soprach, T. (2004). *GANG RAPE: The Perspective of Moto-Taxi Drivers across Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Playing Safe Project, CARE Cambodia, EU/UNFPA. p. 19.

¹⁸ Tarr, C.M. (1996b). People in Cambodia don't talk about sex, they simply do it: A study of the Social and Contextual Factors Affecting Risk-Related Sexual Behavior among Young Cambodians. Phnom Penh: University of Fine Arts.

Tarr, C.M. (1996d). Study of Contextual Factor Affecting Risk-Related to sexual Behavior among Young Cambodia. Phnom Penh. University of Phnom Penh.

Wilkinson, D.J., & Fletcher, G. (2002). Sweetheart Relationship in Cambodia: Love, Sex & Condoms in the time of HIV, Phnom Penh: PSI.

Bearup, L.S. (2003). *Paupers and Princelings: Youth Attitudes Toward Gangs, Violence, Rape, Drugs, and Theft.* Phnom Penh: GAD/C.

Nou, L. (2002). Stress, Social Support, coping, and Psycholosocial Adjustment of Khmer University, College, and Technical Students in Modern Cambodia: A Sociological Study. Manoa: University of Hawaii. Cited by The paper in proceeding of The 6th Socio-Cultural Research Congress on Cambodia on Nov. 18-20, 2003. Phnom Penh: Royal University of Phnom Penh.

IV. Results

4.1. Cultural Concept of Premarital Sex

4.1.1 Western Culture

Western culture gives individuals freedom to choose their partners, and to have sex before marriage. An American man speaks about his culture in his own language:

"...boyfriends or girlfriends use their rights to choose some one they love. We may have many partners before marriage..." 19

Premarital sex in Western culture, men and women seem to have equal rights to choose their partners; meanwhile, a Scottish woman, 37 years old, is also expressing her cultural perspective which related to premarital sex as quote directly:

'Sex before marriage has become the norm in Scotland. In my opinion, having the freedom to choose whether or not you have premarital sex is a good thing...'

For Christian believer behaviors of Western culture, men and women must wait until marriage. A Christian woman, 36 years old, from New Zealand shares some ideas which related to premarital sex as her language:

'...These days few people wait till they are married to have sex... Except in religious circles, where there is still an expectation that people will wait until they get married and be virgins when they are married and remain faithful to their spouse. For Christians of my background, this is expected for women and men equally...'21

¹⁹An American man, middle age, personal interviewed. (2005, June 8). Could you please tell me about American or Western culture which related to sex among young people before marriage? Phnom Penh

²⁰A Scottish woman, 37 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, November 19). What do you think about premarital sex in Western culture? Phnom Penh.

²¹A New Zealander woman, 36 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, November 19). What do you think about premarital sex in Western culture? Phnom Penh.

Western cultural ideas are the same trends that man and woman have equal rights to choose his or her partner for premarital sex as a part of someone desire, and Western life is as individual or independent, so they are equal to do what they want to do.

The two American man and Scottish woman are not too different in opinions: An American thinks that premarital sex with their partners might reduce STIs, sexual services and many sex partners. However, with education and access to birth control they might not be a problem. For sex with many partners as an American man mentioned, STIs and non consensual sex might be risked even though they are aware of sexual protection, but the practice are different ways. Meanwhile, the two women agreed Christian people will wait until man and women get married and be virgins when they are married and remain faithful to their spouse. On the other hand, these reasons point clearly about her Western culture that she expresses more human being than cultural conservatives. However, an Australian young woman stresses that

'... There still exists a 'sexual double standard' when it comes to society's judgment of men and women in relation to their sexual activity...'

However, in her opinion, it is still unrealistic to represent 'western' culture as delivering sexual equality, even if it is popular and 'politically correct' to do so.²²

4.1.2. Khmer Culture

'Kom Tom Mon Sro Keal' 'Don't to ripen before it turns green' Khmer proverb is a metaphorical expression to encourage young females to not have sex before they get married because they might become pregnant and make their family lose face. A sexually active female must be married and be a good mother. This does not apply to men who are 'like gold', they are never spoiled and or ruined 'Pros Chear Meas Teuk Dob, Er Satry Douch Kornat Sor'. This is Khmer proverb, idioms and culture which affect on gender stereotype in Cambodian society.

²² An Australian young woman, 26 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, December 7). What do you think about western social culture about men and women being sexually active?

Phnom Penh

Many young women might consider being their long-term lover's *sangsar*²³ and possibly future marriage partners until the relationship develops to a stage where a high level of physical attraction and trust give way to the desire to have sexual activity by culture pressure.

However, women also suffer from pressure of the culture like the *Chbab Srey*²⁴ that insist upon all married women who are faithful being willing sexual partners for their husbands and it also keeps pressure on young women before marriage to respect their future husbands when they start to talk to and flirt with men.

The parents of young Cambodians suggest that it is possible to conclude that most young Cambodians are out of control, ignoring all cultural conditions. Listen to an older person, a 70 year old female in Phnom Penh articulates the problem she sees with young people today:

'The children these days, irrespective as to whether they are male or female, behave the same way as each other (refer to be wrong way of their behavior). They have damaged all the customs, all the traditions, unlike her, who in the past when she said that she would stay at home, or if she was going to the rice field she would go to the rice field, and I never stay out late at night-time unlike the young today. For sexual knowledge I have not brought my children up to know much as they will learn from one another... ... Cambodia needs a leader or leaders who can prevent the traditions from being undermined even further ... '25

²⁴ម៉ឺន ណៃ (១៩៥៩) ច្បាប់ស្រី: 'ថាលេងដូចក្មេងល្លេះល្លោះ ឃើញប្រុសកំឡោះ សស្សេចូលជិត។ សើចព្រៀងបញ្ហៀងមិនគិត ប្រុសព្រែលបានចិត្ត ទាហានដោយសារ។ ហៅស្រីអប្រិយឥតការ ឥតមានឥរិយា មារយាទក្នុងខ្លួន។ ធ្វើនៅភ្នំពេញ ទំព័រទី ២១ ។

Meun, Nike. (1959). Chbab Srey: Codes of Conduct for Cambodian Women: 'Teasing like children Seeing young man Coming in closely. Smiling and opening heart without thinking Let young man to became more daring Asking and getting through. Calling unlikable woman not good attitude and behavior'. Phnom Penh. p. 21.

²³Tarr, C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 115.

²⁵Tarr C. M. (1996b), Op. cit., p. 69.

A 67 year old rural peasant male express similar sentiment:

'Today children have no respect for the teacher or the monks. .They are not frightened to challenge the old in a manner that was impossible in the past as a result of their experience with Khmer Rouge... but as for sexual knowledge, particularly which associated with sexual activity, young people learned from one another. If one of my sons were to get an unmarried girl pregnant, I would disown him if he refuse to get married or paid some form of monetary compensation to her family ... it is better to disown such a child.' ²⁶

The trend of these two old people pointed out that young people today go far from their generation which looks like doing something fashionable, out of control, behave the same way as each other (refers to wrong way of young people behaviors), and do not care about the culture and tradition where the Khmer Rouge regime has affected the next generation today. And the opinion of the 67 year old man conservatively identified a gender stereotype that the different valuations between young men and women who are having sex before marriage then a young woman becomes pregnant but no problem for the young man.

Look at the description of young woman who have experience in having sex before marriage: a young woman, 17 years old, talked about the first times involved in having sex with her boyfriend she recalled how she acquired a *sansar* when she came from Kampong Cham in 1994 to study at a senior high school level. She knew him for nearly three months before he attempted to make love to her. At first she was very nervous but his 'sweet'(You are so beautiful, I only love you...) words attracted her, so much so that she took her blouse off in the house one day and initiated that he should squeeze her breasts:

'It was so arousing. I was very wet in my 'sarong' and asked him to suck my nipples. He then greedily reached at my treasure and I opened my legs widely. I wanted him immediately. All the while he was kissing me all over. The he put his penis in. It felt both painful and pleasurable, I can not remember now

²⁶ Tarr, C. M. (1996b), Op. cit., p. 69.

which was the more powerful of these two sensations, but after that I loved him a lot more. We still go together and he promises that he will propose to my parents when I finish my studies, which hopefully will be by the middle of next year ... '27

In this case, it is clear that she has had sex before marriage when she was 17 years old and she used the word 'sangsar' and both of them promise to married. I think that a couple has the right to choose their partner who they love if they follow their promise, even though they did not follow the culture of old generation. This is an example of a positive experience of premarital sex. They both consent, and so far the boy and girl both talk about getting married. But the only possible negative here is still at high risk of STIs/HIV/AIDS and unplanted pregnancy. There is no mention of safe sex, condoms or contraception.

WHO released new findings of an estimated 42 million abortions among women aged 15-44 years old were induced in 2003, 48% of all abortions worldwide were unsafe, and more than 97% of all unsafe abortions were in developing countries, 28 and unsafe abortion associated with the increasing of maternal mortality rates among women aged 15-49 years in Cambodia 472 deaths per 100,000 live births. 9 Meanwhile, WHO estimated the abortion mortality rate in Cambodia as 130/100,000 live births. And 45% of abortions took place at home. This is the case of a couple of young people also involved in sex before marriage, but the young woman associated with pregnant and unsafe abortion as the case "My wedding day ... the day my fiancée died." demonstrates one danger the previous couple are facing:

'... this is the bitter story of how my fiancée's life ended on our wedding day. Bopha and I lived in Svay Rieng and we fell in love a long time ago. This years, Bopha turned 18 and because we didn't think far ahead. We had sex before marriage. Bopha got pregnant and missed her period for two months.

²⁷Tarr, C.M. (1996a). *Contextualizing the Sexual Culture (s) of Young Cambodians*. Phnom Penh: University of Fine Arts. p. 183.

²⁸ Sedgh, G. et al (2007, October 13). Induced Abortion: Estimated Rates and Trends Worldwide. *Lancet*, Vol. 370, p. 1338

²⁹ CDHS 2005, Op. cit., p. 120.

We didn't want the child to be born without a father, so I decided to ask my parents to arrange our marriage. Both our relatives agreed and together they prepared for our marriage to take place before the end of the last wet season. From day to day, Bopha got a little bigger and there was still just over a month before the wedding day. We promised each other that we would not tell anyone our secret. Bopha often told me that she wanted to abort the baby, that she didn't want people to whisper that she was 'ripe before time'. She was also worried that on the wedding day, her clothes wouldn't look nice because her belly was rounder and she was afraid that her mother would beat her if she knew that Bopha was pregnant. I tried to reassure her by saying that whatever happened I would accept responsibility for the child, that I wanted everyone to know that, and if her mother found out and beat her, then I would protect her to the utmost. I didn't know if Bopha understood me, but the important thing was that after that she stopped talking about her pregnancy. However, three days before the wedding, Bopha got a severe fever and her blood pressure dropped. She was very, very weak and when her mother saw how serious her condition was, she rushed her to the hospital. That was where our secret came out. Bopha told the doctor that she had just aborted the child four days previously at a secret private clinic somewhere at the edge of the village. She added that she when she went to ask for an abortion, the doctor had put her on a bed, given her an injection and then operated according to the doctor's technique. A moment later, the doctor said that it was all over and already gone. Bopha only had to rest a lot and take some medicine for another week and she would be back to normal. Two days later, Bopha's temperature started to rise and despite the best efforts of skillful doctors, her condition became serious. She knew that she had a severe infection. On the third day, the day when we had hoped to sit together and receive our wedding garlands, Bopha died.'31

³⁰ CDHS 2005, Op. cit., p. 76.

³¹ Cambodian Midwives' Association. (1999). Cited by Gender Watch No. 4 (2001). *My wedding day ... the day my fiancée died*. Phnom Penh: GAD/C. p. 2

Even though Cambodian Abortion Law was approved in 1997³², the legal practice is going on slowly and many abortion services are illegal. Bopha got pregnant and she passed away due to unsafe abortion in an illegal clinic. The case of Bopha points clearly to the serious potential impact on her sexual health and her death because of premarital sex. However, Cambodian culture remains critical premarital pregnancy in Khmer proverb 'Kom Tom Mon Sro Keal.' 'Don't to ripen before it turns green.' It made her family lose face and she was ashamed, even though her boyfriend tried to take resposibility and protect her, it could not stop her shyness and fear.

Despite the attempts of the oldest people to conserve traditions through the *Chbab Srey*, it can not influence the sexual activity of young people now. Although the *Chbab Pros*³³ is warned the men and deal with '... *Three forms of madness: madness for women, madness for alcohol and madness for gambling* ...' Anarchy was the rule when the code was written as religious and political leaders found control of the people slipping from their hands. As this control waned, there was, no doubt, a corresponding increase in prostitution, gambling and drinking. Modern Cambodia looks much the same: prostitution, gambling and drinking are some of the most serious social problem in the country.³⁴

Cambodian young people today view sexual changing between Khmer and Western cultures. Modern practice of the *Chab Pros & Chbab Srey* values men and women differently. If a woman is involved in sex before marriage the society would judge her as '*Tom Mon Sro Keal*' to ripen before it turns green, but the same behaviour from a man is no problem. Cambodian society thinks that men are gold, women are white

³² រដ្ឋសភាជាតិ (ឆ្នាំ ១៩៩៧) *ច្បាប់ស្តីពីការរំលូត មាត្រាទី៨ ជំពូក២* ត្រូវបានដកស្រង់ចេញពី ស្យៅវភៅកម្រង ឯកសារច្បាប់ បោះពុម្ភលើក ទី ៣ (ឆ្នាំ២០០១) នៃការិយាល័យឧត្តមស្នងការអង្គការសហប្រជាជាតិ ទទួលបន្ទុកសិទ្ធិមនុស្សប្រចាំកម្ពុជា ធ្វើនៅភ្នំពេញ។ ទំព័រទី ៨៩៨។

National Assembly. (1997). *Abortion Law, Article 8, Chapter 2*. Cited by 3rd edition Legal Document Braid. (2001), United Nations Cambodia Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Phnom Penh. p. 898.

³³ ម៉ឺន ណៃ (១៩៥៩) ច្បាប់ប្រុស: '... លោកថាហៅអ្នតបី មួយអ្នតស្រីមួយអ្នតស្រា មួយអ្នតល្បែងពាលា ...' ធ្វើនៅភ្នំពេញ ទំព័រទី ៣៨។ Meun, Nike (1959). Chbab Pros: '...Three forms of madness: madness for women, madness for alcohol and madness for gambling ...', Phnom Penh, p. 38.

³⁴ Thelen, B. (1999). *Women's Studies 631: Sex and Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Phnom Penh. p. 4.

cloth. While the Chbab Pros guides men to avoid '... Three forms of madness: madness for women, madness for alcohol and madness for gambling...' society does not enforce these rules in practice. The culture strongly values virginity of women and uses the Chbab Srey as a foundation of this judgment. In comparison, in Western culture, men and women have more equal rights to choose their partners for premarital sex including sexual education, but for Christian Western are very different, men and women must wait until marriage. The different point is living style between Western and Khmer culture: Western living style emphasises individuality and independence, so they do what they want to do including involvement in premarital sex; Whereas, Cambodian living style emphasises community, thus they do not have as much opportunity to do something. The case of Bopha got involved in sex before marriage if the concept of society as Western people who care less about virginity or if she use a condom and she was not ashamed people, she would realive. I think that for sexual behavior, Cambodian young people today are negotiating the interaction between Khmer and Western cultures. They do not have clear identities themselves.

4.1.3. Masculinity

Masculinities are different definitions concerning what it means to be a man in different cultural contexts around the world.³⁵ However, there is also a set of common, consistent ideas about masculinity or "being a man", 'some of the shared characteristics of dominant masculinity around the world describe men who are: strong, breadwinner, attractive, protector, leader, decision maker – ruler of his world – within the household and in public heterosexual and sexuality successful.'³⁶ 'Generally, the uniformed services have been a man's world. In many cultures, the fighting man is considered the epitome of masculinity, strong, brave and virile. Masculinity and sexual activity are strongly linked and in Cambodia, the dominant military culture equates visiting sex workers and multiple partners with being a real, strong man.³⁷ For these soldiers the return to barracks was a cause for celebration:

³⁵ Lang, J. (2002). *Men, Masculinities and Violence*. Key note speech presented at the International Conference 'Eradicating Violence against Women and Girls – Strengthening Human Rights'. Berlin. Retrieved November 7, 2005. p. 2.

From http://www.gtz.de/violence-against-women/english/

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ramage, I. (2002). Strong fighting: Sexual Behavior and HIV/AIDS in the Cambodia Uniformed Services. Phnom Penh: FHI. p. 18.

'This is the nature of us soldiers. When we went to fight in the battle, we couldn't find any sex for a long time. But when we came to Battambang town and drank then we were happy together with beer promotion women. 38

This case included both married and unmarried soldiers. And another study shown the activities of young people such as gangs, violence, rape, drugs and theft recognized that culture of masculinity affect young men. As a young student man, 17 years old, used his own words: 'I like 'bauk' because I follow my friend to be man.' in this example of masculinity, urging young men to have sex before marriage and it lead young people involve in gang rape (bauk).

4.2. Social Context

The sexual capacity of women is equal to that of men and in some ways greater but depending on experience earnings and culture, women may not realize their sexual potential. Often men feel more comfortable about their genitals as they can see them and are taught and handle their penis in order to urinate. Girls are often discouraged from touching their genitals and can not see them. 40 But social effects lead young men to need sex much more then young women.

4.2.1. Economic Pressure



Figure 1 Young Cambodian boys are driving their modern motorbikes on the street in Phnom Penh⁴¹

³⁸ Ramage, I. (2002), Op. cit., p. 19.

³⁹ Bearup, L. S, Op. cit., p. 89.

⁴⁰ Christie, Claire. Specialist Sexual and Reproductive Health Nurse, interviewed. (2005, May 30). What is different of sexual need between male and female? Phnom Penh.

⁴¹ Sovannara, K. (2008, Feb. 24 – Mar.1). Cambodian Youth Spend Thousands Dollars Updating Motorbikes. Cambodia Weekly, p. 1.

Modernization and showing off makes it fashionable amongst young people to go for 'hot date' and then involve in sex. Meanwhile, the promise of marriage of a young man from rich family also makes a young women fall in love and become involved in premarital sex as this case show that a young woman student of medicine, 19 years old, who opted to have sex with her *sangsar*, a young man student of the Institute of Technology from a wealthy family and considered to be highly intelligent. As she describes:

'He came over my house and we talked about a wide range of matters. He then told me he would like to marry me as he held my hands, started to kiss me, and then he started to squeeze my breasts. By this time I felt very aroused indeed. He then took my panties off me, pulled his own pants and before me was his enormously erect penis. He penetrated me with this thing, there was blood on the lounge suite where we were making love and then he tore my 'virginity paper' (Krordas Prumcharey). It hurt me very much but I dared not tell him. We had more and more and within two months I became pregnant... I told my parents and they asked him to get married to me, but he refused saying that I was such an easy girl to get into, that during their absence I planned all of this by inviting him over while no one else was in the house. What sort of a girl did they have for a daughter he asked? Surely she will sleep with any man ... as I told you before I had to seek an abortion... '42

This description revealed that it is real that a couple has sex before married through economic pressure and the promising of her boyfriend to get married with her. There was not condom use or other form of safe sex when she first had sex and she became pregnant and she felt ashamed and made her family lose face. Meanwhile society would critique her as: '*Tom Mon Sro Keal*' to ripen before it turns green. She was abandoned by her *sansar* who promised to marry. In this case, the young man did not take responsibility when he made her pregnant and then abandoned her. Leaving her to seek a potentially dangerous abortion. This act leads young women to think about

⁴² Tarr, C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 182.

the Khmer proverb 'Teuk ho men hot pros sbatre kom cheur' water follows the river, not being tied and if a man promises, don't believe' it refers to young women to not be easy to fall in love with someone.

In another similar case, a sexual partner seems to turn out to be less than a positive experience the young woman involved. 'One 20 year old, for example, who agreed at the age of 18 to make love with her *songsar* (after a twelve month relationship, and after convincing herself that they were about to be married), was upset to discover that he subsequently walked out on her, describing her to his friends as *mahop-del-ker*.' The comparison of foods which were eaten refers to a woman who was penetrated and no one to get married with. This act expresses gender stratification in terms of sex that a woman is not valued as a human being between man and woman in Cambodian society. That young man went free after having sex and spoke roughly about his partner to his friends and this young man seems ignorant to the responsibility for what he has done.

4.2.2. Potential Sex

a. Opportunities to Play

Cambodians socio-economy was changed from socialist to capitalist in the 1990s. Everything has been changed and many people try to run their business to following luxury materials and fashionability. For young people, they need what things are fashionable to show off their peers. Generally young men in Cambodia have opportunity in their groups to hang out to do their regular socializing activities more then young women who stay at home to do house work. Young women have a chance to hang out during the Khmer New Year, Water Festivals...etc.

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⁴³ A Cambodian Woman, 60 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, June 1). *Khmer proverb: 'ទឹកហូវមិនបាត់ ប្រុសស្សដក់ដៀ*' '*Teuk ho men hot pros sbatre kom cheur*', this refer to water which follow the river being not tied and if a man promises, don't believe. Phnom Penh.

⁴⁴ Tarr, C.M. (1996c). *Young People and HIV in Cambodia – Meaning, Context and Sexual Cultures*. Phnom Penh: University of Phnom Penh. p. 19.

⁴⁵ Tarr C. M. (1996b), Op. cit., p. 68.

Here are examples of answers received when asking young people what they usually do in their time off. A young woman, 19 years old, said:

'I like to listen to the radio. I don't read books because when I am not studying. I don't want to read anymore. I do work in the household. I have friends, but I see them only in school or at my organization. I hardly ever visit my friend's house or meet them in other places.'46

A young man, 19 years old, said:

'In Cambodia we do not have spare time like in Europe and other countries. Mostly we stay at home, work or study. Sometimes maybe we go for a walk. Some young people also like to do sports, like football.' ⁴⁷

For many groups of young men in the middle class of Phnom Penh, they like to do some positive recreational sports with football fields, playing snookers in clubs, play football game, roller skating, watch concerts and kick boxing. Whereas young women have less opportunity to do those things.





⁴⁶ Wallquist, L, Op. cit., p. 10.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.10



Figure 4 Figure 5







Figure 6 Figure 7

Figure 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 show young men doing sports as positive things. These sports are football in pitch, snooker, taking exercise, lifting weight and roller skating respectively.⁴⁸

Contrary, some young man groups play dangerous games like moto-fly or moto-racing, car-racing that majority of the drivers who are high-ranking children although a few times Prime Minister Hun Sen has threatened to resign if he fails to remove governments officials whose children race motorbikes and care around Phnom Penh. And other young men engage in football gambling; meanwhile, many young men do activities of potential sex including watching pornographic films in café shops, go to karaoke clubs, massage shops, bars, night clubs and brothels.

⁴⁸ These figures showed the target areas by mapping where young males gathered in Phnom Penh. Playing Safe Project. (2003-2006). *Sexual and Reproductive Health amongst Young Males in Phnom Penh Urban*. CARE/KYA/EU/UNFPA. Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

⁴⁹ Samean, Y. (2007, November 9). Parent To Be Fired If Boy Racers Don't Stop: PM. Cambodia Daily, p. 20.





Figure 8 Figure 9





Figure 10 Figure 11



Figure 12

Figure 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 show young men flying motorbikes with many styles in the streets⁵⁰ and a car of a high ranking son crashes into wall after racing⁵¹ as negative things respectively.

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 $^{^{50}}$ Wheeler, T. (2005, August 26 – September 8). Easyriders. $\ensuremath{\textit{Phnom Penh Post}}$ p. 16.

⁵¹ Soenthrith, S. (2005, November 23). General's 'Naughty' Son Crashes Car into Wall. Cambodia Daily, p. 15.



CAMB\$ SIX 26/11/2005 នៅទីជាន់ក៏ពុខនេះ (Running Ball Available) European Odds Asian Odds Odds H.G Odds Win Draw Win English Premier League 15 Arsenal (19) 16 Aston Villa po (1) 124 22:00 ESPN 17 Liverpool Birmingham (ts) 125 Tottenham (6) 126 18 Sunderland on 19 Wigan 00 27/11 00:15 ESPN 20 Chelsea French Le Championnat | Second | Column | C (2) 128 21 St. Etienne og 22 Lille (H) (14) 130 (8) 131 (15) 132 23 Lyon 24 Sochaux 00 25 Toulouse (h) (19) 133 26 Troyes (H) Italian Serie A

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Figure 13 Figure 14





Figure 15 Figure 16





Figure 17 Figure 18





Figure 19 Figure 20

Figure 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 show the places where young men do negative things: a bar in Monivong Blvd, gamble on football games in Cambosix company, massage shops, Spark Entertainment Center and 'hot date' in the small houses along rivers of outskirt of Phnom Penh respectively. 52

b. Peer Pressure

Peer pressure led a young man student at high school in Phnom Penh, 18 years old, to have sex with commercial sex workers. He describes his experience:

'When I was 16 years old I had my first wet dream. I dreamed of sleeping with my 'sangsar' and all the semen came out of my cock. My friends told me I was reaching puberty and as I could not easily sleep with my 'sangsar' I should go to Kien Svay or Tuol Kork (this area refers to brothels) with them. I hesitated a little and in fact only when one of my friends paid for me to go just after I turned 18 years of age did I go. I was so shy at the time but my friend pushed me into the room and the woman pulled off my clothes. She then took off her clothes and when I saw her naked I thought I might as well try her. I became very feverish and my cock became angry and big but I still didn't know how to penetrate her. She told me that I was a stupid man and took my cock and inserted it into her vagina. Since I was born out of my mother's womb I felt highly regretful that a woman had to make such a statement to me. Later on I did not let any woman teach me anything and now I do not wait for my fiends to suggest that we visit the sex worker. Since then I have done it 80 times ... but none for these sex workers excites me as much as a real' sangsar' and at

⁵² Playing Safe Project. (2003-2006).

present I have one who is 15 to 16 years of age and in grade seven at another school '53

This student paid to have sexual services since age 18 year that is under the marital law. This sexually active young man is awakening, and he first suffers from urging by his friends and he wanted to know about sex and try to penetrate a commercial sex worker and then he went to visit brothels him self around 80 times, he is a sexually active young man, but the descriptions do not mention safe sex. This peer pressure among young men was also recently potential; while there was a marked increase the same typical response was repeated in the second round of interviews:

'Young people like me start having sex at the age 16-17 because they follow other friends and they have girl friends or Sangsar at that age.' 54





Figure 21 Figure 22

Figure 21 and 22 indicate that a young man in brothel and some others looking for sexual services in a park.⁵⁵

Consider a young male student at university in Phnom Penh, a 25 year old, was cajoled into having sex with commercial sex worker and paid sexual activity by his friends. In his words:

⁵³ Tarr C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 118.

⁵⁴ Hayden, R., Op. cit., p. 30.

⁵⁵ Grant, L, Op. cit., photos of the report cover.

'Now I am already married but at 18 years of age I started to think about sexual activity with women, but I was very shy at the time. My friends would always tease me, saying I was not smart and a coward for not having sex, I stayed this way until I was 23 years of age. At that time my friend teased me that if I don't try out a sex worker my wife would look down upon me because I would lack any skill in making love. As a result of this teasing I decided to try a sex worker three months prior to my marriage.' 56

This case really revealed that the young man had sex before marriage. He was influence by peer pressure through his friends who teased him that he has no skill in sex and as his wife would look down on him if he did not make love prior to marriage. For sexual behavior, we do not care whether they are educated people or not.

Examining a young man who has not yet married, 21 years of age, looking for a job pointed that he follows his friends to do 'bauk' when his friends bought a commercial sex worker to have sex and they call him to join with them. In his own words:

'I know that 'bauk' is not good ... I have a sister too ... but my friends force me [for example] there are ten friends and nine go... I can not stay by myself.'57

This young man got involved in 'bauk' through peer pressure as well, even though he knew and understood that this is a kind of sexual violence against commercial sex workers. They are high-risk for sexual transmitted infections, especially HIV/AIDS. That young man and his friends did not take responsibility for their actions.

Another experience of a young man involved in sex with a woman outside brothel. If he went to brothels he felt ashamed people who looked at him and he wanted to be high caliber to impress his friends. This 25 year old young man student came to

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⁵⁶ Tarr C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 119.

⁵⁷ Bearup, L. S. Op. cit., p. 91.

Phnom Penh from Kandal province to study at a university. He described when he was 21 years of age and lived on campus at the university:

'I can not count how many females I had sex with...first there was the Vietnamese hairdresser in Psar Thmei then there was the 'srey rom bar' from' Wat Phnom' where many cheap bars around this area that young Cambodian males frequent....There were also my classmates at school. During the Khmer New Year in 1990 I devirginised two of these classmates...They wanted to be my 'sangsar' and gave themselves up freely. I have had sexual activity with girls that I hunt in front of 'Wat Botum', there has been the girl that sells oranges, another that sells boiling corn... these girls are easy to have sex with because they are poor...' 58

This 'prean neary' ⁵⁹ (woman hunter) refers to a young man has a lot of experience to having sex before marriage with different women. The young guy lived far away from his parents and had no one to advise him; So, he has a lot of opportunity to hang out and do what he wants to do and it has real social effects, but it is not suffering from the biology of a man. But this case does not mention safe sex. A young man like this no one criticises him and people say that for the man this is no problem, but if a woman did this society would criticise her and no one will marry her as the Khmer proverb 'Men are gold, Women are white cloth.' The culture is expressing gender stratification in Cambodian society though proverb or critique. That is the barrier to gender equality.

c. Man to Man Sex

Most Cambodians appear to be unaware that sexual intercourse can occur between men, even though some men in their youth have had experiences with other males and some students said they have anal sex with other men because they can not afford to have prostitutes. 'Although there are no places for male prostitutes, male prostitutes

⁵⁸ Tarr C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 116.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 189.

can be found at video shops, cinemas, night clubs, along the Mekong river bank, along the green grass and public parks. A young man said, 60

'When they [customers and CSWs] agree, they go to have sex the cinema's toilets or at some quiet place. When they have sex, they never think about using condoms.'

Having anal sex before marriage is not only with women but also with men. In this case stress clearly that a partner did not use condoms. It is high risk of HIV transmissions.

Of relevance to this study, when most of the young males talked of the *ktey*. Males behave as a *ktey* as nature had made them this way and there was nothing society could do about it. A 23 year of old male student related that he occasionally had sex with other male. In this own words:

'When I sleep with other males, most of whom claim they are ktey and behave as such, it is much more exciting than sleeping with a sex worker... they play with your penis and anal sex much more skillfully than a commercial sex worker.'61

In this case the young man revealed that he can have sex both with woman and anal sex with woman. It does not explain clearly about safe sex when he engaged in sex with males.

d. Effect of Alcohol

Many women and men mentioned drinking as a catalyst for men visiting Commercial Sex Workers. A younger middle class man stress that

'Every man, even the man who doesn't like to drink, will have sex when he is drunk.'62

⁶¹ Tarr C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 105.

⁶² Ibid., Phan, H. & Paterson, L., p. 23.

⁶⁰ Phan, H. & Paterson, L, Op. cit., p. 44.





Figure 23 Figure 24

Figure 23 & 24 show young men drinking in restaurant and involving in sexual harassment with beer promoter woman. ⁶³

In the study of Sweetheart relationships, the male students in the Peer Ethnographic Research said that students appear to face enormous peer-pressure to take part in group bonding activities like drinking and visiting sex workers. A student said that his friends pressure him into going to brothels after drinking. They also admitted that sex often occurs after group drinking sessions and that as alcohol intake increases, condom use is likely to decrease.⁶⁴

e. Effect of Drugs

A Paupers & Princelings (2003) study found that 54.3% of high school students in Phnom Penh believed that 'yama' (Amphetamines) was popular at their high school and a lesser figure of 37.5% of university students stated that 'yama' was also popular at their university.' It also led young people to stay awake and have fun, and the urge to get involved in sex or 'bauk'. As a young man stated:

⁶³ Selling Beer Safely Project. (2003-2005). CARE International in Cambodia. The project aimed to promote Sexual and Reproductive Health among beer promoter women in Cambodia.

⁶⁴ Wilkinson, D. J & Fletcher, G. (2002), Op. cit., p. 29.

⁶⁵ Bearup, L. S, Op. cit., p. 37.

'After using drugs we feel happy and need sex and we want to have fun together with 'bauk.' 66

In general, drug use affects strong sexual behaviors among users who are at high risk of doing something such as criminal activities in society. As explained by a young street male, 19 years old in Phnom Penh:

'Sometimes we sniff glue and then go to have sex with Vietnamese prostitutes. When we start having sex we lose control of our selves because we are high on glue.'67



Figure 25 demonstrates that young people exposed drug abuses and gang rape. 68

And the second case of a young street female, 16 years old shows the same trend:

'Sometimes after sniffing glues I smoke cigarettes and drink alcohol with my friends. Sometimes I unconsciously have sex with my boy friends without using condoms.' 69

⁶⁶ Bearup, L. S, Op. cit., p. 97.

⁶⁷ Oppenheimer, E. et al. (2002). *Drug Use and HIV Vulnerability Among Young People in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Mith Samlanh/Friends. p. 32.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Bearup, L. S., Cover of the report.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Oppenheimer, E. et al. (2002), p. 32.

Drugs not only affect young men to have sex, but also young women. Evidence from studies identifies increases in unsafe sex after using drugs. So all the drug use studies identifies encouraging young men and women to falling into sex before marriage with a high risk of sexual transmitted infections, damage to reproductive systems and increasing likelihood of engaging in *bauk*.

4.2.3. Rape

The definition of rape in Cambodia law is found in article 33 UNTAC Penal code and in article 5 Law on Aggravating Circumstances of the Felonies: 'Rape is any act involving penetration of sexual organ or all other means carried out through violence, coercion or surprise.' ⁷⁰

A person or persons who force someone to have sex against his or her will is a rapist.

a. Non-consensual Sex

'Contexts of non-consensual sex as experienced by young people in developing countries includes forced penetrative premarital or extramarital sex (can include oral, anal or vaginal penetration) in the form of physical force, threats and intimidation, emotional manipulation/ abuse, deception and blackmail. And the perpetrator can be peer, partner, family member, figure of authority, including teacher, boss, acquaintance and stranger.'⁷¹

In this case, a girl tries to speak out that she suffered from non-consensual sex by her *sangsar* because she trusted him before and then her '*sangsar*' abandoned her. The 17 year old first had sex with her boyfriend at 15 years old, this is what was she describes:

'I found out that my boyfriend was not honest with me, he only wanted to sleep with me for pleasure. This I learned when he attempted to have sex with me at

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⁷⁰ Hammarberg, K. (2004). *Rape: Attitudes and Solutions in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: ADHOC. p. 7

⁷¹ Jejeebhoy, J.S. & Bott, S. (2003). *South & East Asia: Non-consensual sexual experiences of young people: A review of the evidence from developing countries*. No.16. New Delhi: Population Council. p. 3.

Kep Thmei...at first I refused his sexual advances and he become quite violent. Actually he rapes me, I did not scream when this occurred as I was very timid and he kissed me, speaking seductively me, and then fondled my breasts. I once more tried to stop him, to resist him. He took my arms away and took off my trousers and panties, but he could not yet penetrate me... however, he persisted, taking off my shirt completely. By this time I was completely naked. Next he started to suck my nipples and I became unaware of what was happening around me...the next thing I knew he was trying to penetrate me. I did not bleed and I don't know what happened, but the next time we made love there was a trace of blood and I was very sore afterwards. Not long after this he abandoned me.'72

In this case there was no mention of condom use or other forms of safe sex in this relationship, but the mention of sexual violence and rape and she says he become quite violent and actually he raped her. That young man also was not responsible and left her. According to the Cambodian socio-cultural factors, if her 'sangsar' speaks openly to his friends or other people about their breaking down after having sex, she would be judged as 'mahop-del-ker'. Consequently, she may be embarrassed, upset traumatized and attempt suicide. Her boy friend would be in jail if she complained to the court.

b. Gang Rape (bauk)

In the situation, Cambodian people suffer from the war nearly 30 years and the economic change also affects them, whereas 'the young Khmer is likely to be most affected by "anomie" Emmile Durkheim called that lower social status and powerless became vulnerable as a condition in which norms and value become weak and in consistent as society transforms itself from traditional to modern. These environments have been characterized by breakdown of culture values (e.g. the imposing of Western pop-culture through the media) and the loss and breakdown of family and social support systems.' Young generations today are quick to take up what is new both

⁷² Tarr, C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 185.

⁷³ Nou, L., Op. cit., pp. 243-244.

positive and negative, and they are looking for what is a new phenomenon, and making people surprised. The 'bauk' phenomenon is also popular and common among the young male generation. 'It was found out first in 2002 through peer ethnographic research and focus group discussions among university male students that 'bauk is common among their peers.'⁷⁴

This phenomenon has been further studied and it has been shown that it has happened since 1999. This example shows a young university student, 21 years of age, who has been involved in *bauk* in his own words:

'For my team are more then three people. I paid for a commercial sex worker to have sex in the room of guest house where my friends waiting for having sex as well and she refuses. But my friends will slap her across the face and then threaten her saying 'don't scream'. Sometimes she begins to cry but they still force her to have sex until all. Sometimes the sex worker will cry and complain that her genitals are hurting but they still continue to rape her.'

The desire for sex before marriage amongst young men leads them to get involved in rape with a commercial sex worker, to irresponsible sex even though she is a commercial sex worker, and the case does not say if young men used condoms or not. If not, between perpetrators and a sex worker it is easy to transmit HIV to each other. Therefore *bauk* is not only a crime because it is against her will, it is also a high risk of sexual transmitted diseases.

Another women's study describes sexual abuse against commercial sex workers who have suffered from gang rape (bauk). Daravi, a commercial sex worker, complained about her experiences at the hands of 'clients':

'There were more then 20 of them; maybe 23 in total. I don't know who they were-they were wearing ordinary clothes, some of them were in their 20s, some probably in their 30s. Some were drunk, and some weren't. I was scared

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⁷⁴ Wilkinson, D. J & Fletcher, G, Op. cit., p. 30.

⁷⁵ Bearup, L. S., Op. cit., pp. 88-89.

and begged them not to hurt me. I told them it was OK for them to have sex with me, but that they shouldn't hurt me. I was crying but I still tried to speak softly to them so they would not hurt me. Then they raped me. All but two of them...another man spoke to me as if I was an animal...they all used bad words to me, in fact; and a lot of them threatened to kill me. They had sex with me very roughly'76

At the same situation, Serei Mon, 17 years old, commercial sex worker who was a shy country girl described:

'I have been gang-raped more times than I can remember around 20 times...

Those boys swore, slapped kicked me. They told me that they had paid the full price and they do whatever they wanted.'⁷⁷

This is a hierarchy in Cambodian society that commercial sex workers are considered lower in society so young men want to do what they want to do, and that is a kind of non consensual sex and sexual violence. This case does not mention if the perpetrators used condoms or not but the men did not take responsibility for their acts. That is a kind of trauma for human beings and a tragedy in Cambodian society. On this evidence, those perpetrators (young men) should be in jail and pay compensation although she is a commercial sex worker.

Recently, evidence of the *bauk* phenomenon has not been limited to in Phnom Penh, but also has been seen to occur across Cambodia.

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⁷⁶ Grant, L, Op. cit., p. 48.

⁷⁷Doyle, K. & Samean, Y. (2003, April 19-20). Youth of Today: Gang Rape Has Become the Sport of the Young Generation. *Cambodia Daily*, p. 14.

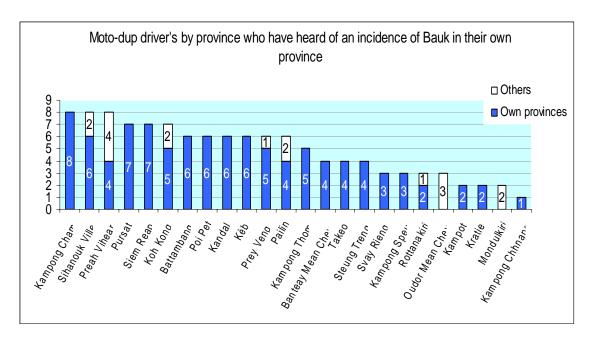


Figure 26

'The figure 26 stated that among 20 provinces and 4 cities across the country, the blue color presents by moto-taxi drivers who have heard about *bauk* incidents in their own provinces amongst 8 moto-taxi drivers. There are only two provinces, Oudor Mean Chey and Mondulkiri, which the white color represents have not happened in their provinces, but they have heard about others and the blank they do not know about *bauk* incidents. On the other hand, through the estimation of 192 moto-taxi drivers, there are recently 72.6%, amongst 61% of moto-taxi drivers who have heard of *bauk* incidence and *steav* who are involved in the *bauk*.'⁷⁸ These young men *steav* have not been responsible about sex and have not respected commercial sex workers as human beings.

A youth study related to *bauk* found that it is not only occurring amongst commercial sex workers but also with students. A young high school student, 20 year of age, quote directly:

'for me and my friends we also use bauk with the student. I just have sex with that girl like a sweetheart, two or three times. After that I call my friends to-

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⁷⁸ Soprach, T., Op. cit., pp. 15-19.

bauk her and then I break up with her, 79

And a beer promotion woman also suffered from gang-rape and she was vulnerable of being tricked to go with a customer and sometimes to sexual abuse as her individual experience:

'I go with the customer because he says that he will take me home. But he takes me to a guest house instead. Sometimes I am tricked and am gang raped (bauk). Sometimes they do not give me money, or they hit me or take my things.'

It seems like an increase in young men getting involved in premarital sex, and in sexual abuse against women. 'More than speaking freely, the perpetrators openly spoke of *bauk* as through it was a kind of sport.'⁸¹ Premarital sex leads young men to *bauk* and spread across the whole country. *Bauk* incident make young women concerned when they want to hang out at recreational areas.

c. Stress

Young people are now stressful in their lives and their future. After getting diplomas they do not have jobs to fit their capacities and they decide to stop studying, more unemployment which can lead to despondency about their future and the future of the society. Every year, 200,000 more young Cambodian become capable to work as estimated by the World Bank and according to Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports indicated that in 2006 there were approximately 11,000 university graduates. 84

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⁷⁹ Bearup, L. S., Op. cit., p. 91.

⁸⁰ Bury, L. (2005). A Report on the Situation of Beer Promotion Women in the Workplace, Cambodian: Results of a Harassment and Abuse Survey. Selling Beer Safely Project, CARE. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. p. 51.

⁸¹ Ibid. Bearup, L. S., p. 87.

⁸² Bainbridge, B. (2003, May 25 – June 5). The Young: Cambodia's unknown people. *Phnom Penh Post*, p. 7.

⁸³ Sokheng, V. (2004, July 30 – August 12). Huge and Growing Shortage of Jobs for Young People. *Phnom Penh Post*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Quinn, F. & Kimsong, K. (2007, September 7). Recent Graduates Find Job Prospects Are Bleak. *Cambodia Daily*, p. 1.

However, for the school year 2002-2003, an official in the MoEYS estimated that only one out of nine university graduates find employment.⁸⁵ That situation could lead to political problems: 'Without jobs, there will not be peace in the society and fears that youth unemployment could lead to problems, mentioning more unrest and crime as possible results.' Ok Serei Sopheak, NGO worker said.⁸⁶





Figure 27 Figure 28

Figure 27 and 28 pointed that young men gathering in a park and thinking' 87

Cambodian people have suffered from the reminats of wars and civil wars for many decades and they feel frightened, sad, and stressed. Stress is a hot issue in Cambodia today. The stress study amongst 1,257 university students in Cambodia in 2002 found that "when asked to rate their distressed in terms of commonly endorsed mental health symptoms with the top-ranked three as: 'Feeling hopeless about the future, Feeling very self-conscious with others and feeling that most people cannot be trusted.' Based on some of the major findings the researcher believes that there is a correlation between stressors and the 'bawk' phenomenon. Stating that sufficient evidence warrants conclusion that the Khmer youth are having difficulty dealing with stressors, which can cause some to engage in gang rape." 88

Phnom Penh. Retrieved November 14, 2007 from http://www.youthstarcambodia.org/documents/Feas%20Study.pdf

⁸⁵ Mysliwiec, E. (2005). Youth, Volunteering and Social Capital in Cambodia: Results of a Feasibility Study Conducted for a Cambodian Youth Service Program. Youth Star. p. 25.

⁸⁶ Sokheng, V, Op Cit, p. 7.

⁸⁷ Playing Safe Project. (2003-2006).

⁸⁸ Nou, L. (2003, August 15 - 28). Rape, KR and Psychobabble. *Phnom Penh Post*, p. 11.

Researchers said that the country's youth are under stress. A university teacher said she sees despondency among her peers and her students: 'They are really concerned about their future and the future of the society.' 89

Young people are stressful meanwhile they are looking for a job and they think of their future when they are students. If their friends amongst young men pressure them to do something, it is easier to do like relax their stress such as having sex or 'bauk'.

d. Pornography

'Pornography refers to any form of communication that portrays sexual behavior in a manner that only intends to cause sexual excitement. Pornography is widespread in the country and it is easy to find to places where it is located such as videos in coffee shops, magazines, home, hotels, theatre, internet shops and multiple places. A figure of minors watching pornography shows a higher rate of males who have seen pornography 62% than females 39%. Pornography plays a role in forming these attitudes and attendant patterns of sexual behavior among young Cambodians.'90

Correspondingly, Indochina's market research has revealed youth as a dramatically a changing group, especially among young urban women: 'the picture is different for young men, the stark difference for young men and women are revealed in research that Indochina Research conducted on internet choices. While young women prefer sites that are informative or educational, young men use the internet for games, porn and sports.'91

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⁸⁹ Bainbridge, B., Op. cit., p. 7.

⁹⁰ 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. pp. 3-7.

⁹¹ Ibid., Bainbridge, B., p. 7.





Figure 29 Figure 30 Figure 30 showed young men searching in internet café. 92

Young people start to desire sexual intercourse after seeing pornographic attraction and exiting such as romantic movies, pornography films, magazines and internet café.

Pornography urges young people to have sex before marriage, especially young men buy sex in brothels. As a young man, 19 years of age in Battambang, claimed he had sex due to what he sees as on TV:

'During my free time, I also like to watch kung-fu movies and stories that have something to do with sex on the TV. Kung-fu movies entertain me but sex movies arouse me. So far I have only had three different sex workers.' ⁹³

A young man, 22 year of old, also describes his act in sex related to watching sex videos:

'If I see a physically attractive woman in my motorbike around I will go and watch the sex video, get myself really worked up, so much so that the semen starts to come out of my penis and I have to go the toilet. It is then that I must have sex with the woman.'94

93 Tarr, C. M. (1996d), Op. cit., p. 117.

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⁹² Playing Safe Project. (2003-2006).

⁹⁴ Tarr, C. M. (1996b), Op. cit., p. 118.

Young males were additionally asked for Peer Ethnographic Research second round that related to their experiences on sexual desire:

'They still continue, and begin to have sex at 16 to 17 years old because they often see sex videos and books or magazines which have sex pictures. The sex pictures make them want to have sex.'95

Pornography affects young men to have sex out of marriage with sex workers and lead them to think about sex all the time, and it might lead them to rape if they can not see sex workers or they can become involved in 'bauk'. They want to do the same as pornography movies. They may meet sexual problems if they have low awareness of sexual health.

Watching pornography not only pushes young people to have sex, but also to rape as in this case 'That is evident of the minor pornography study that shows that three boys raped a 7 year of old girl was the same as the pornography video which the three boys had watched and copied actions they had seen on video.' This study had set objectives because of many rape cases through interviewing perpetrators who said they raped due to watching pornographic videos. So, pornography has a serious impact on young men to have sex before marriage, sexual violence and rape.

4.2.4. Trafficking

'Women and children are still the target of sexual exploitation and trafficking both internally and externally of the country. The 'trafficking' or 'commerce of human being' refers to the selling, buying and trade' of people within countries or across international borders using force, trickery or the abuse of power'(Brown 21: 2001). Brown (2001) suggests that trafficked women and children are easy prey for the sex industry. ⁹⁷

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⁹⁵ Hayden, R., Op. cit., p. 31.

⁹⁶ LICADHO. (2001). Rape and Indecent Assault: Crimes in Community Case 24, pp. 42-43. Cited by O'Shea, D., Op cit, p. 15.

⁹⁷ Grant, L., Op. cit., p. 35.



Figure 31 Figure 31 points that a young couple embrace in Hun Sen park.

Premarital sex also lead to increasing in human trafficking by their 'sangsars' boyfriends who make them trust each other. 'While clearly unmarried women who had lost their virginity as a result of being trafficked into sex worker found themselves in the unenviable position of being unmarried 'non-virgins'. In the CSWs research, there are nine unmarried women respondents who described how they lost their virginity as a result of experience into sex with their sangsars who sold them to a brothel and subsequently abandoned them.'98

So, sexual trafficking is not only for professional traffickers, but it also perpetrated by boyfriends. It has to be sure and to trust someone before getting involved in premarital sex.

V. Discussion

According to the Khmer culture of this paper, there is more pressure on young women then young men through 'Chbab Srey' and Khmer proverbs like 'Don't ripen before it turns green' and 'men are gold, women are white cloth'. These express gender stratification and social context of sexual practice. Women do not have enough chance to choose some one to marry. Even though 'Chbab Pros' makes this point

⁹⁸ Mealea, K. et al. (2004). Life Histories and Current Circumstance of Female Sex Workers in Cambodia. Phnom Penh: Center for Advanced Study. p. 39.

'...Three forms of madness: madness for women (commercial sex workers), madness for alcohol and madness for gambling ...' and that is good if men follow it, as the evidence of this paper the young men remain practicing those things unsanctioned by the society. In Western culture, the women have free to choose some one; meanwhile, sexual education is included in the curriculum at high school. And there is less discrimination against having sex before marriage and they are less concerned about virginity other than the people who strongly believe as Christians that both men and women must to wait until marriage. Cambodian young people today are interchanging between Khmer and Western cultures including premarital sexual behaviour. They engage in high risk sexual practice if they do not have awareness of sexual health.

Even though both young men and women have an opportunity to agree equally to have sex, but other young men who do not have sexual relationships, like *sangsar* partners, young men have a high level to find sexual services of women and of men with a cheap price and young men might rape women. But this is not the same for young women. There are many factors of the concept of masculinity, gender stereotype, peer pressure, economic pressure, alcohol, drugs, stress, and pornography which lead young people getting involved in sex before marriage and in *bauk*. *Bauk* phenomenon was explained by one socio-psychological researcher as a result of the unresolved history of the Khmer Rouge causing the Khmer youth to engage in destructive behaviors.⁹⁹

VI. Conclusion and Recommendations

The consequences of premarital sex cases in this paper lead young people facing many problems of their sexual health such as high risk of STIs/HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancy and unsafe abortion, non-consensual sex, rape and trafficking by her boyfriend. Especially, a young man does not take responsibility for sex when their sangsars get unwanted pregnancy and after first sex with virginity. Based on these evidences, premarital sex has the potential to increase commercial sex workers, and sexual violence against women as bauk phenomenon has widespread across Cambodia with incidences not confined to commercial sex workers.

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⁹⁹ Nou, L. (2003), Op. cit., p. 11

Intervention of issues needs to be addressed:

- a. Be clear before getting involved in sex.
- b. Sexual health need to be talked openly; especially, STIs/HIV/AIDS.
- c. Young people for young people in Cambodia: Don't let shyness harm your health! 100
- d. ABC approach in reproductive health programs: A: Abstinent, B: Be faithful and C: Condom use. 101
- e. Masturbate method 'Safer sex' is the best choice.
- f. Young people should not test alcohol or drugs. It might lead them to fall into having unsafe sex and use sexual violence.
- g. Sexual health really needs to be aware amongst Cambodian young people.
- h. Young people should understand stress problem and how to control and release their stress.
- i. Illegal private abortion clinic need to address.
- j. Pornography and drugs needs to be controlled by the government.
- k. Recreational areas need to create more for young people to play sports.
- 1. Culture impunity needs be eliminated.
- m. Bauk must be spoken out as a criminal act.
- n. Gender need to be aware, in terms of human rights and women's rights.
- o. It needs to research more deeply what is masculinity in the sexual context.
- p. Experiencing of Playing Safe project, CARE International in Cambodia has provided education on safe sex and responsible sex, gender and sexual consent and promotes ownership, participation and empowerment to young people especially young men in Phnom Penh.

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¹⁰⁰ EU/UNFPA Logo, Reproductive Health for Youth in Asia

¹⁰¹ Guidance To United States Government In-Country Staff and Implementing Partner Appling the ABC Approach, p. 2.



Figure 32 indicated the activity of Playing Safe Project (2003-06): 'Youth men talking openly about their sexual health'

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Appendices

Appendix 1

A Cambodian Woman, 60 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, June 1). *Khmer proverb: 'ទីកហុវមិនបាត់ ប្រុសស្បន់កុំស្យើ' 'Teuk ho men hot pros sbatre kom cheur'*, this refer to water which follow the river being not tied and if a man promises, don't believe. Phnom Penh.

'This Khmer proverb is common for Cambodian people. It has been spoken a long time in order to prevent young girls from having sex before marriage when the young boys promise to marry and love only you.'

Appendix 2

A New Zealander woman, 36 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, November 19). What do you think about premarital sex in Western culture? Phnom Penh.

'I am from New Zealand. I would like to talk a little bit about sex in my country. It is not easy to talk about my culture as if it is any one thing, because New Zealand is made up of many people groups, cultures and religions. It is a post-colonial, Western country where people are having sex! (Note: some would argue the post-colonial label but let's just leave it there for now). Sex education is part of all school curriculum and young people seem to have access to a lot of information about sexual health issues. These days few people wait till they are married to have sex. Sometimes they are having sex casually with many partners, sometimes they are in monogamous relationships and they may get married or not. This is widely accepted, except in religious circles, where there is still an expectation that people will wait until they get married and be virgins when they are married and remain faithful to their spouse. And Western people are more live as individual and independent, so they have many choices for premarital sex with partners. For Christians of my background, this is expected for women and men equally. This expectation differs across denominations and churches, though, and is more or less strictly interpreted and applied.

In my experience women who have extra-marital sex experience more social sanctions compared to men. Even though some people around the world may think of western women as sexually liberated and able to do what they want, the power relations between men and women are still positioning men as more able to do what they want than women. This is the case even a few decades after the influence of feminism and the sexual revolution.

New Zealand is considered to not be a Christian country, but a secular one. We have a very individualistic ethic in our country- we want to express ourselves and to do what we want to do as individuals. This applies also to sexual practice and people who do not adhere to traditional heterosexual practices are more accepted than in the past, with a form of marriage called "civil union" available which is legally equal to marriage. New Zealand is one of the first countries in the world to pass a law like this and means that. For example, gay couples can have a ceremony like marriage, just not in a church."

Appendix 3

A Scottish woman, 37 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, November 19). What do you think about premarital sex in Western culture? Phnom Penh.

'Some thoughts on sex before marriage, from a Scottish perspective. Sex before marriage has become the norm in Scotland. It's probably only people with certain strong religious beliefs who don't have sex before marriage.

In my opinion, having the freedom to choose whether or not you have premarital sex is a good thing. Sex is demystified; it is an opportunity to have a full relationship without making a life long commitment. Young people have sexual desire, and it would be a mistake to have to make a marriage commitment based in part from desire to become sexually active. Marriage now tends to happen later than in my parents generation, and I think this is a good thing.

In cultures where women and men are more equal, where women have greater access to income generation and education, where women have more power and more rights, it seems that women also have more rights to decide what to do with their bodies. Women can be valued in a greater range of roles than daughter, wife and mother, and as a result premarital virginity is less important.

Sex can also be dangerous - it can deepen relationships and unleash strong emotions that are difficult to understand. The risk of pregnancy and STIs is obvious. However, with education and access to birth control these need not be a problem. It is a bad idea to repress sexuality and prohibit access to information and birth control - people still have sex, they are just more exposed to the negative repercussions.

I strongly disagree with some people's opinion that premarital sex destroys morals, increases rape, use of pornography etc. I think that a hypocritical and repressive society is more likely to have problems with these issues than a society that encourages healthy, consensual sex.

I don't understand the Cambodian attitude to sex before marriage. I think it's hypocritical. It's not okay for women to have sex before marriage, but it's okay for men to have sex before marriage. But who are the men supposed to have sex with? Logically the only women available are those who are already married to someone else. Why shouldn't young people in a non exploitative relationship have sex together? To protect the woman? From what? The only thing that she needs to be protected from is societal stigma.

I'm not advocating that people should have sex whenever they feel like it. Sex is precious and not something that I would want to do with someone I don't feel very close to. For some other people, they have different ideas. So long as they are honest about their feelings towards their partner, and honest with themselves that's fine too.'

Appendix 4

An American man, middle age, personal interviewed. (2005, June 8). Could you please tell me about American or Western culture which related to sex among young people before marriage? Phnom Penh

'In American or Western culture I like the idea that we can have relationships outside of marriage, because we can learn each others heart, but we are also very aware of Sexually Transmitted Diseases, so we are very aware of protection.

In our culture we have the right to right to choose our own partner to marry. It is traditional for the brides father to pay for the wedding, but in todays society, because of the high costs of marriages, most families choose to share the cost.

We may have many partners before marriage, both men and women, as we do not place a lot of value on virginity, we do not concern our selves about the past behavior of a person, we only think about the present. It is also now acceptable in many parts of American and European cultures for men to marry men and women to marry men. Many states have laws that allow spoidseh benefits for those types of marriages, as do many European countries. We have and implement Federal laws against discrimination based on sex, religion, race, sexual preference, handicapped or age.'

Appendix 5

An Australian young woman, 26 years old, personal interviewed. (2005, December 7). What do you think about western social culture about men and women being sexually active? Phnom Penh

'Western culture espouses sexual equality between women and men. Both sexes have an equal right and opportunity to engage in premarital sex, both boys and girls have access to school based sex education and gender is not generally considered a determinant of access to health services. Further, both women and men have freedom of employment, the ability to generate income and a recognised and respected right to choose not to marry. However, there still exists a 'sexual double standard' when it comes to society's judgment of men and women in relation to their sexual activity. For men, engaging in casual sex and having many sexual partners is generally considered an achievement, men are given 'positive', congratulatory labels such as 'stud' and 'player'. For women, this same behaviour brings with it the threat of very different labels such as 'promiscuous', 'easy' and worse if she chooses to 'have sex like a man' without emotional ties and the stability of a relationship. I think this is changing; there is a greater recognition of the inequity of these types of stereotypes.

More people are choosing to make their labels consistent across genders, expecting the same behaviour from men and women. However, in my opinion, it is still unrealistic to represent 'western' culture as delivering sexual equality, even if it is popular and 'politically correct' to do so.'

Appendix 6

Christie, Claire. Specialist Sexual and Reproductive Health Nurse, interviewed. (2005, May 30). What is different of sexual need between male and female? Phnom Penh.

'As children grow up and their bodies change, they naturally become sexually mature and with this develop an instinctive interest in sex and becoming sexually active. Along w3ith the physical changes during adolescence, there are several social and emotional changes that take place as well. Adolescents is the period between childhood and adult hood, a period of physical and emotional change, a period of sexual development and a period of experimentation. Adolescence is a time of sexual awakening. Young people's bodies and, without a doubt, their thoughts and emotions rapidly change and their sexual curiosity is high,

Traditional Cambodian values and behaviors related to sexuality are currently being examined and questioned among young people as a dynamic youth culture emerges in Phnom Penh Cambodia. Gender roles and relationships, expectations of young women and men are deeply rooted in Cambodian culture but now it is changing. Adolescents now consider it natural for young people to want to have sweethearts and experiment with sex and many are having sex by their mid teens. Sexual awakening, loneliness, distance from family, absence of parents' authority, opportunities to have many friends, access to a cash income, combined with the feeling of freedom can lead to sexual behavior.

In an evaluation carried out by CARE Cambodia, it showed that in role play situations, girls are able to fend off sexual advances. However, in reality the young woman find it difficult to refuse sex, especially when young men use persistence, sweet words, withdrawal of affection or gifts and threats of abandonment to persuade a girl to have sex with him. They had little control in a relationship situation but were

aware that they were at risk of HIV and STIs, unwanted pregnancy and a ruined reputation. Only when a young person is actually faced with being assertive for the first time will they know if they are able to respond effectively. Young peoples knowledge of condoms to prevent HIV and STDs transmission is high, however, young people's skills and determination to negotiate safe sex with every sexual encounter remains weak. Men traditionally are seen as being more sexually active and engaging in casual sex.

The sexual capacity of women is equal to that of men and in some ways greater but depending on experience earning and culture, women may not realize their sexual potential. Often men feel more comfortable about their genitals as they can see them and are taught to touch and handle their penis in order to urinate. Girls are often discouraged form touching their genitals and cannot easily see them.'