

# WOMEN AND SEX WORK IN CAMBODIA

Blood, sweat and tears

Larissa Sandy



### Women and Sex Work in Cambodia

Prostitution is strongly embedded in local cultural practices in Cambodia. Based on extensive original research, this book explores the nature of prostitution in Cambodia, providing explanations of why the phenomenon is so widely tolerated. It outlines the background of the French colonial period, with its *filles malades*, considers the contemporary legal framework, and analyses the motivations for sex work, examining in particular how women become locked into debt bondage. Overall the book provides significant contributions to wider debates about sex work, sex trafficking and the constrained nature of women's choices.

**Larissa Sandy** completed her doctorate in the Gender Relations Centre of the Australian National University and is now a Vice Chancellor's Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Flinders University, Australia.

#### ASIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA

#### Women in Asia Series

Editor: Lenore Lyons (The University of Sydney)

#### **Editorial Board:**

Susan Blackburn (Monash University)
Hyaeweol Choi (The Australian National University)
Michele Ford (The University of Sydney)
Louise Edwards (University of Hong Kong)
Trude Jacobsen (Northern Illinois University)
Vera Mackie (University of Wollongong)
Anne McLaren (The University of Melbourne)
Mina Roces (University of New South Wales)
Dina Siddiqi (The City University of New York)
Andrea Whittaker (The University of Queensland)

#### Mukkuvar Women

Gender, hegemony and capitalist transformation in a South Indian fishing community by Kalpana Ram 1991

#### A World of Difference

Islam and gender hierarchy in Turkey by Julie Marcus 1992

### **Purity and Communal Boundaries**

Women and social change in a Bangladeshi village by Santi Rozario 1992

#### **Madonnas and Martyrs**

Militarism and violence in the Philippines by Anne-Marie Hilsdon 1995

#### **Masters and Managers**

A study of gender relations in urban Java by Norma Sullivan 1995

#### **Matriliny and Modernity**

Sexual politics and social change in rural Malaysia by Maila Stivens 1995

#### Intimate Knowledge

Women and their health in North-east Thailand by Andrea Whittaker 2000

#### Women in Asia

Tradition, modernity and globalisation by Louise Edwards and Mina Roces (eds) 2000

### Violence against Women in Asian Societies

Gender inequality and technologies of violence by Lenore Manderson and Linda Rae Bennett (eds) 2003

#### Women's Employment in Japan

The experience of part-time workers by Kaye Broadbent 2003

### **Chinese Women Living** and Working

by Anne McLaren (ed.) 2004

### Abortion, Sin and the State in Thailand

by Andrea Whittaker 2004

# Sexual Violence and the Law in Japan

by Catherine Burns 2004

#### Women, Islam and Modernity

Single women, sexuality and reproductive health in contemporary Indonesia by Linda Rae Bennett 2005

# The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia

by Elizabeth Martyn 2005

#### Women and Work in Indonesia

by Michele Ford and Lyn Parker (eds) 2008

#### Women and Union Activism in Asia

by Kaye Broadbent and Michele Ford (eds) 2008

### Gender, Islam, and Democracy in Indonesia

by Kathryn Robinson 2008

### Sex, Love and Feminism in the Asia Pacific

A cross-cultural study of young people's attitudes by Chilla Bulbeck 2008

#### Gender, State and Social Power

Divorce in contemporary Indonesia by Kate O'Shaughnessy 2008

#### Gender, Household, and State in Post-Revolutionary Vietnam

by Jayne Werner 2008

#### Young Women in Japan

Transitions to adulthood by Kaori Okano 2009

#### Women, Islam and Everyday Life

Renegotiating polygamy in Indonesia by Nina Nurmila 2009

## Feminist Movements in Contemporary Japan

by Laura Dales 2009

### Gender and Labour in Korea and Japan

Sexing class by Ruth Barraclough and Elyssa Faison (eds) 2009

#### Gender Diversity in Indonesia

Sexuality, Islam and queer selves by Sharyn Graham Davies 2010

### New Women in Colonial Korea

A sourcebook by Hyaeweol Choi 2012

### Women Writers in Postsocialist China

by Kay Schaffer and Xianlin Song 2013

#### Domestic Violence in Asia

Globalization, gender and Islam in the Maldives by Emma Fulu 2014

#### Gender and Power in Indonesian Islam

Leaders, feminists, sufis and pesantren selves by Bianca J. Smith and Mark Woodward (eds) 2014

#### **Practicing Feminism in South Korea**

The women's movement against sexual violence by Kyungja Jung 2014

### The Korean Women's Movement and the State

Bargaining for change by Seung-kyung Kim 2014

## Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan

Andrea Germer, Vera Mackie and Ulrike Wöhr (eds) 2014

### Women and Sex Work in Cambodia

Blood, sweat and tears by Larissa Sandy 2014

#### Growing up Female in Multi-Ethnic Malaysia by Cynthia Joseph 2014

# Women and Sex Work in Cambodia

Blood, sweat and tears

Larissa Sandy



First published 2014 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN and by Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2014 Larissa Sandy

The right of Larissa Sandy to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patent Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Sandy, Larissa, author.

Women and sex work in Cambodia : blood, sweat and tears / Larissa Sandy.

pages cm. -- (Asian Studies Association of Australia women in Asia series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Summary: "Prostitution is strongly embedded in local cultural practices in Cambodia. Based on extensive original research, this book explores the nature of prostitution in Cambodia, providing explanations of why the phenomenon is so widely tolerated"-- Provided by publisher.

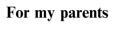
1. Prostitution--Cambodia. 2. Prostitutes--Cambodia--Social conditions. I. Title.

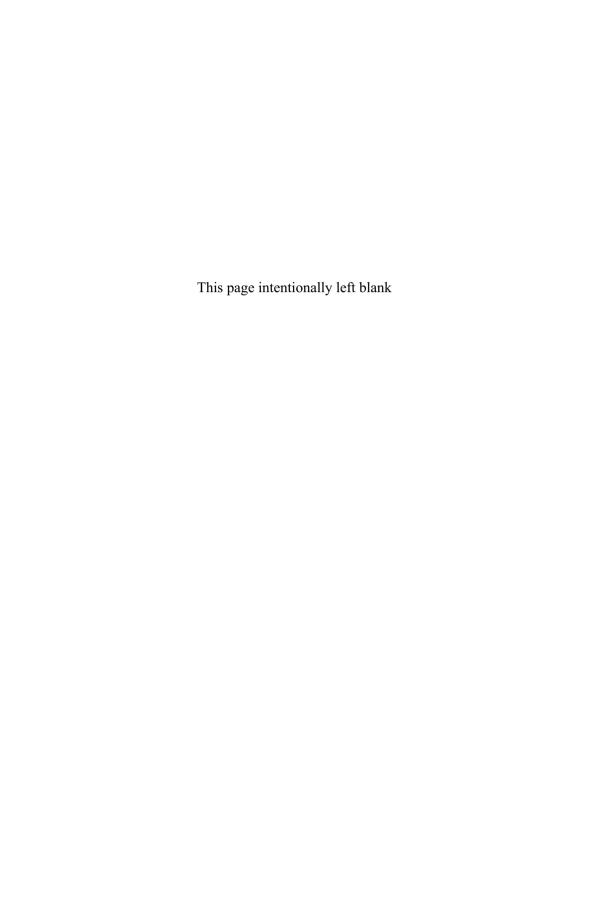
HQ242.3.A5S26 2014 306.7409596--dc23

2014003833

ISBN: 978-0-415-68159-9 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-315-76277-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman by Taylor and Francis Books





### **Contents**

	List of figures	X
	Series editor's foreword	xi
	Acknowledgements	xii
	List of abbreviations	xiv
1	Introduction	1
2	Filles malades: sex work in French Cambodia, 1863–1953	18
3	Sihanouk's 'Thesis A and B': sex work in post-independence Cambodia	34
4	The social and cultural context of sex work	57
5	Just choices: the moral and political economies of sex work	73
6	Core transmitter/sex slave: ten years of regulating sex work (1998–2008)	90
7	Conclusion: blood, sweat and tears	114
	Glossary	121
	Bibliography	123
	Index	137

## List of figures

1.1	Map of Cambodia	XVI
1.2	Darling! AIDS! Ouch!	7
2.1	Political Map of Indochina, October 1889	21
2.2	1911–12 cadastral map of urban lots in Phnom Penh	30
3.1	'Flower of the Shore', Kambuja, 1967	37
3.2	Cambodian Cultural Village wax figures of a UN	
	Blue Beret and a srey taksii	47
6.1	300, 500 and 2,200 riel postage stamps promoting	
	the country's 100% CUP	91
6.2	Sex worker medical control card (front view)	98
6.3	Medical control card (back view)	99

### Series editor's foreword

The contributions of women to the social, political and economic transformations occurring in the Asian region are legion. Women have served as leaders of nations, communities, workplaces, activist groups and families. Asian women have joined with others to participate in fomenting change at micro and macro levels. They have been both agents and targets of national and international interventions in social policy. In the performance of these myriad roles women have forged new and modern gendered identities that are recognisably global and local. Their experiences are rich, diverse and instructive. The books in this series testify to the central role women play in creating the new Asia and re-creating Asian womanhood. Moreover, these books reveal the resilience and inventiveness of women around the Asian region in the face of entrenched and evolving patriarchal social norms.

Scholars publishing in this series demonstrate a commitment to promoting the productive conversation between Gender Studies and Asian Studies. The need to understand the diversity of experiences of femininity and womanhood around the world increases inexorably as globalisation proceeds apace. Lessons from the experiences of Asian women present us with fresh opportunities for building new possibilities for women's progress the world over.

The Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) sponsors this publication series as part of its on-going commitment to promoting knowledge about women in Asia. In particular, the ASAA Women's Forum provides the intellectual vigour and enthusiasm that maintains the Women in Asia Series (WIAS). The aim of the series, since its inception in 1990, is to promote knowledge about women in Asia to both academic and general audiences. To this end, WIAS books draw on a wide range of disciplines including anthropology, sociology, political science, cultural studies, media studies, literature, and history. The series prides itself on being an outlet for cutting edge research conducted by recent PhD graduates and postdoctoral fellows from throughout the region.

The Series could not function without the generous professional advice provided by many anonymous readers. Moreover, the wise counsel provided by Peter Sowden at Routledge is invaluable. WIAS, its authors and the ASAA are very grateful to these people for their expert work.

Lenore Lyons (The University of Sydney)
Series Editor

### Acknowledgements

This work would never have been possible without the support and participation of Cambodian sex workers. I am deeply indebted to the women who shared their life stories with me. I want to express my deepest gratitude to the sex workers I met and women who gave of their time and shared their knowledge and personal, and at times, painful stories.

Much of the research in this book was carried out as part of my doctoral studies at the Australian National University. I am deeply indebted to my supervisors, Margaret Jolly and Penny Edwards and advisers, Alison Murray and Tamara Jacka. I would like to thank my supervisors for helping me explore the questions surrounding my research and unlocking the gates of understanding – for this I am truly grateful. My PhD was funded by a Commonwealth scholarship and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University provided a small grant for the fieldwork. I completed the final stages of this book as part of my postdoctoral research fellowship at Flinders University. I am grateful for the opportunity the fellowship presented to complete work on this book. I would also like to thank my postdoc mentors, Marinella Marmo and Willem de Lint for their continued support as well as that of the staff and students at Criminology, especially Russell Brewer.

It was truly a pleasure to work with my editor, Lenore Lyons. I want to express my thanks as Lenore's skillful guidance in editing helped transform my PhD thesis into this book and gave much clarity to the text. I would also like to thank Peter Sowden and Helena Hurd at Routledge.

While carrying out fieldwork the staff of the Womyn's Agenda for Change and Cambodian Prostitutes' Union for Unity gave generously of their time and resources, and I would like to personally thank them for their support. My thanks go to the staff of the Khmer Women's Cooperation for Development for accommodating me during my stay in Sihanoukville, especially Nita. I also owe thanks to Peter Arfanis and all the staff at the National Archives, especially Im Dari, Rosanna Barbero, Margaret Bywater, Chea Chanthy, Michele Ford, Graham Fordham, Rachel Ingwersen, Helen Jarvis and Allen Myers, Manh Chhreup, Ces Millado, Greg Muller, Cheryl Overs, Prom Hen, Pry Phally Phoung, Elizabeth Reid, Ros Sokunthy, Sam Vuthy, Madam Satum,

Sim Socheata and Om Mom. I also want to thank my Khmer language teachers, Pok Samnang and her family, Linda Meas, Lok Kruu Frank Smith, Lok Kruu Kheang Leang and Nek Kruu Sokhary.

I must also express a heart-felt thanks to my friends who provided much needed support during the research and writing process in Cambodia, Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide. My biggest thanks go to Gillian Fletcher (and Minky). Thanks are also due to my Cambodian sisters, Mony and Leakhana Pen and Dina Chan, Jocelyn Pederick, Monika Nowaczyk and Yeng Chea, Kasumi Nishigaya, Kylie Mannion and Phill Anderson, Simone and Adrian Low, Jodi and Christian Parvey, my SEASSI partners in crime, Katie Schubert, Laura Schoenberger and Sophea Seng and to Joanne Martyn and Hilary Mayne for being beautiful women.

Finally, my deepest thanks go to my family. I want to thank my parents, Kay and Eric, for teaching me how to dream and always being there with unwavering love and support. Thanks also to my sisters, Kylie and Martinique, who I love very dearly.

### List of abbreviations

100% CUP 100% Condom Use Program

AFESIP Agir Pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire (Acting for

Women in Distressing Circumstances)

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC Archives Nationales du Cambodge (National Archives of

Cambodia)

APNSW Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BSS Behavioral Sentinel Survey
CPK Communist Party of Kampuchea
CPP Cambodian People's Party
CPU Cambodian Prostitutes Union

CUMEC Condom Use Monitoring Evaluation Committee

CUWG Condom Use Working Group

CWDA Cambodian Women's Development Association

DK Democratic Kampuchea EPZ Export Processing Zone

FUNCINPEC Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre,

Pacifique, et Coopératif (National United Front for an

Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia)

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HSS HIV Sentinel Survey

INGO International Non-Government Organization

KR Khmer Rouge

MSM Men-who-have-sex-with-men

NCHADS National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STD

NGO Non-Government Organization
PRK People's Republic of Kampuchea
PSI Population Services International
RGC Royal Government of Cambodia

RSC Fonds de la Résidence Supérieure du Cambodge (Resident

Superior Collection)

SOC State of Cambodia

Sangkum Reastr Niyum (People's Socialist Community) SRN

STI Sexually Transmitted Infection

Trafficking In Persons TIP

Trafficking Victims Protection Act TVPA

UN United Nations

Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS **UNAIDS** 

United Nations Children's Fund UNICEF

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia UNTAC United States Agency for International Development USAID

Women's Network for Unity WNU WHO World Health Organization WTO World Trade Organization