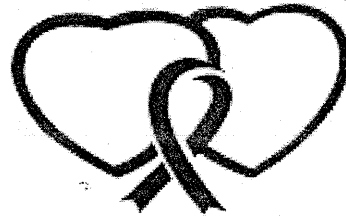
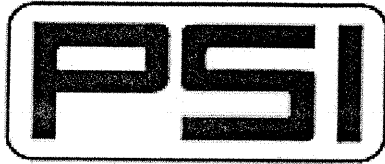


DRAFT REPORT



***SANGSAR, TA-TA, BONG
SAMLANH:
LOVE, SEX AND CONDOMS IN
THE TIME OF HIV***

REPORT OF A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH STUDY

***PSI/CAMBODIA
SEPTEMBER 2002***

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
RESEARCH
IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY

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THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. From the first settlers to the present day, the nation has evolved through various stages of development. The early years were marked by exploration and the establishment of colonies. The American Revolution led to the birth of a new nation, and the subsequent years saw the expansion of territory and the growth of industry.

The American Revolution was a pivotal moment in the nation's history. It was a struggle for independence from British rule, and it resulted in the adoption of the Constitution. The Constitution established a system of government that has lasted to this day. The American Revolution also led to the expansion of the nation's territory, as the United States acquired new lands through purchase and conquest.

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GLOSSARY OF KHMER TERMS AND ACRONYMS

<i>aun</i>	younger/darling
<i>bauk</i>	gang rape
<i>bong</i>	older/darling
<i>bong samlanh</i>	older love
BSS	Behavioral Surveillance Survey
<i>dai kou</i>	partner
DFID	British Government Department for International Development
<i>kamnann chet</i>	[the one] held by my heart
<i>kou kamnann chet</i>	couple held by each other's hearts
<i>loung lorm</i>	comfort; wooing
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
PE	Peer Ethnographic
PER	Peer Ethnographic Researcher
<i>pros kalip</i>	"high caliber" modern man
<i>pros kamnann chet</i>	man held by my heart
<i>pros sneih</i>	loved man
PSI	Population Services International
<i>sangsar</i>	sweetheart
<i>srey kalip</i>	"high caliber" modern woman
<i>srey kamnann chet</i>	woman held by my heart
<i>srey khoch</i>	fallen woman
<i>srey sneih</i>	loved woman
<i>srey ta-ta</i>	woman supported by a <i>ta-ta</i>
<i>ta-ta</i>	older man who provides support in exchange for sex

See also Appendix 3 for full list of relationship terms.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Cambodia has been called a “new success story” in the fight against AIDS. Since the mid-1990s, behavioral and sentinel surveillance has shown declines both in HIV levels and in risk behavior. This success has been attributed to several factors. A key component is the Cambodian government’s political commitment to stemming the epidemic through national strategic planning, including broad educational campaigns and programs targeted to high-risk groups, in particular the 100% condom-use in brothels campaign (UNAIDS 2002).

Social marketing is also given credit for having a significant impact on the AIDS epidemic in Cambodia. PSI/Cambodia’s *Number One* condom brand has been successfully marketed to young adults and to direct sex workers and their clients, including the military and police. Sales of *Number One* rose to 16 million in 2001, with distribution in all 24 provinces.

Despite these successes, there is concern that the widespread awareness of HIV risks in Cambodia may in fact lead to an expanded demand for non-brothel based “indirect” sex workers employed in restaurants, karaoke bars, massage parlors and the like. Behavioral surveillance surveys from 1997 to 1999 found that each year a higher percentage of indirect sex workers reported selling sex (Hor Bun Leng et al. 2001). A lower perception of the risk of contracting HIV from indirect sex workers, as well as the fact that they work outside the reach of the 100% condom campaign, points to lower condom use with this group, and this was confirmed by the BSS. Also, fear of AIDS may lead to more widespread sexual involvement within “sweetheart” relationships, both for direct and indirect sex workers and the general public. Whether these relationships involve an emotional connection or not, they usually become trusted partners where condom use is seen as inappropriate.

Definition:

Sweetheart relationships may be defined as noncommercial, nonmarital sexual relationships that possess a certain degree of affection and trust from at least one partner. The factors influencing financial support/material exchange and condom use vary depending on the situation, target group and the individual.

Finally, new opportunities and greater freedoms for young people appear to have resulted in changing social norms as well, with young men turning to “sweethearts” rather than paid partners for sexual relationships.

Realizing that social marketing of condoms must expand its reach to new risk groups and different types of relationships, PSI/Cambodia conducted a qualitative study to investigate “sweetheart” relationships and condom use. The main objectives of the study were to better understand decision-making regarding sexual initiation and condom use in noncommercial relationships, including but not limited to those referred to as *sangsar* (one of the terms used to describe sweetheart in Khmer). PSI plans to use the results of the study to develop a behavior change communication strategy targeting those in sweetheart relationships. A better understanding of condom use in noncommercial relationships will also help inform marketing decisions regarding re-positioning *Number One* condoms, and/or developing a second condom brand, in order to target sweethearts.

METHODOLOGY

As shown at right, eight subgroups were identified for the study. All of the research was conducted in Phnom Penh.

The study took place in two phases. First, focus group discussions were held with each of the eight sub-groups (two groups for each). Participatory learning and action (PLA) techniques, including listing and ranking, were used in the focus groups to elicit terms that participants might use to categorize sexual partners and sexual relationships. These terms were then “scored” by participants to indicate the degree of emotional importance and societal acceptability of the partners listed. Following the PLA exercise, the focus group discussions followed a structured guideline to investigate the nature of a range of sweetheart relationships, key issues affecting condom negotiation and use/non-use in these relationships, and perceptions of *Number One* condoms.

<p>Focus Group Discussions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ <i>Military</i>▪ <i>Police</i><ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ <i>Male migrant workers (moto-do and cyclo drivers)</i>▪ <i>Male students</i>▪ <i>Female students</i>▪ <i>Female garment factory workers</i>▪ <i>Indirect sex workers (waitresses)</i>▪ <i>Direct sex workers (brothel-based)</i> <p>Peer Ethnographic Research:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ <i>Male university students</i>▪ <i>Indirect sex workers (waitresses, karaoke hostesses, beer promotion women)</i>
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Second, peer ethnographic techniques were used to further investigate these issues for two of the sub-groups (male university students and waitresses, who were targeted because they are often indirect sex workers). The peer ethnographic approach involves training members of a particular social group or social network to become peer ethnographic researchers (PERs) (Hawkins & Price 2000). The researchers are members of the community that is the target group for the program, and already have established relationships with the individuals they select to interview. Male students and indirect sex workers were chosen for the PE research because they were thought to be particularly suited to this technique, as they would reveal more sensitive information about sexual relationships with peers than with professional researchers. The PERs conducted a series of in-depth interviews of a small number of their peers over a period of time. They were regularly interviewed by PSI researchers who made their own detailed notes of the findings. In addition, two researchers carried out in-depth debriefing interviews with the PSI researchers and with PERs identified as the best informants by PSI staff. Finally, two separate synthesis workshops were conducted with the PER indirect sex workers and students. The aim of these workshops was to review the research outcomes and process, explore key issues revealed by the research and identify lessons learned. The PERs were also asked to help identify measures that they felt might prove useful in protecting their sexual health and that of their peers.

RESULTS

THE DIVERSITY OF LOVE IN PHNOM PENH

One of the major findings of the study is that there are a wide variety of terms used for noncommercial relationships, reflecting a range of emotional involvement, social acceptability, and degree of economic exchange. The men's focus groups identified 45 different terms that they might call women partners; the women identified 64 terms. Three broad categories may be defined for these terms:

- 1) Affectionate terms that imply emotional involvement;
- 2) Terms that imply some affection, but also denote that the primary motivation is sex for men and sex and/or money for women; and
- 3) Terms that imply that the relationship exists only for sexual relief for men and sexual pleasure and/or money for women (Wilkinson & Fletcher 2002a).

Definitions of Sangsar:

"This term refers to a girl or a woman who we wholeheartedly start having romantic feeling with. This relationship may become sexual."
[Cyclo drivers]

"At the beginning, he is one of our clients who comes often, and then we love each other and become sangsar. After that, he can have sex without paying. He sometimes pays us but we don't accept it." [Direct sex workers]

Many of the terms are used for a relationship that may or may not be sexual. *Sangsar* was found to be mainly a descriptive term that is used to refer to a partner. The focus group participants assigned a wide variety of meanings to the term. Men stated that the relationship may or may not be sexual, and that it may or may not lead to marriage. However, the men's focus groups tended to reserve the term for noncommercial sexual relationships. The women's groups (direct and indirect sex workers, female students and garment factory

workers) considered a *sangsar* relationship as involving a certain degree of affection, highly likely to involve sex, and often involving money, passing either from the man to the woman or vice versa. Other important relationship terms uncovered in the research are shown in the box below. In addition to these terms used to refer to types of relationships, a lexicon of terms used for "sweet-talk" was derived. These include *bong* (older one) and *aun* (younger one), used by men and women respectively for affectionate relationships. *Bong* is also used as sweet-talk by sex workers with their clients.

Other Key Relationship Terms

srey/pros kamnann chet (the one held by my heart; highly affectionate term used by all groups)
srey sneih (loved woman; relationship mainly for sex with some affection, mentioned by most men's groups)
bong/bong samlanh (older one, darling; used by all women's groups for affectionate relationships probably involving sex; also used for "sweet-talk")
ta-ta (an older man who takes care of a woman he is not married to in return for sex used by indirect sex workers); *srey ta-ta* (a "sexy" woman who is out for money; used by male students to identify a woman who is supported by a ta-ta)
srey kalip (a "high caliber" or modern woman who is mainly concerned with material gain, money and sex; used by male students and moto-dop drivers); *pros kalip* (a "high caliber" or wealthy modern man, refers to relationship mainly for money; used by direct and indirect sex workers; female garment workers)

THE TRUSTED PARTNER AND CONDOM USE

Throughout the world, people cite "trust" as the major reason for not using condoms with regular partners. There is an inherent difficulty in discussing one's sexual history, disease and infidelity with a partner. Trust can "blind" partners from the risks of HIV/AIDS (Longfield et al. 2002).

PSI/Cambodia's sweetheart research indicates these same patterns among the complicated typology of relationships identified by participants. The higher the degree of affection that a relationship term implied, the less likely that condoms were used with that partner. Trust, and the potential breach of trust, can go both ways. Both men and women reported that introducing condoms into a relationship where they were not previously used would imply infidelity on their part. For sex workers, not using condoms with sweethearts is a marker of the emotional nature of the relationship. Both men and women reported that condoms may be used early in the relationship and then discontinued, sometimes following the results of HIV testing usually only undergone by the female partner. Still, the research revealed ways that condoms may be introduced into a trusted partner relationship. Fear of pregnancy, whether real or used as a negotiating tool, can effectively diffuse the risk of breaching trust. Both men and women reported that they justified introducing condom use by citing the need for pregnancy prevention. For young people, fear of bringing shame upon the family through an unplanned pregnancy was mentioned as a motivating factor. Finally, several participants in both the focus group discussions and peer ethnographic research mentioned that they always use condoms, even in trusted relationships. These "positive deviants" expressed negotiating

Trust, Love and Condoms

"We never use condoms with women we have known for a long time or who come from the same village, or when we are full aware of their backgrounds." [Moto-dop drivers]

"We don't use condoms because we strongly love each other and live together under the same roof. We have faith in each other, and not using condoms can prove this." [Karaoke hostesses]

terms and techniques (including *lounq lorm* or the act of comforting or "sweet-talking" a partner) that may be used to develop peer counseling guidelines and behavior change communications, such as, "if you don't wear it, it means you don't love me." [Karaoke hostess]

WHO'S GOT THE CONDOM?

The research clearly showed that *Number One* condoms are perceived by a wide range of people as being the condom of choice, in both commercial and noncommercial sexual relationships. All participant groups perceived *Number One* condoms as affordable, reliable, hygienic and high quality.

Participants also made it clear that, even though women are expected to be passive in sexual matters, it is acceptable for women to initiate discussion of condom use. Notwithstanding the discomfort with using condoms with trusted partners, both male and female participants indicated that if condoms were to be used it was fully acceptable for women to suggest their use. This finding is an indication of the general acceptance and familiarity with condoms in Phnom Penh.

Changing Attitudes Towards Women & Condoms

"I think it is good for women to carry condoms, since they know how to protect themselves."
[Male students]

"Condom providers are mostly women. Our partners would think that we are not good, but we have to try to explain to them that we have the condoms along because we are aware of the information through TV and newspapers, saying that condoms must be always used to protect ourselves from AIDS." [Female students]

Despite this, most participants said it was not deemed socially acceptable for women to carry condoms and to provide them for the couple. Women who carried condoms were seen as "bad women", or sex workers, and possibly infected. Nevertheless, some participants said that this view was age-dependent and that younger women who are aware of the risks of pregnancy and disease are smart to carry condoms. Others said that women who carry condoms are being pragmatic, since they are protecting themselves.

BARRIERS TO CONDOM USE: ECONOMICS, ALCOHOL AND VIOLENCE

The peer ethnographic approach was particularly effective at obtaining sensitive information about relationships and condom use. Since respondents already knew the peers who interviewed them, they were willing to discuss issues that may not have been revealed to a professional researcher.

Though they do not think of themselves as indirect sex workers, all PER waitresses reported having paying sex partners. This was seen as needed supplemental income to their work as waitresses. Many reported having a "ta-ta", an older man who usually will have evolved from being a regular client to a care taker by providing financial and material support on a regular basis. In addition, most waitresses also reported having 5-10 regular paying clients and occasional irregular clients. Finally, many had a *sangsar*, usually a young man close to their own age, or de facto spouse.

Though most of the waitresses said that they did not use condoms with their *sangsar* and *ta-ta*, they generally use them with regular and irregular clients. However, several factors made consistent condom use problematic. The waitresses reported that clients would pay extra to not use condoms, and at times they chose economic benefits over health concerns. This is especially true of younger women who reported taking greater risks. Drunk clients (particularly foreigners, both Asian and Western) were reported as difficult to manage if they refused to use condoms. Finally, reports of violence were widespread. Since the closing of the karaoke bars, several of the women were forced to meet clients in the park, adding to their already precarious and vulnerable situation. All of these reported facing violence, including incidences of gang rape.

Revealing information was also obtained through the PE research with male university students. Male students reported often having simultaneous multiple partners, including paid partners, casual partners and sweethearts. While condom use ranges from being inconsistent to nonexistent in these relationships, the students' self risk assessment for HIV/AIDS is extremely low. The most striking finding was the frequent occurrence of coerced sex in noncommercial sexual relationships, as well as the prevalence of gang rape (*bauk*) by the students. These reports concur with reports of sexual violence from the female PERs. The practice of one or two students hiring a woman for the night and then taking her back to a guesthouse where several more men are waiting is commonplace, and considered completely acceptable by this group. While these reports mainly referred to sex workers, *bauk* was also reported of *srey kalip* (described by the men as "modern girls looking for sex and money"). The students mentioned that *bauk* was a regular activity among their friends, and that it took place as often as once a week. Alcohol use is nearly always associated with this activity, and condom use is inconsistent. Nevertheless, the male students do not see themselves as being at particular risk for HIV, because they feel protected by their education, and generally use condoms with sex workers, or women they perceive as being risky.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The rich detail on relationships and condom use provided by the study reveals several potential strategies for increasing condom use with trusted partners. Some of these would include:

- A focus on the use of condoms for pregnancy prevention, as well as disease prevention, in sweetheart relationships. Many of the research participants mentioned that they used the fear of pregnancy as a negotiating tactic for introducing condom use. When condoms are well accepted for this purpose, men and women can feel comfortable initiating and continuing their use even with a trusted partner.
- The need for the development of behavior change communications campaigns that address gender issues associated with condom use. These would include a greater emphasis on programs targeted at changing the behavior of men — by promoting caring and responsible men as those who use condoms in affectionate relationships — and by portraying women who carry condoms as respectable, responsible and intelligent.

- Working with community based organizations to create and train a network of Peer Advisors among indirect sex workers to promote women's self-esteem and self-confidence, and provide support for using condoms with sweethearts and other regular partners. Such training should include strengthening skills in personal risk assessment and condom negotiation, as well as reinforcing support for buying and carrying condoms. The PERs themselves suggested that they would be interested in becoming Peer Advisors and that they had learned a great deal from the experience of examining these issues. The Peer Advisors could also provide information and referral for dealing with violence.
- The need to assure that condoms are readily available at locations convenient for sweethearts—and particularly women—given emerging evidence that unmarried women are sexually active and prefer to use condoms. These would include such locations as karaoke bars, garment factories, university kiosks and restrooms, etc.
- The research has made clear that the issue of sexual violence must be addressed. Consistent patterns of coerced sex and sexual violence against women, as uncovered by the research, have also been found in many other parts of the world. Sexual violence is widely recognized as bringing about negative reproductive health consequences including pregnancy, STI infection and a higher risk for HIV infection. The research indicates the need for increased sensitization among young men concerning HIV risk perception and reproductive health information. Such programs must also address the unacceptability of coerced and forced sex and foster respect for female sexual partners. Possible interventions could include a mass media campaign, peer education and school based interventions, focusing on partner communication, and in particular men's awareness, to motivate behavior change.

Finally, the valuable information uncovered by this research indicates that it should be extended, both by including other groups and by investigating some topics in more depth. Provincial groups in high-risk areas may face very different relationship dynamics than in Phnom Penh, and it is important to see how the concepts and language regarding sweethearts differ in other areas. It would also be beneficial to further explore the small but articulate minority who say that they do use condoms with trusted partners. These "positive deviants" may provide strategies that can be promoted through BCC campaigns. Finally, the findings on the range and variety of sexual relationships among these groups indicate that any attempt to quantify the scope of the "sweetheart" phenomenon must take this diversity into account, or risk overlooking a large proportion of the population who are affected.

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1. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

Cambodia has been called a “new success story” in the fight against AIDS. Since the mid-1990s, behavioral and sentinel surveillance has shown declines both in HIV levels and in risk behavior. This success has been attributed to several factors. A key component is the Cambodian government’s political commitment to stemming the epidemic through national strategic planning, including broad educational campaigns and programs targeted to high-risk groups, in particular the 100% condom-use in brothels campaign (UNAIDS 2002).

Social marketing is also given credit for having a significant impact on the AIDS epidemic in Cambodia. PSI/Cambodia’s *Number One* condom brand has been successfully marketed to young adults and to direct sex workers and their clients, including the military and police. Sales of *Number One* rose to 16 million in 2001, with distribution in all 24 provinces.

Despite these successes, there is concern that the widespread awareness of HIV risks in Cambodia may in fact lead to an expanded demand for non-brothel based “indirect” sex workers employed in restaurants, karaoke bars, massage parlors and the like. Behavioral surveillance surveys from 1997 to 1999 found that each year a higher percentage of indirect sex workers reported selling sex (Hor Bun Leng et al. 2001). A lower perception of the risk of contracting HIV from indirect sex workers, as well as the fact that they work outside the reach of the 100% condom campaign, points to lower condom use with this group, and this was confirmed by the BSS. Also, fear of AIDS may lead to more widespread sexual involvement within “sweetheart” relationships, both for direct and indirect sex workers and the general public. Whether these relationships involve an emotional connection or not, they usually become trusted partners where condom use is seen as inappropriate. Finally, new opportunities and greater freedoms for young people appear to have resulted in changing social norms as well, with young men turning to “sweethearts” rather than paid partners for sexual relationships.

Realizing that social marketing of condoms must expand its reach to new risk groups and different types of relationships, PSI/Cambodia conducted a qualitative study to investigate sweetheart relationships and condom use. For the purposes of the study, sweetheart relationships are defined at right.

Definition of ‘sweetheart’ relationships
noncommercial, nonmarital sexual relationships that possess a certain degree of affection and trust from at least on partner. The factors influencing financial support or material exchange within these relationships vary depending on the situation, the target group and the individual.

The main objectives of the study were as follows:

- ❖ To understand the language and nature of sweetheart relationships, as defined above.
- ❖ To better understand decision-making regarding sexual initiation and condom use in sweetheart relationships.
- ❖ To identify perceptions of *Number One* condoms and to investigate factors affecting their use within sweetheart relationships.

PSI/Cambodia will use the results of the study to develop a behavior change communication strategy targeting those in sweetheart relationships. A better understanding of condom use in

noncommercial relationships will also help inform marketing decisions regarding re-positioning *Number One* condoms, and/or developing a second condom brand, in order to target sweethearts.

2. BACKGROUND

While recent sentinel and behavioral surveillance surveys have found lower HIV prevalence and increased condom use in Cambodia, concern has been raised about evidence of a “transition” in the sex industry. “Noncommercial, casual sex may be on the rise and direct sex workers may be moving out of brothels, that are increasingly carrying a stigma of high HIV risk, into new venues such as karaoke bars or massage parlors. The finding that each BSS year more indirect sex workers reported selling sex may also be a sign of an increasing market for indirect sex workers” (Hor Bun Leng et al. 2001b, p.23). Concern for this social change arises because condom use was found to be significantly lower in sweetheart relationships and with indirect sex workers than with direct sex workers (Hor Bun Leng et al. 2001a, 2001b, 2001c).

While the BSS asks risk groups about sweetheart relationships and condom use within them, little research has been conducted in Cambodia to explore the socio-cultural meaning of these relationships. Definition of the term *sangsar*, translated as “sweetheart” in English, also varies from study to study. A study of moto-dop drivers in Koh Kong found that while the men described sweetheart relationships as widespread, very few of them reported ever having one themselves (Greenwood 2000). This was ascribed to the fact that it takes a certain level of income and economic status to maintain support for a sweetheart. For these men, *sangsar* relationships were also strongly associated with sex workers. A study of police also revealed that financial support was assumed to be necessary for sweethearts (Maclean & Francis 1999).

Most of the studies on men, women and sex in Cambodia stress the fact that traditional Khmer women are not supposed to know much about sex or enjoy it a great deal. While the motivations to remain a virgin until marriage may appear to be weakening, the sanctions against a woman’s infidelity after marriage are not. The proverb “men are gold, women are cloth” is often cited to explain why women must guard their reputations fiercely so as not to “stain or rip the cloth” (Greenwood and Francis 2001, p. 20). Women should not talk about or initiate sex and “a man can only know if she wants sex by touching her arm and receiving no negative reaction” (Forder 1999, p. 65).

At the same time, men’s visits to sex workers are seen as an ordinary part of the culture, resulting in the necessity for “fallen women” (*srey Khoch*) to exist (de Lind van Wijngaarden n.d.). Where sweethearts fit into these patterns is unclear, though for young single women it implies that their sexual activity must be kept secret. For young men, many say that they will have sex with their sweetheart but that they still plan to marry a virgin (CARE International, 1999b).

3. METHODOLOGY

As shown at right, eight target groups were identified for the study. These groups were identified as being particularly vulnerable to contracting HIV and to likely be involved in sweetheart relationships. All of the research was conducted in Phnom Penh.

- Target Groups:**
- *Military*
 - *Police*
 - *Male migrant workers (moto-dop and cycl drivers)*
 - *Male students*
 - *Female students*
 - *Female garment factory workers*
 - *Indirect sex workers (waitresses, promotio women or singers in bars, restaurants, an karaoke bars)*
 - *Direct sex workers (brothel-based)*

The study took place in two phases. First, discussion groups were held with each of the eight target groups. Both participatory learning and action (PLA) and focus group discussion techniques were used in these groups, as described in more detail below. In the second phase, Peer Ethnographic methods were used to probe these issues in more depth for two of the target groups—male university students and indirect sex workers. This synthesis report combines findings from both phases of the research.

3.1 Phase 1: PLA/ Focus Group Discussions

Participatory learning and action (PLA) techniques, including listing and ranking, were used in the discussion groups to elicit terms that participants might use to categorize sexual partners and sexual relationships. These terms were then “scored” by participants to indicate the degree of emotional importance and societal acceptability of the partners listed. Participants were also asked to determine together whether or not the terms mentioned could be used face-to-face with the respective partners. Following the PLA exercise, the focus group discussions followed a structured guideline to investigate the key research questions.

The PLA activity consisted of participants listing all the terms they could think of for potential noncommercial sexual partners. The range of usage and meanings of the terms was explored by participants allocating each term a score from 1 to 3 for level of affection, using the question, “how strong are the feelings of love or care which you would have for each of the partners listed?” (with 1 being the lowest possible score and 3 the highest). The exercise was repeated to determine the level of social acceptability of each partner, using the question: “Would you introduce this partner to your family?” Again, 1 was the lowest possible score, and 3 the highest.

Participants were then asked whether or not each term could be used face-to-face with a partner. This technique was employed to differentiate terms that were derogatory (or merely descriptive), from those that were used as “sweet-talk”, and therefore of importance for potential behavior change communication approaches. Finally, participants were asked to provide a verbal definition of each relationship term.

The focus group discussion guides were based on the three key study objectives outlined above, namely:

- ❖ the nature of various types of sweetheart relationships identified by each of the target groups;
- ❖ key issues affecting sexual initiation, condom negotiation and condom use in these relationships; and
- ❖ perceptions of *Number One* condoms.

The same basic discussion guide was used for both men and women participants, with slight modifications in some questions to acknowledge gender differences. The guide for the PLA exercise and focus group discussion is shown in Appendix 1.

After moderators were trained and the guide developed, the PLA and FGD guide was pre-tested by the researchers with a group of moto-dop drivers, randomly selected from the street. Minor revisions were made to the PLA approach in order to simplify the procedure. The PLA and FGD guides were finalized in Khmer and back translated into English as a final check on consistency of meaning.

Altogether 16 discussion groups were held, consisting of two groups of eight volunteer participants from each of the target groups. Participants were recruited either through their workplaces (cyclo and moto-dop drivers, military, police, and garment factory workers), the university campus (male and female students) or through nongovernmental organizations that work with the target group (direct and indirect sex workers). The sessions were held at various locations where the participants would feel comfortable and relaxed. Each session was conducted in Khmer and was facilitated by two experienced researchers.

Following each session, the pair of researchers who conducted the session transcribed the tape recording into Khmer, and collated the listing data collected on the flipcharts. The transcripts and flipchart data were translated in to English by the translation team.

4.2 Phase 2: Peer Ethnographic Research

In the second phase of the study, Peer Ethnographic techniques were used to further investigate these issues for two of the target groups. These were male university students and indirect sex workers, who worked as waitresses, karaoke hostesses, and beer/alcohol promotion women.¹ The Peer Ethnographic approach involves training members of a particular social group or social network to become peer ethnographic researchers (PERs) (Hawkins & Price 2000a, 2000b). The term “peer”, as used in this tool, refers to people who are members of the same social group and share the same social networks, such as friends, work-mates, school-mates, people of a similar age, or members of a kin group or neighborhood group. They thus already have established relationships with the individuals they select to interview. The method is based upon the anthropological approach to research, in which a relationship of trust is built up between the community and the researcher. Peer interviewing does not require the same extensive time frame as conventional anthropological approaches, since a relationship of trust already exists between the researcher and the community.

¹ For brevity, the indirect sex worker PERs are sometimes referred to as “waitresses” in the text.

Working on the principle that in-depth interviewing of a small number of people over a period of time will produce more valid information on social life and behavior than interviewing a large sample of people once only, the PERs carry out several in-depth interviews with a small sample of key informants whom they have identified from among their own peer network. The aim of the interview is not to collect individual accounts of personal experience. All interviews are conducted in the third person, and interviewees are not asked to talk about themselves, but about "other people like them" or what other people in their social network say. This allows them to talk more freely about sensitive issues such as sexuality. In talking about other people "like them", interviewees will often talk about their own experiences, without acknowledging that they are talking about themselves. This can occur both in the interviews that the PERs conducted and with information that PERs offer themselves, in the dissemination workshops and debriefing interviews.

Data Collection and Analysis

Ten waitresses/karaoke hostesses/beer promotion women and ten male students were recruited as PERs through local contacts. The two PER groups each received a three-day participatory training, introducing them to the concept of peer ethnographic research and training them in interview skills, as well as working with them to develop conversational "prompts" to help to guide the interviews. Following the initial three-day workshop-based training, the two groups of PERs field-tested the tool by completing one interview each before returning to make any necessary revisions to the tool and to carry out further practice interviews. The tool is found in Appendix 2.

Data collection was carried out over a two-month period. During that time the PERs interviewed 3-4 peers each, covering the pre-agreed conversation headings. Each PER was given a folder of data collection sheets, containing the prompts for each conversation. During, or immediately after, each interview the PERs recorded key words and phrases of the narrative to remind them of the conversation. At the same time the PERs received regular supervision from PSI/Cambodia's research staff, who interviewed the PERs on information collected and made their own detailed notes of the meetings. Additionally, in-depth debriefing interviews were conducted with several PERs identified as the best informants. During the debriefing sessions each PER was asked to provide details from conversations with the one or two interviewees who they felt provided the best information. These debriefing interviews clarified issues identified in the PERs' notes and in the PSI/Cambodia supervisors' notes.

Synthesis workshops

Once the PERs had finished their interviews, two separate, 1½ -day synthesis workshops were conducted with the indirect sex workers and the students. The aim of these workshops was to review the research outcomes and process, explore key issues revealed by the research and identify lessons learned. The PERs were also asked to help identify measures that they felt might prove useful in protecting the sexual health of themselves and their peers.

Each of the two workshops had a similar format, beginning with a short introductory session where the purpose of the research and the roles played by the PERs were reviewed. The second session examined the PE research process. Here the PERs worked in small groups to

review what had worked well during the research, what difficulties they had encountered, and how they had overcome these. The third session explored the findings of the research, with a particular focus on key issues affecting condom use or non-use in relationships. The next session used role-plays, based on actual case studies identified during the research, to explore these issues further and to elicit lessons learned. In session five the PERs listed and discussed their major fears, as well as their dreams and aspirations. In the final session, the PERs worked in small groups to identify measures that they and others could take that might help to protect the sexual health of themselves and their peers.

4.3 Limitations of the research

Wilkinson and Fletcher (2002a, 2002b), who served as primary researchers on both phases, highlighted some of the principal limitations of this research. These are discussed briefly below, condensed from their reports.

Selection of participants

The research team developed guidelines for the selection of participants from each group. Participants in a particular group were screened to ensure similarity of age and background, but also on the basis of their willingness to participate in discussions involving the potentially sensitive topic of “relationships”. This selection criterion may have introduced an element of bias in the groups of female students and garment factory workers. Societal norms preclude these young women, who are usually unmarried, to admit to knowing about or taking part in sexual activity. Because of the selection process, it is possible that participants in these two groups had more sexual experience than the norm for these populations. This should be borne in mind when reviewing the results of the focus group discussions with these two groups, as their opinions on sexuality may not necessarily be representative of all female students and garment factory workers. The justification however, for selecting these participants is that they are perhaps the most vulnerable subgroups within all the vulnerable groups included in the research, and are able to report first-hand on experiences of condom negotiation. Furthermore, people who are sexually active are PSI/Cambodia’s primary target audience.

A further screening criterion was that the participants should not be part of any educational or training program related to HIV/AIDS and/or condom use. However, as a number of external organizations (including the military and police) were involved in the study, some bias may have been introduced in the selection of participants. Indeed, in one of the groups of soldiers, it was clear that at least some of the participants had been exposed to an HIV/AIDS education program.

A third limitation arises from the fact that the research participants were all drawn from residents of Phnom Penh, and the sessions were all conducted in the city. Since most of the occupational groups included in the study are largely composed of migrants, it is likely that the majority of the participants were originally from the provinces; and some of them are likely to have only recently arrived in the capital. Nevertheless, the study findings should only be considered as representing the perspectives of urban dwellers, and in particular those of Phnom Penh residents.

Translation

Any research that is conducted in one language and analyzed in another has its limitations. Subtleties of meaning are easily lost, and it is tempting to assume that translation of words equates to translation of meaning and context. It is particularly important to try to avoid such assumptions when aiming to define contextual uses and meanings of a range of linked terms. The linguistic nature of a large portion of this research underlies the importance of attempting to ensure translation of meaning, rather than word-for-word translation. Furthermore, the use of terms and their interpretation are specific to the study participants, and may not correspond to the use and interpretation of other individuals or groups.

Location of the research sessions

An attempt was made to hold the sessions in locations which were accessible for particular groups of participants, and where they would feel at ease. Thus the sessions for direct and indirect sex workers were held at the offices of a local NGO known to the sex workers; the sessions for male migrant workers were held at a Drop-in Center frequented by the men, while sessions for garment workers were held at the house of one of the research team who lived close to the garment factories. It is possible that holding the sessions in locations associated with development initiatives may have introduced a level of bias into the discussions. The research team believes, however, that the locations contributed to the participants' feeling of ease and security, and as such facilitated free and open discussions on potentially sensitive issues.

Peer Ethnographic Research

It was recognized from the outset that there would be limitations on the extent to which peer researchers would be able to record large amounts of qualitative data emerging from their conversations with their peers. Nevertheless, a number of the indirect sex workers and one or two of the students recorded several pages of detailed notes about their conversations with their peers. While these notes in themselves did not necessarily provide consistent information, they highlighted issues for further exploration by the social researchers and PSI/Cambodia staff.

During the debriefing sessions with both the PSI/Cambodia supervisors and the Peer Ethnographic Researchers (PERs) themselves, the researchers sometimes experienced difficulty in establishing coherent pictures of the relationships described by the PERs and their friends. A significant amount of time and effort was spent in the debriefing sessions resolving factual inconsistencies (for example, about the number and types of sexual partners) before probing into the nature and dynamics of the relationships. The social researchers attempted to adhere to the peer ethnographic research tool guidelines which assert that, in this research approach, truth is not as important as perceptions (Hawkins & Price, 2000a; Price & Hawkins 2002). However, there is a need for some consistent factual base from which issues can be followed up and perceptions elicited, and this base sometimes proved elusive.

It was apparent at the beginning of the training that there were significant motivational differences between the two groups (male students and indirect sex workers) whom were

recruited as PERs. The indirect sex workers reported that their major incentive for being trained as peer researchers was their personal concern regarding their risk of becoming infected with HIV. A major motivation was to receive training so that they could also provide information and advice to their friends. However, the motivation reported by the male students was related much more directly to their interest in gaining research experience than to a personal identification with risk relating to HIV and STDs.²

During the supervision sessions with the two groups, it quickly became apparent that the indirect sex workers were much more engaged with the research than the students. Furthermore, the indirect sex workers needed less external motivation to continue than the students, and the quality of data emerging from their conversations was more detailed and more reflective than that elicited by the students. This should be kept in mind while reading the write-up of results.

4. SWEETHEARTS: THE DIVERSITY OF LOVE IN PHNOM PENH

One of the major findings of the study is that there are a wide variety of terms used for noncommercial, nonmarital relationships in Phnom Penh, reflecting a range of emotional involvement, respectability, and degree of economic exchange. The men's focus groups identified 45 different terms that they might call noncommercial women partners; the women identified 64 terms for male partners whom they might have sex with. Three broad categories may be defined for these terms:

- 1) Affectionate terms that imply emotional involvement;
- 2) Terms that imply some affection, but also denote that the primary motivation is sex for men and sex and/or money for women; and
- 3) Terms that imply that the relationship exists only for sexual relief for men and sexual pleasure and/or money for women (Wilkinson & Fletcher 2002a).

Several of the terms are used for a relationship that may or may not be sexual, though most are assumed to become sexual at some point. The groups also listed derogatory and joke terms for partners, and the men listed 15 terms used for direct and indirect sex workers. Since our working definition of sweetheart relationships includes relationships where only one member of the couple feels affection and trust, these terms are listed as well. The full list of terms revealed by the groups is shown in Appendix 3.

The analysis of these findings has two objectives: to understand the context of condom use within different types of sweetheart relationships and to gain understanding of colloquial language that is useful for developing behavior change communication materials targeting sweethearts. Hence a distinction should be made between terms used to refer to the sweetheart partner and those used as "sweet-talk" between the partners. The discussion below presents findings on the types of relationships described by the participants; the terms used to describe their partners; and on *loung lorm* or "sweet-talk" found to be appropriate for sweetheart relationships.

² Both the indirect sex worker and male student PERs were compensated for transportation costs only.

4.1 Sangsar

The complexity of relationship types in Phnom Penh is apparent in the discussion about the term *sangsar*, which is literally translated as “sweetheart” in English. *Sangsar* was the most frequently mentioned term among the groups, but one with the greatest variety of meanings described, revealing that it can be used with varying degrees of affection and commitment. It was made clear that *sangsar* is a descriptive term, used to refer to a partner rather than for sweet-talk.

Men stated that a *sangsar* relationship may or may not become sexual, but agreed that it involved emotional involvement.

This term is used to refer to a woman we start having romantic feelings with. Someone whom we find beautiful and interesting and emotionally moving when we see her. We don't admit this feeling to our parents immediately and our relationship with the woman may become sexual. [Moto-dop drivers]

*The term *sangsar* is divided into two types: first, it is used to refer to a woman whom we love with heart and heart. The other type of *sangsar* is a woman whom we love only for sexual encounters. That is why a Khmer saying reads: “We don't really have strong pity on *sangsar* whom we have already had sex with, but we feel pity on and love *sangsar* whom we have loved with heart and heart.” [Police]*

Men also said that a *sangsar* relationship may or may not lead to marriage. This is consistent with the feeling that there are different types of *sangsar*, and some implied that this was a break from the past.

Considering her as a sweetheart means we love her and plan to marry her, but we sometimes love her only for pleasure, and the benefit we get from her is having sexual intercourse. It is not sure if we will get married after having sex. Let it be for the future, and we don't care since we are men. [Soldiers]

A term, according to Khmer culture, used for a woman who has already been engaged. Generally speaking, it is a woman whom we have been in a love relationship with and we know each other well. Nowadays, this term is used to refer to a sexual relationship and 25% lead to marriage. [Male students]

*For me, I want to experience what youth is. Having a *sangsar* means having mutual understanding and doing nothing against the tradition; that is referred to as the best *sangsar*. But in the case when this relationship is against the tradition, [where a couple have sex before marriage] it is the other type of *sangsar*. [Police]*

The male students who participated in the peer research said that their *sangsar* were usually female students, and that such relationships are usually, but not always, sexual. The male students who do have sex with their student *sangsar* said it took a long time (up to a year) and a lot of sweet-talk (*loung lorm*) for the relationship to become sexual. They reasoned that by having sex with their *sangsar* they could bind her to them more strongly, since “good women” fall in love with men they have sex with. In those relationships that are not sexual,

the reason given was “because we might marry”. This is consistent with other research finding that men still prefer to marry a virgin, although they have sexual relationships with *sangsar*.

The married men also used the term *sangsar* for an extramarital relationship (a “girlfriend” or “mistress”). However, the men’s focus groups tended to reserve the term for noncommercial relationships.

Ninety per cent of men in the world want sangsar for nothing but sexual intercourse. For example, some men have wives and children but they still want sangsar just for this purpose only. [Police]

The women’s groups also considered a *sangsar* relationship as involving a certain degree of affection, but were more likely than the men to maintain that it is highly likely to involve sex. This may reflect the fact that the women participants were, to some extent, more likely to be sexually active than is the norm. The women were also less likely than the men to say that the relationship would lead to marriage.

This is the term used to address the man with whom we have mutual love. Sexual intercourse can happen at a hotel or a guesthouse. Generally speaking, when the term sangsar is used, marriage is sometimes possible and sometimes impossible to happen. [Female students]

The word is employed to refer to the man with whom we have mutual love. If we agree to devote ourselves to sangsar, the places we go can be Kien Svay, a guesthouse, the riverbank, a rice field, around the bushes or in a school. We love our sangsar because our only needs are fun, sex, or boasting about his beauty to our friends. [Garment workers]

Women were also much more likely to say that *sangsar* relationships involve money, passing either from the man to the woman or vice versa.

This word is used for a man with whom we have mutual love. The relationship may become sexual, which takes place at hotels, guesthouses, floating houses at Kien Svay. The benefit we gain from such a relationship is, for example, possible marriage. Some men just have the relationship without thinking of marriage in the future. At most, we have got some little money or support from them. [Garment workers]

For sex workers, while money was often involved in a *sangsar* relationship, it was clear that the *sangsar* was not perceived as a client and that affection was involved. Indirect sex workers were more likely to think that the relationship could lead to marriage, while direct sex workers usually saw a *sangsar* relationship as temporary.

This term refers to any man we have a love affair with. In terms of money, they sometimes visit, even if they don’t have sex with us, and give some money. We love each other without caring we are sex workers. We are very happy since it is so meaningful for us as sex workers. We have sexual intercourse with honesty and we always meet at our own houses. The

relationship with sweethearts is for affection, money and honesty. [Direct sex workers]

We receive nothing from this. We have sangsar to have something to boast about with our friends. We have never thought of getting married to a sangsar because if they really loved us, they would take us to visit their family and wouldn't allow us to continue this work to feed them. When they love us in the beginning, they give us everything we need. But when the relationship lasts longer, we feed them in return. Once they have found a woman prettier than us, they get apart. They love us for not more than one month. [Direct sex workers]

The word refers to the man whom we have in true love with us. In other words, the relationship is known by both sides of the parents and can possibly lead to marriage. We have sangsar because we need faith from each other and we want to live together. The important thing is that they should not bring us diseases. [Karaoke hostesses]

One of the indirect sex workers from the peer ethnographic research spoke of having a *dai kou* (partner), but did not consider him to be her *sangsar* yet. She believes that he will eventually become her *sangsar*, but feels that this will come as trust develops, and as she begins to plan the future with him. She feels that she first needs to assess whether he will take care of her. In the meantime, although he gives her some money, he doesn't visit her very often, so she still has sex with paying clients to earn money.

4.2 Kamnann Chet

Another frequently mentioned term for an affectionate relationship was *srey/pros kamnann chet* (the woman/man held by my heart), *kamnann chet* (held by my heart), and *kou kamnann chet* (couple held by each other's hearts). This type of relationship was generally described as more serious than *sangsar*, particularly for the women, who were more likely to say that the relationship would lead to marriage. Some of the men described *kamnann chet* as a progression from *sangsar*.

This term is used as the term sangsar who love each other with heart and heart until they become kou kamnann chet, then fiancée and finally wife. When they are still kou kamnann chet, they are not engaged yet. But they can become future partners or fiancée when they get engaged as I have said above. [Police]

This is the term we use to refer to the man whom we 100% hope for in our life. The relationship lasts long, with acknowledgement from both sides of the parents, leading to engagement and marriage. [Karaoke hostesses]

This word is in some ways similar to pros sneih [loved man] or sangsar. The only difference is that it is more serious in meaning. We love that person so much and the relationship lasts longer than mith pros [man friend] or sangsar. We can go and have sex at the places far from the parents or neighbors. We do so to make ourselves happy or to show our partner the love we have. It is free from money matters, but rather depends on our mind. [Female students]

4.3 Bong / Aun

Bong (older/darling) and *aun* (younger/darling) are key sweet-talk terms used by women and men respectively. The women's groups also often mentioned *bong samlanh* (older love). These terms are also used by husbands and wives to refer to their spouse. Men in particular said that they used *aun* for *loung lorm* (comfort, wooing, seduction).

When we go out if we find a woman who we estimate is younger than us then we call out to her "Hey...Aun!" When we go out with our sweetheart, we don't call her sangsar, but "Aun!" When we walk out hugging a woman, we also call her "Aun!" If we call her "Aun!" she is the same as a srey kamnann whom we can take anywhere and have sex with. The purpose of our love relationship is to serve our sex drive. [Soldiers]

This term is used to call the women in bars or nightclubs when we go there because we don't know their names. The term Aun is also used to call our sangsar or wives. Moreover, this term is used to comfort the women who sleep with us. [Police]

This term is employed to refer to a woman whom we love such as wife or sangsar. This term is also used by men for addressing a woman when comforting her. The relationship with the woman we love may last long, and sometimes may lead to marriage in the future if the woman is reliable and good. [Police]

In other words, for men *aun* is an affectionate term that can be used for a wide range of women and relationships. While many of the women tended to attach more serious feelings to the term *bong*, the sex workers tended to use *bong* in the same way that men use *aun*.

A term used to call out to our love partner. The word is used by women in general towards their prosperous partner whom they will live with. [Female students]

We need nothing but faith in return from our bong whom we truly love. However, there is another meaning of bong. This is used to please the men so that they have sex with us and, in return, give us money or buy us presents. Women usually love the men sincerely. Men however are fickle and want to have sex with us only. What women need is faith, not any other advantage. [Karaoke hostesses]

This term is employed to refer to men in general, no matter who they are — clients, sangsar, or husband. It can also be used to flatter our clients. For those we have just known, we always call them using the word bong without caring how young or how old and bald-headed they are. [Karaoke hostesses]

We have relationships with bong to get money and also to get them to feed us. We want money and somewhere to live. [Direct sex workers]

Bong was also the term used by most of the PER indirect sex workers for their sweethearts. They generally live together, and the men will sometimes be referred to as their "husband", although they are often not officially married. The women select, as their sweethearts, men

who are gentle and caring, and it appears that the sweethearts are considered as potential marriage partners.

4.4 Other terms for sweetheart relationships

Below are some of the other predominant terms identified for reference to partners in various sweetheart relationships.

- ❖ **Srey sneih** (loved woman); **pros sneih** (loved man); relationship mainly for sex with some affection, mentioned by most of the men's and women's groups.

Srey sneih is a bit different from sangsar. We want to have excitement and have sex with srey sneih. The relationship with srey sneih does not last long, at most one or two months. [Police]

What makes it different is that it carries with it a more negative meaning than the others, because normally the contact has secretly lasted long before it comes to the word pros sneih. [Female students]

Many indirect sex workers from the PE research said that they generally have between 5 - 10 men (who aren't necessarily clients of the restaurant or bar where they work) who regularly pay them for sex. Some of these regular clients take the indirect sex workers to parties and weddings, where they introduce them to their friends as *srey sneih* or as *proh poun chaung* (next wife).

The male students from the PE research also commonly had relationships they called *srey sneih*, often with garment factory workers and other young women. Though the students described these as mainly sexual relationships, the women involved appeared to consider the students as their sweethearts. Relationships with *srey sneih* usually become sexual quite quickly—although often only after pressure from the students. Although garment factory workers were most frequently mentioned when referring to *srey sneih*, the male students also referred to high-school students, roadside vendors, female farmers, karaoke women and promotion women as their *srey sneih*. In all these cases, the students said that the women saw them as sweethearts and as potential marriage partners, but that the students perceived these women as merely sex partners. In other words, there was a lack of emotional reciprocity in the relationships.

- ❖ **Mith pros** (a man friend; mentioned by many of the women's groups as a friendship that might become sexual)

A word we use to call out to the man we love, and the reason for doing so is that we can alternatively use it in front of people in general, without letting them know that we have a sangsar. [Garment workers]

The term is used to call out to the classmates whom we love in a friendly way and with whom we have mutual understanding. The relationship can last for a long time and can lead us to love as a sweetheart. [Female students]

- ❖ **Srey kalip** (a “high caliber” or modern woman who is mainly concerned with material gain, money and sex); **pros kalip** (a “high caliber” or wealthy modern man): relationship for sex and/or material gain; mentioned by moto-dop drivers, male students, direct and indirect sex workers, and garment workers.

This word is use to call out to those who are handsome and well-dressed, own a motorbike and a hand phone, and always need women who are young and cool as they are. [Karaoke hostesses]

Besides *srey kalip*, the male students from the PE research mentioned *srey Ski* (a relatively new term used to describe women who roller-skate in the park). Relationships with these women are generally short-term, and described by the students as being embarked on by both partners “just for sex”. *Srey kalip* are reported to be young women who wear modern clothes, have expensive mobile phones and frequent Phnom Penh’s parks looking for sex for enjoyment. It is not clear however, if modern Khmer women in Phnom Penh are actually adopting the sexual behavior of their male counterparts, or if this is merely an urban myth among the male students. During the PER debriefs, all of the PERs mentioned *srey kalip* as sexual partners. However, none of the peers interviewed was actually having a sexual relationship with a *srey kalip* at the time of the interview, nor could they relate recent instances of sex with *srey kalip*.

- ❖ **Ta-ta** (an older man who takes care of a woman he is not married to in return for sex; used by indirect sex workers); **srey ta-ta** (a “sexy” woman who is out for money; used by male students to identify a woman who is supported by a ta-ta)

This is a term used to call a modern woman who is an old man’s mistress. They work as singers or film stars. These women have taken a lot of money from the old. If we can win their hearts, we can get some money from them. [Male students]

Many of the PER indirect sex workers identified one or more regular clients as their *ta-ta*. Normally the indirect sex workers have only one *ta-ta*, though one waitress interviewed had two. A typical *ta-ta* is a previous client who is married and significantly older than the woman. They normally have great financial means and provide money and other gifts, sometimes room rent, and sometimes a regular allowance.

The great variety in terms reflects the complexity and diversity of relationships among the participant groups. This should be kept in mind when addressing issues related to condom use, as a variety of motivations and emotions are involved and these may be different for each partner.

5. SEXUAL INITIATION IN SWEETHEART RELATIONSHIPS

Sweetheart relationships may be extramarital or premarital. In the focus group research, the married men talked freely about their extramarital sexual activities. They did not appear to feel any concerns about not being “faithful” to their wives, but they did express concerns about “taking infection home”. Much of the premarital sex reported by men appears to be openly commercial sex, and many of the groups with high percentages of married men

(mainly the groups involving older men) also spoke about having sweethearts whom they cared about.

The women, however, spoke more often of premarital sex than of extramarital sex. This may be because the majority of the women in the research were unmarried, but as many of the women spoke about both their own relationships and those of other women they know, this may also reflect differences in gender expectations, i.e. the social construct of married women as “good women” who are faithful to their husbands.

The research demonstrates that sex is generally, although not exclusively, initiated by men. This is in keeping with Khmer cultural stereotypes, where men are expected to be sexually assertive and women passive.

Mostly men are the ones who initiate the idea of having sex; women rarely take the initiative [Police]

Even with those we know well, it is the men who first talk about sex. Sometimes they tell us that: "Come on. Let's go to hug each other in bed." and then continue by saying: "I love you and I want to live with you." [Karaoke hostesses]

Women, even sex workers, generally appear shy in these matters.

It is hard to say that the idea is started by a woman. Though we are sex workers, we are still shy, never using sweet-talk. If we miss them, we just say, "Why haven't you come here for a long time? I miss you very much". Then we have something unusual in our mind to show that we love and want to have sexual intercourse with them [Direct sex workers]

Being women, we are still shy, even though our job is sex provider; thus, we are not brave enough to initiate sex [Karaoke hostesses]

The term *loung lorm*, which is translated into English as “comfort”, is frequently used to describe the process of one partner (generally the man) sweet-talking the woman into agreeing to sex. The men speak of having to comfort the partners they care for, while the women speak of being comforted.

It begins with comforting, touching a woman's body and telling lies by saying we don't have any wife. "If you love me, I will love you for the rest of my life" [Moto-dop drivers]

For sangsar srey sa-at [beautiful woman], srey samlanh [loved woman] and proh phoun [wife], it takes time to comfort them and make them feel at ease. The relationship becomes sexual after we have won their heart [Moto-dop drivers]

Relationships that are seen by men as “casual” usually proceed to sex very quickly, with very little *loung lorm*. However, relationships in which the men invest some affection take significantly more time—and much more sweet-talk—before becoming sexual. Most men spoke of courtship lasting around three to six months, while one said it could take up to a year before the relationship became sexual.

I think it takes a short time, at most 15 minutes, to make relationships with [women where] it is up to our money. But it takes 6 months to a year to make relationships with sangsar [sweetheart], kamnann chet [held by my heart] or kou sneih [loved woman] [Police]

For me, it took 5 to 6 months. I started the idea to have sex at a quiet place by using comforting phrase and promises. "I really love you. I promise to ask you for marriage, you please believe me". She was speechless and I started sex immediately. [Male students]

It takes a year to make [an affectionate] relationship [Police]

It takes 3 months before becoming sexual, and 99 percent of the time we as men initiate sex. We make a date going out and looking for a quiet place. In the beginning, we begin touching, comforting her, flattering her that "You are very pretty, my dear" and saying "I won't leave you, even after I've had sex with you" Often, women say nothing, which means she agrees with us [Male students]

However as one policeman pointed out:

It depends on our partner and our techniques. It can be fast or slow, based on our comfort, sweet words and tricks. [Police]

Although men are generally more sexually assertive, the research revealed that women would sometimes initiate sex, particularly when an affectionate relationship is well established.

This can be started by women too, for example, a woman who used to go out with me and love me. She sometimes persuades me to go out until late at night and then stay at a guest house and tells me that "I can't go back home this time because I am afraid to be spoken bad of by my neighbors or hit by my parents", or "the way to get to my house is far and frightening at night". [Male students]

If they are our sangsar, kamnann chet or kou dandeng [fiancée], who have loved us for a long time, they initiate the sex first as they love us. They consider us their god. So they don't need to coax us because they think that we are their sangsar who often says wholeheartedly "Love! Love!" That is why she agrees lovingly to have sex with us. [Police]

However, when sex is initiated by women, a subtle approach is generally adopted.

For the case that women initiate sex, it is because they love the men so much and they are badly stricken with sexual passion. Women are usually shy and thus dare not use any word. What they can only do is to show it through actions, touching, feeling the man's hand. However, doing so gives a clear indication for men that we love them and want to be with them. [Female students]

Sometimes, women themselves are passionate and thus it does not require the men to say much. Only the clothes or the gestures can be enough indication. For example, we say: "I am going to spend one night outdoors."

This could mean that we are not going back home, but to have sex instead. The indication can be expressed through gestures, facial expression, or by saying: "I love you." [Female students]

If women start the idea, they say nothing to comfort us. We just see them blushing, and this shows that we are able to touch and have sex with them. [Soldiers]

Sometimes however, the approach is less subtle.

If the idea is started by women, we use a comforting phrase calling out "pros bandol chet" [man at the center of my heart] to that man or asking him to go to our friend's party. Also, we ask the man to go along with us when having any problem. For example, we may call him "Borg Samlanh [older loved one]" and then touch him. [Garment workers]

We women are usually shy and thus unable to initiate sex with men. However, we can ask our friends to help, asking the man we love to go out to a ceremony or to other places for which we need to stay overnight. If he loves us, then, he will go. But if he wants to go back home that night we can pretend to be angry, using the phrase that the men usually say: "If you go, go forever. We can separate." Next, we can beg them saying: "Please, stay here, stay here and sleep with me." When he agrees and is in bed with us, we can hug and caress him so as to make him be passionate. [Garment workers]

The focus group discussions with female students and garment factory workers revealed that having multiple partners is not restricted to men. There are clear indications of a trend towards greater sexual activity among the younger women.

Women are not inferior to men; if men can find a new partner, we are able to do so, too. Sometimes, it happens because women are fed up with these men. Besides, it can be so because the husbands are unable to provide them with enough sex they require. For some other cases, it is because women need money or support from men as well. [Female students]

The reason why we have sex with different partners is that we want to know the techniques of having sex from one man to another, or it is because we want to satisfy our passion. Also, it can be for money and support from the new men if it happens that our sangsar or husband is poor and unable to support us. [Garment workers]

The desire for sexual satisfaction was also freely mentioned by women in these two target groups. One student stated:

Naturally speaking, we love because we need sex... [Female students]

She went on to adopt what is seen as traditionally a more "feminine" approach to relationships (in Cambodia and in many more developed countries) when she added:

...however, human life does not require only sex but also sympathy and love. [Female students]

But whether the women have sex for reasons of physical pleasure, or for reasons of affection, they are not free from the “good woman/bad woman” dichotomy. As one female student explained:

It is possible that sometimes the man wants to test us and if we are too easy-going, they will leave us. If we take it seriously, true love is not determined by having sex, but heart. [Female students]

This view was reinforced by a number of men, who made moral judgments on women who were perceived as falling too easily for their techniques:

Women who are easily attracted are also considered not good—also women found having condoms. [Male students]

Although some women mention sexual pleasure as a reason for seeking sexual partners, it is apparent that money and security are also motivating factors.

They [other women] change partners in order to satisfy their passion and to get money [Female students]

I want them to give me both money and their love [Karaoke hostesses]

Because they need money or their partner is not faithful to them, so they need to find a new man to hurt the partner. [Garment workers]

In many cases, the need for affection provides the motivation for sex.

Women change partners because they need to supplement their love since they sometimes are betrayed by their sangsar or their husband. [Female students]

Another reason is that the woman's family does not provide enough love as it could to her since the parents are too busy. Then, when she meets a man who cares for and loves her, she will agree to have sex with him. [Female students]

The overall picture is of a great deal of pre- and extramarital sex taking place, with many different types of partners—either as a natural extension of an affectionate relationship, for physical pleasure with some affection involved, and/or for money.

6. CONDOM USE WITH TRUSTED PARTNERS

As outlined above, sweetheart relationships involve some degree of affection and trust on the part of at least one of the partners. Since condom use is often associated with disease prevention and to some extent with sex work, condom use is less likely to occur within sweetheart relationships. Throughout the world, people cite “trust” as the major reason for not using condoms with regular partners. There is an inherent difficulty in discussing one’s sexual history, disease and infidelity with a trusted partner. Trust can “blind” partners from the risks of HIV/AIDS (Longfield et al. 2002). Previous research with urban moto-dop drivers in Cambodia showed that condoms were unlikely to be used with sweethearts

(Greenwood 2000); the recent BSS also showed condom use to be lower with sweethearts than with sex workers (Hor Bun Leng et al. 2001a, 2001b).

This finding is borne out by this research as well. Both men and women said that condoms are less likely to be used in affectionate relationships than in those that are primarily for sex. The word 'trust' is commonly used when describing affectionate relationships, and the level of trust between partners is a major factor determining condom use or non-use. While not often spelled out directly, 'trust' implies fidelity or, at least, that one's trusted partner does not put one at risk.

While the word 'trust' is often used by both men and women in relation to long-term partners, wives and sweethearts appear to expect their male partners to have extramarital sex. Even though the women mostly disapprove of this, there appears to be a general acceptance by women that this is normal male behavior and that little can be done to change it. Growing up, they saw their fathers having multiple partners; and there is widespread belief among both men and women that men need (indeed "must have") many partners for sexual pleasure. This "dissonance", or contradiction between cultural beliefs, is common throughout the world, and is a major barrier to addressing the HIV epidemic (Agha et al. 2002, Go et al. 2002, Lear 1995, Longfield et al. 2002).

Sex workers, whether direct or indirect, also face dissonance in their personal relationships. Despite the apparent trust between sex workers and their sweethearts, most women betray this trust by continuing to have paid sex with other men—sometimes with regular clients, and at other times with a *ta-ta*. The PER indirect sex workers reported that their sweethearts generally don't know about these relationships, or at least not about their sexual nature. One woman said that her sweetheart knew about her clients, and wanted her to stop having sex with them. She also wanted to stop, but felt that she needed the money—both to support her family in the provinces and to save for her future together with her sweetheart, since they plan to get married. Hence her trust in and love for her "special" partner was in part the motivation for continuing to have other (paying) partners.

Thus the relationship between trust and condom use within sweetheart relationships, like most human behavior, is complicated. Just as a great deal of variation was found in the terminology for and characteristics of sweetheart relationships, a variety of factors may drive the likelihood of condom use with a trusted partner. In this analysis of the research results, condom use in sweetheart relationships is discussed in terms of whether condoms were never used, or were used at the beginning of the relationship and then discontinued. Finally, findings on emerging situations when condoms may be used even with trusted partners are presented.

6.1 Relationships where condoms are never used

For men, condom use is seen as unnecessary with "good women", who are assumed to be virgins and then faithful spouses or sweethearts. The male student PERs said that they rarely used condoms in *sangsar* relationships, because their *sangsar* are expected to be "original" (i.e. virgins). The men in the focus group discussions indicated that knowing the partner's family or background is a key factor determining the level of trust.

The woman whom I never use a condom with is my wife or srey kamnann whom I have had sex with for 5 or 10 years and I know that she doesn't have any infection. [Police]

We never use condoms with women we have known for a long time or who come from the same village, or when we are fully aware of their backgrounds. [Moto-dop drivers]

Thus with “good women”, non-use of condoms is due in part to a perception of low risk on the part of the men. Very few men appeared to be cognizant of the fact that they might be a source of infection for partners whom they care about.

I myself don't use condoms with those I care more about, and I do use them with the ones whom I don't care much about, since I am not sure if they have AIDS, and because I am afraid of getting AIDS infection. This is just self-protection. [Cyclo drivers]

Even the small number of men who expressed concern about infecting those they care about did not present a consistent approach to condom use. One male student said that he was having a relationship with a female student who was a virgin until he had sex with her, but that he also visits sex workers (with whom he always uses condoms) and has a *srey sneih*, with whom he used condoms only occasionally. Among married men, wives were consistently referred to as women not to use condoms with—no matter how many other partners the man may have.

We use condoms with our partners because we fear getting an infection. We wish to protect ourselves, and our partners as well. However, we don't use condoms with our wives because we trust each other. [Soldiers]

Part of this dissonance, for both men and women, is the fact that not using condoms with a sweetheart is seen as an explicit expression of trust and the depth of the relationship. The PER indirect sex workers said that they don't use condoms with their sweethearts because they trust each other, consider themselves married (although generally no formal ceremony has taken place), and eventually want to have a child. In cases where a sweetheart is considered a “husband,” the PERs reported that even if a woman knew that the man had other sexual partners, she could not ask him to use condoms. However with sweethearts whom were not yet considered as husbands, the women said that they could possibly ask him to use condoms with his other partners.

When condoms have never been used in a relationship, it is difficult to introduce them. Both men and women said that they were concerned that introducing condoms into a sweetheart relationship would be seen as breaching the trust between them. Specifically, either their partner would no longer trust them, or they would be perceived of as not trusting their partner.

We don't use condoms because we strongly love each other and live together under the same roof. We have faith in each other, and not using condoms can prove this. [Karaoke hostesses]

I don't use condoms since I trust my sangsar that she has only me. She is not a dancing woman but is the one who lives in the village, and I think she was still a virgin. If I use condoms, she will not believe in me and will no longer allow me to have sex with her. [Soldiers]

Finally, some relationships exclude condom use as part of an economic arrangement. Indirect sex workers in the peer research reported that they generally do not use condoms with their *ta-ta*. The main reasons cited were erection difficulties and/or substantial payments not to use condoms. The women agree to have unprotected sex with a *ta-ta* if the man looked healthy, and as long as the women continue to feel personally healthy they will continue to have unprotected sex with these men. Sometimes the *ta-ta* asks the woman to perform oral sex, and then have intercourse without a condom. When performing unprotected and/or oral sex with their *ta-ta* the women get more money. They trust their *ta-ta* after they have been seeing each other for a long time, although some of the women know that their *ta-ta* sleeps with other women.

One PER told of a woman who does not use condoms with her *ta-ta*, because he bought her virginity and they have been having sex since then. He does not know about her other clients. She is worried that she may get HIV or an STI from him, but he tells her that he only has sex with her and his wife and that she shouldn't worry. She has never had an HIV test because she feels scared and has never had any symptoms. She has two other regular clients, and said that she always uses condoms with them.

6.2 Relationships where condom use is discontinued

In longer-term relationships, as trust develops between the partners, condom use is often discontinued, generally at the behest of the man. Sometimes a blood test for HIV is used as the basis for discontinuing condom use in a relationship, although the research shows that it is invariably the woman who undergoes the blood test.

With our mtchas chet [owner of my heart], we have to have our blood tested first and the result be negative before having sex without using condoms. [Direct sex workers]

Condoms are used when having sex with the ones we care more about until 3 to 6 months after their blood test. [Moto-dop drivers]

I don't use condoms with the person I love, such as kou kamnann chet, because before we have sex, he asks me to have my blood tested, and I do agree. [Karaoke hostesses]

The PER indirect sex workers reported that condoms are generally used in the early stages of their *sangsar* relationship. At some point however, the couple will generally stop using condoms. According to the PERs, if the woman really loves the man she generally would agree to stop using condoms. In cases where the women know their sweetheart has other partners, they assume that he will use condoms with these other partners.

A male student PER told of one student who reported using a condom at the beginning of his relationship with a *srey sneih*, but discontinued following her negative HIV test. The student

said that if he continued to use condoms he believes that the woman would think that he didn't trust her.

6.3 Relationships where condoms are used

Although condom use in sweetheart relationships is the exception rather than the norm, the research did find some reports of consistent condom use. One of the reasons given was to prevent pregnancy. One waitress among the PERs said that she used condoms with her sweetheart because she was afraid of pregnancy and the effect it could have on her beauty, causing her sweetheart to abandon her. Some of the male students also reported having *sangsar* and *srey sneih* who insisted on condom use for pregnancy prevention.

Other male respondents said that they used condoms even with regular partners whom they perceived to put them at risk. In relationships that are primarily for sex, condom use is more prevalent. The male students said that condoms are sometimes used with *srey sneih*, generally when the student thought that the woman was not a virgin. Men generally use condoms with women whom they don't trust, or whom they perceive as being at high risk of carrying infection—generally women who are thought not to be virgins or not monogamous. This can include women who agree to sex too easily, and who are therefore perceived of as having other partners. In such instances, condoms are used for disease prevention:

Although we care about our partners, we still use condoms with them since we are afraid of getting an infection. [Soldiers]

I always used condoms with women whom I easily attract because I think that every man had been able to do like I did. [Moto-dop drivers]

Some of the women also expressed a frank awareness of their partner having other partners. Cynicism about men's faithfulness and their motives, combined with fear of pregnancy and fear of infection, apparently prompts many of the women to try and introduce condom use, even with their *sangsar* whom they care for.

*Personally, I use condoms with all types of partners, including my *sangsar* whom I love very much. I do so because I cannot trust any man; he will leave us once we get pregnant. [Karaoke hostesses]*

Generally speaking, this is owing to how much the woman loves the man, and trusts the man. If she strongly believes in him, she will agree on no condom use. She can, however, disagree if she does not totally believe in the man. [Female students]

One of the waitress PERs said that she knows that her sweetheart has other partners, so she always uses condoms with him. Another PER reported that she had a rich client who used to pay her a lot of money for unprotected sex. After receiving HIV/AIDS education, she became worried that she might be infected with HIV and had a blood test. Though the test was negative, the experience scared her enough that she now always uses condoms, even with her sweetheart. When he felt that this betrays the trust in their relationship, she said that she was afraid of pregnancy.

Another case was reported of a woman whose regular client became her sweetheart; she cares for him but does not trust him completely. She thinks he probably has sex with other waitresses or promotion women in other restaurants. When they first started having sex, he was going to see her every evening and they didn't use condoms. He was her first partner, and she reasoned that he didn't have time to have other partners as he was seeing her every night. Three months into the relationship, they both had negative HIV blood tests. Soon afterwards, she got pregnant and had to have an abortion. After her female friends from work advised her to use condoms, they began doing so consistently. This is both to prevent pregnancy, and because they do not really trust each other not to have other partners.

7. CONDOM DYNAMICS

7.1 Initiating and negotiating condom use

Although disease prevention appears to be the primary reason for condom use, it is generally considered unacceptable for partners who are in an affectionate relationship to articulate this during condom negotiation because this is perceived as a betrayal of trust. Protection from pregnancy, however, is seen by both men and women in affectionate relationships as an acceptable reason for using condoms. Talking about "wishing to avoid pregnancy" is therefore a particularly effective strategy in condom negotiation between couples in affectionate relationships.

When we start the idea of using condoms, we tell them we want to prevent pregnancy. It is not possible to tell them we want to prevent infection, because we fear that they may get angry with us [Soldiers]

I explain to my partner about condom use. Without condoms, we don't have sex, since I am worried about pregnancy. I tell her, "Darling, just use it!" [Cyclo drivers]

I tell her about the differences between condom use and condom non-use. "Our love is a secret one and if we don't use condoms, you will get pregnant". She gets the point after it is explained [Soldiers]

Traditional and societal norms in Cambodia preclude sexual activity between unmarried couples—or at least overt sexual activity. It is possible that the major shame associated with HIV infection, or pregnancy, is associated with the admission of illicit intercourse. Of the two unwelcome outcomes, pregnancy is the most immediately visible. Avoiding pregnancy is therefore a major concern, both for the man who professes to care for his partner, and for the woman whose future prospects are severely compromised by this outcome.

We have to explain to them that the most important thing we fear is pregnancy that may affect her honor or family [Male students]

If we don't prevent pregnancy, we will have children, and it will be harder to support our poor family, and will be an insult to our ancestors. This will have a bad effect on our family's honor, and we will finally be dismissed from the home [Soldiers]

Sometimes she says, "Please use a condom... I would feel ashamed if I got pregnant without a husband." [Police]

This view was endorsed by women in the group discussions as well.

Pregnancy can make my parents aware of what I am doing; I have come to work and had sangsar without letting them know. [Karaoke hostesses]

Even with our sweethearts whom we trust and love, we still fear getting pregnant. [Direct sex worker]

Although men are expected to be assertive and women passive in the sexual arena, the research revealed that condom use can be initiated by either men or women. Condom initiation by women is generally felt to be acceptable, and in many cases welcomed.

Condom use can be started by either, meaning that if we forget, women will remind us [Male students]

It is sometimes men who initiate using condoms, while women sometimes take the initiative. If the woman initiates using condoms, we feel that the woman is afraid of getting an infection from us. They just want to protect themselves. So we should not get angry with them [Police]

If women initiate condom use, it's good because they know how to protect themselves from infection, and do not trust their partners. Also, we don't get angry with them [Male students]

These comments refer both to transactional sex, and to sweetheart relationships.

For women we attract who are not sex workers, it is good if they initiate condom use. First, we fear getting infections from each other. We use condoms to prevent pregnancy [Moto-dop drivers]

This perspective was broadly reflected among all the participant groups, and is an indication of the increasing acceptability of condoms, at least in Phnom Penh.

7.2 Buying and carrying condoms

Although initiation by women of condom use was found to be largely welcomed, provision of condoms by women was reported as clearly less acceptable. Many men, and a number of women, felt that women who carry condoms are "bad women".

It is believed that women who have the condoms along are not good at all. This is what Khmer tradition says. Even husbands and wives, once condom packet is seen with any of them, they are usually mocked or insulted [Female students]

I personally feel that women who provide condoms are infected with diseases so I must use a condom with them [Cyclo drivers]

It is rarely the case for the women to have condoms along because we are not sex workers. That is the reason why we usually have sex with sangsar

without a condom. How can a condom be found when having sexual desire by chance? On the contrary, if we take the condoms along and hand it to our partner, they will look down on us saying that we have already been with a number of men [Garment workers]

We don't sleep with women who provide condoms to us [Cyclo drivers]

While this is the most commonly held viewpoint, not all men or women feel this way.

I think it is good for women to carry condoms, since they know how to protect themselves [Male students]

If a woman has already had a condom, this means she wants to prevent pregnancy, which would embarrass her. I don't think she is a bad woman [Soldiers]

It would be better if women provide condoms because they are the ones who fear getting infection from us [Cyclo drivers]

Many of the women took a pragmatic approach to provision of condoms.

Condoms providers are mostly women. Our partners would think that we are not good, but we have to try to explain them that we have the condoms along because we are aware of the education through TV, newspapers, saying that condoms must be always used to protect ourselves from AIDS [Female students]

Some men, when seeing us handing the condoms, are about to get angry. However, we try to explain them not to be angry since we do so in order not to get pregnant and not to get an infection [Karaoke hostesses]

One group of female students said that the acceptability of condom provision by women was age-dependent.

This depends on the people's age. Condoms are provided by men if they are more thoughtful, while the ladies are too young. On the other hand, if the women are older and afraid of having troubles in the future, they are the ones who provide the men with condoms. [Female students]

A number of men expressed concern about the reliability of condoms provided by women.

In the case that women provide me with condoms, I don't know whether or not the condoms are of high quality, and where they took them from. If we use our condoms, we know that they are good [Cyclo drivers]

If I was given condoms by women, I think I would not trust them because I am worried that the condoms have been torn, which means that diseases can pass to me. If so, I don't wear them. But if we have our own condoms and provide them to the women, they will also agree to have sex with us [Soldiers]

As outlined earlier in the report, although they engage in commercial sex the waitresses and beer promotion women don't consider themselves to be sex workers. Since they feel that only sex workers carry condoms, they said that they cannot carry condoms because it would reveal to their sweethearts that they have commercial sex clients. They also expressed concern that their relatives or someone else that they know may discover the condoms and conclude that they are "bad women". However, if a woman says she has received free condoms (e.g. from NGOs, or promotional launches, etc.), then this is more acceptable than buying them.

In one PER debriefing session, a PER said that sometimes clients look down on women who have condoms. The waitresses perceive themselves, and are perceived as, "higher class" women than "ordinary" sex workers, and therefore are not expected to carry condoms. The PER added that, if the waitresses carry condoms, some of their clients get angry and refuse to pay.

Many of the male students in the PE research said that they usually get condoms free of charge from health services at the university. Otherwise, they use condoms provided at the guesthouses where they take their female partners to have sex. Many students also said that they do not like to carry condoms because they are afraid that they may still have them when visiting home, and that a relative might find them. This would be considered very shameful for the student. A number of students also mentioned that it was difficult for them to purchase condoms in their home provinces, because they were afraid that the vendor might know their family.

The majority of male students also revealed that they do not like women to carry condoms. If women who are not sex workers provide condoms, they are considered as "bad women". Nor do many of the students like to use condoms provided by sex workers. They say they fear that condoms provided by sex workers will have been damaged in some way, because they believe that the sex workers want to infect men with HIV.

7.3 Perceptions of Number One Condoms

The research clearly showed that *Number One* condoms are perceived by a wide range of people as being the condom of choice, in both commercial and noncommercial sexual relationships. All participant groups perceived *Number One* condoms as affordable, reliable, hygienic and high quality. The responses to the question, "Who uses *Number One* condoms?" were consistent among all the groups interviewed:

All types of people, not only sex workers. [Moto-dop drivers]

*Not only for sex workers, but also for women in general who don't get paid.
[Karaoke hostesses]*

It was also clear that *Number One* condoms are used for protection against both disease and pregnancy.

With women in general, and with our wife to prevent pregnancy. [Soldiers]

Also with sangsar or to prevent pregnancy. [Male students]

The study findings revealed a high degree of consistency as to why people choose *Number One* condoms:

Because they are sold everywhere, are of high quality, and have lots of lubricant. [Male students]

It is of good quality, thick, tough, with a lot of lubricant, and it is a reasonable price. [Soldiers]

It has a kind of slippery substance, which doesn't hurt our uterus. [Direct sex workers]

It doesn't cause pain. It's satisfying and soft and cheap and easily found. [Karaoke hostesses]

*If we want to prevent pregnancy, we use *Number One* condoms because it is good for women's health and our health as well. *Number One* condoms are also cheap and of good quality. [Soldiers]*

Perceived government endorsement of *Number One* was also mentioned as a reason to choose the brand.

*Because the Ministry of Health conducted its campaign by making *Number One* condoms known publicly. Also, health staff are trusted [Male students]*

There are clear indications that PSI/Cambodia's marketing campaign is proving effective:

It seems that there has been a lot of advertisement by the company, and it is the leading product. It is of high quality, tough and cheap [Soldiers]

*Generally speaking, people use the *Number One* condom because they know it well. Also, it is publicly distributed by organizations, and it is reliable for all people as well [Soldiers]*

As mentioned above, male students in the PE research said that they usually get *Number One* condoms free of charge from health services at the university. Both the male students and the indirect and direct sex workers said that they use the *Number One* condoms provided at the guesthouses where they take their female partners to have sex.

A small number of respondents mentioned that richer men sometimes use more expensive condoms. One indirect sex worker PER said that older men sometimes don't want to use *Number One*, but prefer to buy more expensive condoms, apparently as a status symbol. When the women spoke of clients providing their own condoms (not *Number One*), these condoms were generally from overseas and are apparently perceived of as "higher-class" condoms.

*Number One is used by people in general. The rich use condoms that are a little bit thicker than *Number One*, with the price ranging from \$1 to \$2. [Karaoke hostesses]*

People in general use Number One condoms, but for rich men, they would buy the one-dollar-cost condom. [Garment workers]

However, this was not a widely held perspective, and the comment below is indicative of the majority of participants:

Number One condoms are used by both the rich and the poor, they are used in general [Garment workers]

8. BARRIERS TO CONDOM USE: ECONOMICS, ALCOHOL AND VIOLENCE

The research uncovered other barriers to condom use that are not necessarily related to their use within sweetheart relationships. Some men expressed a perceived reduction of sexual satisfaction when condoms are used.

For some men, they force women not to use condoms by saying using a condom makes them sexually dissatisfied and not using a condom makes them sexually satisfied. They force their partners to follow. [Soldiers]

Many of these men attributed the concern about decreased satisfaction to women, although it is possible that the men projected their own concerns onto their partners.

I once suggested using condoms but she refused because she said using condoms might decrease sensation and sexual satisfaction, since the condom contains lubricant. [Soldiers]

Some women refuse to use a condom when they sleep with us, and we don't know why. As for me, when they don't want to use a condom, I also agree with them; I don't refuse at all. They say using a condom does not make us sexually satisfied when having sex. [Police]

The partners don't want to use condoms since they feel that they are not sexually satisfied if not touching directly—skin with skin. However, when the men insist to use, the woman agree to do so. [Cyclo drivers]

For their part several of the women's discussion groups said that unplanned, spontaneous sex within affectionate relationships sometimes led to non-use of condoms.

The reason why we use condoms in some situations, but not in others is that sometimes we go out with our sangsar and because of our uncontrollable passion we want to have sex like in the bathroom, in the car, by the bushes, at the rice field, or at a friend's house. It all happens by chance and we do not have any condom along. [Garment workers]

Sometimes it is owing to the reason that we are too passionate and have no plan to see each other in advance. As a result, we are unable to wear a condom on time [Female students]

Besides these findings, which are common in condom research globally, the research uncovered other explanations for non-use of condoms that have only been touched on in the discussion of sweetheart relationships. These are economics, alcohol, coercion and violence

8.1 Sex work and other material exchange

The indirect sex worker PERs reported that some waitresses/promotion women will agree to have unprotected sex with clients if the price is right. One interviewee spoke of a client—not a regular—who was described as a *Neak Thom* (an important person) and who gave her \$100 for sex without condoms.

Another spoke of a Chinese man (apparently well-known among the waitresses) who has erection problems when using condoms, and pays up to \$40 for sex without condoms. He takes tablets before having sex—apparently to protect himself from disease. This man has a translator, who confirmed to the waitress that the man regularly goes to brothels in Tuol Kork and does not use condoms there either.

A third woman made specific reference to foreign clients not using condoms. American, Australian, Chinese or Malaysian clients were mentioned—generally either businessmen or tourists. She said that those who use condoms usually supply their own, but many do not want to use condoms, and get aggressive if asked to do so. According to the PER, the woman thinks that she is safe from HIV because foreigners who don't use condoms usually withdraw before they ejaculate. The same woman stated that Khmer clients “always” use condoms. Two of the women spoke of experiencing language difficulties with foreign (predominantly Chinese) clients, when they tried to negotiate condom use.

8.2 Alcohol

In addition to the factors described above, non-use of condoms in either commercial or noncommercial sexual relationships may also occur because of drunkenness (generally in men).

When I was heavily drunk, I didn't care about using condoms or not. [Motodop drivers]

Men who refuse to use a condom are mostly drunks. [Direct sex workers]

While the male students in the PE research said that they “always” use condoms with paid partners, they also admitted that often sex occurs after group drinking sessions and that as alcohol intake increases, condom use is likely to decrease. There appears to be enormous peer-pressure faced by students in relation to group bonding activities of drinking and visiting sex workers. This is illustrated by a story told by one of the students, who said that his friends pressure him into going to brothels with them. They encourage him to buy sex, even offering to pay for him, because they know that he prefers to avoid commercial sex encounters. The student said that, on these occasions, he sometimes just sits and talks with the woman until his friends have finished, and he does not pay her.

The students also said that they “always” use condoms with *srey kalip* (high caliber/modern women) because they assume these women have had many different partners. But, as described above, alcohol intake can affect condom use. The student who offered the most information about *srey kalip* told the PER that that if he has sex with a *srey kalip*, and she

introduced condoms, it would be a good thing since it would show that she cared about her health and was concerned about protecting them both.

8.3 Coercion, threats, and violence against women

As discussed above, social norms dictate that Cambodian women be shy and demure, and passive in terms of initiating sex. Many of the men admitted to trying a variety of techniques to persuade their partners to have sex—including lying about not being married, or professing everlasting love regardless of their true intentions:

We, as men, take initiative by asking women to have sex. We also touch and comfort them by saying "I won't leave you after having sex with you"... But all these words are not true since we will run away soon after having sex.
[Soldiers]

Some of the men in the group discussions indicated that they interpret a lack of protest from a woman as signaling acquiescence.

It takes 5 months before the relationship becomes sexual. Men normally initiate sex. Women have the same feeling in mind, but they are shy. We can know a woman also wants sex by observing if she doesn't mind when being touched or hugged. Another way is to tell lies by asking a woman for marriage. She agrees with me and relationship becomes sexual.
[Cyclo drivers]

The line between sweet-talk, coercion and force did not seem to be clear to many of the men interviewed. Many of the women, particularly the sex workers, said that the threat of violence from men is common.

Most drunk partners and those who carry a gun sometimes threaten us. With drunken partners, we try to please them and then put a condom on for them. With gunmen threatening us, we sleep with them without using a condom because we feel worried about being shot.
[Direct sex workers]

In some instances, the pressure that men described putting on women involved force. One PER spoke of a student who has a relationship with a high school student. He asked her to have sex with him after about two months of going out together, and initially she refused. He slapped her until she "agreed". They still have a relationship, and she thinks the student will marry her. He says the relationship will stop when he gets bored.

A similar experience was described by a man in one of the discussion groups, who could not wait for any sign of acquiescence, passive or otherwise:

It is men who start the idea about having sex. I said to a woman "I love you". She didn't believe it, and I began touching her and holding hands. I couldn't stand it, and raped her.
[Cyclo drivers]

For sex workers, situations of violence are commonplace. All ten of the indirect sex worker PERs had personal experience of violence, or threats of violence from clients. These ranged from verbal abuse to being beaten; some spoke of being threatened with a gun. Violent

clients were reported to be sometimes drunk, but not always. The women said that they frequently encountered men who were armed and forced the women not to use condoms. In these situations, the women have nowhere to go for support, “we just cry and then go back to work”. They try to support each other, turning to each other first, and then to their supervisors (if they are kind and understanding).

If a woman is raped, she goes to the hospital only if she is badly hurt and needs medical assistance. One of the PERs spoke about her personal experience of being dragged into a toilet at the restaurant where she works and raped by a man who pointed a gun at her. When she told the supervisor, he said it was her own fault because she had refused another client earlier.

The prospect of gang rape—known colloquially as *bauk*, or “plus”—is also present for all of the women; and particularly for those who have had to move from working in restaurants/karaoke and into the parks of Phnom Penh, following the closure of karaoke bars in late 2001. The waitress PERs said that *bauk* happens almost every day to at least one woman selling sex in the park. The perpetrators are mainly adolescents, students or lower-level employed men. One or two men will arrange to have sex with a woman, and then take her to a site (most likely a guesthouse) where a group of friends is waiting. This group may consist of 4-10 men, sometimes more. The men keep her there overnight, and “share” her. Verbal and physical violence often occurs. The women say that, sometimes, when *bauk* occurs, the men don’t all use condoms.

The male students also spoke of gang rape (*bauk*). The practice appears to be widespread among the students with sex workers or those whom they perceive as “easy women” such as *srey kalip*. One PER estimated that a group of his friends engage in *bauk* about once or twice a month, always with karaoke women. Another PER reported a student as saying that he goes out with 3-4 friends and gang-rapes sex workers about once a week. A third PER estimates that *bauk* occurs with his friends about once a month, with park-based sex workers. One student involved in this group said that he partakes in *bauk* when his girlfriend refuses to have sex with him.

Bauk usually involves verbal violence, and sometimes also physical violence, to coerce the woman to have sex with all the men. None of the male students appeared to find anything wrong in this practice. Reasons cited for *bauk* included:

- “Although there are many *srey kalip*, not all of them are pretty and we don’t want to waste time having to procure one woman each.”
- Freelance sex workers are too expensive for students to afford one each.
- It is a group bonding activity; “a shared secret”.
- You can have sex more than once, without having to pay more.
- Safety in numbers for the students, who worry about their motos being stolen by someone else while they are having sex or about the women drugging them and stealing their motos.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The rich detail on relationships and condom use provided by the study reveals several potential strategies for increasing condom use with trusted partners. Some of these would include:

- A focus on the use of condoms for pregnancy prevention, as well as disease prevention, in sweetheart relationships. Many of the research participants mentioned that they used the fear of pregnancy as a negotiating tactic for introducing condom use. When condoms are well accepted for this purpose, men and women can feel comfortable initiating and continuing their use even with a trusted partner.
- The need for the development of behavior change communications campaigns that address gender issues associated with condom use. These would include a greater emphasis on programs targeted at changing the behavior of men — by promoting caring and responsible men as those who use condoms in affectionate relationships — and by portraying women who carry condoms as respectable, responsible and intelligent.
- Working with community based organizations to create and train a network of Peer Advisors among indirect sex workers to promote women's self-esteem and self-confidence, and provide support for using condoms with sweethearts and other regular partners. Such training should include strengthening skills in personal risk assessment and condom negotiation, as well as reinforcing support for buying and carrying condoms. The PERs themselves suggested that they would be interested in becoming Peer Advisors and that they had learned a great deal from the experience of examining these issues. The Peer Advisors could also provide information and referral for dealing with violence.
- The need to assure that condoms are readily available at locations convenient for sweethearts—and particularly women—given emerging evidence that unmarried women are sexually active and prefer to use condoms. These would include such locations as karaoke bars, garment factories, university kiosks and restrooms, etc.
- The research has made clear that the issue of sexual violence must be addressed. Consistent patterns of coerced sex and sexual violence against women, as uncovered by the research, have also been found in many other parts of the world. Sexual violence is widely recognized as bringing about negative reproductive health consequences including pregnancy, STI infection and a higher risk for HIV infection. The research indicates the need for increased sensitization among young men concerning HIV risk perception and reproductive health information. Such programs must also address the unacceptability of coerced and forced sex and foster respect for female sexual partners. Possible interventions could include a mass media campaign, peer education and school based interventions, focusing on partner communication, and in particular men's awareness, to motivate behavior change.
- Finally, the valuable information uncovered by this research indicates that it should be extended, both by including other groups and by investigating some topics in more depth. Provincial groups in high-risk areas may face very different relationship dynamics than in Phnom Penh, and it is important to see how the concepts and language regarding

sweethearts differ in other areas. It would also be beneficial to further explore the small but articulate minority who say that they do use condoms with trusted partners. These “positive deviants” may provide strategies that can be promoted through BCC campaigns. Finally, the findings on the range and variety of sexual relationships among these groups indicate that any attempt to quantify the scope of the “sweetheart” phenomenon must take this diversity into account, or risk overlooking a large proportion of the population who are affected.

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APPENDIX I: PLA AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

WARM-UP AND INTRODUCTIONS

- *Welcome and thank participants for taking part*
- *Outline the broad area of the research (don't mention condoms at this stage)*
- *Introductions (remember to ask participants their ages and whether they are married or not)*
- *Note ages & marital status*

PLA FOR ALL GROUPS

In Khmer, there are many different terms used to describe different types of romantic relationships with people. When we describe someone using one of these terms, we are telling other people something about that relationship—is it serious or casual, is it likely to involve sex or not, and if so, how much do we care about the person we are having sex with, and so on.

We want to hear your views about these different types of relationships, and to begin with we need your help to list the different Khmer terms for people that you, or your friends, might have a relationship with.

How many different terms do you hear used in conversation? We want to know both polite and impolite terms. We also want to know which of these terms do you think refers to someone involved in a sexual relationship?

Instructions to facilitator:


LISTING

- ❖ *Divide the participants into 2 groups.*
- ❖ *Ask each group to make their own list of terms used to describe people who they or their friends may have a romantic relationship with.*
 - *(Remember: At this point, we want terms that describe partners in both sexual and nonsexual relationships.)*
- ❖ *Encourage the participants to include slang terms, and to include terms for 'serious' relationships and relationships which are much more casual. If they are shy, you could offer your own example, and ask them if they have heard of this term.*
- ❖ *The participants will call out their suggestions, and the facilitator must write down every term on flipchart paper.*


- *(Remember: leave space between each term so it is easy to read. Make sure you start writing the terms at the left-hand edge of the paper. Write the terms in a list—if the list is too long for one piece of paper, use a second piece of paper.)*
- ❖ *Ask both groups to tell you which terms describe people who would definitely not have sex. Put brackets around these terms.*
 - *(Remember: Explain that these terms are not wrong, and we do want to know them. But we are particularly interested in terms for people who are in sexual relationships.)*
- ❖ *Then ask them to identify terms for people who are paid to have sex. Again, put brackets around those terms. E.g. srey born, srey khouch, srey luok kluon.*

RANKING

- ❖ *For this exercise, keep working in two groups.*
- ❖ *Ask participants to decide how strong are the feelings of love or care which they have for each of the partners. For example, if they refer to someone as a, is he or she more important to their feelings than another partner who is referred to as a? (use examples provided by the participants)*
- ❖ *Rank each term, by drawing between 1 and 3 dots. alongside each term.*
 - • • = *very important to their feelings*
 - • = *quite important to their feelings*
 - = *not important to their feelings*

Ask each person to draw a ring around their ranking 

Then rank by:
 Which terms refer to partners you would introduce to your family?
 Each person to put between 1-3 “ticks” ✓ alongside each term
 ✓✓✓ = *definitely introduce to family*
 ✓✓ = *probably introduce to family, if the opportunity arises*
 ✓ = *definitely not introduce to family*

Ask each person to draw a ring around their ranking 

Then:
 For each term, ask the participants:

Would you use this term face-to-face with your partner?

If they all say YES, draw a face next to the term. ☺

If they all say NO, put a cross next to the term. X

If they cannot agree/aren't sure, put a face and a question mark. ☺?

- ❖ *Bring the two groups back together.*
- ❖ *The FGD observer/note taker needs to write the terms out again on a new sheet of paper, and put them where all participants can see them. The FGD moderator will need to refer to the list during the FGD.*
- ❖ *While the observer is doing this, the FGD moderator explains the FGD ground rules to participants.*

FGD FOR MEN

Objective 1: Definition of sexual relationships with the partners listed.

1. Go through the list of terms one by one. Can you tell us why men have relationships with each of these partners?
Probe: Do men meet different partners in different places or at different times? What things would you expect from a relationship with these different partners?
e.g.: *Just sex, affection, friendship, one-night stand, long-term relationship, marriage, having something to boast about?*
(Remember: encourage the group to answer the question for every term, including those for male sexual partners—if spontaneously mentioned)
2. When do relationships with each of these partners become sexual? Who initiates the sex? How is this initiated? What phrases do men use to encourage a partner to have sex with them?
What phrases do women use, if they want to encourage men to have sex?
(Remember: encourage the group to answer the question for every term)
3. Have you heard that some men have sex with other men? Do you know any terms for these male sexual partners? *(add to the list)*

Objective 2: Explanation of condom use/non-use with the partners listed.

Stress to groups:

- ❖ Everyone knows that sometimes people use condoms when they have sex and sometimes they don't.
 - ❖ Please do not say you use condoms just because you think that is what we want to hear.
 - ❖ We are interested in your true experiences; there are no right or wrong answers.
4. Which of the partners on the lists would you always use a condom with?
 5. Which of the partners on the list would you never use a condom with?
 6. WHY would you use a condom with some people, and not with others?
Probe:
Use condoms to prevent pregnancy, or to protect from disease?
If to protect from disease, who is protected? The man or his partner?
 7. Do men use condoms with partners they care more about, or with partners they fear getting an infection from?
(Remember: encourage the group to answer the question for every term, including those for male sexual partners)
 8. Think about the partners you would use condoms with. Whose initiative would this be?

- *Probe:* is it usually the man or the woman's idea to use a condom? What would you think if a woman initiated this?
- 8. Who provides the condom? What would you think if your partner provided the condom?
 - *Probe:* are women who carry condoms automatically considered as immoral women (*srey men la'or*)?
- 9. How do you discuss/negotiate use of a condom? What phrases are used to encourage partners to use a condom?
 - *Probe:* Is it discussed, or do the men just do it?
- 10. Has anyone ever had a partner refuse to use a condom? Why did the partner refuse?
 - *To probe:* are condoms only for use with sex workers (*surrey look klaxon—lit. "women who sell themselves"*)?
- 11. Think about the partners you would not use a condom with. Have these partners ever asked you to use a condom? Did you agree or refuse? WHY?
- 12. What types of condoms do people use?
- 13. What sort of people use *Number 1 Condoms*? Are there some people who would not use *Number 1 Condoms*? Why not?
 - *Probe:* Is Number 1 condom only for use in commercial sex?
- 14. Why do people choose Number 1 condoms?
- 15. If people wanted to use a condom to prevent pregnancy, which brand of condom would they use? Why?

FGD FOR WOMEN

Objective 1: Definition of sexual relationships with the partners listed.

1. Go through the list of terms one by one. Can you tell us why women have relationships with each of these partners?
 - > *Probe:* Do men meet different partners in different places or at different times? What things would you expect from a relationship with these different partners? *e.g.: Just sex, affection, friendship, one-night stand, long-term relationship, marriage, having something to boast about?*
(Remember: encourage the group to answer the question for every term)
2. Why do women have sex with these different types of partners?
Probe: Sexual satisfaction? Affection? Presents? Problems? Being looked after? To earn money?
3. Who is it that first suggests sex in a relationship with each of these partners—the man or the woman, or both? How is sex initiated? What phrases do men use to encourage women to have sex with them? What phrases do women use, if they want to encourage men to have sex?
4. *[Only to be asked of the DFSW group]:* Are any of your partners also clients? If so, do they still pay for sex?

Objective 2: Explanation of condom use/non-use with the partners listed.

Stress to groups:

- ❖ Everyone knows that sometimes people use condoms when they have sex and sometimes they don't.
 - ❖ Please do not say you use condoms just because you think that is what we want to hear.
 - ❖ We are interested in your true experiences; there is no right or wrong answers.
5. Which of the partners on the lists would you always use a condom with?
 6. Which of the partners on the list would you never use a condom with?
 7. WHY would you want to use a condom with some people, and not with others?
 - > *Probe:*
Use condoms to prevent pregnancy, or to protect from disease?
If to protect from disease, who is protected? The man or his partner?
 8. Do women think they need to use condoms with partners they care more about, or with partners they fear getting an infection from?
(Remember: encourage the group to answer the question for every term)
 9. How does a couple decide if a condom is used or not? What phrases are used to encourage partners to use a condom?

- *Probe:* Is it discussed, or do the men just do it?
- 10. Who provides the condom? What would your partner think if you provided the condom?
 - *To probe:* are women who carry condoms automatically considered as immoral women (srey men la'or)?
- 11. Has anyone ever asked a partner to use a condom, but he has refused? Why did he refuse?
 - *To probe:* are condoms only for use with sex workers (surrey look klaxon — "women who sell themselves")?
- 12. Think about the partners you say you would not use a condom with. Have these partners ever asked to use a condom with you? Did you agree or refuse? WHY?
- 13. What types of condoms do people use?
- 14. What sort of people use *Number 1* Condoms? Are there some people who would not use *Number 1* Condoms? Why not?
 - *Probe:* Is *Number 1* condom only for use in commercial sex?
- 15. Why do people choose *Number 1* condoms?
- 16. If people wanted to use a condom to prevent pregnancy, which brand of condom would they use? Why?

APPENDIX 2: PEER ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH GUIDELINES

WAITRESSES/KARAOKE HOSTESSES/BEER PROMOTION WOMEN:

The waitresses completed three interviews with each of their interviewees, using the following topic guidelines:

a. Work.

- ❖ What do they do for a living?
- ❖ What are the things that are difficult?
- ❖ What are the things that are easy about their work?
- ❖ What are the different types of guests/clients (good and bad guests/clients)?

b. Relationships

- ❖ Partners
- ❖ Sweethearts
- ❖ Tell me a story about what a friend of yours says about her real sweetheart; and what do they do together?
- ❖ Other partners (Why do they want money from other partners but not their sweetheart)?
- ❖ What do they say to their sweetheart about other partners?

c. HIV/STIs and condom use

- ❖ What have they heard about HIV/STIs (what are their worries)?
- ❖ Do they have some way to protect themselves from HIV/STIs, and how?
- ❖ Which partners do they use condoms with and which not; why?
- ❖ Who starts the idea to use a condom (who carries the condom, why)?
- ❖ Tell me a story about somebody who wanted to use a condom with a guest (client) / and with a sweetheart. What did they do?
- ❖ Are there some condoms which guests and sweethearts prefer to use?

MALE STUDENTS:

The students completed two interviews with each of their interviewees, using the following topic guidelines:

a. Relationships

- ❖ What do students say about different partners / partners they have sexual relationships with?
- ❖ How do different relationships start?
- ❖ Which are sexual relationships, and how do they become sexual?
- ❖ In what relationships do they give money, and how much?
- ❖ What makes the sweetheart relationship special; what is given in the sweetheart relationship?
- ❖ How does a sweetheart relationship start?
- ❖ What is good about different relationships, and what worries them about different relationships?

b. HIV/STIs and condom use

- ❖ What have they heard about HIV and STIs?
- ❖ How do they protect themselves from HIV/STIs? Who makes the decision to use condoms?
- ❖ What do they say about using condoms? Which partners do they always use condoms with?
- ❖ Are there some partners they start using condoms with and then stop? Why?
- ❖ What do they say about the risk of getting HIV/STIs from different partners?
- ❖ What do they say about a woman who carries condoms?
- ❖ Which condoms do they prefer/trust with different partners?

APPENDIX 3: RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In this study we have defined sweetheart relationships as *“noncommercial, nonmarital sexual relationships that possess a certain degree of affection and trust from at least one partner. The factors influencing financial support or material exchange within these relationships vary depending on the situation, the target group and the individual.”*

As discussed in the text, a wide variety of terms were identified by the focus group participants to describe potential sex partners. For men, some of these terms refer to noncommercial sex partners and some to direct and indirect sex workers. For women, the terms describe “men they might have sex with” including commercial and noncommercial partners. Since “affection and trust” may only be present for one partner in a sweetheart relationship, we have included terms that do not imply affection in the tables, such as those used for sex workers and derogatory terms that arose in the groups.

This summary table lists all of the terms identified by the groups in rough order of the frequency they were mentioned, within categories.

ALL TERMS MENTIONED BY PLA/FOCUS GROUPS (BY ORDER OF FREQUENCY MENTIONED)

Type of Relationship	Terms used by men for women	Terms used by women for men
Affectionate ¹	<p><i>Sangsar</i> (sweetheart)</p> <p><i>Aun</i> (younger/darling)</p> <p><i>Aun Srey</i> (younger/darling woman)</p> <p><i>Aun Samlanh</i> (younger/darling love)</p> <p><i>Mee Aunt</i> (my younger woman)</p> <p><i>Mak A Aun</i> (mother of my son)</p> <p><i>Srey Kamnann Chet/Kamnann Chet/Kou Kamnann Chet</i> (woman who is held by my heart/ held by my heart/ partner or couple held by each other's hearts)</p> <p><i>Kou Sneih</i> (love partner/couple)</p> <p><i>Srey Samlanh</i> (Love/loved woman)</p> <p><i>Mchas Duong Chet</i> (owner of my heart)</p> <p><i>Pov Proloeng</i> (dear)</p> <p><i>A-mom</i> (woman's name)</p> <p><i>Meas Sneih</i> (golden love)</p> <p><i>Srey Knhom</i> (my woman)</p> <p><i>Proh Pun Chong</i> (step-wife)</p> <p><i>Proh Pun Bantoib</i> (next wife)</p> <p><i>Srey Kroay / Proh Pun Kroay</i> (next woman / next</p>	<p><i>Sangsar</i> (sweetheart)</p> <p><i>Bong</i> (older/darling)</p> <p><i>Bong Samlanh</i> (older love)</p> <p><i>Bong Bandol Chet / Bandol Chet</i> (older man at the centre of my heart / centre of my heart)</p> <p><i>Kou Kamnann Chet / Kamnann Chet / Pros Kamnann Chet</i> (partner or couple who are held by each other's hearts / held by my heart / man held by my heart)</p> <p><i>Mith Pros</i> (man friend)</p> <p><i>Samnob Chet Aun / Samnob Chet</i> (favourite of my heart)</p> <p><i>Kampoul Sneih</i> (top of my love)</p> <p><i>Mchas Chet</i> (owner of my heart)</p> <p><i>Mchas Chivit Aun / Mchas Chivit</i> (owner of my life)</p> <p><i>Pros Del Khnom Sralanh</i> (man who I love)</p> <p><i>Pu</i> (uncle)</p> <p><i>Mith Mroy Chnam</i> (100-year friend)</p> <p><i>Pros Samnob</i> (beloved man)</p> <p><i>Kampoul Duong Chet</i> (top of the heart)</p>

¹ These were defined as "highly affectionate" by the men and "affectionate relationships, probably involving sex" by the women.

Type of Relationship	Terms used by men for women	Terms used by women for men
	wife)	<i>Duong Proboeng</i> (core of the soul) <i>Samlanh Chet</i> (loved of the heart)
Spouse or future marriage partner	<i>Kou Dandeng</i> (fiancé) <i>Mer Vea</i> (wife) <i>Pheak Reyea</i> (wife - formal) <i>Proh Pun</i> (wife – common term)	<i>Utdom Sva Mey</i> (supreme husband) <i>Phdey/Lok Phdey</i> (husband) <i>Kou Dandeng</i> (fiancé) <i>Phdey Samlanh Chet</i> (Husband loved of my heart)/ loved husband <i>Kou Chivit</i> (life partner) <i>Mchas Phdey</i> (owner husband)
Affection – probably no sex ²	<i>Mith Srey</i> (woman friend)	
Relationships primarily for sex (men) and sex/money (women) – some affection	<i>Srey Sneih</i> (love/loved woman) <i>Aun Srey</i> (younger/darling woman) <i>Srey Luoch Laek</i> (secret woman) <i>Kone Kone</i> (child)	<i>Pros Sneih</i> (love/loved man) <i>Mchas Sneih</i> (owner of love) <i>Sa Hai</i> (lover) <i>Dai Kou Sneih</i> (love partner) <i>Bong Phaun Chungkung Bourn</i> (four-kneel relative) <i>Pa Vea</i> (father of my son) <i>Pros Pov</i> (youngest man) <i>Pros Knhom</i> (my man) <i>Hea</i> (older; used with Chinese or Vietnamese men) <i>Moy</i> (regular client)

² Though there was some disagreement in the group(s), the consensus was that this term would not continue to be used if the relationship became sexual.

Type of Relationship	Terms used by men for women	Terms used by women for men
		<i>Pros Arnh</i> (my man) <i>Pa Um</i> (uncle father) <i>Aun / Ph-Aun</i> (younger) <i>Pa</i> (daddy)
Relationships for sex – no affection	<i>Srey Kalip</i> (high calibre woman; 'love only rich men') <i>Dai Kou</i> (partner) <i>Srey</i> (woman) <i>Srey Sexy</i> (sexy woman) <i>Dai Kou Ruompheit</i> (partner for sex) <i>Srey Phet Pdey</i> (woman cheats on husband) <i>Srey Ta-Ta</i> (old man's woman) <i>Srey Krao Plov Kar</i> (unofficial woman) <i>Srey Sivilai</i> (modern woman)	
Admiring terms; called out to try and initiate casual sex	<i>Srey Sa-at</i> (pretty/beautiful woman) <i>Srey Sras</i> (pretty/beautiful woman) <i>Sa Hai</i> (lover)	
General terms of address	<i>Neang, Srey Neang</i> (Miss) <i>Srey Pov</i> (youngest woman) <i>Srey Toch</i> (little woman)	
Derogatory terms	<i>Srey Sava / Srey Chet Sava</i> (fickle woman / fickle-hearted woman)	<i>Pros Sava</i> (fickle man)

Type of Relationship	Terms used by men for women	Terms used by women for men
	<p>hearted woman)</p> <p><i>Srey Chet Royporn</i> (woman of 100,000 hearts)</p> <p><i>Srey Ka Keiy</i> (unfaithful woman)</p> <p><i>Srey Kangoak Meas</i> (golden peacock woman)</p>	<p><i>Pros Prean</i> (hunter man)</p> <p><i>Pros Baok Prars</i> (cheating man)</p> <p><i>Ta Kanh Chas</i> (old grandfather)</p> <p><i>Pros Lmorb</i> (greedy man)</p> <p><i>Pros A-Lacoste</i> (Lacoste man)</p> <p><i>Amuk Kras</i> (thick-skinned man)</p> <p><i>Prean Neary</i> (lady hunter)</p> <p><i>Pros A-Chkuot</i> (crazy man)</p> <p><i>A-Tanaha Kras</i> (strongly passionate man)</p> <p><i>Pros Chet Kanlang</i> (man with the heart of a bee)</p> <p><i>Pros Ab-Preiy</i> (very bad man)</p> <p><i>Pros Chet Pee</i> (two-hearted man)</p> <p><i>Pros Kbot</i> (betrayal man)</p> <p><i>Pros Nhe /Por-Pre</i> (boring wooing man)</p> <p><i>Pros Arvasae</i> (homeless man)</p>
Joke terms		<p><i>Pros Kroper</i> (crocodile man)</p> <p><i>Mchas Bong</i> (owner older)</p> <p><i>Phdey Chong</i> (step-husband)</p> <p><i>Pros Chlaunh</i> (fish man)</p>
Sex workers/indirect and direct	<p><i>Srey Men La-or</i> (bad woman)</p> <p><i>Srey La-or</i> (good woman)</p>	

Type of Relationship	Terms used by men for women	Terms used by women for men
	<p><i>Srey Reatrey</i> (night woman) <i>Srey Bar</i> (bar woman) <i>Srey Kroach Chrobarch</i> (orange squeezer woman) <i>Srey Kamdor Aram</i> (comfort feeling woman) <i>Srey Karaoke</i> (karaoke woman) <i>Srey Cham'rieng</i> (singing woman) <i>Srey Rottok</i> (waitress) <i>Srey Khoch Klun</i> (woman broken in body) <i>Srey Koh kchal</i> (coining woman) <i>Srey Massage</i> (massage woman) <i>Srey Lang-Se</i> (promotion woman) <i>Srey Taxi</i> (taxi woman)</p>	

